A GENERAL

DICTIONARY,

Hiſtorical and Critical:

IN WHICH

A New and Accurate TRANSLATION
of that of the Celebrated

Mr. BAYLE,

WITH THE

CORRECTIONS and OBSERVATIONS printed in the late Edition at *Paris*, is included; and interſperſed with ſeveral thouſand LIVES never before publiſhed.

The whole containing the Hiſtory of the moſt illuſtrious Perſons of all Ages and Nations, particularly thoſe of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, diſtinguiſhed by their Rank, Actions, Learning and other Accompliſhments.

With Reflections on ſuch Paſſages of Mr. BAYLE, as ſeem to favour *Scepticiſm* and the *Manichee* Syſtem.

By the Reverend Mr. JOHN PETER BERNARD;
The Reverend Mr. THOMAS BIRCH, M.A. and F.R.S.
Mr. JOHN LOCKMAN;
And other HANDS.

VOLUME VI.

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MDCCXXXVIII.

A NEW and ACCURATE TRANSLATION
of the
HISTORY and CRITICAL
DICTIONARY
of
PETER BAYLE.

TO

MARTIN FOLKES Eſq;

VICE-PRESIDENT

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY,

This SIXTH VOLUME of the

GENERAL DICTIONARY,

Hiſtorical and Critical,

Is dedicated by

His moſt obedient and

Moſt humble Servants,

The Authors.

GENERAL DICTIONARY

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY

AND

LATIN LONDINENSIS.

TO

A GENERAL DICTIONARY Hiſtorical and Critical.

HALL (RICHARD) an Engliſh Divine of the Romiſh Communion, was, I think, one of thoſe who retired out of England, becauſe of the penal laws which were enacted under Queen Elizabeth againſt the Papiſts. He retired into the Spaniſh Low-Countries, and was Divinity Profeſſor at Doway, and Canon of St. Omer's. He publiſhed amongſt other works [*A*] a treatiſe of the origin of the wars of thoſe countries. He was not proper to treat on ſuch a ſubject. For his gratitude to the King of Spain, who furniſhed him with a ſafe retirement on the one hand, and on the other his reſentment for his baniſhment, which exaſperated him againſt all the Proteſtants, could not ſuffer him to examine with impartiality the conduct of thoſe Provinces, which rebelled againſt Philip II. And it is certain, that he ſhewed himſelf very paſſionate in that work [*B*]. He died in the year 1604 (*a*).

(*a*) Witte, *in Diar. Biograph.*

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral Works.*] Here follow all that I know of his Writings: The Preface to John Giovanus's Book *de Schiſmate ſeu Eccleſiaſticæ Unionis diviſione* (of Schiſm or of breaking the eccleſiaſtical union) printed at Louvain in the year 1573, *in* 8*vo*. *De tribus primariis cauſis Tumultuum Belgicorum, & contra coalitionem multarum Religionum, quam liberam Religionem vocant.* i. e. Of the three chief cauſes of the "civil Wars in the Low-Countries, and againſt a "Coalition of ſeveral Religions, which they call a free "Religion." At Doway 1581. *in* 8*vo*: *Pro Defenſione Regiæ & Epiſcopalis Auctoritatis contra Rebelles.* "A "Vindication of the Royal and Epiſcopal Authority "againſt the Rebels." At Doway, 1584 *in* 8°. *De quinque partita conſcientia Libri tres.* "Three Books of "Conſcience divided into five parts." In the ſame City, 1598, *in* 8*vo*. *De proprietate & Veſtiario Monachorum, aliiſque ad hoc vitium extirpandum neceſſariis.* "Of the Propriety and Apparel of the Monks, and "of other things neceſſary to extirpate that exceſs." In the ſame City, 1585 *in* 8*vo*.

[*B*] *He ſhewed himſelf very paſſionate in that work.*] Particularly againſt the Prince of Orange: for he wrote whole Chapters to convict him of Tyranny, of endeavouring to make himſelf a King by tyrannical means like Abſalom, of having the ten Qualities, which according to Bartholus are the Character of a Tyrant, &c. He compared him to Julian the Apoſtate, and wrote all kind of invectives againſt that Prince, and againſt his Party (1), with a deſign to exaſperate the Roman Catholicks and to perſuade them not to grant the Liberty of Conſcience, which the Proteſtants demanded (2) A man who had ſo many Reaſons to be partial in favour of the King of Spain, and to be diſpleaſed with the Dutch, ſhould not have pretended to write the cauſes of that civil War. An Hiſtorian ought to be perfectly unbiaſſed, and as ſoon as a man has the leaſt reſentment againſt any nation, he ought to give over the writing of that nation's Hiſtory, particularly if he cannot follow his ill humour ever ſo little without pleaſing another nation, for whom he ought to have ſome complaiſance and gratitude. Such a man, I ſay, is obliged to decline the task, as honeſt Judges do, when they are themſelves ſome way concerned in a cauſe (3). Hiſtory ought not to be treated but by undefiled hands; it muſt be left to thoſe whoſe hands have not been imbrued with blood in a fight, either in a proper or in a figurative ſenſe; one ought at leaſt to wait, till time has purged the blots away, and conſolidated the wounds. Hiſtory muſt be revered like the houſhold Goods of the antients.

(1) *Conſult* Schultingius, *Biblioth. Cathol.* tom. 4. pag. 254.

(2) Idem, ibid. pag. 255.

(3) See what I have obſerved in the remark [*D*] of the article REMOND, and in the remark [*L*] of the article TIMÆUS.

Tu, genitor, cape ſacra manu, patrioſque penates.
Me bello e tanto digreſſum, & cæde recenti
Attrectare nefas; donec me flumine vivo
Abluero (4).

(4) Virg. Æn. lib. 2. ver, 717.

That is,

"Our Country Gods, the Relicks, and the bands
"Hold you, my Father, in your guiltleſs hands:
"In me 'tis impious holy things to bear,
"Red as I am with ſlaughter, new from War,
"Till in ſome living ſtream I cleanſe the guilt
"Of dire debate, and blood in battel ſpilt.

DRYDEN.

HALLE' (PETER) Profeſſor of Canon Law in the Univerſity of Paris was born at Bayeux in Normandy September the 8th 1611. He ſtudied Philoſophy, the Law, and Divinity during five years in the Univerſity of Caen. It muſt be added that he alſo applied himſelf with great care to Poetry, in which art his relation Anthony Hallé, one of the greateſt Poets of his time, gave him very good inſtructions. He made ſuch a progreſs under this eminent relation of his, that he gained the prizes in the poetical exerciſes, that are performed every year in theſe two cities (*a*). This gained him ſo great a reputation, that though he was ſtill very young, he was choſen Teacher of Rhetoric in the Univerſity of Caen. Some time after, being Rector of the Univerſity, he made, at the head of the four Faculties, a ſpeech to Monſieur Seguier Chancellor of France [*A*]. His Oration was

(*a*) To the honour of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

[*A*] *Monſieur Seguier Chancellor of France.*] He was gone into Normandy to ſuppreſs the popular inſurrections, which had cauſed very great diſorders in ſeveral places of the province of Normandy.

was very much approved, and procured him the eſteem and protection of that head of the Law; ſo that he received the Doctor of Law's Cap from his hands in preſence of the Great Council, March the 18th 1640, after he had held a public diſputation in that illuſtrious Aſſembly (*b*). He attended Monſieur Seguier to Paris, and gained ſuch reputation by ſome pieces he publiſhed, that they offered him the Maſterſhip of five different Colleges, and he was in an unuſual manner incorporated in the body of the Univerſity (*c*) Auguſt the 14th 1641. He choſe to teach in the College of Harcourt rather than in any other, and had there a very great audience. He publiſhed now and then ſome Latin Poems, which increaſed his reputation, and gave his *Mecænas* an opportunity to raiſe him to the poſt of the King's Poet, and Reader of the Latin and Greek Tongues in the Royal College December the 18th 1646. His ſtrong application to ſtudy having ruined his health, he was obliged to reſt for two years, in order to recover it. When he enjoyed his health again, he reſolved to raiſe the glory of the Faculty of the Law, which was ſunk to a miſerable condition, there remaining but one Profeſſor of the Law [*B*]. In the year 1655, he obtained the poſt of Regius Profeſſor of the Canon Law, and employed all his cares to reſtore the ſtudy of that Science, the privileges of which he aſſerted vigorouſly [*C*], without being diſcouraged by the difficulties he met in his way. It is to him chiefly that the Profeſſors of Paris owe the privilege which they enjoy ſince the year 1679 [*D*]. He wrote very good books [*E*], and he had the ſatisfaction to reckon amongſt his friends the moſt illuſtrious learned men, who were ſtill more pleaſed with his virtue than with his learning. He died very well prepared [*F*] December the 27th 1689 (*d*).

(*b*) *Propugnatis utriuſque juris theſibus laurea doctorali in ampliſſimo Comitum Conſiſtorianorum conſeſſu die* 18 *Martii* 1640 *ab ipſomet Cancellario decorari meruit.* Vita Petri Hallé, *de qua infra,* Citat. (*d*).

(*c*) *Abſens ab Univerſitate extra ordinem . . . exoptatur.* Ibid.

(*d*) Taken from an *Elogium* written in Latin by John Hallé, Secretary to the K. of France; of which Elogium Mr. Pinſſon des Riolles communicated a manuſcript copy to me.

Since the firſt edition of this Dictionary I have read a Latin Elogium, which one (*e*) of this Profeſſor's pupils has conſecrated to his memory. This piece is very well written, and printed at Amſterdam for Henry Boom, in the year 1692. The readers will find in it a particular account of Peter Hallé's life, which will pleaſe them.

(*e*) Daniel Laet, *Batavus,* (a Dutchman.)

HAMADRYADES

[*B*] *The Faculty of the Law . . . was ſunk to a miſerable condition, there remaining but one Profeſſor of the Law.*] This was Monſieur Doujat. The faculty had loſt in a very ſhort time Francis Florent, and John Dartis. *In juridicam deinde ſcholam geminato Franciſci Florentis, & Joannis Dartiſii funere afflictam ac prope deſertam cum Joanne Doujatio Collega primario extra ordinem accitus* (1) *anno* 1655. Thus ſpeaks Monſieur Pinſſon des Riolles, in an Inſcription which he publiſhed to our Halle's honour.

(1) Obſerve, that he obtained the Profeſſorſhip without diſputing it, which was a favour and a diſpenſation. *Ab eo* (*ſuo* Mecænate) *Regii Conſiſtorii placitum, quo Regii conſtitutionis anteceſſuras ad publici certaminis aleam ordinantis, remiſſo rigore, ad manus anteceſſorium promovebatur obtinuit.* Vita Hallæi.

[*C*] *He aſſerted the privileges* of that Faculty *vigorouſly.*] Monſieur Pinſſon adds immediately, *Quam quidem poſtea reſtitui, exornari, ac amplificari magis ac magis . . . procuravit.* i. e. "which he afterwards "took care to have reſtored, commended, and im- "proved more and more." The Author of the Elogy gives us a more particular account. He aſſerts, that Halle obtained by his ſolicitations, that Pompone de Bellievre, firſt Preſident in the Parliament of Paris, ſhould reſtore to the Students of the common Law the privilege of *poſtulating* *, whence aroſe a great many diſputes (2). *Hinc obrotæ lites: vicina Juris Collegia in eos acriter inſurrexerunt, & eos tum ad Senatum, tum ad Regis conſiſtorium traduxerunt. Ut tot malis ſuccurreret Hallæus, viginti quatuor viros pietate & doctrinâ commendatiſſimos, tanquam adjutores, in facultatem, re cum ſuis Collegis priùs communicata, adſcivit: facultate vix ab externo hoſte quietâ, nonnulli ex Doctoribus honorariis, Collegarum diſcordias in ſuum commodum alentes, plurima Anteceſſorum Jura ſibi arrogare tentabant. In hac temporum difficultate quâ facultas in partes ſcindi videbatur animum tantiſper ſuſtinuit, donec illa invidiæ tempeſtate feliciter pacatâ, & concordia facultati reſtitutâ, animum à negotio omni alieno revocans, ſedulo ſummaque diligentia ad reſtauranda Juris ſtudia totus incubuit* (3). i. e. "Hence aroſe ſeveral Diſputes: "The neighbouring Colleges where the Law was "taught, roſe violently againſt them, and proſecuted "them both before the Parliament, and before the "King's Council. Hallé deſigning to provide againſt "ſo many evils, aggregated twenty men eminent by "their piety and learning, to the faculty that they might "aſſiſt him, having firſt conſulted his Collegues upon "this matter. The faculty was hardly free from thoſe "external enemies, when ſome honorary Doctors, who "found their account in fomenting the diviſions of their "Collegues, endeavoured to arrogate to themſelves "the Rights of the Law Profeſſors. During theſe "troubleſome times, when the faculty ſeemed to be "divided into parties, Hallé ſuſpended his undertaking a little; but when this ſtorm of envy was over, "and a good underſtanding was reſtored in the faculty, he applied himſelf zealouſly, and with the "utmoſt care to revive the ſtudy of the Law, neglecting all other Affairs that were foreign to this pur- "poſe."

* That is to ſay, *of pleading* in an inferior Court of Judicature.

(2) *Juris Canonici auditoribus poſtulandi munus. Hallæo potiſſimum procurante, reſtitutum eſt.* Ibid.

(3) *Vita Hallæi.*

[*D*] *It is to him . . . the Profeſſors of Paris owe the privilege they enjoy ſince the year* 1679.] They did not teach the Civil Law before that time. *Ab eo præcipuè docendi rectam rationem inchoatam à Rege probatam & confirmatam fuiſſe affirmaverim. Studiis enim latius efflorescentibus ab invictiſſimo Rege Ludovico Magno, promovente illuſtriſſimo viro Michaële le Tellier Franciæ Cancellario, publica civilis Juriſprudentiæ profeſſio Pariſienſi ſcholæ, quâ ſuperiori ſæculo male exciderat, reſtituta eſt, & aſſerta Anteceſſoribus Juris Civilis interpretandi autoritas menſe Aprili* 1679 (4), i. e. "I can aſſert, that the right method of teaching "was chiefly begun by him, and was approved and "confirmed by the King. For learning beginning to "flouriſh more and more, the moſt invincible King "Lewis the Great, by the advice of that very illuſtrious man Michael Le Tellier Chancellor of "France, reſtored to the Univerſity of Paris the privilege of teaching the Civil Law publicly, which "privilege that Univerſity had loſt in the preceding "century; and the Profeſſors obtained in April 1679 "the authority of reading Lectures on the Civil "Law."

(4) Ibid.

[*E*] *He wrote very good books.*] Here follow the words of his elogy. *In auditorum favorem præter Inſtitutiones Canonicas, quas in lucem anno* 1685 *velut in famæ teſtamentum emiſerat, varios ad Jus Canonicum & Civile tractatus de Conciliis, de ſummi Pontificis autoritate, de Regalia, de Simonia, de Uſuris, de Cenſuris, de Regularibus, de Beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis, de Matrimonio, de Teſtamentis, & alia plura reconditæ doctrinæ monimenta exaravit.* i. e. "Beſides his Canonical Inſti- "tutions, which he publiſhed in the year 1685 as a "proof that he deſerved his reputation, he wrote alſo "for the uſe of his pupils ſeveral treatiſes upon the "Civil and Canon Laws, as concerning Councils, "the Pope's authority, the *Regale*, Simony, Uſury, "Cenſures, Regular Perſons, Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, "Matrimony, Laſt Wills and Teſtaments, and ſeveral other monuments of his deep learning." He publiſhed in the year 1655 *in* 8*vo* a Collection of Latin Poems and Orations.

[*F*] *He died very well prepared.*] I refer to this the legacy he left to the Faculty of the Law. It is deſigned to have a maſs ſaid four times every year; all the Profeſſors and all the Doctors, who are preſent at it, receive a certain ſum of money (5).

(5) *Legata prius Juris utriuſque Facultati ad ſacro-ſanctum Miſſæ ſacrificium ſtatis diebus quater in anno celebrandum ſummâ, ab Anteceſſoribus & Doctoribus utriuſque ordinis præſentibus percipienda.* Vita Hallæi.

HAMADRYADES. Thus ſome nymphs were called, whoſe fate depended on certain trees, with which they were born and died [*A*]. It was chiefly with the oaks that they had ſo near a relation (*a*). It is reported, that they were ſometimes very thankful to thoſe who preſerved them from death [*B*], and that thoſe, who paid no regard to the humble

(*a*) See the remark [*A*], quotation (8).

[*A*] *Their fate depended on ſome trees, with whom they were born and died.*] Let us ſee Servius the Grammarian's note on the 62d verſe of Virgil's tenth Paſtoral. Hamadryades, ſays he, *Nymphæ quæ cum arboribus & naſcuntur & pereunt, ἀπὸ τῦ ἅμα ἡ τῆς δρυὸς qualis fuit illa, quam Eryſichthon occidit: qui cum arborem incideret, & vox inde erupit, & ſanguis, ſicut docet Ovidius.* i. e. "*Hamadryades* are Nymphs, who are born at "the ſame time with ſome trees, and die with them, "from ἅμα *with*, and δρὺς *a tree*; ſuch was ſhe, "whom Eryſichthon killed, who when he was cut- "ting a tree heard a voice come out of it, and ſaw "ſome blood run from it, as Ovid relates." Ovid quoted by this Grammarian has elegantly deſcribed the lamentations and the misfortune of this Hamadryad whom the impious Eryſichthon murthered: ſhe lived in an old oak prodigiouſly large, and which all the world revered (1). Eryſichthon's ſervants dared not to obey his command to cut that tree down, and he was forced to go himſelf to work about it.

(1) *Stabat in his ingens annoſo robore quercus Una, nemus*
. . . . .
menſuraque roboris ulnas Quinque ter implebat. Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 8. ver. 749.
That is,
"An ancient "oak in the dark "center ſtood.
. . . . .
"Full fifteen ells "it meaſured in "the waſte."
Mr. Vernon.

Dixit, & obliquos dum telum librat in ictus,
Contremit, gemitumque dedit Dodonia quercus:
Et pariter frondes, pariter palleſcere glandes
Cœpere, ac longi pallorem ducere rami.
Cujus ut in trunco fecit manus impia vulnus,
Haud aliter fluxit diſcuſſo cortice ſanguis,
Quàm ſolet ante aras ingens ubi victima taurus
Concidit, abrupta cruor è cervice profundi.
- - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - -
Editus è medio ſonus eſt cum robore talis:
Nympha ſub hoc ego ſum, Cereri gratiſſima, ligno:
Quæ tibi factorum pœnas inſtare tuorum
Vaticinor moriens, noſtri ſolatia lethi (1).
That is,
"He ſpoke, and as he pois'd a ſlanting ſtroak,
"Sighs heav'd, and tremblings ſhook the frighted "oak;
"Its leaves look'd ſickly, pale its acorns grew,
"And its long branches ſweat a chilly dew.
"But when his impious hand a wound beſtow'd,
"Blood from the mangled bark in currents flow'd.
"When a devoted bull of mighty ſize,
"A ſinning nation's grand atonement, dies,
"With ſuch a plenty from the ſpouting veins
"A crimſon ſtream the turfy altars ſtains.
- - - - - -
- - - - - -
"When from the groaning trunk a voice was heard,
"A Dryad I, by Ceres' love preferr'd,
"Within the circle of this claſping rind
"Coëval grew, and now in ruin joyn'd;
"But inſtant vengeance ſhall thy ſin purſue,
"And death is chear'd with this Prophetic view.
Mr. Vernon.

(2) Idem, ibid. ver. 763.

There are ſome Grammarians who ſeparate what Servius unites. They pretend that the Hamadryades were ſo called, either becauſe they were born, or becauſe they died with ſome oaks. Ἁμαδρυάδας νύμφας Μνησίμαχος φησὶ, διὰ τὸ ἅμα ταῖς δρυσὶ γεννᾶσθαι. ἢ ἐπεὶ δοκοῦσιν ἅμα ταῖς δρυσὶ φθείρεσθαι, νύμφαι ἁμαδρυάδες λέγονται (3). This ſeparation muſt be exploded, ſince the general opinion is, that the life of theſe Nymphs was exactly of the ſame length as the life of their trees. Hence it is, that Pindar ſaid in a Poem which is left, ἰσοδένδρῳ τέκμωρ αἰῶνος λαχοῦσα, *I have obtained a life equal to that of my tree.* Callimachus made uſe of the following expreſſion, ἡλικος ἀσθμαίνουσα περὶ δρυὸς, *ſighing for her coeval oak* (4). When he mentioned the Hamadryas Melya. Apollonius has imitated him, when he introduced an Hamadryad praying that a certain tree might not be cut down.

(3) Scholiaſt. Apollon. Rhodii in lib. 2. ver. 479. pag. m. 192. *See alſo* Plutarch. *de Oraculor. Defectu*, pag. 415. where he quotes Pindar's words.

(4) Callimach. *Hymno in Delum*, ver. 81.

Ἥ μιν ὑδρομένη ἀδινῇ μειλίσσετο μύθῳ,
Μὴ ταμέειν περέμνον δρυὸς ἡλικος, ἢ ἐπὶ πολλὴν
Αἰῶνα τρίζουσι διηνεκέες (5).
That is,
Who flattering him with a lamenting voice prayed

(5) Apollon. Rhod. lib. 2. ver. 480. pag. m. 193.

"with tears, that he ſhould not deſtroy her coeval "tree, in which ſhe had lived ſeveral ages."

Let us add to all theſe quotations another authority, namely, that of Homer. We read in one of his Hymns, that there are ſome trees, which are born at the ſame time with the Nymphs, and that theſe die when the trees dry and wither away.

Τῇσι δ' ἅμ' ἠ ἐλάται καὶ δρύες ὑψικάρηνοι
Γεινομένῃσιν ἔφυσαν ἐπὶ χθονὶ βωλιανείῃ.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Ἀλλ' ὅτε κεν δὴ μοῖρα παρεξήκῃ θανάτοιο,
Αζάνεται μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ χθονὶ δένδρεα καλὰ
Φλοιῷ δ' ἀμφιπεριφθινύθει, πίπτουσι δ' ἀπ' ὄζοι,
Τῶν δὲ χ' ὁμῶ ψυχὴ λείπει φάος ἠελίοιο (6).
That is,
"With theſe Nymyhs ſome Fir-Trees, or lofty Oaks "are born upon earth; . . . But when their fatal hour "comes, theſe beautiful Trees begin to dry upon the "earth, the bark that ſurrounds them, decays, their "branches fall off, and at the ſame time the Nymphs "loſe the light of the ſun."

(6) Homer. *Hymn. in Vener.* pag. m. 852.

Statius mentions a wood, which laſted longer than its Nymyhs and Fauns; but this is not inconſiſtent with the tradition, which relates particularly to the Hamadryades. And beſides, who is there that knows that he regarded nothing in his poetical flights? It would not therefore be reaſonable to mind what he ſays, as though it could make an objection againſt the general opinion. You will find his words in the remark [*D*]. Auſonius, who was farther diſtant than he from the origin of that antient tradition, has yet followed it better. *Non ſine Hamadryadis fato*, ſays he (7), *cadit arborea trabs.* i. e. "The Tree does not fall, but the "Hamadryad dies at the ſame time."

(7) Auſon. *Edyll. XII.* pag. m. 483. Compare this with Balzac's Verſes, tranſcribed in the remark [*K*] of the article THOMAS (Paul).

Obſerve that Pauſanias expreſſes himſelf in ſuch a manner, as ſeems to prove that the Hamadryades were younger than their Trees. Τιθορέαν δὲ, ſays he (8), οἱ ἐπιχώριοι κληθῆναι φασὶν ἀπὸ Τιθορέας νύμφης, εἶναι τῷ ἀρχαίῳ λόγῳ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐφύσλο ἀπό τε ἄλλων δένδρων, καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῶν δρυῶν. i. e. "The inhabitants ſay "their country was called Tithoria, from the Nymph "Tithorea, one of them, who, as the Poets pretend, "were born of ſome Trees, and particularly of the "Oak." This is repreſenting the Trees as though they were the mothers of the Hamadryades: it is not true therefore that theſe Nymphs were born at the ſame time with their trees. But I do not think that we ought to lay too much ſtreſs upon Pauſanias's expreſſions: it was not his buſineſs to give a very accurate account of thoſe ancient fables. Let us therefore ſtick to this, namely, that the Poets have aſſerted, that thoſe Nymphs and the Trees were born at the ſame time. Take notice that Pauſanias obſerves that they were born chiefly of the Oak. I do not ſee that this can be refuted by Pherenicus's authority, for his account does not relate to the Hamadryades properly ſpeaking. He tells us (9), that the Fig-tree was called συκὴ, after the name of one of Oxylus's daughters; and that this Oxylus having lain with his ſiſter Hamadryas, begot eight daughters, who were all named Hamadryad Nymphs; but each of them had a particular name, which was afterwards given to trees. Amongſt theſe Nymphs, ſhe who was called συκὴ, gave her name to the Fig-tree. It ſeems to me that Hamadryas, Oxylus's ſiſter, was not of the ſame kind with the Nymphs who are the ſubject of this article; let this be obſerved with an illuſtrious author's leave (10).

(8) Pauſanias, lib. 10. cap. 32. pag. 879.

(9) *Apud* Athenæum, lib. 3. pag. 78.

(10) *See* Spanhem. *in Callim. Hymno in Delum*, ver. 83. pag. 378.

[*B*] *It is reported that they were ſometimes very thankful to thoſe who preſerved them from death.*] A certain man called Rhœcus, having obſerved an Oak that was ready to fall down, ordered his ſons to prevent its falling, by hardening the ground about its roots, and by putting props to ſupport it. The Nymph who would have periſhed, had the tree fell down, ſhewed herſelf to Rhœcus, gave him thanks for ſaving her life, and permitted him to aſk what reward he

humble prayers which the *Hamadryades* made them to ſpare the trees on which their lives depended, were puniſhed for it [C]. Amongſt the mortal natures there were none that lived ſo long as this ſpecies of nymphs [D]. The Poets have ſometimes miſtaken

pleaſed. He anſwered that he deſired to enjoy her. The Nymph promiſed him that he ſhould have in this reſpect all the ſatisfaction he could wiſh for, and commanded him to abſtain from all other women. She added that a Bee would be the meſſenger between them. But the Bee coming whilſt Rhœcus was playing, he gave her bad language, at which the Hamadryad was ſo exaſperated, that he was mutilated (11). This is what Charon of Lampſacus related, if we may depend on the Scholiaſt on Apollonius. He told alſo another ſtory, which ended better. Here it follows, as I find it in Natalis Comes, who does not quote the author from whom he borrowed it. Arcas, the ſon of Jupiter and Caliſto, was hunting in a wood, when he met with an Hamadryad, who was in great danger of periſhing; for the Tree with which ſhe was born had ſuffered very much about its roots by the overflowing of a river. She deſired Arcas to ſave that Tree. He granted her requeſt by making the river run another way, and ſettling the earth about the root of the Tree. The Nymph was not ungrateful; ſhe granted him what we call the *laſt favour*, and had two children by him. Her name was Proſpelea (12). Pauſanias tells us only, that Arcas was married with a Dryad Nymph, whoſe name was Erato, and by whom he had three ſons (13). One might infer from thence, that though the Hamadryades could not ſurvive their Oak or their Fir-tree, &c. yet they could ſometimes leave it; and if this conſequence were doubtful, we might confirm it by a paſſage from Homer, in which we read, that the ſame Nymphs, who were born and died with Trees, taſted the pleaſures of love in agreeable caves with the *Sileni* or Satyrs.

Τῇσι δὲ Σιληνοί τε καὶ ὐσκοπος Ἀρίσταιος
Μισγοντ' ἐν φιλότητι μυχῷ σπείων ἐροείνων (14).

[C] *They, who paid no regard to the . . . . . prayers of the Hamadryades, ... were puniſhed for it.*] Apollonius relates, that Peribœa's father drew a very heavy curſe upon himſelf and upon his children, becauſe he cut down a Tree, which a Nymph had begged him to ſpare. This Nymph had lived ſeveral ages in that tree. We have ſeen her prayer above; and we ſhall tranſcribe here the following part of the paſſage.

Αὐτὰρ ὁ τὴν γε
Ἀφραδέως ἔτμηξεν, ἀγηνορίῃ νεότητος.
Τῷ δ' ἄρα νηκερδὴς νύμφη πόρεν οἷτον ὀπίσσω
Αὐτῷ καὶ τεκέεσσιν (15).

That is,

" Yet he cut it down inconſiderately thro' a youthful " wantonneſs; for which the Nymph made him and " his children pay dear afterwards."

[D] *None . . lived ſo long as this ſpecies of Nymphs.*] Auſonius acquaints us with this in the verſes which I am going to tranſcribe, and which are a tranſlation of Heſiod's Greek verſes.

Ter binos decieſque novem ſuper exit in annos,
Juſta ſeneſcentum quos implet vita virorum.
Hos novies ſuperat vivendo garrula cornix:
Et quater egreditur cornicis ſecula cervus:
Alipedem cervum ter vincit corvus: & illum
Multiplicat novies Phœnix, reparabilis ales.
Quam vos perpetuo decies prævertitis ævo
Nymphæ Hamadryades, quarum longiſſima vita eſt.
Hi cohibent fines vivacia fata animantum.
Cætera ſecreti novit deus arbiter ævi
Tempora (16).

Heſiod's Poem, in which this doctrine is to be read, is not extant; but we find a fragment of it in a treatiſe of Plutarch; a fragment, I ſay, which contains but five verſes. Let us tranſcribe that paſſage of Plutarch, according to Amiot's tranſlation: it will ſhew us, that there were ſome Heathens, who maintained that the Deities of the ſecond rank were mortal. " Heſiod is " the firſt who diſtinguiſhed exactly four kinds of " reaſonable Natures, Gods, Dæmons, or Genii, " of which there are ſeveral, ſome good, ſome " bad, Demi-Gods, and Men . . . . He is of opi- " nion, that even the Dæmons die after a certain " revolution of years. For ſpeaking in the character " of a Naiad, he determines the time when they ceaſe " to be. *The prating crow lives as long as nine men.* " *The hart as long as four crows; the raven as long as* " *three ſwift harts; the phœnix's life extends as far* " *as that of nine ravens put together. But as for you, Ha-* " *madryades Nymphs, the royal progeny of Jove, the ſpan* " *of your life is as long as that of ten phœnixes that* " *ſhould live ſucceſſively.* Now they, who do not " well underſtand what the Poet meant by the " word *Genea*, that is to ſay, the life of a man, make " that ſpace of time amount to an immenſe number of " years, whereas it is but one year; ſo that the ſum " total is but of nine thouſand ſeven hundred and " twenty years, which is the ſpace of time allotted to " the dæmon's life. Several Mathematicians make it " ſhorter ſtill. Even Pindar does not make it longer, " when he aſſerts that the life of the Nymphs is equal " to that of the Trees, and that it is for this reaſon " they are called Hamadryades, becauſe they are born " and die with the Oaks (17)." Plutarch deſerves to be cenſured, becauſe he did not tranſcribe that verſe, wherein Heſiod ſet down the ſpace of man's life; for that was the ground of all the following calculations. I may very well ſuppoſe that Heſiod had ſet down that ſpace; becauſe his tranſlator, Auſonius, begins with obſerving that the age of man contains 96 years. This meaſure being once ſet down, we may calculate how long the harts, the ravens, &c. live: and we find that the crow lives 864 years; the the hart 3456; the raven 10368; the phœnix 93312; and the Hamadryad nine hundred thirty three thouſand one hundred and twenty. All this is ridiculous; and Pliny is in the right to explode it as abſolutely fabulous. *De ſpatio atque longinquitate vitæ hominum, non locorum modo ſitus, verum exempla, ac ſua cuique ſors naſcendi incertum fecere. Heſiodus, qui primus aliqua de hoc prodidit, fabuloſe (ut reor) multa de hominum ævo referens, cornici novem noſtras attribuit ætates, quadruplum ejus cervis, id triplicatum corvis. Et reliqua fabuloſius in phœnice, ſac Nymphis* (18). i. e. " The age of man, and the length of his life, is render- " ed uncertain, not only by the conſtitution of the " countries they live in, but by the inſtances we have, " and by every one's fate at his birth. Heſiod, who " is the firſt that publiſhed ſomething upon this ſub- " ject, relates fabulouſly (in my opinion) ſeveral " things concerning the length of man's life, aſ- " cribing nine times our age to the crows, four times " the crow's to the hart; three times this to the ra- " vens. What he aſſerts concerning the phœnix and " the Nymphs, is more fabulous ſtill." Though we ſhould reduce the thing to the loweſt computation, which is that which aſcribes but one year to the age of man (19), Heſiod's opinion concerning the Hamadryads would prove falſe: they could not live longer than their Trees; now there is no tree capable to live 9720 years. What Pliny relates of the long life of ſome trees (20), what others obſerve of the Oak of Mamre (21), a thouſand other ſtories of the ſame kind, though they were as true as they are doubtful, would prove nothing againſt me.

Obſerve that the Poet Statius ſuppoſed, that the demi-gods, who are mortal, do not live ſo long as the Trees. He mentions a wood, which ſaw its Dryades and Fauns entirely changed, and which might be compared to thoſe old caſtles, which were the dwelling places of the fathers, the ſons, the grand-ſons, &c.

Stat ſacra ſenectæ
Numine, nec ſolos hominum tranſgreſſa veterno
Fertur avos, Nymphas etiam mutaſſe ſuperſtes,
Faunorumque greges (22).

That is,

" There ſtands a wood ſacred by its old age, which, " as is reported, did not only ſee the grand-fathers " paſs

(11) Σὺν πυρωθῆναι αὐτὸν. Schol. Apollon. in lib. 2. ver. 479.

(12) *Taken from* Natalis Comes, *Mythol.* lib. 5. cap. 11. pag. m. 465, 466. He obſerves that *Charon of Lampſacus* wrote this: but all this Author's works being loſt, *Natalis Comes* ought to have quoted the author who cited *Charon of Lampſacus.*

(13) Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 4. pag. 604.

(14) Homer. *Hymn. in Vener.* pag. m. 852.

(15) Apollon. Rhod. lib. 2. ver. 482. p. 193.

(16) Auſon. *Edill.* 18. pag. m. 533. The ſenſe of theſe verſes is given in the following paſſage.

(17) Plutarch. *de Oraculor. defectu*, pag. 415.

(18) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 48. pag. m. 73.

(19) That is to ſay, ſuppoſing, as in the paſſage from Plutarch, that by the word *Genea Heſiod* meant but one year.

(20) Plin. lib. 16. cap. 44.

(21) See the remark [G] of the articles ABRAHAM and BARCOCHEBAS.

(22) Statius, *Theb.* lib. 6. ver. 93.

taken the Hamadryades for the *Naiades* [*E*]; they did not confine themſelves ſo exactly to the definition of every kind, but they confounded and blended them together when they pleaſed.

" paſs off the ſtage, but even changed its Nymphs,
" and herds of Fauns, and ſubſiſts after them."

He ſpeaks ſomewhat differently in another place; for he ſuppoſes that the Tree died, when the Hamadryad ceaſed to live.

Quid te, quæ mediis ſervata penatibus, arbor;
Tecta per & poſtes liquidas emergis in auras?
Quo non ſub domino ſævas paſſura bipennes?
Et nunc ignaro forſan vel lubrica Nais,
Vel non abruptos tibi demet Hamadryas annos (23).

(23) Idem, *Silva* 3. lib. 1. ver. 59. pag. m. 14, 15.

That is,

" Why ſhould you, a Tree, who have been preſerved
" by the Gods that dwell in you, ſhew your head
" now over gates and roofs? under what maſter will
" you eſcape the cruel ax? and now ſome Naid out
" of ignorance or wantonneſs, or perhaps your Ha-
" madryad will perhaps ſhorten thoſe days which have
" been ſpared till this time."

To conclude, it was eaſy for the Heathens to imagine, that there was ſuch a kind of Nymphs; for they entertained a great ſenſe of veneration and devotion for thoſe Trees, which they imagined to be very old, and whoſe extraordinary largeneſs was a ſign that they had lived very long (24). It was not a difficult ſtep to paſs from thence to a belief, that they were the dwelling place of ſome Deity. They made natural idols of them; I mean that they purſuaded themſelves that without the help of a conſecration, which made the Deities come down into the Statues that were conſecrated to them, ſome Nymph or ſome Deity had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe Trees. The Oak, which Eryſichthon cut down, was venerated for its loftineſs and antiquity: men uſed to adorn it as a ſacred place, and hung upon it the memorials of the good ſucceſs of their devotion, and the monuments of their prayers and vows that had been heard.

(24) *Ennium ſicut ſacros vetuſtate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia & antiqua robora jam non tantam habent ſpeciem, quantam religionem.* Quint. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. m. 471. That is, " Let us reverence " Ennius as we " do thoſe woods, " which their " antiquity ren- " ders ſacred; " where the lofty " and antient " oaks appear " awful rather " than agreeable " to the eye."

Stabat in his ingens annoſo robore quercus
Una, nemus: vittæ medium memoreſque tabellæ,
Sertaque cingebant, voti argumenta potentis (25).

(25) Ovid. *Met.* lib. 8. ver. 746.

That is,

" An antient Oak in the dark Center ſtood,
" The Covert's Glory, and itſelf a Wood,
" Garlands embrac'd its ſhafts, and from the Boughs
" Hung Tablets, Monuments of proſp'rous Vows.

Mr. VERNON.

Muſt we wonder that it was taken for the dwelling-place of an Hamadryad?

[*E*] *The Poets have ſometimes miſtaken the Hamadryades for the Naiades.*] This is what Propertius has done ſpeaking of the Nymphs, who carried away Hercules's darling (26); he calls them ſometimes Hamadryades, and ſometimes Dryades, and yet they were Nymphs that belonged to a Fountain. Ovid on the contrary calls ſome Nymphs Naides, whoſe fate depended from a Tree.

(26) Propert. *Eleg.* 20. lib. 1.

Naida vulneribus ſuccidit in arbore factis,
Illa perit: fatum Naiados arbor erat (27).

(27) Ovid. *Faſt.* lib. 4. ver. 231.

That is,

" The Tree being wounded the Naias fell down and
died;
" The Naiad's Fate was connected with that Tree."

I ſhall obſerve occaſionally, that it was ſtill more common to take the Hamadryades and the Dryades for each other. There is a Scene in the *Hercules Oeteus*, in which the effects of Orpheus's voice are deſcribed; it is aſſerted there amongſt other things, that the Dryads left their Trees to run to him.

Et quercum fugiens ſuam
Ad vatem properat Dryas (28).

(28) Senec. *in Herc. Oeteo*, ver. 1051. pag. m. 322.

It is ſomewhat likely, that thoſe Nymphs are meant here, who were born and died with a Tree, and who properly ſpeaking, were called Hamadryades, and not Dryades. It was not a conſtant Tradition, that theſe Nymphs could never leave their Trees, not even for a few moments. Seneca might therefore ſuppoſe, that they left them to go and hear Orpheus's Songs. Obſerve, that Servius was miſtaken, who imagined that the Poet Statius meant the Hamadryades in the following Verſes of the vith Book of the Thebais.

Linquunt flentes dilecta locorum
Otia, cana Pales, Silvanuſque arbiter umbræ,
Semideumque pecus, migrantibus adgemit illis
Silva, nec amplexæ dimittunt robora Nymphæ (29).

(29) Statius, *Theb.* lib. 6. ver, 110. pag. m. 234.

That is, " The gray-haired Pales, and Silvanus the
" the God of the ſhady Woods, and all the Herd of
" the Demi-Gods, leave with tears in their Eyes the a-
" greeable retirement of that place; the Wood ſighs at
" their departure, and the nymphs cannot part with the
" Oaks they embrace."

It is certain that the Nymphs mentioned here, are they who were properly called Dryades: So that Servius was in the wrong to apply thoſe words, *Nec amplexæ dimittunt robora Nymphæ*, to the *Hamadryades*, whom he had juſt been deſcribing in theſe words. *Hamadryades cum arboribus & naſcuntur & pereunt, unde plurumque, cæſa arbore, ſanguis emanat* (30). i. e. " The Hamadryades are born and periſh with
" the Trees; whence it generally happens, that when
" the Tree is cut down, the blood runs from it."

(30) Servius, *in Æneid.* lib. 3. ver. 34.

Barthius has not obſerved this Grammarian's miſtake, and yet he quotes a paſſage which was very proper to diſcover it to him. *Pulcra notatio in Commentario Antiquo*, ſays he (31). Dimittunt] Non cum effectu intellige, dimittunt enim omnino, quamvis ſero dimittant. Sed diuturnitatem manifeſtat amoris, non abſceſſiſſe Nymphas, niſi penitus proſtratis arboribus. Sic ſolemus dicere: Ille modum non facit plorandi, non facit alius finem ridendi, cum diutius rideat aut fleat. i. e. " There is a very good Obſervation in an antient
" Commentary upon this word *Dimittunt*, i. e. they do
" not part with. *You muſt not take it as though*
" *they really did not part with the Trees; it ſhews only the*
" *long continuance of their love; the Nymphs did not*
" *leave the Wood till the Trees were quite cut down.*
" *Thus we uſe to ſay, that man cries without ceaſing,*
" *the other laughs continually, when the one cries, and the*
" *other laughs a long while.*" Does it not appear very plainly from theſe words, that Statius does not ſpeak of the ſame kind of Nymphs with thoſe, of whom Servius has given a Deſcription, and who could not eſcape Death when their Trees were cut down?

(31) Barth. in *Statii Theb.* lib. 6. ver. 113. pag. 389. tom. 3.

☞HAMDEN or HAMPDEN (JOHN), deſcended of an antient family at Hamden in Buckinghamſhire, was ſon of John Hamden Eſq; by Elizabeth, ſiſter of Sir Oliver Cromwell of Hinchinbroke in Huntingdonſhire, Knight of the Bath. He was born at London (*a*) in the year 1594 [*A*], and entered a Commoner of Magdalen College in Oxford in 1609; but leaving the Univerſity without any degree, he removed to the Inns of Court, where he made a conſiderable progreſs in the ſtudy of the Law (*b*). He afterwards retired to his eſtate in Buckinghamſhire, and was choſen to ſerve in the Parliament, which began at Weſtminſter February the 5th $162\frac{5}{6}$, and all the ſucceeding Parliaments during the reign of King Charles I. The Earl of Clarendon obſerves (*c*), that though he became a Commoner of Magdalen College in 1609.

(*a*) *Lib. Matric. Univ. Ox. P.* pag. 104.

(*b*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 30. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*c*) *Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, vol. 2. Part 1. B. 7. pag. 265. edit. Oxford 1707 in 8vo.

[*A*] *He was born at London in the year* 1594.] Mr. Wood tells us (1), that he was 15 years of age, when

(1) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 30.

though " in his entrance into the world he indulged to himſelf all the licence in ſports and " exerciſes and company, which were uſed by men of the moſt jolly converſation; he " afterwards retired to a more reſerved and melancholy ſociety, yet preſerving his own " natural chearfulneſs and vivacity, and above all a flowing courteſy to all men. Tho' " they who converſed nearly with him found him growing into a diſlike of the Eccleſi- " aſtical Government of the Church, yet moſt believed it rather a diſlike of ſome Church- " men, and of ſome introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might diſquiet the " public peace." In 1636 he became univerſally known by his refuſal to pay ſhip-money, as an illegal tax. Upon this he was proſecuted in the Exchequer, where he pleaded, and the Council demurring, the point in Law came to be argued for the King by his Council, and for Mr. Hamden by his Council; and afterwards the Judges particularly argued the point at the Bench, and all of them, except Hutton and Croke, argued, and gave their judgments for the King (*d*). His carriage throughout this agitation was with that rare temper and modeſty, that they who watched him narrowly to find ſome advantage againſt his perſon, to make him leſs reſolute in his cauſe, were compelled to give him a juſt teſtimony (*e*). When the Long Parliament began, in which he was returned as Knight of the Shire for the County of Buckingham, " the eyes of " all men, ſays the Earl of Clarendon (*f*), were fixed upon him, as their *Pater* " *Patriæ*, and the Pilot, that muſt ſteer the veſſel thro' the tempeſts and rocks, which " threatened it. And I am perſuaded, his power and intereſt at that time was greater to " do good or hurt, than any man's in the Kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath " had in any time; for his reputation of honeſty was univerſal, and his affections ſeemed " ſo publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could biaſs them." In the beginning of this Parliament he was appointed one of the Committee to prepare a charge againſt the Earl of Strafford, and to manage the evidence againſt him at his trial (*g*). But before this trial there was ſaid to be a propoſal for reſtoring the Earl to his former favour and honour, on condition that his Majeſty would promote Mr. Hamden to be Tutor to the Prince, and other eminent oppoſers of the Court to the moſt conſiderable poſts (*h*) [*B*]. January the 3d 164½ the King ordered articles of high-treaſon and other miſdemeanors to be prepared againſt the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hamden, and four other Members of the Houſe of Commons, and went to that Houſe to ſeize them, but they were then retired; and Mr. Hamden afterwards made a ſpeech in the Houſe to clear himſelf of the charge againſt him [*C*]. From this time " he was much altered, ſays " Lord Clarendon (*i*), his nature and carriage ſeeming much fiercer than it did before. " And

(*d*) *Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs. By Bulſtrode Whitelocke Eſq*; pag. 25. edit. London 1732, in fol.

(*e*) Clarendon, *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Whitelocke, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 39.

(*h*) Idem, ibid. pag. 41.

(*i*) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 266.

[*B*] *A propoſal for reſtoring the Earl to his former Favour and Honour, on condition that his Majeſty would promote Mr. Hamden to be Tutor to the Prince, and other eminent Oppoſers of the Court to the moſt conſiderable Poſts.*] We ſhall give Mr. Whitelocke's words upon this occaſion (2). *There was a propoſal (the ſubject of much Diſcourſe) to prevent all this trouble* [about the trial of the Earl of Strafford] *and to reſtore the Earl to his former Favour and Honour, if the King would prefer ſome of the Grandees to Offices at Court, whereby* Strafford's *Enemies ſhould become his Friends, and the King's Deſires be granted. It was that ** ſhould be made Lord Treaſurer, the Lord* Say, *Maſter of the Wards, Mr.* Pym, *Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr.* Hollis, *Secretary of State; and Mr.* Hamden, *Tutor to the Prince; others to have other Places, in order whereunto the Biſhop of London reſigned up his Treaſurer's Staff, the Lord* Cottington *his Place of Maſter of the Wards, and the reſt were eaſily to be voided. But whether upon the King's Alteration of his mind, or by what other means is uncertain, theſe things were not effected; and the great men baffled thereby became the more incenſed and violent againſt the Earl, joining with the Scots Commiſſioners, who were implacable againſt him.*

(2) *Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs*, pag. 41.

[*C*] *Made a ſpeech in the Houſe to clear himſelf of the charge againſt him.*] There was publiſhed at London 1641 in one ſheet in 4to the following Speech under Mr. Hamden's Name, " Mr. Speaker, It is a true " ſaying of the wiſe man, that *all things happen alike* " *to all men, as well to the good man as to the bad.* " There is no ſtate or condition whatſoever, either of " Proſperity or Adverſity, but all men are ſharers in " the ſame. No man can be diſcerned truly by the " outward appearance, whether he be a good ſubject " either to his God, his Prince, or his Country, un- " til he be tried by the Touchſtone of Loyalty. " Give me leave, I beſeech you, to parallel the Lives " of either ſort, that we may in ſome meaſure diſcern " truth from falſhood; and in ſpeaking I ſhall ſimilize " their Lives. 1. In Religion towards God. 2. In " Loyalty and due Subjection to their Sovereign; in " their Affection towards the ſafety of their Country. " 1. Concerning Religion, the beſt means to diſcern " between the true and falſe Religion, is, by ſearch- " ing the ſacred writings of the old and new Teſta- " ment, which is of itſelf pure, indited by the Spirit of " God, and written by holy men, unſpotted in their " lives and converſations; and by this ſacred Word we " may prove, whether our Religion be of God or no; " and by looking in this Glaſs we may diſcern whe- " ther we are in the right way or no. And look- " ing into the ſame, I find by this Truth of God, " that there is but one God, one Chriſt, one Faith, " one Religion, which is the Goſpel of Chriſt, and " the Doctrine of the Prophets, and Apoſtles. In " theſe two Teſtaments are contained all things ne- " ceſſary to Salvation. If that our Religion doth " hang upon this Doctrine, and no other ſecondary " means, then it is true; to which comes neareſt the " Proteſtant Religion which we profeſs, as I really and " verily believe; and conſequently that Religion, " which joineth with the Doctrine of Chriſt and his " Apoſtles the traditions and inventions of Men, Pray- " ers to the Virgin Mary, Angels, Saints, that are " uſed in the exerciſe of their Religion, ſtrange and " ſuperſtitious worſhipping, cringing, bowing, creep- " ing to the Altar, uſing Pictures, Dirges, and ſuch " like, cannot be true, but erroneous, nay deviliſh; " and all this is uſed and maintained in the Church " of Rome as neceſſary as the Scripture to Salvation; " therefore is a falſe and erroneous Church both in " doctrine and diſcipline; and all other ſects and " ſchiſms, that lean not only on the Scriptures, tho' " never ſo contrary to the Church of Rome, " is a falſe worſhipping of God, and not true Religion. " And thus much concerning Religion, to diſcern the " truth and falſhood thereof. I come now, Mr. " Speaker, to the ſecond thing intimated unto you, " which was to diſcern in a ſtate between good ſubjects " and bad, by their loyalty and due ſubjection to their " lawful Sovereign; in which I ſhall, under favour, " obſerve two things. 1. Lawful ſubjection to a King " in his own Perſon, and the Commands, Edicts, and " Proclamations of the Prince and his Privy Council. " 2. Lawful obedience to the Laws, Statutes, and " Ordinances made, enacted by the King and the " Lords,

" And without queſtion, when he firſt drew his ſword, he threw away the ſcabbard; " for he paſſionately oppoſed the overture made by the King for a treaty from Notting- " ham, and as eminently all expedients, that might have produced any accommodation " in this that was at Oxford, and was principally relied on to prevent any infuſions, " which might be made into the Earl of Eſſex towards peace, or to render them ineſ- " fectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that party than " the General himſelf." In the beginning of the wars he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a Colonel upon all occaſions moſt punctually (*k*); and did good ſervice to the Parliament at the battle of Edge-Hill. In the beginning of the year 1643, it was reported about the City of London that the Earl of Eſſex was to reſign his poſt of General, and to be ſucceeded by Mr. Hamden (*l*). He received a mortal wound in an engagement with Prince Rupert in Chalgrave Field in Oxfordſhire (*m*), and died June the 24th 1643, and was interred in the Church of Great Hamden. We ſhall give his character in the note [*D*]. His eldeſt ſon, Richard Hamden Eſq; was choſen one of the five Knights for Buckinghamſhire to ſerve in the Parliament called by the Protector to meet at Weſtminſter September the 17th 1656. After

(*k*) Idem, ibid.

(*l*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 30. 2d ed. 1721.

(*m*) Idem, ibid.

" Lords, with the free conſent of his great Council of " State aſſembled in Parliament. For the firſt, to " deny a willing and due obedience to a lawful Sove- " reign, and his Privy Council (for as Camden truly " ſaith, *The Commands of the Lords, Privy Counſellors, " and the Edicts of the Prince are all one, for they " are inſeparable, the one never without the other,*) " either to defend his Royal Perſon and Kingdoms a- " gainſt the enemies of the ſame, either publick or " private; or to defend the antient privileges and pre- " rogatives of the King, pertaining and belonging of " right to his royal Crown, and the maintenance of " his Honour and Dignity; or to defend and main- " tain true Religion, eſtabliſhed in the Land, accord- " ing to the Truth of God, is one ſign of an evil and " bad ſubject. Secondly, to yield obedience to the " Commands of a King, if againſt the true Religion, " againſt the antient and fundamental Laws of the " Land, is another ſign of an ill ſubject. Thirdly, " to reſiſt the lawful Power of the King, to raiſe " inſurrection againſt the King, admit him adverſe in " his Religion to conſpire againſt his ſacred Perſon, or " any ways to rebel, tho' commanding things againſt " our conſciences in exerciſing Religion, or againſt " the rights and privileges of the ſubject, is an abſo- " lute ſign of a diſaffected and traiterous ſubject. And " now having given the ſigns of diſcerning evil and " diſloyal ſubjects; I ſhall only give you in a word " or two the ſigns of diſcerning, which are loyal and " good ſubjects, only by turning theſe three ſigns al- " ready ſhewed on the contrary ſide. 1. He that " willingly and chearfully endeavoureth himſelf to " obey his Sovereign's Commands for the defence of " his own Perſon and Kingdoms, for the defence of " true Religion, for the defence of the Laws of his " Country, is a loyal and good ſubject. 2. To deny " obedience to a King, commanding any thing againſt " God's true worſhip and religion, againſt the antient " and fundamental Laws of the Land, in endeavour- " ing to perform the ſame, is a good ſubject. 3. " Not to reſiſt the lawful and royal power of the King, " to raiſe Sedition or Inſurrection againſt his perſon, " or to ſet Diviſion between the King and his good " Subjects by Rebellion, although commanding things " againſt Conſcience in the exerciſe of Religion, " or againſt the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, " but patiently for the ſame to undergo his Prince's " Diſpleaſure, whether it be to his Impriſonment, " confiſcation of Goods, Baniſhment, or any other Pu- " niſhment whatſoever, without murmuring, grudging, " or reviling againſt his Sovereign or his Proceed- " ings; but ſubmitting willingly and chearfully him- " ſelf, and his Cauſe to Almighty God, is the only " ſign of an obedient and loyal ſubject. I come now " to the ſecond means to know the difference between " a good ſubject and a bad, by their obedience to the " Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, made by the King, " with the whole conſent of his Parliament. And in " this I obſerve a twofold Subjection, in the particu- " lar Members thereof diſſenting from the general " Votes of the whole Parliament; and ſecondly the " whole ſtate of the Kingdom in a full Parliament. " Firſt, I confeſs, if any particular Member of a Par- " liament, although his Judgment and Vote be con- " trary, do not willingly ſubmit to the reſt, he is " an ill ſubject to the King and Country. Secondly, " to reſiſt the ordinance of the whole ſtate of the " Kingdom, either by ſtirring up a Diſlike in " the hearts of his Majeſty's Subjects of the pro- " ceedings of the Parliament; to endeavour by le- " vying of arms to compel the King and Parlia- " ment to make ſuch Laws, as ſeem beſt to them; " to deny the Power, Authority, and Privileges of " Parliament; to caſt aſperſions upon the ſame; to " procure the untimely Diſſolution and breaking off " the Parliament before all things be ſettled by the " ſame, for the ſafety and tranquillity both of King " and State; is an apparent ſign of a traiterous and " diſloyal ſubject againſt his King and Country. And " thus having troubled your patience, in ſhewing " the difference between true Proteſtans and falſe, " loyal Subjects and Traytors, in a State or Kingdom, " and the means how to diſcern them; I humbly " deſire my actions may be compared with either, " both as I am a Subject, Proteſtant, and Native in " this Country, and as I am a Member of this pre- " ſent and happy Parliament; and as I ſhall be found " guilty upon theſe Articles exhibited againſt myſelf " and the other Gentlemen, either a bad or a good " ſubject to my gracious Sovereign and native Coun- " try, to receive ſuch ſentence upon the ſame, as " by this honourable houſe ſhall be conceived to a- " gree with Law and Juſtice."

[*D*] *We ſhall give his Character in the Note.*] Mr. Whitelocke tells us (3), that *he was a Gentleman of the antienteſt Extraction in Buckinghamſhire, his Fortune large, his natural Abilities great; and his affection to publick Liberty and Applauſe in his Country, expoſed him to many difficulties and troubles, as in the Buſineſs of Ship-money, of the Loan, and now in Parliament, where he was a moſt active and leading Member. He ſpoke rationally and ſubtilly, and often propoſed more doubts than he reſolved. He was well beloved in his Country, where he had a great intereſt, as alſo in the Houſe of Commons. He died lamented.* The Earl of Clarendon has drawn his Character at large; and obſerves (4), that " he was of that rare Affabilty and " Temper in debate, of that ſeeming Humility and " Submiſſion of Judgment, as if he brought no opi- " nion of his own with him, but deſire of Information " and Inſtruction. Yet he had ſo ſubtle a way of " interrogating, and under the notion of Doubts inſi- " nuating his objections, that he infuſed his own o- " pinions into thoſe, from whom he pretended to " learn and receive them. And even with them, who " were able to preſerve themſelves from his infuſions, " and diſcerned thoſe opinions to be fixed in him, with " which they could not comply, he always left the " Character of an ingenuous and conſcientious Per- " ſon. He was indeed a very wiſe man, and of " great parts, and poſſeſſed with the moſt abſolute ſpi- " rit of popularity and the moſt abſolute faculties to " govern the people, of any man I ever knew. For " the firſt year of the Parliament he ſeemed rather to " moderate and ſoften the violent and diſtempered hu- " mours, than to inflame them. But wiſe and diſ- " paſſion'd men plainly diſcerned, that that moderation " proceeded from prudence and obſervation that the " Seaſon was not ripe, rather than that he approved " of the moderation; and that he begot many opinions

(3) *Memorials*, pag. 70.

(4) *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, vol. 2. Part 1, B. 7. pag. 265.

After the Reſtoration he was conſtantly elected to ſerve in Parliament during the reign of Charles II, James II, and King William and Queen Mary. In April 1689 he was made one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and in November 1690 Chancellor of the Exchequer, and about the ſame time one of the Privy Council. He was father to John Hamden Eſq; who was one of the Knights of Buckinghamſhire in the Parliament, which begun at Weſtminſter October the 17th 1679, and one of the Burgeſſes for Wendover in that county in the Parliament, which began at Oxford March the 21ſt 1680. He was tried at the Court of King's Bench February 6, 168$\frac{3}{4}$ for a conſpiracy to diſturb the peace of the Realm, and fined forty thouſand pounds; and he was afterwards tried for High-treaſon at the Old Baily in London December the 30th 1685, and condemned; but his life was ſaved.

" and motions, the Education whereof he committed " to other men; ſo far diſguiſing his own deſigns, " that he ſeemed ſeldom to wiſh more than was con- " cluded; and in many groſs concluſions, which would " hereafter contribute to deſigns not yet ſet on foot, " when he found them ſufficiently backed by the ma- " jority of voices, he would withdraw himſelf before " the Queſtion, that he might ſeem not to conſent to " ſo much viſible unreaſonableneſs, which produced " as great a doubt in ſome, as it did approbation " in others, of his Integrity. What Combination " ſoever had been originally with the Scots for the " Invaſion of England, and what farther was enter- " ed into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance " any alteration of the Government in Parliament, no " man doubts was at leaſt with the Privity of this Gen- " tleman. . . . In the firſt entrance into the troubles, he " undertook the command of a Regiment of Foot, and " performed the Duty of a Colonel upon all occaſions " moſt punctually. He was very temperate in Diet, " and a ſupreme Governor over all his Paſſions and Af- " fections, and had thereby a great power over other " men's. He was of an Induſtry and Vigilance not " to be tired out, or wearied by the moſt laborious; " and of parts not to be impoſed upon by the moſt " ſubtle or ſharp; and of a perſonal Courage e- " qual to his beſt parts; ſo that he was an enemy " not to be wiſhed wherever he might have been " made a friend; and as much to be apprehended " where he was ſo, as any man could deſerve to be. " And therefore his Death was no leſs pleaſing to the " one party, than it was condoled in the other. In a " word, what was ſaid of Cinna, might well be appli- " ed to him; *he had a Head to contrive, and a tongue " to perſuade, and a hand to execute any Miſchief.* His " Death therefore ſeemed to be a great Deliverance " to the Nation." T.

☞HAMEL (JOHN BAPTISTE DU), a very learned French Philoſopher and Writer in the ſeventeenth Century, was ſon of Nicholas du Hamel, an Advocate, and was born at Vire in Lower Normandy in the year 1624 (*a*). He paſſed through his firſt ſtudies at Caen, and his courſe of Rhetoric and Philoſophy at Paris. At eighteen years of age he wrote a treatiſe in which he explained in a very ſimple manner, and by one or two figures, Theodoſius's three books of Spherics; to which he added a tract upon Trigonometry extremely ſhort and perſpicuous, and deſigned as an introduction to Aſtronomy [*A*]. At nineteen years of age he entered himſelf into the Congregation of the Oratory, where he continued ten years, and left it in order to be Curate of Neuilli upon the Marne. During both theſe intervals he joined an intenſe application to his ſtudies to the duties of his function. Natural Philoſophy, as it was then taught, was only a collection of vague, knotty, and barren queſtions; when our author undertook to put it upon a right foot (*b*), and began his deſign by publiſhing his *Aſtronomia Phyſica* [*B*], and his book *de Meteoris & Foſſilibus* [*C*]. In 1663 he quitted his Cure of Neuilli, after having held it ten years, and publiſhed at Paris his famous book *De Conſenſu veteris & novæ Philoſophiæ* [*D*]. In 1666 Monſieur Colbert propoſed to Lewis XIV a ſcheme, which was approved of by his Majeſty, for eſtabliſhing a Royal Academy of Sciences; and

(*a*) Du Pin, *Nouvelle Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 18. pag. 297. edit. Amſterd. 1711 in 4to. and Fontenelle, *Eloge de Monſ. du Hamel*, printed in his *Hiſtoire du Renouvellement de l'Academie Royale des Sciences en* 1699, *& les Eloges Hiſtoriques de tous les Academiciens &c.* vol. 1. pag. 148. edit. Amſterd. 1709.

(*b*) Fontenelle, ibid. pag. 148, 149, 150.

[*A*] *At eighteen years of age he wrote a treatiſe, in which he explained . . . . . Theodoſius's three books of Spherics; to which he added a tract upon Trigonometry, extremely ſhort and perſpicuous, and deſigned as an introduction to Aſtronomy.*] In one of his latter works he obſerves, that he was prompted by the vanity natural to a young man, to publiſh this book. But as Monſieur de Fontenelle remarks (1), there are few perſons of that age capable of ſuch an inſtance of vanity. And his inclination for ſcience muſt have been very general, to ingage him in the ſtudy of the Mathematics, which were then little cultivated, eſpecially in the place where he ſtudied (2).

(1) *Eloge de Monſ. du Hamel*, printed in his *Hiſtoire du Renouvellement de l'Academie Royale des Sciences in* 1699, *& les Eloges Hiſtoriques de tous les Academiciens &c.* vol. 1. pag. 149.

(2) Idem, ibid.

[*B*] *His* Aſtronomia Phyſica.] It was printed at Paris. 1659, in 4to. It is written in the form of a dialogue between *Theophilus*, a great zealot for the Antients, *Menander*, a warm Carteſian, and *Simplicius*, a Philoſopher, who is indifferent between the two parties, who endeavours to reconcile them, and has a right from his character to embrace what he thinks proper on either ſide. Simplicius is deſigned to repreſent Monſieur du Hamel. He has been reproached with not being impartial enough towards Des Cartes; and in reality Theophilus treats that Philoſopher with great ſeverity. Monſieur du Hamel anſwered, that Theophilus, who does ſo, is a man extremely bigotted to the Antients, and abſolutely averſe to any Moderns; and that Simplicius never ſpeaks of Des Cartes in reproachful terms. This is true; but as Monſieur de Fontenelle obſerves (3), it was Simplicius who made Theophilus ſpeak in that manner. This work of our Author is a collection of the principal ſentiments of the antient and modern Philoſophers upon light and colours, and the ſyſtems of the world. All that relates to the ſphere, the theory of the planets, and the calculation of eclipſes, is explained mathematically. (3) Pag. 153.

[*C*] *His book* De Meteoris & Foſſilibus.] It was printed at Paris, 1659, in 4to, and is written in the method of dialogue between the ſame perſons, who are introduced in his *Aſtronomia Phyſica*. It contains a collection of all that the authors of any reputation have ſaid upon Meteors and Foſſils; for Monſieur du Hamel did not confine himſelf to the reading of the moſt celebrated. In his dialogue upon Foſſils he ſhews a very extenſive knowledge of Natural Hiſtory and Chemiſtry, though the latter was, at that time, covered with a myſterious jargon, ſcarce poſſible to be underſtood.

[*D*] *His famous book* De Conſenſu veteris & novæ Philoſophiæ.] It was printed at Paris, 1663, in 4to, Oxford 1668, and Roan 1675. It contains an account of the firſt principles of Phyſics. It begins with the ſublime but obſcure Metaphyſics of Plato concerning Ideas, Numbers, and archetypal Forms; and tho' Monſ. du Hamel acknowledges this ſcheme of Metaphyſics to be far from intelligible, yet he could not refuſe it a place in his general Scheme of Philoſophy. He ſhews the ſame indulgence to the notions of Privation, ſubſtantial Forms, and other Scholaſtic Principles. But

(c) Idem, ibid. pag. 150-156.

and appointed our author Secretary of it (*c*). In 1667 he publiſhed at Paris in 12mo a Tranſlation of a French piece, under the title of *Reginæ Chriſtianiſſimæ Jura in Ducatum Brabantiæ & alios Ditionis Hiſpanicæ Principatus*; and the year following he publiſhed in Latin and French at the requeſt of Monſieur de Perefixe, Archbiſhop of Paris, a Diſſertation upon the rights of that Prelate in oppoſition to the pretended privileges of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prez. In 1668 he attended Monſieur Colbert de Croiſſy, Plenipotentiary for the peace at Aix-la-Chapelle. Upon the concluſion of the peace he accompanied him to England, where Monſieur Colbert de Croiſſi was Embaſſador. Here he formed an acquaintance with the moſt eminent perſons of this Nation, and particularly Mr. Boyle. Thence he went over to Holland, and ſo returned to France, having collected a great number of uſeful obſervations in his travels (*d*). In 1670 he publiſhed at Paris in 12mo his treatiſe, *De Corporum affectionibus, cum manifeſtis, cum occultis*; and in 1672 his book *De Mente Humana*, Paris in 12mo, and the year following his treatiſe, *De Corpore animato* [*E*], Paris 1673 in 12mo. In 1678 his *Philoſophia vetus & nova ad uſum Scholæ accommodata, in Regia Burgundia pertractata* was printed at Paris in four tomes in 12mo [*F*]. In 1681 there was publiſhed at Nuremberg in four volumes in 4to, a Collection of his Philoſophical and Aſtronomical Works. In 1691 his *Theologia ſpeculativa & practica juxta SS. Patrum dogmata pertractata, & ad uſum Scholæ accommodata* was printed at Paris in 7 vol. in 8vo; as his *Theologiæ Clericorum Seminariis accommodatæ Summarium* was at Paris in 1694 in 5 vol. in 12mo. In 1697 he reſigned his place of Secretary of the Royal Academy of Sciences, which by his recommendation he procured for Monſieur de Fontenelle. The year following he publiſhed at Paris in 4to his *Regiæ Scientiarum Academiæ Hiſtoria* [*G*], and his *Inſtitutiones Biblicæ, ſeu Scripturæ ſacræ*

(d) Idem, ibid. pag. 156, 157, 158.

when he comes to intelligible Principles, as thoſe of the Laws of Motion, and thoſe laid down by the Chemiſts, he ſhews his inclination that way, notwithſtanding his endeavour to prove an univerſal agreement in Philoſophy. He appears to enter with reluctance into general queſtions, the reſult of which is only *words*, which have no other merit than to have paſſed upon the world for a long time for *things*. His inclination and good ſenſe always call him off immediately to Experimental Philoſophy, and eſpecially to Chemiſtry, for which he had a particular taſte (4).

(4) Idem, ibid. pag. 153, 154.

[*E*] *His treatiſe* De Corpore animato.] We may judge by the title, that Experimental Philoſophy is employed in this work. Anatomy is very frequently made uſe of in it. Monſieur du Hamel had gained great ſkill in that ſcience by the conferences of the Academy, and by a particular acquaintance with Monſieur Steno, and Monſieur du Verney. In this book he intimates that he had been reproached with not deciding of queſtions, and with being too undetermined between the different parties. He promiſed to correct this; but it muſt be owned, that he did not obſerve his promiſe exactly enough; though it is rare to meet with a Philoſopher, who is accuſed of not being ſufficiently deciſive (5).

(5) Idem, ibid. pag. 160.

[*F*] *In* 1678 *his* Philoſophia vetus & nova, &c. *was printed at Paris in four Tomes in* 12*mo.*] It was inlarged and reprinted at Paris, 1681, in ſix Tomes in 12mo, and there again in 1684, in two Tomes in 4to. The fifth edition was printed at Amſterdam, 1700, in ſix Tomes in 12mo. This work contains a judicious aſſemblage of the antient and modern opinions in Philoſophy. Several years after the publication of it the Miſſionaries, who carried it to the Eaſt-Indies, wrote, that they had taught this Philoſophy there with great ſucceſs, eſpecially that part relating to Natural Philoſophy, which of the four parts, into which the whole is divided, is that, in which the Moderns have the greateſt ſhare. It ſeems, that our Author was deſigned for the Philoſopher of the Eaſt. For Father Bouvet the Jeſuit, a famous Miſſionary in China, wrote into Europe, that when his brethren and himſelf engaged in drawing up a ſyſtem of Philoſophy in the Tartarian language for the Emperor of China, one of the chief ſources, which they made uſe of, was Monſieur du Hamel's *Philoſophia vetus & nova* (6).

(6) Idem, ibid. pag. 162, 163.

[*G*] *His* Regiæ Scientiarum Academiæ Hiſtoria.] It was reprinted with improvements at Paris, 1701, in 4to, under the following title: *Regiæ Scientiarum Academiæ Hiſtoria, in quâ præter ipſius Academiæ Originem & Progreſſus, variaſque Diſſertationes & Obſervationes per triginta quatuor annos factas, quam plurima Experimenta & Inventa, cum Phyſica tum Mathematica, in certum Ordinem digeruntur. Secunda Editio priori longè auctior.* The former edition contained four books, this includes a fifth and ſixth. In the firſt book he gives an account of the foundation of the Royal Academy of Sciences and its tranſactions, from 1666 to 1675. The ſecond continues the Hiſtory to 1684, the third to 1692; the fourth to 1696; the fifth to 1698; and ſixth to 1700 incluſively. As to the foundation of it, he tells us, that peace being concluded between France and Spain in 1659, Lewis IV thought proper to add the ſplendor of learning and ſciences to the glory of his Empire enlarged by ſo many victories. To this end he judged it the beſt way, that men eminent for learning ſhould form themſelves into a ſociety by the conſent of the public authority, and confer and debate together upon their inventions; which he perceived would be more advantageous, than if they laboured ſingly in the promoting of any one ſcience. He therefore ordered Monſieur Colbert to execute this deſign, which himſelf had projected. Monſieur Colbert having conſulted with men of good ſenſe and learning, reſolved, that the ſociety ſhould be formed of men well ſkilled in Natural Philoſophy and Mathematics, being of opinion, that thoſe Sciences were ſo ſtrictly united, that it was ſcarce poſſible for any perſon to excel in the former, who was not converſant in the latter. Others perſuaded him, that beſides Mathematicians and Natural Philoſophers, he ſhould adopt into the ſociety other learned men, who had applied themſelves to polite literature, and eſpecially thoſe, who were good maſters of Hiſtory. This advice being approved, he appointed that the Mathematicians and Natural Philoſophers ſhould meet ſeparately on Wedneſdays, and together on Saturdays, in that part of the Royal Library, which contained the books of thoſe Sciences. He ordered thoſe, who applied themſelves to Hiſtory, to meet on Mondays and Thurſdays in that part of the King's Library, which contained hiſtorical books; and that thoſe who ſtudied Polite Literature, ſhould meet together on Tueſdays and Fridays. He then appointed, that on the firſt Thurſday of every month all theſe ſocieties ſhould meet together; at which general meeting every one ſhould be permitted to deſire a ſolution *extempore* of thoſe things, which ſeemed difficult to him, but with this caution, that if the difficulties were greater than could be ſolved immediately, the objections and anſwers ſhould be given in writing, that the time of the meeting might not be ſpent in unprofitable diſpute. But this firſt conſtitution of the Academy did not continue long; for at the very beginning, the ſociety of thoſe, who met for the illuſtration of Hiſtory, was diſſolved for certain reaſons; for ſince Hiſtory, and eſpecially that of the church, hath a ſtrict connection with queſtions in Divinity, and particularly with thoſe relating to the government of the church, and ſince from matters of fact frequently matters of right are deduced, it was apprehended leſt this ſociety might offend thoſe, whom it was not ſafe to provoke. Monſieur du Hamel then gives an account how the

ſacræ Prolegomena, una cum ſelectis Annotationibus in Pentateuchum [*H*], Paris, two volumes in 12mo. In 1701 he publiſhed in 12mo at Paris and Roan, *In Pſalmos Commentarii cum Textu*; and in 1703, *In Libros Salomonis & Eccleſiaſticum Annotationes cum Textu*, Paris and Roan in 12mo. His laſt work was *Biblia ſacra Vulgatæ Editionis, unà cum ſelectis ex optimis quibuſque Interpretibus notis, Prolegomenis, novis tabulis Chronologicis & Geographicis.* Paris 1706 in fol. He died at Paris Auguſt the 6th 1706, without any ſickneſs, and of mere old age, being almoſt eighty three years old. He went every year to viſit his old flock at Neuilli; and the day, which he ſpent there, was kept as an holy day by the whole village. While he was in England, the Engliſh Roman Catholics, who went to maſs at the French Embaſſador's chapel, uſed to ſay, *Let us go to hear maſs ſaid by the holy Prieſt*, ſuch reverence had his excellent character gained even among ſtrangers. Cardinal Anthony Barberini, grand Almoner of France, made him Chaplain to the King in 1656. He was highly eſteemed by the moſt eminent Prelates of France, though he enjoyed but very ſmall preferments (*e*). He was Regius Profeſſor of Philoſophy, in which poſt he was ſucceeded by Monſieur Varignon. He was a man of great modeſty, affability, piety, and integrity; he was diſintereſted and averſe to all conteſts, and exempt from jealouſy and affectation. He wrote Latin with prodigious purity and elegance (*f*).

(*e*) Idem, ibid. pag. 169, 170, 171.

(*f*) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 299.

the ſociety of Polite Literature was likewiſe ſeparated from that of Sciences. Moſt of the members of the former being alſo members of the French Academy, and perceiving that Academy now to decline exceedingly, they deſired Monſieur Colbert to ſhew the ſame favour to it, as he did to the new one, and repreſented, that there was no occaſion for different ſocieties for the ſame purpoſes, eſpecially ſince the ſame perſons did in a manner compoſe both Academies. This advice not being diſliked by Monſieur Colbert, he granted their requeſt, and exerted great zeal in reſtoring and maintaining this Academy, and became one of the members of it, and honoured it with his preſence. The Society of Polite Literature being thus ſeparated from its own body, and incorporated with the French Academy, the Academy of Natural Philoſophy and Mathematics only ſtood, and never loſt any part of its firſt ſplendor. In June 1666 about ſix or ſeven Mathematicians only began to meet, viz. Monſieur Carcavi, Huygens, Roberval, Frenicle, Auzout, Picart, and Buet; but it being propoſed at firſt, that this Academy ſhould likewiſe apply themſelves to the cultivation of Natural Philoſophy, Monſieur Colbert took care to chooſe men well ſkilled in Philoſophy, and who were not devoted to any particular ſcheme of it, but took pleaſure in all the ſeveral Sciences. Beſides the Mathematicians abovementioned there were added to the Academy Monſieur de la Chambre, Phyſician in ordinary to the King, Monſieur Perrault, a man of general learning, Monſieur du Clos, and Bourdelin, excellent Chemiſts, Monſieur Pecquet and Gayen, ſkilful Anatomiſts, and Monſieur Marchant, an eminent Botaniſt; and Monſieur du Hamel was ſome months before appointed Secretary. On the 22d of December 1666 theſe two Societies met in the hall of the King's Library, where they debated, whether it was beſt, that the Natural Philoſophers and Mathematicians ſhould meet together, and form one Society; or whether they ſhould meet apart. But becauſe of the ſtrict alliance between Natural Philoſophy and Mathematics they unanimouſly agreed, that they ſhould not be ſeparated, being encouraged by the examples of ſeveral great men, who by their ſkill in the Mathematics, contributed much more to the improvement of Natural Philoſophy, than thoſe other Philoſophers, who were not ſkilled in the Mathematics. They determined therefore, that both the Mathematicians and Natural Philoſophers ſhould meet twice every week, upon the Mathematics on Wedneſdays, and Natural Philoſophy on Saturdays; and that the acts of the Academy ſhould not be publiſhed without their own order. The King erected an Obſervatory for their uſe in the ſuburb of St. James at Paris; this Obſervatory is eighty foot high, and the foundations are dug as deep, becauſe almoſt the whole ſuburb, and the field adjoining to it, are made hollow underneath, ſtones being daily dug from thoſe caves either to build or repair houſes; by which means the deſcent of the Obſervatory into the ſubterranean cave is equal to the height. There is a large well, which reaches from the bottom of this Obſervatory to the top. It is built of ſuch hewn ſtones, that there was no need of mortar to faſten them. This Obſervatory began to be inhabited by Monſieur Caſſini, and to be furniſhed with all ſorts of inſtruments in September 1671.

[*H*] *His* Inſtitutiones Biblicæ, &c.] This work is divided into four diſſertations; in the firſt of which he treats of the Scriptures themſelves, their inſpiration, and authors. In the ſecond, of the authority and antiquity of the Hebrew Text, and the Greek and Latin Verſions. In the third, of the ſtyle and manner of writing of the Scriptures. In the fourth he explains briefly the Chronology and Geography of them.

T.

☞HAMMOND (HENRY), one of the moſt learned Engliſh Divines in the ſeventeenth Century, was youngeſt ſon of Dr. John Hammond, Phyſician to Prince Henry, and by the mother's ſide deſcended from Dr. Alexander Nowell Dean of St. Paul's in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*a*). He was born at Chertſey in Surrey Auguſt the 18th, according to Dr. Fell (*b*), or the 26th, according to Mr. Wood (*c*), in the year 1605. From Eton-ſchool, where he was educated in Grammar-learning, and greatly improved in the Greek tongue by Mr. Thomas Allen, Fellow of that College (*d*), he was removed to Magdalen College in Oxford [*A*], where on the 30th of July 1622 he was made a Demy (*e*), and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts on the 11th of December following (*f*). June the 30th 1625 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*g*), and on the 26th of July the ſame year was elected Fellow of his College (*h*), having been before choſen Reader of the Natural Philoſophy Lecture in the College (*i*). After he had taken his degree he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity [*B*]; and in 1629 entered into holy Orders,

(*a*) *The Life of the moſt learned, reverend and pious Dr. H. Hammond. Written by John Fell, D. D. Dean of Chriſt Church in Oxford*, pag. 2. 2d edit. London 1662.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 1.

(*c*) *Hiſtoria & Antiquit. Univerſ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 202. and *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 245. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*d*) Fell, pag. 4.

(*e*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 222.

(*g*) Idem, ibid. col. 231.

(*h*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Dr. Fell, pag. 6.

[*A*] *Removed to Magdalen College in Oxford.*] Dr. John Fell tells us (1), that "at thirteen years old he "was thought, and (what is much more rare) was in"deed ripe for the univerſity, and accordingly ſent "to Magdalen-College, where not long after he was "choſen *Demie*." In this paſſage there is a miſtake; for Mr. Wood aſſures us (2), that he was made Demy of that College on the 30th of Auguſt 1622, that is not till he was ſeventeen years of age; whereas Dr. Fell, who obſerves that he was ſent thither at thirteen years of age, affirms in the words above-cited, that *not long after* he was choſen Demy.

(1) *Life of the moſt learned, reverend, and pious Dr. H. Hammond*, pag. 5, 6.

(2) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 245.

[*B*] *Applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity.*] At firſt he bought a ſyſtem of Divinity, with a deſign to

(k) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 257.

Orders, and on the 28th of Jan. 1633 took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*k*) [*C*]. Auguſt the 22d following he was inducted into the Rectory of Penſhurſt in Kent, conferred on him by the Earl of Leiceſter, who a little before had been deeply affected with a ſermon of his at Court, which he preached there in the room of Dr. Frewen, then Preſident of his College, and afterwards Archbiſhop of York, who gave him the honour of ſupplying one of his Courſes at Court (*l*). Upon this he retired from the Univerſity, and applied himſelf to the diſcharge of his miniſterial functions with great vigour and ſucceſs [*D*]. March the 7th 1638 he proceeded Doctor of Divinity (*m*); and in 1640 became a Member of the Convocation called with the ſhort Parliament in April 1640 (*n*). In 1643 he had the Archdeaconry of Chicheſter conferred upon him by Dr. Brian Duppa, Biſhop of that See (*o*); and the ſame year was nominated one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*; but he did not ſit among them (*p*). In July that year he was obliged to quit his Living, and retired to Oxford [*E*], where he publiſhed his *Practical Catechiſm* in 1644,

(l) Fell, pag. 9.

(m) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 276.

(n) Dr. Fell, pag. 25.

(o) Idem, pag. 23. *and* Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 245.

(p) Wood, ibid. *and* Dr. Fell, pag. 25.

apply himſelf immediately to that ſtudy; but upon ſecond thoughts he returned to human Learning, and afterwards, when he reſumed his purpoſe for Theology, took a quite different courſe of reading from the other too much uſual, beginning that Science at the upper end, as conceiving it moſt reaſonable to ſearch for truth in the primitive writers, and not to ſuffer his underſtanding to be prepoſſeſſed by contrived and intereſted Schemes of modern, and withal obnoxious Writers (3). During the whole time of his abode in the univerſity, he generally ſpent thirteen hours of the day in ſtudy; by which aſſiduity, beſides an exact Diſpatch of the whole courſe of Philoſophy, he read over in a manner all claſſic Authors that are extant; and upon the more conſiderable wrote, as he paſſed, *Scholia* and critical Emendations, and drew up Indexes for his private uſe at the beginning and end of each book (4).

(3) Fell, pag. 7.

(4) Ibid. pag. 8, 9.

[*C*] *On the 28th of January* 1633 *took the Degree of Batchelor of Divinity.*] This we are informed of by Mr. Wood (5); and therefore Dr. Fell, who obſerves (6), that our Author, *in* 1629, *being twenty four years of age, entered into holy orders*, muſt be miſtaken in aſſerting, that *not long after* he took the degree of Batchelor of Divinity.

(5) *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 257.

(6) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 7, 8.

[*D*] *Applied himſelf to the diſcharge of his miniſterial Functions with great Vigour and Succeſs.*] He ſatisfied not himſelf in diligent and conſtant preaching only, but much more *conceived himſelf obliged*, ſays Dr. Fell (7), *to the offering up the ſolemn daily ſacrifices of Prayer for his people*, adminiſtring the Sacraments, relieving the poor, keeping hoſpitality, reconciling of differences amongſt Neighbours, viſiting the ſick, catechiſing the youth. With regard to his preaching, it was not at the ordinary rate of the times, an unpremeditated indigeſted effuſion of ſhallow and crude conceptions, but a rational and juſt diſcourſe, that was to teach the Prieſt as well as the Lay hearer. His Method was, (which he likewiſe recommended to his Friends) after every Sermon, to reſolve upon the enſuing Subject; that being done, to purſue the courſe of ſtudy, which he was then in hand with, reſerving the cloſe of the Week for the proviſion for the next Lord's Day; whereby not only a conſtant progreſs was made in Science, but materials unawares were gained unto the immediate future work; for he ſaid, be the ſubjects never ſo diſtant, ſomewhat will infallibly fall in conducible unto the preſent purpoſe. As to the Adminiſtration of the ſacrament, he reduced it to an Imitation, though a diſtant one, of primitive frequency to once a month, and therewith its antient inſeparable Appendant, the offertory; wherein his inſtruction and happily inſinuating example ſo far prevailed, that there was thenceforth little need of ever making any tax for the poor. Nay, in a ſhort time a ſtock was raiſed to be always ready for the putting out apprentices young Children, whoſe Parents condition made the Proviſion for them an equal charity to both the Child and Parent. And after this there remained yet a ſurpluſage for the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring Pariſhes. For the relief of the poor, beſides the forementioned expedient, wherein others were ſharers with him, unto his private Charity, the dedicating the tenth of all Receipts, and the daily alms given at the Door, he conſtantly ſet apart over and above every Week a certain Rate in Money; and however rarely his own rent-days occurred, the indigent had two and fifty quarter days returning in his year. Yet further, another art of charity he had, the ſelling corn to his poor neighbours at a rate below the Market-price; which though, as he ſaid, he had reaſon to do, gaining thereby the charge of Portage, was a great benefit to them, who beſides the abatement of price, and poſſibly Forbearance, ſaved thereby a day's work. He farther obliged his Pariſhioners likewiſe in the ſetting of their Tithes and Dues belonging to him. For tho' he very well underſtood how prone Men are to give complaints in payment, and how little Obligation there is on him, that lets a Bargain, to conſider the caſual loſs, who is ſure never to ſhare in a like ſurpluſage of gain; yet herein he frequently departed from his right, ſo that having ſet the Tithe of a large Meadow, and upon agreement received part of the Money at the beginning of the Year, it happening that the Profits were afterwards ſpoiled and carried away by a Flood, he, when the Tenant came to make the laſt payment, not only refuſed it, but returned the former Sum, ſaying to the poor man, *God forbid I ſhould take the Tenth, where you have not the nine parts.* He made peace among his Neighbours; and not only attained his purpoſe of uniting diſtant Parties unto each other, but, contrary to the uſual Fate of Reconcilers, gained them to himſelf; there having been no perſon of his function any where better beloved than he when preſent, or lamented more when abſent, by his Flock. Of this tender and very filial affection, we may take two Inſtances; the one, that he being driven away, and his Books plundered, one of his neighbours bought them in his behalf, and preſerved them for him till the end of the war: the other that during his abode at Penſhurſt, he never had any law-diſpute about his dues, but had his tithes fully paid, and not of the moſt refuſe parts, but generally the very beſt (8).

(7) Pag. 10, & *ſeqq.*

(8) Idem, pag. 10-19.

[*E*] *In July that year he was obliged to quit his living, and retired to Oxford.*] At that time there was in his neighbourhood about Tunbridge an attempt in behalf of the King, "and his doctrine and example, "ſays Dr. Fell (9), having had that good influence, as "it was ſuppoſed, to have made many more ready "to the diſcharge of their duty;" but it being defeated, the Doctor (the malice of one, who deſigned to ſucceed in his Living, being withal aſſiſtant) was forced to ſecure himſelf by retirement; which he did, withdrawing himſelf to his old tutor Dr. Buckner, to whom he came about the 25th of July, early in the morning, in ſuch an habit as that exigence made neceſſary for him; and whither, not many days before, his old friend and fellow-pupil Dr. Oliver came upon the ſame errand. Which accident, and the neceſſity to leave his flock, as the Doctor afterwards frequently acknowledged, was that which did moſt affect him of any, that he felt in his whole life; amidſt which, though he was no valuer of trifles, he had ſo extraordinary a dream, that he could not then deſpiſe, nor ever after forget it. It was thus: He thought himſelf and a multitude of others to have been abroad in a bright and chearful day; when on a ſudden there ſeemed a ſeparation to be made, and he with the far leſs number to be placed at a diſtance from the reſt; and then the clouds gathering, a moſt tempeſtuous ſtorm aroſe, with thunder and lightnings, with impetuous rain and wind, and whatever elſe might add to a ſcene of horror, particularly balls of fire, which ſhot themſelves amongſt the ranks of thoſe, who ſtood in the leſſer party: When a gentle whiſper ſeemed to interrupt thoſe other louder noiſes, ſaying, *Be ſtill, and*

(9) Pag. 27, & *ſeqq.*

1644 [*F*], and ſeveral other tracts [*G*]. The ſame year he went with the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, as Chaplain, to London, whither thoſe Noblemen were ſent to compoſe the unhappy differences in Church and State (*q*); and when the treaty of Uxbridge was appointed, he attended the King's Commiſſioners thither, and managed the diſpute with Richard Vines the Preſbyterian Miniſter [*H*]. In the beginning of 1645, he was made one of the Canons of Chriſt Church in Oxford, and Chaplain in ordinary

(*q*) Dr. Fell, pag. 37.

and ye ſhall receive no harm. Amidſt theſe terrors the Doctor falling to his prayers, ſoon after the tempeſt ceaſed, and that known cathedral-anthem began, *Come, Lord Jeſus, come away*; with which he awoke. The correſpondent event of all which he found verified ſignally in the preſervation both of himſelf and his friends, in doing their duties; which with much content he was uſed to mention. *Beſides*, continues Dr. Fell (10), *being himſelf taken to the quires of angels at the cloſe of that land-hurrican of ours, whereof that diſmal apparition was only a faint emblem, he gave thereby too literal a completion to his dream, and the unhappy credit of bordering upon prophecy.* In this retirement the two Doctors remained about three weeks, till an alarm was brought, that a ſtrict enquiry was made for Dr Hammond, and 100 *l.* promiſed as a reward for him, who ſhould produce him. This ſuggeſtion though they eaſily apprehended to have a poſſibility of being falſe, yet they concluded a neceſſary ground for their removal. Upon this they reſolved to be gone; and Dr. Oliver having an intereſt in Winchester, which was then in the King's quarters, they choſe that as the next place of their retreat. But being on the way thither, Dr. Oliver, who had ſent his ſervant before to make proviſion for them, was met and ſaluted with the news, that Dr. Frewen, Preſident of Magdalen College, was made Biſhop of Lichfield, and that the College had pitched upon him as ſucceſſor. Upon this Dr. Oliver determined to go to Oxford, to which Dr. Hammond made much difficulty to aſſent, thinking that too public a place, and, what he more conſider'd, too far from his living, whither he had hopes, when the preſent fury was allayed, to return again; and to that purpoſe had written to ſuch friends of his as were in power, to uſe their intereſt for the procuring his ſecurity. But his Letters meeting a cold reception, and the company of his friend on one hand, and the appearance of deſerting him on the other hand, engaging him to it, he was at laſt perſuaded, and encompaſſing Hampſhire with ſome difficulty came to Oxford, where procuring an apartment in his old College, he ſought that peace in his retirement and ſtudy, which was no where elſe to be met withal; taking no other diverſion than what the giving encouragement and inſtruction to ingenious young Students yielded him, (a thing wherein he peculiarly delighted) and the ſatisfaction, which he received from the converſation of learned men; who, beſides the uſual ſtore, in great number at that time reſorted thither for their ſecurity (11).

(10) Pag. 30.

(11) Idem, pag. 30, 31, 32, 33.

[*F*] *Publiſhed his* Practical Catechiſm *in* 1644.] It was printed there and at London 1646 in 4to; and there is an edition at Oxford 1645 in 12mo. Having drawn this up at firſt for his private uſe, he communicated it to Dr. Potter, Provoſt of Queen's College at Oxford, who importuned him to make it public, alledging in that lawleſs age the great uſe of ſupplanting the empty form of godlineſs, which ſo prevailed, by ſubſtituting of its real power and ſober duties; of ſilencing profaneneſs, which then uſurped the names of wit and gallantry, by enforcing the more eligible acts of the Chriſtian's reaſonable ſervice, which was not any any other way ſo happily to be done, as by beginning at the foundation by ſound, and yet not trivial, catechetic inſtitution. Dr. Hammond would not conſent that the Book ſhould be publiſhed, unleſs his name were concealed; and this Dr. Potter undertook, as well as the whole care and charge of the edition. Upon theſe terms, only with this difference, that Dr. Hammond would not ſuffer the Provoſt to be at the entire charge, but went an equal ſhare with him, the *Practical Catechiſm* ſaw the light, and likewiſe the author remained in his deſired obſcurity (12). This book was attacked in 1646 by Mr. Francis Cheynell, B. D. in a Sermon at St. Mary's in Oxford, which occaſioned ſeveral letters between him and Dr. Hammond, who publiſhed them under the title of *A Copy of ſome Papers paſt at Oxford between the author of the* Practical Catechiſm *and Mr.* Ch. London 1647 and 1650 in 4to. He wrote alſo in defence of this Treatiſe *A View of ſome Exceptions to the* Practical Catechiſm *from the Cenſures affixt on them by the Miniſters of London in a Book entitled,* A Teſtimony to the truth of Jeſus Chriſt, &c. London 1648 in 4to; and *A Vindication of three paſſages in the* Practical Catechiſm. London 1648 in 4to.

(12) Idem, pag. 33, 34, 35, 36.

[*G*] *And ſeveral other Tracts.*] Particularly *Of Scandal*, Oxford 1644 in 4to; *Of Conſcience*, Oxford 1644 in 4to; *Of reſiſting the lawful Magiſtrate under colour of religion*, Oxford 1644, London 1647 in 4to; *Of Will Worſhip*, Oxford 1644 in 4to; *Conſiderations of preſent uſe concerning the danger reſulting from the change of our Church Government*, Oxford 1644 and 1646 in 4to; *Of Superſtition*, Oxford 1645, London 1650 in 4to; *Of Sins of Weakneſs and Wilfulneſs*, Oxford 1645 and 1650 in 4to; *Explication of two difficult Texts* Heb. vi. *and* Heb. x. printed with the preceding Tract; *Of a late Death-bed Repentance*, Oxford 1645 in 4to; *A View of the Directory, and Vindication of the Liturgy*, Oxford 1645, &c. in 4to; *Of Idolatry*, Oxford 1646, London 1650 in 4to; *A View of the Exceptions, which have been made by a Romaniſt to the Lord Viſcount* Falkland's Diſcourſe of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome, Oxford 1646 in 4to; *The Power of the Keys: or of binding and looſing*, London 1647, and 1651 in 4to; *Of the word* KPIMA; *Of the Zealots among the Jews, and the Liberty taken by them; Of the taking up the Croſs; Vindication of Chriſt's repreſenting S. Peter from the exceptions of Mr.* Stephen Marſhall, London 1647 in 4to, joined with the ſecond Edition of our Author's Book *Of reſiſting the lawful Magiſtrate; Of fraternal Admonition and Correption*, London 1647 and 1650 in 4to.

[*H*] *Managed the diſpute with Mr.* Richard Vines, *the Preſbyterian Miniſter.*] Dr. Fell tells us (13), that Mr. Vines, inſtead of tendering a ſcholaſtic diſputation, read from a paper a long Divinity-Lecture, wherein were interwoven *ſeveral little cavils and exceptions, which were meant for arguments.* Dr. Hammond perceiving this drew forth his pen and ink, and as the other was reading, took notes of what was ſaid, and then immediately returned in order an anſwer to the ſeveral ſuggeſtions, which were about forty in number; " which he did with that readineſs and ſufficiency, as " at once gave teſtimony to his ability, and to the e- " vidence of the truth he aſſerted; which amidſt the " diſadvantage of *ex tempore* againſt premeditation, diſ- " pelled with eaſe and perfect clearneſs all the ſo- " phiſms that had been brought againſt him (14)." It was afterwards reported indeed, that Mr. Vines utterly ſilenced the Doctor, ſo that he was obliged to uſe this unheard of ſtratagem to avoid his adverſary's demonſtration, to ſwear by *God and the holy Angels*, that tho' at preſent a ſolution did not occur to him, he could anſwer it. Concerning this we have the Doctor's own account in a letter dated Jan. 22d 1655, directed to a friend, who had acquainted him with this report. " I have " formerly been told, *ſays he* (15), within theſe few " years that there went about a ſtory much to my diſ- " paragement concerning the diſpute at Uxbridge, (for " there it was, not at Holdenby) with Mr. Vines; but " what it was I could never hear before. Now I do, " I can, I think, truly affirm, that no one part of it " hath any degree of truth, ſave only that Mr. Vines " did diſpute againſt, and I defend, Epiſcopacy. For " as to the argument mentioned, I did neither then, " nor at any time of my life, (that I can remember) " ever hear it urged by any. And for my pretended " anſwer, I am both ſure that I never called God and " his holy Angels to witneſs any thing in my life, " nor ever ſwore one voluntary oath that I know of, " (and ſure there was then none impoſed on me) and " that I was not at that meeting conſcious to myſelf " of wanting ability to expreſs my thoughts, or preſt " with

(13) Pag. 39.

(14) Idem, pag. 39, 40.

(15) Idem, pag. 42, 43, 44.

ordinary to his Majeſty, who was then in that City, and choſen public Orator of the Univerſity (*r*). But theſe new employments did not divert him from publiſhing ſeveral new tracts (*s*). In 1647 he attended the King in his confinement of Wooburn, Caveſham, Hampton-Court, and the Iſle of Wight, where he continued till Chriſtmas that year, at which time his Majeſty's attendants were again put from him, and Dr. Hammond among the reſt. Upon this he returned to Oxford, where being choſen Sub-Dean (*t*), he continued there till the Parliamentary Viſitors ejected him, and then impriſoned him for ſeveral weeks in a private houſe in Oxford (*u*). During this confinement he began his *Annotations on the New Teſtament* [*I*]. At laſt by the interpoſition of his brother-in-law, Sir John Temple, he had licence granted to be removed to his friend Sir Philip Warwick's houſe at Clapham in Bedfordſhire (*w*). The trial of his Majeſty now drawing on, he wrote an *Addreſs* to the General and Council of War, and tranſmitted it to them [*K*]. His exceſſive grief for the King's death did not however interrupt his ſtudies; for beſides his fitting his *Annotations* for the preſs, and his *Appendix or Anſwer to what was returned by the Apologiſt*, London 1650 in 4to, and his little tract of the *Reaſonableneſs of the Chriſtian Religion*, printed at London 1650 in 12mo, he compoſed a Latin one againſt Blondel in defence of Epiſcopacy [*L*]. After ſeveral months confinement at Clapham,

(*r*) Idem, pag. 44.

(*s*) See note [*G*].

(*t*) Idem, pag. 47, 48.

(*u*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 246. Dr. Fell ſays, pag. 55. *that he continued ten weeks in his reſtraint.*

(*w*) Dr. Fell, pag. 55, 56.

" with any conſiderable difficulty, or forced by any " conſideration to wave the anſwer of any thing ob- " jected. A ſtory of that whole affair I am yet able " to tell you; but I cannot think it neceſſary. Only " this I may add, that after it I went to Mr. Marſhall " in my own and brethren's names to demand three " things; 1. Whether any argument propoſed by them " remained unanſwered, to which we might yield far- " ther anſwer: 2. Whether they intended to make " any report of the paſt diſputation, offering, if they " would, to join with them in it, and to perfect a con- " ference by mutual conſent, after the manner of that " between Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Hart; both which " being rejected, the 3d was, to promiſe each other, " that nothing ſhould be afterwards publiſh'd by either, " without the conſent or knowledge of the other party. " And that laſt he promiſed for himſelf and his bre- " thren, and ſo we parted."

[*I*] *During this confinement he began his* Annotations on the New Teſtament.] This we are informed of by Dr. Fell (16), who likewiſe obſerves (17), that our Author having written in Latin two large volumes in 4to of the way of interpreting the New Teſtament, with reference to the cuſtoms of the Jews and of the firſt hereticks of the Chriſtian Church, and of the Heathens, eſpecially in the Grecian Games, and above all the importance of the *Helleniſtical* Dialect, into which he had made the exacteſt ſearch, (by which means in a manner he happened to take in all the difficulties of that ſacred Book,) he began to conſider that it might be uſeful to the Engliſh Reader, who was to be his immediate care, to write in our vulgar language, and ſet every obſervation in its natural order, according to the guidance of the text. And having ſome years before collated ſeveral Greek copies of the New Teſtament, he obſerved the variation of our Engliſh from the original, and made an entire tranſlation of the whole for his private uſe; being thus furniſhed, he caſt his work into that form in which it now appears. The reaſons of it are ſet down by his own pen in the preface to his *Annotations*. This work was printed at London 1653 and 1659 in fol. *A Review of it with ſome Additions and Alterations* was printed in 1656 in 8vo. The reputation which our Author had gained by it in England, and the Fragments of his Annotations in Poole's *Synopſis Criticorum*, raiſed a great deſire in many learned foreigners, that the whole might be tranſlated into Latin. At laſt Monſr. le Clerc executed that taſk, and publiſhed his Tranſlation at Amſterdam 1698 in two volumes in fol. under this title: *Novum Teſtamentum Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, ex editione Vulgatâ, cum Paraphraſi & Adnotationibus* Henrici Hammondi. *Ex Anglica Lingua in Latinam tranſtulit, ſuiſque animadverſionibus illuſtravit, caſtigavit, auxit* J. Clericus. Monſr. le Clerc's *Animadverſions* were afterwards printed by themſelves in Engliſh at Lond. in 4°. He complains in his preface of the Doctor's rough ſtyle, uſeleſs ſynonyma's and unneceſſary repetitions; on which account he thought fit to ſoften his harſh expreſſions, and retrench his ſuperfluities, comparing his work to a thick and dark foreſt, where abundance of buſhes and ſhrubs muſt be cut up to clear a paſſage. At the ſame time he declares, that he hath no where offered any violence to his author's meaning, but rather blames himſelf for not making uſe of a greater liberty. He intermixes a great many of his own animadverſions, explaining thoſe points, upon which Dr. Hammond had but ſlightly touched: and corrects many of his miſtakes. And whereas ſome might object, that it was ſcarcely worth the pains to tranſlate a Writer, who in ſo many things agrees with Grotius; he anſwers, that there are a variety of obſervations in Hammond, which neither Grotius nor any other Writer has mentioned; and that the Doctor has frequently enlarged what Grotius had ſaid, and confirmed it by new arguments. He obſerves, that with reſpect to points in Divinity, Dr. Hammond follows the Remonſtrants, eſpecially as to the doctrine of Predeſtination and Grace; but for particular paſſages, moſtly agrees with Grotius, tho' he recedes too much ſometimes from his original. However Monſr. le Clerc allows him the ſecond rank to Grotius, tho' he adds at the ſame time, that he falls very much ſhort of him. He frequently criticizes upon the Doctor's ſentiments, and examines his quotations by the originals; by which he hath diſcovered a great many typographical errors, eſpecially in numbers, and not a few of the Doctor's miſtakes in quoting upon the credit of others. He ſometimes reprehends him for giving a particular ſenſe to certain Greek words, contrary to the common uſe of thoſe words in Greek Authors, wherein he thinks the Doctor was not very converſant, and that he learned his Greek rather in ſtudying the Fathers to know their ſentiments, than to obtain an exact ſkill in the language. Hence it is, ſays he, that the Doctor frequently miſtakes in his grammatical diſcuſſions, in which he often engages; for his notes are generally rather critical than theological; and inſtead of conſulting the meaning of thoſe words, which cannot be well underſtood, except by a long and attentive reading of good Authors, he often conſulted his own reaſon, and ſome ancient gloſſaries, which he did not underſtand well, and therefore ſometimes corrupted them in attempting to correct them. Monſr. le Clerc remarks, that the Doctor was peculiarly fond of the hypotheſis, that the writings of the Apoſtles every where allude to the doctrine of the Gnoſtics; to ſupport which hypotheſis he wreſts many paſſages of Scripture.

(16) Pag. 55.

(17) Pag. 58.

[*K*] *The Tryal of his Majeſty now drawing on, he wrote an* Addreſs *to the General and Council of War, and tranſmitted it to them.*] It was intitled, *An humble Addreſs to the Lord Fairfax and Council of War*, 15th January 1648. London 1649 in 4to. It was anſwered afterwards by a perſon who ſtiled himſelf *Eutactus Philodemius*; whereupon he publiſhed, *A Vindication of Dr. Hammond's* Addreſs &c. *from the Exceptions of Eutactus Philodemius in two particulars &c. together with a brief Reply to Mr. John Goodwin's* Obſtructors of Juſtice, *as far as it concerns Dr. Hammond.* London 1649 in 4to. Mr. Goodwin in his book intitled, *The Obſtructors of Juſtice: or a Defence of the honourable ſentence paſſed upon the late King by the High Court of Juſtice*, London 1649 in 4to, anſwers, 1. *The ſerious and faithful Repreſentation and Vindication of ſome of the Miniſters of London*: 2. *The humble Addreſs of Dr. Hammond*: 3. *Mr. John Geree's Might overcoming Right.*

[*L*] *His Latin Treatiſe againſt Blondel in defence of Epiſcopacy.*]

Clapham, he was ſet at liberty, and went to Sir John Packington's ſeat at Weſtwood in Worceſterſhire, where he proſecuted his ſtudies, and finiſhed ſeveral of his writings, which have been printed [*M*]. When King Charles II came to Worceſter, he waited upon his Majeſty, whoſe defeat gave him the moſt exquiſite ſorrow (*x*), as did the Interdict of January 1655, which diſabled the Loyal Clergy from performing any miniſterial

(*x*) Idem, pag. 65.

Epiſcopacy.] It is intitled, *Diſſertationes quatuor, quibus Epiſcopatûs jura ex S. Scripturis & primæva antiquitate adſtruuntur, contra ſententiam D. Blondelli, &c.* London 1651 in 4to. To which is prefixed *Diſſertatio de Antichriſto, de Myſterio Iniquitatis, de Diotrephe, & de Gnoſticis ſub Apoſtolorum ævo ſe prodentibus.* Dr. Fell (18) informs us of the occaſion of our Author's writing this Treatiſe againſt David Blondel, which was as follows. Archbiſhop Uſher having received from Blondel a Letter of Exception againſt his Edition of Ignatius, he communicated it to Dr. Hammond, deſiring his ſenſe of ſeveral paſſages in it relating to the *Valentinian Hereſy*, *Epiſcopal* and *Chorepiſcopal Power*, and ſome emergent difficulties concerning them, from the Canons of ſeveral antient Eaſtern Councils. To all this the Doctor wrote a particular Anſwer, promiſing a fuller account, if it would be uſeful. Upon the receipt of which the Archbiſhop being highly ſatisfied, returned his thanks, and laid hold of the promiſe; which being accordingly diſcharged, became the proviſion, and gave the materials to a great part of the *Diſſertations*. The Primate's Letter was in theſe words. "I have read with great delight and "content your accurate anſwer to the objections "made againſt the credit of *Ignatius* his *Epiſtles*, for "which I do moſt heartily thank you, and am mov-"ed thereby farther to intreat you to publiſh to the "world in Latin what you have already written in "Engliſh againſt this objector, and that other *, who "for your pains hath rudely requited you with the "baſe appellation of *Nebulo* for the aſſertion of E-"piſcopacy; to the end it may no longer be credited "abroad, that theſe two have beaten down this cal-"ling, that the defence thereof is now deſerted by "all men, as by Lud. Capellus is intimated in his "theſis of *Church Government*, at Sedan lately pub-"liſhed, which I leave unto your ſerious conſideration, "and all your godly labours to the bleſſing of our good "God, in whom I evermore reſt.

Your very loving Friend
"Rygate *in* Surry, *and Brother*,
"July 21, 1649. Ja. Armachanus.

(18) Pag. 60, 61.

* Salmaſius.

The Archbiſhop was ſo concerned in this requeſt, that he reinforced it by another letter of Auguſt 30, and congratulated the performance by a third of January 14; "both which, *ſays Dr. Fell* (19), though very worthy "to ſee the public light, are yet forborn, as ſeveral of "the like kind from the reverend Fathers the Biſhops "of this and our ſiſter-churches, as alſo from the moſt "eminent for piety and learning of our own and the "neighbouring nations; which courſe is taken not "only in accordance to the deſires and ſentiments "of the excellent Doctor, who hated every thing, "that looked like oſtentation; but likewiſe to avoid "the very unpleaſing choice, either to take the "trouble of recounting all the Doctor's correſpon-"dencies, or bear the envy of omitting ſome."

(19) Pag. 63.

[*M*] *Finiſhed ſeveral of his writings, which have been printed.*] I. *A Letter of Reſolution to ſix Queries of preſent uſe in the Church of England*, London 1653, in 8vo. The 1ſt. *Of the way of reſolving Controverſies, which are not clearly ſtated and reſolved in the Scriptures.* The 2d *Of marrying the Wife's Siſter.* The 3d *Of Polygamy and Divorces.* The 4th *Of the Baptiſm of Infants.* The 5th *Of Impoſition of Hands for Ordination.* The 6th *Of the Obſervation of Chriſtmas-day, and other Feſtivals of the Church.* II. *Of Schiſm: or, a Defence of the Church of England againſt the Exceptions of the Romaniſts*, London 165$\frac{3}{4}$, in 12mo. It was anſwered by Mr. Jo. Serjeant, in a book intitled, *Schiſm Diſarmed, &c.* to which is an Appendix in anſwer to Dr. John Bramhall's *Juſt Vindication of the Church of England*, London, 1653, in ſmall 8vo. III. *Reply to a Catholic Gentleman's Anſwer to the moſt material parts of the Book of Schiſm*, London, 165$\frac{4}{5}$, in 4to. IV. *Account of* H. T. his Appendix *to his* Manual of Controverſies *concerning the Abbot of Bangor's Anſwer to Auguſtine*, printed with the preceding Tract. V. *Vindication of the Diſſertations concerning Epiſcopacy, from the Exceptions of the London Miniſters in their* Jus Divinum Miniſterii Evangelici, London, 1654, in 4to. VI. *Of Fundamentals, in a Notion referring to Practice*, London, 1654, in 8vo. VII. *Anſwer to the Animadverſions on the Diſſertations touching Ignatius's Epiſtles, and the Epiſcopacy in them aſſerted*, London, 1654, in 4to. VIII. *Account of Mr. Dan. Cawdrey's* Triplex Diatriba, concerning Superſtition, Will-Worſhip, and Chriſtmas Feſtival. London 1655, in 4to. This *Account* was anſwered by Mr. Cawdrey, Miniſter of Billing Magna in Northamptonſhire, in a book intitled, *The Account audited and diſcounted, &c.* London, 1658. IX. *The Baptizing of Infants reviewed and defended againſt the Exceptions of Mr. Tombes in his three laſt Chapters of his Book intitled*, Antipædobaptiſm. London 1655, in 4to. X. *Defence of the learned Hugo Grotius, &c.* London 1655, in 4to. XI. *Second Defence of Hugo Grotius: or, a Vindication of the Digreſſion concerning him.* London 1656, in 4to. XII. *The Diſarmer's Dexterity examined; in a ſecond Defence of the Treatiſe of Schiſm.* London 1657, in 4°. Soon after this Mr. Serjeant publiſhed his *Schiſm diſpatch'd, &c.* with an *Appendix*, London 1656, in a large 8vo, being a reply not only to Dr. Hammond, but alſo to Dr. John Bramhall. XIII. *The Degrees of ardency in Chriſt's Prayer reconciled with his fulneſs of habitual Grace, in reply to* [*Mr. Henry Jeanes*] *the Author of a book intitled*, A Mixture of Scholaſtical Divinity, &c. XIV. *Paræneſis, &c. A Diſcourſe of Hereſy in Defence of our Church againſt the Romaniſts.* London 1656, in 8vo. XV. *Continuation of the Defence of H. Grotius, in an anſwer to the* Review of his Annotations. London 1657, in 4to. XVI. *Reply to ſome Paſſages of the Reviewer, in his late Book of Schiſm concerning his Charge of Corruptions in the Primitive Church, and ſome other Particulars.* Printed with the preceding Tract. XVII. *The Grounds of Uniformity, from* 1 Cor. xiv. 40. *vindicated from Mr. Henry Jeanes's Exceptions in one Paſſage in the* View of the Directory. London 1657, in 4to. XVIII. *Paraphraſe and Annotations on the Book of Pſalms.* London 1659, in Folio. Theſe Annotations were remitted by Matthew Poole into the ſecond Volume of his *Synopſis Criticorum*, London 1671, in Folio, with this Character, *Doctiſſimus Hammondus, in quibus multa reperiet Lector acumine perquam pluſquam vulgari, parique eruditione conſcripta, nonnulla etiam ſingularia.* Dr. James Duport likewiſe in the Preface to his *Metaphraſis Pſa[illegible]m*, highly commends this work of our Author. *[illegible]e Diſpatcher diſpatch'd: or, an Examination of [illegible]maniſt's Rejoynder to Dr. Hammond's Replies, wherein is inſerted a View of their Profeſſion and oral Tradition, in the way of Mr. White.* London, 1659, in 4to. By this Mr. White is meant the famous *Thomas de Alhus*. XX. *Brief Account of a Suggeſtion againſt the* Diſpatcher diſpatch'd. London 1660, in 4to. XXI. ΧΑΡΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ: *Or, a Pacific Diſcourſe of God's Grace and Decrees; in a Letter of full Accordance written to the Reverend and moſt Learned Dr. Robert Sanderſon. By Henry Hammond, D. D. To which are annexed the Extracts of three Letters concerning God's Preſcience reconciled with Liberty and Contingency.* London, 1660, in 8vo. XXII. *Two Prayers.* London, 1660, in 8vo. XXIII. *The daily Practice of Piety: alſo Devotions and Prayers in time of Captivity.* London, 1660, in 8vo. XXIV. *Spiritual Sacrifice: or, Devotions and Prayers fitted to the main uſes, &c.* XXV. His *Laſt Words*, printed in a looſe ſheet. XXVI. *Solemn Petition and Advice to the Convocation, with his Directions to the Laity how to prolong their happineſs.* Cambridge, 1661, in 8vo. Publiſhed by Mr. Thomas Smith of Chriſt College in Cambridge, Author of *The Riſe and Growth of Quakeriſm.* XXVII. *De Confirmatione, ſive Benedictione, poſt baptiſmum, ſolenni per impoſitionem manuum Epiſcopi celebrata, Commentarius ex ſententiâ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ.*

(y) Idem, pag. 73.

(z) Idem, pag. 83.

(aa) Idem, pag. 209.

(bb) Idem, pag. 211.

(cc) Idem, pag. 213.

(dd) Idem, pag. 231.

(ee) Idem, pag. 236.

(ff) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 249.

(gg) Ibid. col. 246.

(hh) Fell, pag. 85-89.

fterial act (*y*). He had undertaken a *Commentary on the Old Teſtament*, and had begun on the *Book of Proverbs*, and finiſhed a third part of it (*z*); when the execution of his other excellent deſigns was prevented by his ill ſtate of health, which at laſt put an end to his days. At the opening of the year 1660, when every thing viſibly tended to the Reſtoration of the Royal Family, the Doctor was deſired by the Biſhops to repair to London, to aſſiſt there in the compoſure of the breaches of the Church (*aa*), his ſtation in which was deſigned to be the Biſhopric of Worceſter (*bb*); but on the 4th of April he was ſeized by a fit of the ſtone (*cc*), of which he died on the 25th of that month (*dd*), in the fifty fifth year of his age (*ee*); and the next day was interred in the Chancel of Hampton-Church near Weſtwood (*ff*), where a monument is erected to his memory. Dr. Fell has drawn his character to great advantage [*N*]; and Mr. Wood tells us (*gg*), that "great were his natural abilities, greater his acquired; and in the whole circle "of arts he was moſt accurate. He was alſo eloquent in the tongues, exact in antient "and modern writers, was well verſed in Philoſophy, and better in Philology, moſt "learned in School-Divinity, and a great maſter in Church-Antiquity." His ſtature was of juſt height and all proportionate dimenſions; his face carried dignity and attractives in it, ſcarce ever clouded with a frown, or ſo much as darkened by reſervedneſs. His complexion was clear and florid, ſo that, eſpecially in his youth, he had the eſteem of a very beauteous perſon, which was leſſened only by the colour of his hair. His eye was briſk and ſprightly; and his conſtitution firm and patient of ſevereſt toil and hardſhip. His ſight was quick to an unuſual degree, that if by chance he ſaw a company of men, a flock of ſheep, or herd of cattle, being engaged in diſcourſe, and not at all thinking of it, he would involuntarily caſt up their number, which others after long delays could hardly reckon. His ear was accurate, ſo that having never learned to ſing by book or ſtudy, he would exactly perform his part of many things to a Harpſicon or Theorbo; and frequently did ſo in his more vigorous years, after the toil and labour of the day, and before the remaining ſtudies of the night. His elocution was free and graceful, prepared at once to charm and to command his audience; and when with preaching at his country charge he had in ſome degree loſt the due management of his voice, King Charles I, by taking notice of the change, became his maſter of Muſic, and reduced him to his antient decent modulation (*hh*). He had a great eſteem for the writings of Grotius [*O*], of

XXVIII. *Several Sermons*, London, 1664, in Folio. They are in number thirty one, and ſome of them never before publiſhed. XXIX. *Of Hell Torments*, Oxford, 1664, in 12mo. Or, *An Aſſertion of the Exiſtence and Duration of Hell Torments, &c.* Oxford, 1665, in 8vo. XXX. *An Accordance of St. Paul with St. James in the great point of Faith and Works.* Oxford, 1665, in 8vo. XXXI. *Anſwer to Mr. Richard Smith's Letter concerning the Senſe of that Article in the Creed*, He deſcended into Hell; dated the 28th of April 1659. London, 1684, in 8vo. Mr. *Smith's Letter* was dated from Little Moor-fields near London, in the ſaid Month 1659. XXXII. *Paraphraſe and Annotations upon the ten firſt Chapters of the Proverbs.* London, 1683, in Folio. Beſides theſe he publiſhed *The Chriſtian's Obligation to Peace and Charity, delivered in an Advent Sermon at Cariſbrook-Caſtle*, Ann. 1647, *and now publiſhed with nine Sermons more.* London, 1652, in 4to. The Second Edition. His works were publiſhed by Mr. William Fulman of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, in four Volumes in Folio, at London 1684, and to the latter end of the fourth Volume was annexed an Appendix to the ſecond Volume.

[*N*] *Dr. Fell has drawn his character to great advantage.*] He tells us (20), that his invention was an unexhauſted treaſure, whoſe flowings were with that full torrent, that for ſeveral years, after his choice of ſubjects, which generally he had in proſpect beforehand, a little meditation on the Saturday night made up his Sermon; but in the laſt twelve of his life, finding the recollection of his thoughts diſturb his ſleep, he remitted the particular care of the compoſition and method of his future diſcourſe to the Sunday morning, wherein an hour's conſideration fitted him to the office of that day. With the like ſwiftneſs he diſpatched his writings, uſually compoſing faſter than his Amanuenſis, though a very dextrous perſon, could tranſcribe after him. His *Conſiderations of preſent Neceſſity concerning Epiſcopacy*, were drawn up after ten a clock at night in a friend's chamber, who profeſſed, that ſitting by all the while, he remembred not that he took off his pen from the paper till he had done; and the very next morning, it being fully approved by Dr. Duppa, Biſhop of Saliſbury, he ſent it to the preſs; to which work he could have no premeditation or ſecond thoughts, he being that very night after ſupper employed by the Biſhop on that taſk. So likewiſe he began his tract of *Scandal* at eleven at night, and finiſhed it before he went to bed. Nor was this a peculiar or extraordinary thing with him, but moſt cuſtomary; five ſheets having amidſt his other diverſions been ſeveral times his one day's work, adding to it ſo much of the night as he frequently borrowed from ſleep and ſupper. His memory was ſerviceable, but not officious, faithful to things and buſineſs, but unwillingly retaining the contexture and punctualities of words; which defect he frequently lamented, it being harder with him to get one Sermon by heart, than to pen twenty. His way of ſpeech and faculty of communicating notions was ſufficiently happy, having only this beſt kind of defect, exuberance and ſurpluſage of plenty, the tide and torrent of his matter being not eaſily confined by periods; whereby his ſtile, though round and comprehenſive, was incumbered ſometimes by parentheſes, and became difficult to vulgar underſtandings. But by the uſe of writing, and his deſire to accommodate himſelf to all capacities, he, in his latter years, had maſtered that defect, which was ſo ſlight, that, notwithſtanding it, King Charles I gave him the character of *the moſt natural Orator he ever heard.* His judgment was the moſt eminent among his natural endowments; it was clear and diſcerning, and that not only in ſcholaſtical affairs, and points of learning, but in the concerns and nature both of church and ſtate; wherein his gueſs was uſually as near to prophecy as any man's. His learning was univerſal. But the Scholar was leſs eminent in him than the Chriſtian. He was chaſte, temperate, devout, firm in his friendſhips, humane, diſpaſſionate; an enemy to flattery, declaring always, that *he delighted to be loved, not reverenced*; charitable and patient under all afflictions, ſo that when he laboured under the Gout, he would give thanks that it was not the Stone or Cramp; when it was the Stone, that it was not ſo ſharp as others felt.

(20) Pag. 90, & ſeqq.

[*O*] *He had a great eſteem for the writings of Grotius.*] He appears to have been very ſollicitous for the defence of that great man from the charge of Socinianiſm, and to have employed his friends to collect every thing neceſſary for that purpoſe. The very learned Dr. Walter Jones, Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty,

of which he made a great uſe in his own.

jeſty, has communicated to us two original Letters, the former from Mr. Samſ. Johnſon to Dr. Hammond, and the other from Grotius to Mr. Johnſon, which is imperfect, ſeveral words and lines being unfortunately defaced, ſo as not to be legible.

" Worthy Friend,

" I ſend you by Mr. Thruſcroſs a fragment of a " Letter from Grotius to me, long after that Crellius " had putt forth his book againſt his *De Satisfactione*, " and when Ruarus was with him at Paris, upon " whom he did gaine by conference, and brought him " to an expreſſion of his opinion about a kind of ſa- " tisfaction, which he does now acknowledge, and " which I could have ſent you, if the Mice had not " been malicious, when I brought over my books, " for they conſumed about twenty of his to me. If " I find any thing els to ſerve you, you ſhall have " it from, Sir,

" Your true Friend and Servant,
" both for your worth and
" old acquaintance,
" Samſ. Johnſon.

" Weſtm. 4
" Junii 1655.

" For the Socinian opinion, I know he was free; " and it was the malice of Rivett to bring him in " queſtion, as he did many others, out of pride and " ſupercilium unfitting ſuch a Profeſſor."

Grotius's Letter is as follows.

" Reverende Domine,

" Si quid unquam pietati tuæ boni per me contigit, " id certe non tibi quam mihi eſt: cum voluptate re- " cordor tempus illud, cum mihi ſermonibus tuis doc- " tiſſimis ſan * * * * quales ego, in magna quamvis " hic ſalutatorum copia, non parvo mihi emptos ve- " lim mihi eſſe, cum non datur, qnod proximum eſt " iſti felicitati, per literas commercium. Quos mihi " commendare, aut quovis modo notos facere volueris, " oſtendam, * * * pietatis amor apud me maneat, " quantique faciam ſummas tuas virtutes * * *. Ac- " cepit Gallia damni nonnihil ad S. Audomari urbem " & ad * * * capta Rentiacum & Caſteletum, tantum " eſt de virili ſtirpe regi nata dolores facile extrudit. " Veſtri illi vicini ſpiritu aguntur tui gregis; at niſi " * * * illegitimum fœdus, magno metuo vulnus, non " jam Epiſcopali, ſed reg * * * quantum me pro ſum- " mo erga gentem veſtram ſtudio hæc res ſollicitum * * " vim habet ad furiandos homines rerum imperitos illud " *Knoxii*, *Bucha* * * * præſertim cum in oculis ſint " felicium defectionum exempla. D. *Seldeni* * * ex " Hebræorum ſcriptis deprompta: quare in animo " illi eſſe noris, nos * * * * gaudeo. De Synedrio " pauca pro materiæ ubertate dedit nobis Cochii * * * * " *Seldenus* pro iſta ſua multijugi Lectione plurima ſcitu " utilia * * * * addere. Nec minus placet altera re- " condita eruditi * * * * quale Hebræi coluere. * * * * " Poteris autem, vir optime, omnibus, qui nos norunt, " affirmare, me de iis quæ contra *Socini* admiratores " defendi, non modo nihil diſcedere, & ſed & illorum " aliquos mea opera adductos ad meliorem ſententi- " am: quo magis gratias tibi habeo pro edito noſtro " libello *de SatisfactioneChriſti*, in quo argumento illos " a proprietate verborum tam multorum in ſacris li- " teris, & a manifeſtiſſimo antiquitatis conſenſu poſi- " tionibus quibuſdam inanibus abſtractos non dubito. " *Patricium Junium* amavi ſemper, amo nunc etiam " quod poſt Catenam in Jobum & Theophylacti quæ- " dam, etiam Euthymium, boni judicii in ſera ætate " ſcriptorem, publici juris facit. *Decarteſii* & *Ga- " lilæi*, eminentium Philoſophorum opera, tibi viſa " gaudeo. Neſcio an *Mechanica Galilæi* & de Motu " * * * videris. *Franciſci Junii* Librum *de Picturâ " Veterum* non minus delectavit, quam ipſæ picturæ " talium ſtudioſos ſolent. In *Salmaſii* libro *de Uſuris* " ſunt multa minime protrita. Nunc ne quis eum " putet nimium laxare habenas avaritiæ, addit alte- " rum *de modo uſurarum*. Inter ipſum & *D. Heinſium* " tentatæ conciliaturæ ſucceſſum non habuerunt. Ita- " que brevi ἀγῶνα aliquem habebimus. Bene com- " poſitum par. Ego ubi *Heinſiana*, & ut credo, *Sal- " maſiana* ad Novum Teſtamentum videro, quid mihi " de meis faciendum ſit, conſtituam. *Teſtardus* & *A- " mirautius* nihil aliud quam mala dogmata pulchris " verbis incruſtant, & quicquid dare videntur una ma- " nu, coacti ſcilicet ſcripturarum luce, id eripiunt al- " tera. Maxima me voluptate perfundit Literarum " tuarum pars poſtrema, quæ brevi te Hagam iturum " et * * *." T.

HANNO General of the Carthaginians was commanded to ſail round Africa (*a*). He entered into the ocean by the Strait which we call of Gibraltar, and diſcovered ſeveral countries (*b*). He would have continued his navigation, had it not been for want of proviſions. Some aſſert that he finiſhed it [*A*]; I mean that he ſailed to the very extremity of Arabia. He wrote an account of his voyage, which was often quoted; but it was not much credited [*B*]. There is ſomething of it extant [*C*]. The learned are not agreed

(*a*) See the remark [*B*].

(*b*) Pliny, *and* Pomponius Mela quoted in the remark [*A*].

[*A*] *He would have continued his navigation had it not been for want of proviſions. Some aſſert that he finiſhed it.*] Two paſſages, one from Pomponius Mela, and the other from Pliny, will ſerve us here for a Commentary. *Hanno Carthaginienſis exploratum miſſus a ſuis, cum per Oceani oſtium exiſſet, magnam partem ejus circumvectus, non ſe mare ſed commeatum defeciſſe memorata retulerat* (1). i. e. " Hanno the " Carthaginian being ſent by his countrymen to ob- " ſerve the coaſt of Africa, paſſed through the ſtrait of " Gibraltar, and did not finiſh his navigation, not " becauſe the ſea, but becauſe his proviſions failed " him, as he relates himſelf." Let us ſee Pliny's words (2). *Et Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumvectus à Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit ſcripto.* i. e. " When the affairs of Car- " thage were in a flouriſhing condition, Hanno ſailed " from Cadix to the extremity of Arabia, and left " an account of his navigation in writing." Salma- ſius (3) ſuppoſes, that Pliny was miſtaken, and that Hanno did not carry on his obſervations as far as the Red-ſea, but only to the iſlands called *Gorgades*. Iſaac Voſſius is pretty near of the ſame opinion; he imagines that the iſland, which is now called St. Ann's, was the end of this Carthaginian General's naviga- tion (4).

(1) Pomponius Mela, lib. 3. cap. 9. pag. 63. editio Iſaaci Voſſii.

(2) Plinius, lib. 2. cap. 67. pag. m. 220, 221.

(3) Salmaſius, *Exercit. Plin.* pag. 1242, 1244.

(4) Iſaac Voſſius *in Melam*, lib. 3. cap. 20. pag. 305.

[*B*] *He wrote an account . . . which was not much credited.*] Pliny, who otherwiſe treats his authors with great indulgence, as all the world knows, yet could not forbear obſerving, that this writer related a great many fabulous ſtories. *Fuere*, ſays he (5), *& Hannonis Carthaginienſium ducis commentarii, Punicis rebus florentiſſimis explorare ambitum Africæ juſſi: quem ſecuti plerique è Græcis noſtriſque, & alia quædam fabuloſa, & urbes multas ab eo conditas ibi prodidere, quarum nec memoria ulla nec veſtigium exſtat.* i. e. " There was alſo an account written by Hanno a " General of the Carthaginians, who was ſent by " them to obſerve the coaſt of Africa, at a time " when their affairs were in the moſt flouriſhing con- " dition. Several, both Greek and Latin authors, who " followed his account, have related ſome fabulous " ſtories, and aſſerted that he built a great many ci- " ties, of which there is not the leaſt memory nor ſign " left." See alſo Athenæus (6).

(5) Plinius, lib. 5. cap. 1. pag. m. 523, 524.

(6) Athen. lib. 3. pag. 83. on whoſe words *ſee* Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Græcis*, pag. 514.

[*C*] . . . *There is ſomething of it extant.*] Sigiſmund Gelenius publiſhed it in Greek at Baſil by Frobenius in the year 1533. There was a ſecond Edition of it printed in the year 1559, with a Latin Tranſlation, and ſome Notes of Conrad Geſner. And yet Salma- ſius obſerves, that it ſeems the Greeks were never acquainted with this work. *Scriptum illud non videtur innotuiſſe. Etenim ſi veniſſet in notitiam ac manus Græcorum, totam eam meridiani Oceani oram minime reliquiſſent intactam* (7). i. e. " It ſeems, that this " Book was not known; for if it had come to the

(7) Salmaſ. *Exercitat. Plinianæ*, pag. 1242.

agreed about the time when he lived [*D*], and there is not the leaſt proof that the Carthaginians cauſed him to be put to death. He hung up in the temple of Juno the ſkins of

" knowledge, and into the hands of the Greeks, they " would not have left all that Southern Coaſt of " the Ocean, without taking notice of it." He was not therefore acquainted with Pliny's words, which I have tranſcribed in the foregoing Remark, nor with a paſſage in the Book intituled, περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων, *of wonderful hearſays*, in which Hanno is quoted. This General's work is alſo mentioned in the Epitome of Artemidorus of Epheſus. Theſe are inſtances which ſhew, that there are ſome things very eaſy to know and which yet eſcape the knowledge of men of the deepeſt learning, and moſt extenſive memory. Iſaac Voſſius did not forgive Salmaſius this miſtake (8); nor did Father Hardouin paſs it unobſerved (9). Take notice, that what Geſner had publiſhed at Baſil in the year 1559, was again publiſhed at London in the year 1674, I mean Hanno's *Periplus* (or Circum-Navigation) with Geſner's Latin Tranſlation and Notes, and with John de Leon's Africa. But Berkelius added to all this ſome Obſervations extracted from the ſecond part of Bochart's *Geographia Sacra*. That ſame little work (19) of Hanno has been printed at Oxford in the year 1698, by Dr. Hudſon's care, with ſeveral other pieces of the ſame kind in the firſt Volume of the *Geographiæ veteris Scriptores Græci minores*, i. e. " The leſſer Greek Authors upon antient Geo- " graphy." The diſſertations, which Mr. Dodwell prefixed to this Volume, and which give us a full account of theſe ancient Greek Authors, abound with learning. That which relates to Hanno is not the leaſt important of them all. Mr. Dodwell does not think that this Carthaginian General wrote the *Periplus*, which we have under his Name. He aſcribes it to ſome Greek Author of Sicily, who was a ſtrenuous aſſerter of the Glory of Carthage. He imagines alſo, that the *Periplus*, which is now extant under the name of Hanno, differs very much from that which the antients had. See the Margin (11).

him, becauſe they had ſeen that he had taught a Lyon to carry his baggage, which made them ſuſpect that he aimed at kingly power (18). Neither Pliny nor Plutarch ſay any thing that can make us gueſs at what time this happened, and it is not an eaſy matter to know for what reaſon Voſſius imagined they ſpeak of an Hanno different from ours. Father Hardouin is of another opinion; for he thinks that the Traveller is the ſame with him, who was condemned for taming a Lyon; but he cannot alledge the leaſt proof for it: one may eaſily conjecture that he is miſtaken; for it is ſomewhat probable, that if the ſame Hanno who ſailed round the Coaſt of Africa, was the perſon who tamed a Lyon, Pliny would have mentioned this particular. It is beſt not to determine any thing; let us not deny what Voſſius denies; but let us not affirm what Father Hardouin affirms. Obſerve that he ſuppoſes that Pliny aſſerts, that Hanno was put to death (19); but it is better to give a more general ſenſe to the word *damnatus* (condemned), ſince Plutarch aſſerts that Hanno was baniſhed. One may make the following objection againſt Voſſius. Ariſtotle in his Book *de admirandis auditionibus* (of wonderful hearings) quotes Hanno, whence it follows that this Carthaginian General lived before Agathocles. But Voſſius anſwers (20), that Ariſtotle is not the Author of that Book. Solinus's Authority is of no weight, who aſſerts that Xenophon of Lampſacus has quoted Hanno; for beſides that we do not know where this Xenophon lived, there are reaſons to think that Solinus impoſes upon us. Here follow his words (21). *Has* (Gorgades inſulas) *incoluerunt Gorgones monſtra, & ſanè uſque adhuc monſtroſa gens habitat. Diſtant à continente bidui navigatione. Prodidit denique Xenophon Lampſacenus Hannonem Pœnorum regem in eas permeaviſſe, repertaſque ibi fœminas aliti pernicitate, atque ex omnibus quæ apparuerant, duas captas tam hirto atque aſpero corpore, ut ad argumentum ſpectandæ rei duarum cutes miraculi gratia inter donaria Junonis ſuſpenderit; quæ duravere uſque in tempora excidii Carthaginienſis.* i. e. " Some Mon- " ſters called Gorgons inhabited thoſe Iſlands; and in- " deed a monſtrous Nation does ſtill live there. Theſe " Iſlands are two days ſailing diſtant from the Conti- " nent. Laſtly, Xenophon of Lampſacus relates that " Hanno, the King of the Carthaginians came to theſe " Iſlands, where he met with ſome women as ſwift as " Eagles; and having taken two of them that appear- " ed before him, whoſe body was ſo rough and hairy, " that it was worthy to be ſeen, he cauſed their ſkins to " be pulled off, which he hung up in the Temple of " Juno amongſt the other Gifts as wonderful ſights; " where they were to be ſeen till the Deſtruction of " Carthage". It is plain that this paſſage is only an imitation of the following words. *Contra hoc quoque promontorium Gorgades inſulæ narrantur, Gorgonum quondam domus, bidui navigatione diſtantes à continente, ut tradit Xenophon Lampſacenus. Penetravit in eas Hanno Pœnorum Imperator, prodiditque hirta fœminarum corpora, viros pernicitate evaſiſſe; duarumque Gorgonum cutes argumenti & miraculi gratia in Junonis templo poſuit, ſpectatas uſque ad Carthaginem captam* (22). i. e. " It " is reported, that over-againſt that Promontory are " ſituated the Iſlands called Gorgades, formerly inha- " bited by the Gorgons, two days ſailing diſtant from " the continent, as Xenophon of Lamſacus relates. " Hanno the General of the Carthaginians penetrated " to theſe Iſlands, and reports that the women, whoſe " body is very hairy, excell the men in ſwift- " neſs: he hung up the ſkins of two Gorgons as a " wonderful ſight in the Temple of Juno, where they " were to be ſeen, till the taking of Carthage." The Copy differs from the orignal in this, namely, that Pliny does not aſſert, as Solinus does, that Xenophon related that Hanno came as far as the Iſland called *Gorgades*, &c. Salmaſius ſuppoſes that Solinus aſſerted this, in order to prove that Xenophon of Lampſacus lived after Hanno. *Hoc obtinere vult Solinus, ut finis illi reſpondeat principiis, & toto in curſu ſibi conſtet. Hanno vetuſtior Xenophonte Lampſaceno. Quomodo igitur hic de illo prodere potuit* (22)? i. e. " Solinus aims at this, " that the end may anſwer the beginning, and his ac- " count

(8) Iſaac Voſſius, *in Melam*, pag. 302.

(9) Hardouin, *in Indice Autor. Plinii*, pag. 113.

(10) It may very well be ſtiled thus, for it does not contain ſix half pages in the Oxford edition in 8vo, 1698.

(11) Obſerve, that it is not ſaid in the preface to the Oxford edition, that Bosclerus publiſhed Hanno with notes in the year 1661.

(12) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Græcis*, pag. 513.

(13) *Neque iſtum factionis Barchinæ, de quo Livius libro de bello Punico ſecundo.* Idem, ibid. i. e. " Nor him of " Hannibal's " faction, whom " Livy mentions " in the book of " the Punic " war." *There is great* obſcurity in theſe words; *after* Barchinæ *he ſhould have added* inimicum (enemy to Hannibal's faction) *and after* Libro, *he ſhould have put* 21. dum de (where he treats of) *or ſomething like this.*

(14) Juſtin, lib. 20. *cap. ult.*

(15) Idem, lib. 21. cap. 4.

(16) Idem, lib. 22. cap. 6.

(17) Plinius, lib. 8. cap. 16. pag. 161.

[*D*] *The learned are not agreed about the time when he lived.*] It was according to Pliny, when the affairs of the Carthaginians were in the moſt flouriſhing condition. This is a very indeterminate expreſſion; and yet Voſſius (12) finds in it ſufficient ground to aſſert, that our Hanno is neither the perſon of whom Juſtin ſpeaks in the xxth Book, nor he mentioned by Pliny in the ſixteenth Chapter of his eighth Book, nor yet he who was the head of a party at Carthage during the ſecond Punic-war (13); but he, who was ſent againſt Agathocles, as Juſtin tells us in his xxiid Book. The *Hanno* mentioned in Juſtin's xxth Book was ſent into Sicily againſt the Tyrant Dionyſius: The Gauls had then already taken the City of Rome (14), and they took it in the year 366 after its building. This Hanno was killed ſome time after with his whole Family, becauſe he attempted to make himſelf maſter of Carthage. I do not know whether that City was not then in as flouriſhing a condition, as when another *Hanno* was ſent againſt Agathocles (16): He loſt his Life in a battle in the year 443 after the building of Rome. I cannot think therefore that there is any certainty in Voſſius's Opinion. Obſerve that the paſſage which he quotes from Pliny relates to an *Hanno*, who was condemned becauſe he had had the art to tame a lion. It was thought that the Liberty of the Country would not be ſecure in the hands of a man, who had found means to ſubdue the cruel temper of the moſt ſavage animals. *Primus hominum leonem manu tractare auſus, & oſtendere manſuefactum, Hanno e clariſſimis Pœnorum traditur; damnatuſque illo argumento, quoniam nihil non perſuaſurus homo tam artificis ingenii videbatur; & male credi libertas ei, cui in tantum ceſſiſſet etiam feritas* (17). i. e. " It is reported that Hanno, one of the moſt fa- " mous men at Carthage, is the firſt who ventured to " handle a Lyon, and to tame it: for which reaſon " he was condemned; becauſe it was imagined that a " man of ſo artful a genius was capable to perſuade any " thing, and that it was not ſafe to truſt him with " the liberty of the People, to whom even the moſt " ſavage and cruel animals had ſubmitted." Voſſius obſerves, that Plutarch mentions the ſame Hanno. And he aſſerts indeed, that the Carthaginians baniſhed

(18) Plut. *in Præcept. de gerend. Republ.* towards the beginning, pag. 799.

(19) *De eo multa paſſim Plinius: de ejus præſertim obitu lib.* 1. *ſect.* 21. i. e. " Pliny " mentions ſeve- " ral things of " him in a great " many places, " and ſpeaks par- " ticularly of his " death, in the " 8th book, ſec- " tion the 21ſt." Hardouin. *in Indice Autorum Plinii*, pag. 113.

(20) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Græcis*, pag. 514.

(21) Solinus, *cap. ultimo.*

(22) Plin. lib. 6. cap. 51. pag. 746.

(23) Salmaſ. *Exercitat. Plinianæ*, pag. 1297.

of ſome ſavage women, who had been flayed by his command. See the laſt remark (*c*).

(*c*) Quotation (22).

" count be coherent through the whole. Hanno is " more antient than Xenophon of Lampſacus; but " then how could the latter mention the former"? I confeſs that this is to me an inexplicable riddle: For I cannot imagine that it was in the leaſt Solinus's intereſt to ſhew that Hanno lived before Xenophon, much leſs can I underſtand, that if Xenophon flouriſhed after this Carthaginian, it was impoſſible for the former to quote the latter, as Salmaſius ſuppoſes it in his Interrogation. I think it is very likely that Solinus through his wonted inaccuracy, reduced Pliny's two Quotations to one; but I would not aſſert that Xenophon of Lampſacus did not relate all that he aſcribes to him. But if he had, you will ſay, Pliny would not have quoted two writers; he would have confined himſelf to Xenophon's Authority. I anſwer, you are miſtaken; for with regard to thoſe things, which one knows that Hanno related himſelf, it is proper to quote him, rather than thoſe, who declare that he related them.

Iſaac Voſſius has been very far from his father's opinion; for inſtead of aſſerting that our Hanno lived in the time of Agathocles (24), he makes him more ancient than Homer and Heſiod. He is not content with placing him at the head of the expedition which the Phœnicians made ſoon after the deſtruction of Troy (25): he found afterwards that this was not making him ancient enough. He ſuppoſed therefore in another work (26), that Hanno and Perſeus were contemporaries. Mr. Dodwell has very learnedly and ſolidly refuted that opinion, and all the arguments by which Voſſius endeavoured to prove it. He lays a great ſtreſs on a paſſage in Pliny's ſecond Book, in which it is obſerved, that Himilco and Hanno undertook long voyages. *Et Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumvectus a Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit ſcripto; ſicut ad extera Europæ noſcenda miſſus eodem tempore Himilco* (27). i. e. " When Carthage was in a flou- (27) Plin. lib. 2. " riſhing condition, Hanno ſailed from Cadiz to the cap. 67. " extremity of Arabia, and has left an account of his " voyage; as Himilco did, who at the ſame time was " ſent to view the extremity of Europe." We find that during the war between Agathocles and the Carthaginians, the latter had two Generals, the one called Hanno, and the other Himilco (28). It may beſides be ſuppoſed with great probability, that this flouriſhing condition of the Carthaginians, mentioned by Pliny, preceded the firſt war in which they were engaged againſt the Romans; for it is not at all probable, that during that war they would have thought of diſcovering new countries; and it is well known that they did not end this war but by a great loſs on their ſide. So that theſe two chronological characters, mentioned by Pliny, lead us to ſuppoſe that he ſpeaks of an Hanno, who flouriſhed in the time of Agathocles. You will find in Mr. Dodwell (29) a great many curious obſervations, which perhaps will perſuade you that our Hanno muſt be placed between the 92d and the 129th Olympiads.

(28) *See* Diod. Sicul. *ad Olymp.* 118.

(29) Dodwell. *Diſſertat. de Peripli Hannonis ætate*, in limine *Geographiæ veteris Scriptorum Græcorum minorum*, tom. 1. edit. Oxon. 1698.

(24) Iſaac Voſſius. *in Melam*, pag. 302, 303.

(25) Strabo mentions it in his 1ſt book.

(26) *De Magnitudine Carthaginis*, pag. 52.

HARCHIUS (JODOCUS) (*a*) a native of Mons in the Province of Hainault lived in the ſixteenth Century. He practiſed Phyſic in his native city, and publiſhed ſome works that ſuited his profeſſion (*b*) [*A*]. He went afterwards beyond his reach, pretending to meddle with Divinity, in which he had very ill ſucceſs. He endeavoured to find out a medium in the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper between the Roman Catholics and the Proteſtants, but he made himſelf ridiculous to both. The book he publiſhed upon that ſubject was refuted by Beza, who aſſerts, that it is a work ſo confuſed, ſo dark, ſo deſtitute of all order and method, that it is a very difficult taſk to gueſs what the author meant [*B*]. We ſhall

(*a*) And not *Lodocus*, as *Konig* calls him.

(*b*) Val. Andreas, *Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 593.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſome works that ſuited his profeſſion.*] He publiſhed at Liege in the year 1563 a Book in 8vo, *de Cauſſis contemptæ Medicinæ*; i. e. " The Reaſons " why Phyſick is deſpiſed." His *Enchiridion Pharmacorum ſimplicium quæ in uſu ſunt*; i. e. " A Manual " of the ſimple Medicines that are in uſe" is written in verſe, and was printed at Baſil in the year 1573 in 8vo (1). This Author might therefore have been placed in the Catalogue of the Phyſicians who were alſo Poets. He is not the only Author wanting in that liſt.

(1) Val. And. *Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 593.

[*B*] *Beza . . . . . afferts that Harchius's work is ſo confuſed . . . that it is a very difficult taſk to gueſs what the Author meant.*] What he wrote againſt this Author is intitled *de Cœna Domini adverſus Jodoci Harchii Montenſis* (2) *dogmata*; i. e. " Of the Lord's Supper " againſt the opinions of Jodocus Harchius of Mons;" and is inſerted in the IIId volume of his *Tractationes Theologicæ* (Theological Tracts) from page 148 to page 186 of the Geneva Edition 1582 in folio. Hoſpinianus (3) aſſerts that this work of Beza was printed in the year 1580, and that Jodocus Harchius's Book had been printed at Baſil in the year 1573 with this title: *De Euchariſtiæ Myſterio ad ſedandas controverſias in Cœna Domini libri tres*; i. e. " Three Books " of the Myſtery of the Euchariſt, deſigned to ſup- " preſs the diſputes concerning the Lord's Supper." Beza declares that this Book of Jodocus Harchius had been printed ſeven years, when he began to read it. He adds that he did not know whether the place where it was printed was well ſet down; but that he judged it was not neceſſary to refute it, becauſe no man would approve ſuch ſtrange opinions; but that finding however the contrary of what he expected, he followed the advice of his friends, who would have him write againſt that Author. *Licet urgentibus nonnullis, ut falſiſſimo ſane ipſius dogmati, utpote quo novæ potiùs controverſiæ excitarentur, quam veteres tollerentur, refutationem opponerem, ſilentio potiùs ejuſmodi ſcripta eſſe obruenda reſpondi. Nullam enim fore arbitrabar, qui tam abſurdis ſententiis aſſentiretur: quæ ſpes cum me fefellerit, cogor amicorum precibus, quam hæc vana ſint demonſtrare, id eſt, penè cum ratione inſanire. Adſcribam autem primo loco ipſius Jodoci verba ex variis ejus libri paginis optima fide deſcripta, ut quæ ſparſim & prorſus perturbate ſcripſit, adeo denique ἀμεθόδως & obſcure, ut de induſtria texiſſe potius, quàm apertè ſuum dogma ſpectandum propoſuiſſe videatur, melius appareant: & ne quam etiam, homini præſertim, ut audio, jam mortuo, injuriam in ipſius erratis annotandis, & refutandis, feciſſe me quiſquam ſuſpicetur* (4). i. e. " Tho' " ſome perſons preſſed me to refute his falſe doctrine, " which ſerved rather to raiſe new controverſies, than " to ſuppreſs the old diſputes, yet I thought that ſuch " writings ought to be buried in oblivion: for I did " not imagine that any perſon could admit ſuch abſurd opinions: but being diſappointed in this my " expectation, I am forced, at my friends requeſts, to " demonſtrate how falſe and vain theſe things are, " which is almoſt to be mad in ſober ſadneſs. I ſhall " in the firſt place tranſcribe Jodocus's own words put " together from ſeveral pages with the utmoſt faithfulneſs, that the Reader may the better underſtand, " what is diſperſed through his work, and wrote with " the utmoſt confuſion, ſo immethodically, and ſo " obſcurely, that one would think, he choſe rather to " conceal his opinion on purpoſe, than to declare it " openly. This I ſhall alſo do, that I may not be " ſuſpected to have done the man any injury by obſerving and refuting his errors, eſpecially ſince, as I " hear, he is now dead." Obſerve by the by that Harchius was dead when Beza refuted him. The extracts which Beza gives of his work render it more intelligible, than it would be by reading the work itſelf. Here follows what Beza obſerves after he has given thoſe extracts. *Et hæc quidem Harchius non minus ob-*

(4) Theod. Beza, *Opera* tom. 3. pag. 148.

(2) He is erroneouſly called *Modenſis* in the *Epitome* of Geſner's *Bibliotheca*, pag. m. 515.

(3) Hoſpin. *Hiſt. Sacrament.* Parte altera.

ſhall give a general notion of his opinion below [*C*].

ſcurè quam perturbatè, ut qui ab una quæſtione ad alteram deſiliat, & plurimis ambiguis vocibus ac formulis utatur, adeo ut mihi ſæpiſſime hæc omnia relegenda, conſideranda, perſcrutanda fuerint, priuſquam quid homo iſte ſibi vellet, intelligere, & in ſuos locos diſtinctè ſingula referre potuerim (5). That is to ſay, "This is "what Harchius writes with no leſs obſcurity than "confuſion: for he paſſes abruptly from one queſtion "to another, and makes uſe of a great many equivo- "cal words and expreſſions; ſo that I was obliged to "read the ſame things over and over, to meditate "upon them, to examine them with the utmoſt care, "before I could gueſs what this man meant: and to "make ſenſe of his words I was forced to place every "thing in its proper place."

(5) Idem, ibid.

Two other theological Books of Harchius are mentioned in the Epitome of Geſner's Bibliotheque (6). *De Cauſis Hæreſis, proque ejus exilio & concordia Controverſiarum in Religione, Hæreticorum, Pontificiorum, & pœnitentium Oratio ad Deum Patrem.* i. e. "Of the "Cauſes of Hereſy, and a Prayer of the Hereticks, "Roman Catholicks and Penitents to God the Father "for its extirpation, and for an union and concord in "religious controverſies." at Baſil, 1573, in 4to. *Orthodoxorum Patrum Irenæi, Cyrilli, Hilarii, Auguſtini & reliquorum, de Euchariſtia & Sacrificio univerſalis Eccleſiæ fides.* i. e. "That the faith of the orthodox "Fathers, Irenæus, Cyrillus, Hilarius, Auguſtin, and "the reſt, concerning the Euchariſt, and Sacrifice is "the faith of the Catholick Church," in 8vo. This laſt book was printed in the year 1577, according to Hoſpinian (7).

(6) In pag. 515. of the Zurich edition 1583.

(7) Hoſpin. *Hiſt. Sacrament.* Parte altera.

[*C*] *We ſhall give a general notion of his opinion below.*] I take it from a Letter which Andrew Rivet wrote to la Milletiere July the 29th 1642. "Your "diſtinction of *Matter* and *Myſtery*, of *αἰσθητὸν* and "*νοητὸν*, *ſenſible* and *intelligible* overthrows all that you "pretend to eſtabliſh, without ſhewing how one can "eat with the mouth of the body a myſtery which is "deſtitute of matter, and how the matter of a body "exiſting no more, the ſubſtance of it continues, yet "to be; which I do not find to be explained in your "treaſure of rich conceptions. It is above thirty "years ſince I read ſomething like this in the work "of a certain Phyſician of the country of Juliers, "named *Tſarchius* (8), with whoſe heifer you ſeem to "have ploughed. He pretended, that the Body, "which the Church gives in the bread is the Body of "the eternal Word, which coming in an admirable "manner into the bread, turns it into the ſubſtance of "that fleſh, which had been raiſed up into heaven, "that it was a fleſh of the ſame nature with that, with "which the ſubſtance of our fleſh is nouriſhed. He "called it, as you do, *a ſpiritual and intelligible* "*fleſh*. He aſſerted that the fleſh, which was daily "created out of the bread and wine, and taken from "the altar by the faithful, was as to its nature like "Chriſt's fleſh, vivifying in heaven, becauſe of the "Deity's mixing itſelf with the bread in a manner "that cannot be expreſſed. He would have the Cal- "viniſts acknowledge on St. Auguſtin's authority, that "the Sacraments have really the true fleſh of Chriſt, "which though it be ſpiritual, is yet after its own par- "ticular manner taken in the mouth with the bread, "and ſome way digeſted in the heart. That is my- "ſteriouſly called Chriſt's fleſh, though it be neither "nervous, nor muſculous, nor animated. Upon the "ſame foundation he pretended to eſtabliſh, like you, "a real and propitiatory ſacrifice of the Body and "Blood of Chriſt, and the adoration of the Sacra- "ment. And though he imagined that by this me- "thod he could reconcile the contending parties, yet "he was not approved either by the Papiſt, or by "the Lutheran, or by thoſe of our Religion, none "being diſpoſed to take his idle fancies for ſound "doctrine; and his ſpeculations vaniſhed away, as "yours will do (9)." La Milletiere anſwering that he did not know that Author, Rivet made him the following reply. "That Harchius I mentioned to him, "and in whoſe work I found ſuch fooliſh fancies as his "are, ſhould not have been more unknown to him "than the *Dialecticon* (10), recommended by Grotius, "and placed in the ſame rank with the Sieur de la "Milletiere's Books. They are two pieces printed to- "gether in the year 1576, without the Printer's name, "or that of the place where it was publiſhed; tho' "in the title-page of the firſt edition of Harchius's "book it be ſaid, that it was printed at Worms (11)."

(8) This is an error of the preſs, inſtead of *Harchius*. I do not know why he is here made to be of the country of Juliers, for he was of Mons in Hainault. He did perhaps practiſe Phyſic in the country of Juliers; or Rivet imagined perhaps that Montenſis ſignified the Duchy of Berg, which he miſtook for that of Juliers, becauſe of their proximity, and being under the ſame Prince.

(9) Rivet, *Reſponſes à trois Lettres du Sieur de la Milletiere*, pag. 62, &c.

(10) Concerning that book ſee below the article POINET.

(11) Rivet, *Reſponſes à trois Lettres de la Milletiere*, pag. 143, 144.

HARDENBERG (ALBERT) a Proteſtant Miniſter at Bremen in the ſixteenth Century, was of the Augſburg Confeſſion for eighteen years, after which he declared for Calviniſm, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that he introduced it in the city, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition of his collegues and of the Magiſtrates. He had inſinuated himſelf ſo deeply into the favour of the inhabitants [*A*], that he made them declare for him againſt Lutheraniſm; ſo that the Magiſtrates, who refuſed to forſake the Confeſſion of Augſburg, were deprived and baniſhed. They all died in their baniſhment (*a*). The author who acquaints me with theſe particulars, refers his readers to a work which Dithmar Renchelius, Burgomaſter of Breme, compoſed ſince his baniſhment, and which is intitled, *Brevis, dilucida, ac vera Narratio, de initiis & progreſſu Controverſiæ, Bremæ à Doctore Alberto Hardenbergio motæ, oppoſita recenti Scripto ejuſdem Hardenbergii de Obiquitate & Cœna Domini.* i. e. "A ſhort, clear and true account of the beginning and pro- "greſs of the Controverſy, ſtarted at Bremen by Dr. Albert Hardenberg, being an an- "ſwer to the late work of the ſaid Hardenberg upon Ubiquity, and the Lord's Supper." Hardenberg did not enjoy his triumph long; for the Lutheran party becoming uppermoſt again, drove him out of the city as a ſeditious Sacramentarian (*b*). He wrote a Life of Weſſelus, which has been printed.

(*a*) *Taken from* George Braun, *in Catholicorum Tremonenſium Defenſione*, pag. 46, 49.

(*b*) *Ex eodem*, ibid. pag. 164.

☞HARDOUIN

[*A*] *He had inſinuated himſelf ſo deeply into the favour of the inhabitants.*] This is a proper method to change the ſituation of affairs: a Preacher ſupported by the people is capable to cauſe any revolution whatſoever. It is pretended that this Preacher made himſelf ſo popular, that he did not neglect to gain the affection even of the footmen, and maid-ſervants: after which he did not ſcruple to cenſure the Senators and Burgomaſters, naming them expreſly in his ſermons, and to weaken their authority with the people. *Calvini hereſim, Senatu, & reliquis ſuis Lutheranis Collegis invitis*, Bremam *introduxit. Quod ut commodius.....* in the printed copy, to the word *veneretur* (1) inclusive [*α*]. i. e. "He introduced Calvin's Hereſy into "Breme, againſt the conſent of the Senate, and of "all his Lutheran Collegues. And to compaſs his "deſign the eaſier, &c."

(1) Georg. Braunius, *in Catholicor. Tremonenſium Defenſione*, pag. 46, 47.

[*α*] *In the printed copy, to the word* venereter *inclusive.*] I imagine that Mr. Bayle deſigned to quote the whole paſſage, of which he tranſcribes but a few words: and that to ſave himſelf the trouble of writing it down, he referred the Printer to the printed copy, from which the paſſage was to be taken; but the Printer miſtaking Mr. Bayle's meaning, printed the references, inſtead of the paſſage to which it referred. As we could not meet with that work of Braunius, quoted by Mr. Bayle, it was impoſſible for us to ſupply his omiſſion in this place. ADD. REM.]

☞HARDOUIN (JOHN) a very learned French Jeſuit in the latter end of the ſeventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth Century, was born at Kimper in Bretagne (*a*); and entering into the Society of Jeſus, ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learned writings [*A*], in which he has advanced ſeveral very remarkable paradoxes, and particularly that all the works of the antient profane and eccleſiaſtical writers, except Cicero's works, Virgil's Georgics, Horace's Satyrs and Epiſtles, and Pliny's Natural Hiſtory, are mere forgeries. Monſieur Francis de la Pillonniere obſerves (*b*), that ſome "learned men both Proteſtants and Papiſts have falſly imagined, that Father Hardouin's poſſeſſion for medals, or his deſign to ſerve ſome political end of the ſociety, had given this ſtrange turn to his thoughts. But it was not ſo. His blind ſubmiſſion to the Church of Rome, and after that his religious infatuation for the tenets of the ſchools, (which he takes to be, as the whole ſociety does, the ſtandards of Orthodoxy) are the two true ſprings of his exorbitances. For having found in the antient books hardly any thing like the orthodox doctrines of the Church and of the Schools, or rather having found the reverſe; he infers very conſiſtently, that theſe books never came from the pen of pious men ſainted by the Church, and who were, no doubt, orthodox. As for my part, whatever other people may think of his ſeeming crazineſs, this is my notion of him, that F. Hardouin muſt be allowed a more competent judge

(*a*) Du Pin, *Nouvelle Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſiaſtiques*, tom. 19. p. 109. edit. Amſterdam 1715 in 4to.

(*b*) *An Anſwer to the Reverend Dr. Snape's Accuſation. By Francis de la Pillonniere, formerly a Jeſuit, now living with the Biſhop of Bangor*, 2d edit. London 1717 in 8vo, pag. 10, & *ſeqq.* See likewiſe, *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*, tom. 1. Part 1.

[*A*] *Diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learned writings.*] In 1684 he publiſhed at Paris in 4to. *Nummi Antiqui Populorum & Urbium illuſtrati:* and *Themiſtii Orationes XXXIII. cum Notis Dionyſii Petavii & Johannis Harduini Jeſuitarum, &c.* Paris 1684, in Folio. The year following he publiſhed *Caii Plinii Secundi Naturalis Hiſtoriæ Libri XXXVII. Interpretatione & Notis illuſtravit Joannes Harduinus Soc. Jeſ. juſſu Regis Chriſtianiſſimi Ludovici Magni in uſum Sereniſſimi Delphini.* Paris, in 4to. It was reprinted at Paris 1723, in 3 vol. in folio. In 1687 his Book intitled, *De Baptiſmo Quæſtio triplex*, was printed at Paris in 4to. In 1689 he publiſhed *Antirrheticus de Nummis antiquis Coloniarum & Municipiorum, ad Joann. Foy-Vaillant Medicum.* Paris, in 4to, and *S. Joannis Chryſoſtomi Epiſtola ad Cæſarium Monachum. Joann. Harduinus Soc. Jeſu Preſbyter Notis illuſtravit ac Diſſertatione de Sacramento Altaris.* Paris, in 4to. Monſieur Le Clerc having made ſome reflections upon *St. Chryſoſtom's Letter to Cæſarius* in the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, Tom. XV. Father Hardouin replied in a piece, printed in 1690 in 4to, and intitled *Defence de la Lettre de S. Jean Chryſoſtome, addreſſée a l'Auteur de la Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, to which Mr. Le Clerc returned an anſwer in the XIXth Tome of that *Bibliotheque*. In this Letter Father Hardouin, writing in the character of a third perſon, gives an abſtract of his Latin work. It is in this treatiſe, that he advances the paradoxes, which have aſtoniſhed the world; viz. that he was convinced, "that Facundus, Liberatus, Marius Mercator, Victor "Turonenſis, Caſſiodorus, to whom ſo many works "are aſcribed, (except the *Formulæ*, the treatiſe on "the Soul, and the Commentary on the Pſalms,) Iſi"dorus, who is ſuppoſed to be the Author of the book "concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Writers; that all theſe "pretended African, Italian, and Spaniſh Writers, with "ſeveral others, were born in France, and are not "near ſo antient as they are believed to be." This is a bold aſſertion; but nothing in compariſon of what he affirms afterwards, viz. that *of all the writings, which bear the name of* Juſtin Martyr, *there is only the* Dialogue againſt Trypho, *which is genuine, all the reſt being ſuppoſititious.* That is, that the *two Apologies* of Juſtin cited with approbation by Euſebius, St. Jerom, and all the ancients, are ſpurious. To ſupport this, it muſt be maintained, that the works, in which thoſe apologies are mentioned, are likewiſe ſuppoſititious. This is a neceſſary conſequence, which Father Hardouin readily agrees to; but unfortunately for him, the *Apology of Juſtin* is mentioned in the *Dialogue againſt Trypho*, which he owns to be genuine; for with reſpect to the books of Tatian and Methodius, Euſebius's Hiſtory, and St. Jerom's *Treatiſe concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Writers*, he makes no ſcruple to reject their authority as ſpurious. But he carried this notion much farther in a book of his printed at Paris in 1693, and intitled, *Chronologiæ ex Nummis antiquis reſtitutæ Proluſio, de Nummis Herodiadum*, in which he aſſerted, that "there was ſome ages ſince a ſet of "men, who took upon them to draw up the Hiſtory "as we find it now, there being none at that time. "That he knew the time when they lived, and the "place where they executed their deſign. That "they made uſe of Cicero and Pliny, Virgil's Geor"gics, and Horace's *Sermones* and Epiſtles, which are "the only genuine monuments of antiquity remaining, "except ſome few inſcriptions and *Faſti*. That thoſe, "who by the uſe of theſe remains of antiquity labour"ed to draw up a body of Hiſtory from all theſe dif"ferent pieces, ſeemed to him to compoſe a new fable "out of ſeveral other fables. *He adds*, that theſe "Architects of Annals had for their whole aſſiſtance "a great number of ancient medals, which they had "collected with conſiderable labour, and were in "the hands of the firſt projector and chief manager "of this deſign." Upon this foot, not only Joſephus's and Euſebius's Hiſtories are ranked among theſe forgeries, but likewiſe all the profane Hiſtorians, Poets, and Orators, except thoſe abovementioned; ſo that he abſolutely rejects Cicero's Orations, Terence's Plays, Virgil's Æneid, Livy's Hiſtory, and in ſhort almoſt all the other ancient writings. This is one of the moſt amazing paradoxes, that ever entered into the head of any man of learning. However he appears to have ſeriouſly believed it himſelf, and was perſuaded, that his reaſons for it were clear and evident; though he would not publiſh them to the world, nor explain his ſyſtem, notwithſtanding he was frequently called upon to do it. This work was ſuppreſſed at Paris (1). He afterwards publiſhed *A Letter upon three Samaritan Medals*, which engaged him in a conteſt with Monſieur Toinard; an Eſſay towards the reſtoring Chronology by medals of Conſtantine's age; and a Chronology of the Old Teſtament conformable to the vulgar tranſlation, illuſtrated by ancient medals. Theſe books were likewiſe ſuppreſſed, on account of the paradoxes contained in them. However Father Hardouin continued ſtill in his opinion; for in his *Letters* written to Monſieur Ballonfaux, and printed at Luxembourg in 1700, he ſpeaks of *an impious faction*, which began a long time ago, *which ſtill ſubſiſts, and appears with the greateſt inſolence, and which by forging of an infinite number of writings, that ſeem to breath nothing but piety, ſeems to have no other deſign than to remove God out of the world, that is, out of the hearts of mankind, and to overturn all religion.* Beſides theſe treatiſes he publiſhed a *Diſcourſe concerning the laſt Supper of Chriſt*, printed at Paris, 1693, in 4to. Mr. la Croze refuted his notion concerning the forgery of the ancient writings, in his *Diſſertations Hiſtoriques ſur divers Sujets*, Rotterdam, 1707; and in his *Vindiciæ Veterum Scriptorum contra Joannem Harduinum S. J. P. Additæ ſunt Viri Eruditi* [Alphon. des Vignoles] *Obſervationes Chronologicæ in Proluſionem & Hiſtoriam Veteris Teſtamenti.* Rotterdam, 1708, in 8vo. Mr. la Croze imagined, that Father Hardouin advanced his notions in concert with the Society of the Jeſuits, or at leaſt with his Superiors, in order to ſet aſide all the ancient Greek and Latin, ſacred and profane writers. But Monſieur le Clerc (2) was of opinion, that there was no ground for this ſuppoſition of Monſieur la Croze. In 1709 there was publiſhed at Amſterdam a Volume in Folio intitled, *Joannis Harduini è Societate Jeſu Preſbyteri Opera ſelecta, tum quæ jam pridem Pariſiis edita*

(1) *Lettres de Monſ. Bayle*, tom. 1. pag. 488. edit. Amſterdam 1729.

(2) *Biblioth. Choiſie*, tom. 16. pag. 412, 413, 414.

" judge of the meaning of theſe books, than all the Jeſuits beſides, as being of greater " ſagacity, and incomparably more converſant with them, and more impartial too, as " well as conſiſtent with himſelf, in giving up ſuch books, which are the great torment " of his brethren, and which they compliment only out of decency; and in clearing his " infallible Church of the great blunder of having fainted the genuine authors of ſuch " writings, as not only are not a ſhelter for it, but are weapons againſt it. But his un- " paralleled and unſpeakable irregularities of opinion have made me ſince throughly " ſenſible of the terrible havock, which may be occaſioned even in a ſagacious and in- " quiſitive mind by an awful regard to doctrines, merely becauſe they are ſettled, and by " a determined attachment to the jargon of School-divinity. Error will lead you into " ſtill more and greater errors. It will do ſo the more, the more diligent and the more " able you are. He is as great an inſtance as any the world ever was witneſs to, that " when a man has been inured from his youth to a religious love of darkneſs and to the " hatred of light, as an unqueſtionable firſt principle, nothing can be expected from " him, but all the bad effects of the moſt extravagant fanaticiſm." Monſ. de la Pillonniere afterwards tells us (*c*), that upon his conſulting Father Hardouin, the latter returned this anſwer: *The* Rogues *mean only that the ſenſes do not judge with certainty of the exiſtence of matter, becauſe elſe they would be judges of* Truth (*which is beyond their reach*) *it being a* Truth *that*

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 15, 16.

edita nunc emendatiora & multo auctiora prodeunt, tum quæ nunc primum edita. This Volume made a great deal of noiſe, before it was publiſhed. The Author had corrected in thoſe works of his, which had been before printed, what he thought proper; when they fell into the hands of a Bookſeller, who undertook to print them faithfully from the copy which he had received. He began the impreſſion with the Author's conſent, and was conſiderably advanced in it, when the clamour raiſed againſt the paradoxes in thoſe works, obliged Father Hardouin to write to the Bookſeller to retrench thoſe paſſages, which had been excepted to. But the Bookſeller refuſed to do ſo; upon which Father Hardouin proteſted againſt his conduct; and the Bookſeller wrote an anſwer to him, giving the reaſons of his refuſal. An extract of the papers of both are publiſhed in the *Journal des Savans* of Paris in 1708. Father Hardouin's *Proteſtation* is preceded by a *Declaration* of his Superiors in the Society of Jeſus; and thoſe pieces being curious, we ſhall preſent them to the reader.

" *The Declaration of the Father Provincial of the* " *Jeſuits, and of the Superiors of their Houſes at* " *Paris, concerning a new edition of ſome works of Fa-* " *ther* John Hardouin *of the ſame Society, which has* " *been actually made contrary to their will by the Sieur* " *de Lorm, Bookſeller at Amſterdam.*

" Among the works contained in this new edition, " there are ſome, which we could have wiſhed had " never ſeen the light, or had continued in oblivion. " That which is intitled, *De Nummis Herodiadum,* " and which ſerves as a foundation to others, was " ſuppreſſed, as all the world knows, by the Superiors " of the Society; and they deſtroyed all the copies of " it, which they could find. With reſpect to the " *Chronology of the Old Teſtament,* and *the Medals of* " *the age of Conſtantine,* theſe Books were never ſold, " and would never have been printed, if the reviſers, " appointed to examine them, had perceived and in- " formed their Superiors, that there were things in " theſe works tending to eſtabliſh the Syſtem, on ac- " count of which the other work had been ſuppreſſed. " There have been printed in foreign countries ſome " tracts of the ſame Author, which tend likewiſe to " the ſame ſcheme; but they never paſſed through " the examination of the Society, any more than the " others; which the Sieur de Lorme has declared to " be firſt publiſhed in his edition. The Superiors " here have written to him in as ſtrong a manner " as they could, to diſſuade him from inſerting theſe " works; but all their efforts have been in vain, the " preſent ſituation of affairs in Europe not permitting " them to take any meaſures with the powers, whoſe " ſubject that Bookſeller is. The principal heads " of the accuſation urged againſt theſe works, and " which we judge to be well grounded, are, 1. That " the Author there advances facts, and eſtabliſhes " principles, from which one may conclude, that al- " moſt all the ancient monuments of the Church, and " a great number of profane writings, have been " forged. 2. That he even aſſerts there poſitively, " that he doubts of the antiquity of many of the ſaid " writings, as well profane as eccleſiaſtical. 3. That " he abſolutely determines concerning the ſpuriouſneſs " of ſome of them. 4. That he ſeems not to be per- " ſuaded of the antiquity of the Greek text of the " Scriptures. 5. That he has likewiſe advanced ſome " other novelties, from which dangerous conſequences " may be drawn. This has given us occaſion to pub- " liſh the following declaration. 1. We reject as per- " nicious the paradox with regard to the ſpuriouſneſs " of the Greek text of the Scripture, the writings both " of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and the other " monuments of the Church, commonly' receiv- " ed in the Church as true. 2. We conſider like- " wiſe as an indefenſible chimera, the notion of the " forgery of the profane Authors, whoſe works, " according to the common opinion of the ableſt Cri- " tics, were written in the ſeveral ages, in which " thoſe Authors are uſually placed. 3. We con- " demn ſtill more this pretended forgery with re- " gard to thoſe among the profane Authors, whoſe " works have been cited by the antient Doctors of the " Church, becauſe this Opinion would infer the Forge- " ry even of the writings of thoſe holy Doctors. " 4. We declare all the Facts and Principles to be " falſe, which ſhall be found in Father Hardouin's " Books, whence any of the Paradoxes above mention- " ed can be juſtly drawn. 5. We diſavow all other " Notions to be found in thoſe Books, which ſhall not " agree with the common Doctrine of the Catholick " Divines. 6. Laſtly, we diſown, for the reaſons a- " bove mentioned, every edition made or to be made " of thoſe works; and that the Publick may not " doubt, but that our Declaration contains the ſenti- " ments of our whole Society, we add, that there is " nothing in what we have ſaid, but what is autho- " rized by our Reverend Father General. The Public " will not any more doubt, but that theſe have been all " along our ſentiments, after they have ſeen in our *Me-* " *moirs of Trevoux* the Syſtem concerning the Spuriouſ- " neſs of the antient Authors not only rejected as falſe " and dangerous, but refuted by poſitive Proofs, long " before a Proteſtant thought proper to repreſent it as " a deſign concerted amongſt the Superiors of the So- " ciety; which is a Paradox ſo contrary to good ſenſe, " that the perſon, who was not aſhamed to affirm it " ſeriouſly, found himſelf contradicted by thoſe even " of his own party, who have been leaſt accuſtomed to " ſpare the Jeſuits.

" Michael le Tellier, Provincial.
" Gabriel Daniel, ſuperior of the *Maiſon Pro-* " *feſſe.*
" Henry Charles Forcet, Rector of the Col- " lege.
" Paul Bodin, Rector of the Noviciat.

" I ſubſcribe ſincerely to every thing contained in the " preceding Declaration; I heartily condemn in my " writings what it condemns in them, and particularly " what I have ſaid concerning an impious faction, " which had forged ſome ages ago the greateſt part " of

that matter exiſts. Now Truth *being* God, *according to the* Rogues, *and the Senſes being not able to know* God, *it follows that the Senſes cannot know* Truth. *In oppoſition to that, the good* Peripatetics, [that is in Father Hardouin's ſtile, the *Orthodox*] *ſay, that the five Senſes judge of* Truth *by the* Senſorium Commune. After that he compared the *modern Philoſophers* to the Quakers, *who*, ſaid he, *call in queſtion every thing, even the exiſtence of their bodies.* He aſſerted, that the *Rogues* acknowledging no true God, could not poſſibly *admit any creation properly called*, and that they held *matter eternal.* "Read, ſaid "he, on that ſubject the 12th and 13th book of St. *Auguſtin's Confeſſions*, and underſtand "them if you can." He died at Paris September the 3d 1729, in the eighty third year of his age.

" of the eccleſiaſtical or profane writings, which have " hitherto been conſidered as antient. I am extream- " ly ſorry that I did not open my Eyes before in this " point. I think myſelf greatly obliged to my ſupe- " riors in the ſociety, who have aſſiſted me in diveſting " myſelf of my prejudices. I promiſe never to ad- " vance in word or writing any thing di- " rectly or indirectly contrary to my preſent Re- " tractation. And if hereafter I ſhall call in queſtion " the antiquity of any writing either eccleſiaſtical or " profane, which no perſon before ſhall have " charged as ſuppoſititious, I will only do it by propo- " ſing my reaſons in a writing publiſhed under my " name, with the permiſſion of my ſuperiors, and the " approbation of the publick cenſors. In teſtimony of " which I have ſigned, this 27th of December 1708.

" J. HARDOUIN, of the Society of Jeſus."

His *Opera Selecta* contain his *Nummi antiqui Populorum & urbium illuſtrati*; his *Three Queſtions concerning Baptiſm*; his Edition of St. Chryſoſtom's Letter to Cæſarius, with a Diſſertation *de Sacramento Altaris*; his Treatiſe *de Nummis Herodiadum*; his Diſcourſe *on the laſt Paſſover*, celebrated by our Saviour; and two little Tracts in French, one by way of Dialogue, and the other by way of Letter in Defence of the firſt; a Treatiſe in which he explains the Medals of the age of Conſtantine; his *Chronology of the Old Teſtament* adjuſted by the *Vulgate Tranſlation, and illuſtrated by medals*; ſeveral letters to Monſ. de Baillonfeaux and ſome other pieces. He publiſhed likewiſe an Edition of the *Councils* at Paris in fol. and wrote a piece againſt Father Courayer's *Defence of the Engliſh Ordinations*. T

☞HARIOT or HARRIOT (THOMAS), an eminent Engliſh Mathematician in the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Oxford in the year 1560, and having been inſtructed in Grammar-learning in that city, became a Batler or Commoner of St. Mary's Hall in that Univerſity (*a*), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts February 12, 1579 (*b*), and in the latter end of that year compleated it by determination in Schoolſtreet (*c*). Soon after he came to the knowledge of Sir Walter Ralegh on account of his admirable ſkill in the Mathematics, and was entertained by that Gentleman in his family (*d*), with the allowance of an annual penſion (*e*) for inſtructing him in the Mathematics (*f*). In 1585 he was ſent over by Sir Walter [with his firſt colony to Virginia [*A*], where being ſettled, he was employed in the diſcovery and ſurveying of that country, and obſerving what commodities it produced, and the manners and cuſtoms of its inhabitants; and wrote an account of it [*B*]. Upon his return to England he was introduced by Sir Walter into the acquaintance of Henry Earl of Northumberland, who "finding him to be a Gentleman of an affable and peaceable nature, and well read in "the obſcure parts of learning (*g*)," allowed him a yearly penſion of an hundred and twenty pounds, as he did likewiſe ſmaller penſions to Mr. Robert Hues, and Mr. Walter Warner, two other Mathematicians, who with our author were the Earl's conſtant companions [*C*], when he was committed to the Tower for life in 1606, and were uſually called the Earl of Northumberland's three *Magi* (*h*). Mr. Wood accuſes him of very looſe notions with regard to Religion [*D*]. A manuſcript of his intitled, *Ephemeris Chyrometrica*

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 459. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 218.

(*c*) Idem, *Athen. Oxon.* col. 459, 460.

(*d*) Idem, ibid. col. 460.

(*e*) *Prefat. R. Hakluyt ad Orbem Novum, ſcriptum per Petr. Martyr. Anglericum, edit. Paris* 1587, in 8vo.

(*f*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 460.

(*g*) Idem, ibid.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *In* 1585 *he was ſent over by Sir Walter with his firſt Colony to Virginia.*] Mr. Wood tells us (1). that in 1584 *he went with the ſaid Knight and firſt Colony into Virginia.* But this is a Miſtake; for Mr. Hariot did not accompany Sir Walter, but went over with the firſt Colony ſent to Virginia in 1585, under the conduct of Sir Richard Grenville and other Officers.

(1) *Ath. Oxon.* col. 1. col. 460.

[*B*] *Wrote an account of it.*] It is publiſhed under this Title, *A brief and true Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, &c. *written by* Thomas Hariot, *ſervant to Sir* Walter Ralegh, *and there employed in diſcovering a full twelve Month*, in *Hackluyt's Voyages* (2). Mr. Wood tells us (3), that it was printed at London 1588 in 4to under the following Title, *A brief and true Report of the Newfoundland of* Virginia, *the Commodities there found to be raiſed, &c.* It was tranſlated into Latin by *C. C. A*, and publiſhed and adorned with many Cuts by Theodore de Bry of Liege, *Francof. ad Mœnum*, 1590 in fol.

(2) Vol. 3. fol. 266, & *ſeqq.*

(3) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *Who with our Author were the Earl's conſtant Companions.*] They had a Table at the Earl's charge, and the Earl conſtantly converſed with them, either ſingly, or all together, as Sir Walter Ralegh then in the Tower likewiſe did (4).

(4) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

[*D*] *Mr. Wood accuſes him of very looſe Notions with regard to religion.*] He tells us (5), "that "notwithſtanding his great skill in Mathematicks, "he had ſtrange thoughts of the Scripture, and always "undervalued the old ſtory of the Creation of the "World, and could never believe that trite poſition, "*Ex nihilo nihil fit.* He made a *Philoſophical* Theology, wherein he caſt off the *Old Teſtament*, ſo that "conſequently the *New* would have no Foundation. "He was a *Deiſt*, and his Doctrine he did impart to "the ſaid Count (6), and to Sir *Walter Raleigh* (7), "when he was compiling the *Hiſtory of the World*, "and would controvert the matter with eminent Di- "vines of thoſe times; who therefore having no good "Opinion of him, did look on the matter of his "Death (8), as a Judgment upon him for thoſe mat- "ters, and for nullifying the Scripture." Mr. Wood mentions no Authority for this aſſertion; and we may obſerve that Mr. Hariot aſſures us himſelf (9), that when he was with the firſt Colony ſettled in Virginia, in every Town where he came, he *explained to them the Contents of the Bible*; *declaring*, ſays he, *that therein was ſet forth the true and only God, and his mighty works; that therein was contained the true Doctrine of Salvation through Chriſt*; *with many particulars of Miracles and chief points of Religion, as I was able then to utter and thought fit for the time. And though I told them the Book, materially and of itſelf, was not of ſuch Virtue as I thought they did conceive, but only the Doctrine therein contained; yet would*

(6) The Earl of Northumberland.

(7) We ſhall examine the imputation of Scepticiſm caſt upon that Gentleman in his article.

(8) See note [*E*].

(9) *Brief and true Report of the new-found Land of Virginia*, &c. in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. pag. 277, 278.

Chyrometrica is preſerved in the Library of Sion-College at London, and his *Artis Analyticæ Praxis* was printed after his death at London 1631 [*E*] in a thin folio, and dedicated to Henry Earl of Northumberland. Mr. Hariot lived for ſome time in Sion-College, and died at London July the 2d 1621 (*i*). Dr. Alexander Rhead tells us (*k*), that his death was occaſioned by a cancerous ulcer in the lip [*F*]. His body was interred in St. Chriſtopher's Church in London, where a monument was erected for him by his noble Executors Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, and Robert Sidney Viſcount Liſle (*l*). He was univerſally eſteemed on account of his learning [*G*]. Beſides his works abovementioned, he wrote *A Chronicle of Virginia*, the particulars of which he mentions in his *Brief and true Report of the new-found Land of Virginia* (*m*).

(*i*) Idem, col. 461. Camden places his death in July that year. See his *Annales Regis Jacobi I.* ſubjoined to *G. Camdeni illuſtrium Viror. Epiſt.* pag. 72. London 1601, in 4to.

(*k*) In his *Works*, printed at London 1650, *Treat.* 1. *Lect.* 26.

(*l*) Wood, col. 460, 461.

(*m*) See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. 3. fol. 280.

would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kiſs it, to hold it to their Breaſts and Heads, and ſtroke over all their bodies with it, to ſhew their hungry deſires of that knowledge which was ſpoken of. However notwithſtanding his Sentiments were ſuch at that time, it is not impoſſible that he might afterwards change them; but whether he actually did ſo, is a queſtion. Mr. Wood is undoubtedly miſtaken in ſaying that he infuſed his ſceptical Notions into Sir Walter Ralegh, when he was compiling his *Hiſtory of the World*, ſince that great man in many places of that Hiſtory has given us the ſtrongeſt Evidences of his Belief of the Chriſtian Religion. To this we may add, that it is by no means probable, that Dr. Richard Corbet, an orthodox Divine, and ſucceſſively Biſhop of Oxford, and Norwich, ſending a Poem to Sir Thomas Aylesbury, when the Comet appeared, dated December the 9th 1618, ſhould ſpeak of

——— *deep* Hariot's *Mine*,
In which there is no Droſs (10),

(10) Corbet's *Poems*, pag. 56. edit. London 1672, in 8vo.

if it had ſuch Allay (11). Mr. George Chapman likewiſe (12) ſtiles him his *worthy and moſt learned friend, whoſe Judgment and Knowledge in all kinds*, ſays he, *I know to be incomparable and bottomleſs; yea to be admired as much as his* moſt blameleſs Life, and the right ſacred Expence of his time, *is to be honoured and reverenced.* Mr. Oldys obſerves (13), that it is not probable, that the Earl of Northumberland would have made ſuch a man as our Author is repreſented by Mr. Wood, a domeſtic, and allowed him ſo handſome a ſalary, to have infected his Sons with Atheiſtical Principles; nor would Hariot's noble Executors, Sir Thomas Aylesbury, and Robert Sidney, Viſcount Liſle, have beſtowed on him a Monument in St. Chriſtopher's Church in London, with an Inſcription, which might have been contradicted by all the Town, if it had been falſe, beginning as follows: *Omnes ſcientias calluit, & in annitur excelluit; Mathematicis, Philoſophicis, Theologicis, Veritatis Indigator, ſtudioſiſſimus; Dei* Triniunius *cultor piiſſimus, &c.*

(11) See the *Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, by Will. Oldys Gent.* pag. 71. note (*e*).

(12) *Preface* to his *Tranſlation of Homer's Iliad.*

(13) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*E*] *His* Artis Analyticæ *was printed after his Death at London* 1631.] The title of it is, *Artis Analyticæ Praxis ad æquationes Algebraicas nova, expeditâ, & generali methodo reſolvendas, Tractatus poſthumus*, &c. The ſubſtance of this Book falling into the hands of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Mr. Walter Warner (14) undertook to compleat and publiſh it, on condition that Algernon, eldeſt ſon of Henry Earl of Northumberland, would after his Father's deceaſe, continue his Penſion to him during his Life. This being obtained by the Intereſt of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Mr. Warner took a great deal of pains in it, and at length publiſhed it (15). Monſieur Des Cartes is ſaid to have been obliged to this Book of Mr. Hariot for a great many of his Improvements in Algebra (16).

(14) He was born in Leiceſterſhire and died at London in the latter end of the year 1640.

(15) Wood, col. 461.

(16) See the article of DES CARTES, note [*DD*] vol 4. pag. 148, 149.

[*F*] *Dr. Alexander Rhead tells us, that his Death was occaſioned by a cancerous Ulcer in the Lip.*] The Doctor's Words are as follow: *Cancerous Ulcers alſo ſeize on this part* [the Lip]. *This Grief haſtened the end of that famous Mathematician Mr.* Hariot, *with whom I was acquainted but ſhort time before his Death, whom at one time, together with Mr.* Hues, *who wrote of Globes, Mr.* Warner, *and Mr.* Torperley, *the noble Earl of* Northumberland, *the favourer of all good Learning, and Mecænas of learned Men, maintained whilſt he was in the Tower, for their Worth and various Literature.* Mr. Wood in the paſſage cited in Note [*D*] obſerves, that the manner of his death was looked upon by ſome Divines as *a Judgment upon him* for his ſuppoſed Scepticiſm; but Mr. Oldys (17) remarks, that Dr. Rhead *adds none of thoſe ſcandalous Reflections*, and ſeems not to have known whether the Cancer began in Mr. Hariot's Lip; "though poſſibly, *continues Mr.* "Oldys, the braſs Inſtruments, which Mathematicians "are ſo familiar with, and for readineſs often hold in "their Mouths, might occaſion ſuch a Diſeaſe."

(17) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*G*] *He was univerſally eſteemed on account of his Learning.*] When he was but a young man, he was ſtiled by Mr. R. Hakluyt (18), *Juvenis in illis Diſciplinis* [mathematicis] *excellens*; by Mr. Nath. Torperley (19) *Homo natus ad Artes illuſtrandas*; and by Camden (20) *Mathematicus inſignis.*

(18) In *Præfat.* ad *Orbem Novum Pet. Martyr. Angler.*

(19) In *Præfatione* ad *Diclides Cœlometricas, &c.* *ann.* 1602.

(20) *Annalium Regni Regis Jacobi Apparatus*, ſubjoined to *G. Camdeni & illuſtrium Virorum Epiſtolæ*, pag. 72. edit. London 1691, in 4to.

HARPALYCE the moſt beautiful Maid at Argos. Her father Clymenus fell ſo deeply in love with her, that finding by experience that all his endeavours to conquer his paſſion ſerved only to encreaſe it, he thought only how to find means to gratify it. He practiſed therefore upon his daughter's nurſe, and by her aſſiſtance he enjoyed ſecretly the object of his love. Some little time after the perſon, to whom Harpalyce was betrothed, arrived. Magnificent preparations were immediately made for the nuptials; the marriage was conſummated, and the bridegroom ſet out with his bride to return home. It was then that Clymenus repented he ever gave his conſent to this match. His love tranſported him with ſuch a rage, that he went after the new married couple, overtook them, and made away with his ſon-in-law before they were at their journey's end. He returned with his daughter to Argos, where he acted publicly as her huſband. She conſidered at laſt what unworthy treatment ſhe had received from her father, and to be revenged of him ſhe killed her younger brother [*A*], and gave him to her father to eat; after which having prayed to the Gods that ſhe might be taken out of this world, ſhe was transformed into a bird [*B*]. Clymenus was ſo overwhelmed with grief at all theſe misfortunes,

(1) Hygin. cap. 206.

[*A*] *She kills her younger brother.*] Hyginus (1) relates that ſhe killed the very ſon ſhe had had by Clymenus, and he adds, that ſhe gave him to his father to eat, and that Clymenus coming to know this killed her. You muſt correct the word *filiam* and read *filium* in that Author's CCVIth chapter, agreeably to what we read in the CCXXXVIIIth, CCXXXIXth, and CCXLVIth chapters. Beſides this difference I obſerve another between him and Parthenius. The latter aſſerts, that Harpalyce's father was the ſon of Teleus, and that he dwelt at Argos; the former makes him the ſon of Schœneus, and King of Arcadia (2); but as he makes him the ſon of Oeneus in chapter the CCXXXVIIIth, we ought to be very certain, that we muſt read Oeneus inſtead of Schœneus in all the other paſſages: for Apollodorus (3) and Antoninus Liberalis (4) tell us that Oeneus had a ſon called Clymenus.

(2) Idem, ibid. and cap. 246. In chap. 142. there is *Cœneus*, and not *Schœneus*.

(3) Lib. 1.

(4) Cap. 2.

[*B*] *She was transformed into a bird.*] There are

fortunes, that he killed himſelf (*a*). We ſhall mention another Harpalice in the article HARPALICUS.

(*a*) Taken from Euphorion, quoted by Parthenius, in the 13th chap. of his *Erotica*, or *Love-Tales*.

FAULTS of the Mythologiſts.

two conſiderable defects in the fabulous ſtories of ancient Greek Mythologiſts: the one is, that there is not a ſufficient variety in the capital circumſtances of their fables; the other is, that there is not the leaſt uniformity in their accounts of particulars. You will hardly meet with two Authors, who mentioning the ſame ſtory agree together with regard to the qualities and names of the perſons, and to the times and places. If by this method they pretended to ſhew that they had a fruitful imagination, they were miſtaken; for a barrenneſs in the capital point of the ſtories is not eaſily ſupplied by a variety of circumſtances that are only acceſſory. It ſeems at firſt that Parthenius's Euphorion preſents us with ſomething new; but if you conſider it well, you will find that it is only the ſtory Tereus acted upon another ſtage, with ſome alteration in the characters of the Actors.

(*a*) Hygin. cap. 193. Servius *in Æn.* lib. 1. ver. 317. calls them *Amymonii*.

HARPALICUS, King of the Amymneans (*a*) in Thrace, had a daughter named HARPALICE, who was nouriſhed with the milk of a cow and of a mare [*A*], and whom he trained up very young in the uſe of arms. Thus he made a very warlike woman of her, which proved of great advantage to him; for had not his daughter come to his aſſiſtance, when Neoptolemus Achilles's ſon attacked [*B*] and wounded him, he would have been loſt without retrieve; but Harpalice charged the enemy ſo ſeaſonably that ſhe routed him. Her father, whom ſhe had ſo happily delivered in this war againſt ſtrangers (*b*), periſhed ſoon after in a civil war. His ſubjects firſt dethroned, and at laſt killed him (*c*). Harpalice retired into the woods, and ſet about plundering the neighbouring countries; ſhe run like lightning, and when men purſued her on horſeback to take from her the cattle ſhe had ſtolen, they could not overtake her. She could not be taken but in ſuch nets as were ſpread as though it had been to catch ſtags. She was killed; but they who committed that fact, paid very dear for it; for there aroſe immediately a diſpute in the neighbourhood, to know who was the proprietor of the cattle ſhe had ſtolen; on which a battle enſued, in which ſeveral were killed on the ſpot on both ſides. Since that time a cuſtom was eſtabliſhed, that they ſhould meet now and then at this maiden's tomb, and celebrate tournaments there to atone for her death. There was one HARPALICE who was paſſionately in love with Iphiclus (*d*), and who died with grief to ſee that he deſpiſed her. It is after her name that a certain hymn was called *Harpalyce*.

(*b*) Hygin. ibid.

(*c*) Servius, ibid.

(*d*) Turneb. *Adverſar.* lib. 10. cap. 11.

[*A*] *His daughter . . . was nouriſhed with the milk of a cow and of a mare.*] Servius (1) applies to her theſe words of the firſt Book of the Æneids.

(1) Servius, *in Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 317.

Qualis equos Threïſſa fatigat
Harpalice, volucremque fuga pervertitur Hebrum.

That is,

" With ſuch array Harpalice beſtrode
" Her Thracian courſer, and outſtrip'd the rapid
" flood. Dryden.

Servius adds, that ſhe was nouriſhed after the ſame manner as Virgil ſuppoſes Camilla was nouriſhed by her father Metabus.

Hic natam in dumis interque horrentia luſtra
Armentalis equæ mammis, & lacte ferino
Nutribat, teneris immulgens ubera labris (2).

(2) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 11. ver. 570.

That is,

" His daughter with the milk of mares he fed;
" The dugs of bears, and ev'ry ſalvage beaſt,
" He drew, and thro' her lips the liquor preſs'd.
Dryden.

[*B*] *When Neoptolemus . . . . attacked him.*] This maiden's father was already a priſoner then, according to Servius. Others aſſert that Harpalice delivered him out of the hands of the Getes. *Quidam hujus patrem a Getis, ut alii volunt a Mirmidonibus captum, collecta multitudine aſſerunt liberaſſe celerius quam de fœminis credi poteſt* (3). i. e. " Some aſſert that her father was " taken by the Getes, others by the Myrmidons, and " that ſhe having gathered together a multitude of " perſons delivered him quicker than can be believed " of women." I do not know where Charles Stephens, whom Lloyd and Hofman follow, read that our Harpalice's father was called Lycurgus, and that he was old when he was made a priſoner by the Getes.

(3) Servius, *in* Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 317.

HARPALUS, a Greek Aſtronomer, corrected Cleoſtratus's Cycle by another Cycle which alſo wanted to be corrected [*A*]. It was Meton who corrected Harpalus's new Cycle, the fourth year of the eighty ſixth Olympiad (*a*). Cleoſtratus diſcovered the ſigns of the Zodiack, after Anaximander had diſcovered in the fifty eighth Olympiad the obliquity of that Circle (*b*). Judge by this at what time Harpalus lived. It is not true as Moreri aſſerts, that Diodorus Siculus mentions Harpalus. Voſſius

(*a*) Diod. Sicul. lib. 12. num. 36.

(*b*) Pliny, lib. 2. cap. 8. pag. m. 148.

[*A*] *He corrected Cleoſtratus's Cycle by another Cycle, which alſo wanted to be corrected.*] Cleoſtratus's Cycle was called *Octaëteris*, becauſe it conſiſted of a revolution of eight years, after which he pretended that the Sun and the Moon returned to the ſame point. Harpalus obſerving, that this did not happen, invented the Cycle of nine years.

Nam quæ ſolem hiberna novem putat æthera volvi
Ut lunæ ſpatium redeat, velut Harpalus, ipſam
Ocius in ſedem momentaque priſca reducit.
Illius ad numeros prolixa decennia rurſum
Adjeciſſe Meton Cecropia dicitur arte.
Inſeditque animis: tenuit rem Græcia ſolers
Protinus, & longos inventum miſit in annos (1).

(1) Feſtus Avienus, *in Arateis Prognoſticis*, pag. m. 65.

i. e. " He, who like Harpalus imagines that after a re-
" volution of nine years the ſun and the moon return to
" the ſame point, brings them too ſoon to their former
" ſituation. To that number, Meton, who was ſkil-
" led in the arts that flouriſhed at Athens, is ſaid to
" have added ten full years. And this Cycle (of nine-
" teen years) has been conſtantly admitted ſince; the
" learned Greeks have kept it, and tranſmitted this
" invention to poſterity through a long ſeries of years."

Meton finding that the Cycle of nine years did not anſwer the purpoſe better than the others, invented the Cycle of nineteen years. Men kept to this, as Feſtus Avienus obſerves in the verſes I have quoted. This Cycle is ſtill in uſe, and is called the Golden Number.

Voſſius's account of all this abounds with inaccuracies and miſtakes [*B*].

[*B*] *Voſſius's account of all this abounds with inaccuracies and miſtakes.*] I. Having ſaid (2) in his Theſis that Meton publiſhed his *Enneadeacetris* (or Cycle of nineteen years) the firſt year of the 87th Olympiad, he aſſerts in the Commentary on his Theſis that Diodorus Siculus mentions this under the third year of the 86th Olympiad. Is not this quoting a celebrated witneſs againſt his own calculation? Is this a prudent conduct? However it is dealing fairly, will ſome ſay: I own it, provided Diodorus Siculus did really follow this chronological account; but it is certain that he mentions the Cycle of nineteen years under the laſt year of the 86th Olympiad. II. He quotes Pliny, Book the IId, Chapter the XIIth, concerning Cleoſtratus: he ſhould have quoted the eighth chapter. III. He aſſerts, that Cleoſtratus's *Octaëteris* contained 2090 years and 22. It is plain that the Printer has committed a blunder in the figures of the number; but the word *annorum* (of years) is certainly a miſtake of the Author. We muſt therefore alter and correct the following words, *Introduxit Octaëterida, quæ erat annorum* CIↃ CIↃ XC XXII, and write them thus, *introduxit Octaëterida, quæ erat dierum* CIↃ CIↃ CMXXII. i.e. "He introduced the *Octaëteris* which contained 2922 days;" for that Cycle did really contain 2922 days. IV. He quotes the XIIth Book of Diodorus Siculus concerning the *Octaëteris*; but I could not find that word there. V. This phraſe, *in hac Octaëteride deprehenſum eſt vitium ab Harpalo commiſſum*, is bad; it ſignifies quite the contrary of what it ſhould ſignify; for there is no reader but will think, that Harpalus committed an error in the invention of that Cycle of eight years, and yet Voſſius's deſign is to let us know that Harpalus diſcovered the error which the inventor of that Cycle had committed. VI. He ought not to have ſaid that inſtead of Cleoſtratus's *Octaëteris* Harpalus's *Octaëteris* was made uſe of; for Avienus's verſes, which Voſſius quotes immediately after, ſhew very plainly, that Harpalus invented a Cycle of nine years.

(2) *De Scient. Mathem.* Pag. 150, 151.

HARPALUS, a Macedonian Lord, and one of Alexander's Generals, ruined himſelf by his extravagant expences (*a*). He followed Alexander's party in the diſputes which aroſe between that Prince and King Philip, whoſe favour he loſt for that reaſon (*b*). But as ſoon as Philip was dead, Alexander called Harpalus to Court again, and ſhewed him a very particular friendſhip. I believe that he gave him the government of Cilicia [*A*]. As for that of Babylon, it is very certain that he gave it him, together with the poſt of High-Treaſurer (*c*). Harpalus, who imagined that the King his maſter would never return from his Indian expeditions, oppreſſed the people a thouſand different ways, that he might have wherewithal to ſupport the exceſſive expences of his bed and table. He indulged himſelf in all kinds of voluptuouſneſs, and refuſed nothing to ſatisfy his miſtreſſes [*B*]. Several other Governors, who, like him, were perſuaded that it would

(*a*) Athenæus, lib. 13. pag. 594. Pauſanias, lib. 1. pag. 35.

(*b*) Plutarch. *in Alexand.* pag. 669, E.

(*c*) Diod. Sicul. lib. 17. cap. 108.

[*A*] *I believe that Alexander gave him the government of Cilicia.*] I ground this conjecture on the account which Athenæus (1) gives us. He relates that Harpalus having loſt his miſtreſs, ſent for another from Athens, and lodged her in the royal palace of Tarſus. She was adored there by all the people, and ſtiled a Queen; aud all thoſe who crowned Harpalus, had orders to crown her alſo. This ſuppoſes that Harpalus lived at Tarſus, with a ſovereign authority. Now Tarſus was the capital city of Cilicia (2). I do not mind a paſſage of Athenæus (3), in which we read that Harpalus ſet up a braſs ſtatue to his miſtreſs Glycera at Tarſus a city of Syria, [ἐν Ταρσῷ] τῆς Συρίας. I do not doubt but this paſſage is corrupted; for beſides that there was no royal nor conſiderable city called *Tarſus* in Syria, we ſee in Athenæus, page 586, that this ſtatue of Glycera was ſet up at Roſſus, ἐν Ρωσσῷ. And we ſee in the margin of the page 595, over againſt the text, where ἐν Ταρσῷ is printed, that there is ἐν Ρωσσῷ in other manuſcripts. Athenæus quotes the ſame Author, namely Theopompus, in both theſe paſſages. The tranſcribers therefore muſt have miſſpelt the name of the city, in which this ſtatue was ſet up.

(1) Lib. 13. pag. 586.

(2) Τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπέχουσα λόγον, i. e. "Was conſidered "as the metropo-"lis, or capital "city." Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 463.

(3) Lib. 13. pag. 595.

[*B*] *He refuſed nothing to ſatisfy his miſtreſſes.*] If any thing could overthrow the conjecture I have advanced in the preceding remark, it would be Diodorus Siculus's deſcription of the luxury, in which Harpalus indulged himſelf, whilſt Alexander was in India: for Diodorus tells us, that Harpalus gave himſelf over to a debauched life with women, and to a lewdneſs, that was ſtill more abominable; that he cauſed a large quantity of fiſhes to be brought from the Red Sea; that his daily expences were exorbitant; and that beſides this he ſent for a famous courtezan from Athens, whoſe name was Pythionice; that he made her preſents of an immenſe price; and that when ſhe died, he raiſed a ſtately monument to her; and ſent at the ſame time for another celebrated courtezan named Glycera, with whom he lived in ſuch an extravagant luxury as cannot be well deſcribed. All this happened, according to Diodorus Siculus, whilſt Harpalus was Governor of Babylon, and High-Treaſurer, and after Alexander was engaged in his Indian expedition. I was therefore in the wrong to mention the Government of Cilicia, will ſome ſay. This objection would be very ſtrong, if we had not reaſons to think, that Diodorus Siculus, after the example of thoſe who write a general hiſtory, had not too much heaped up together particular events, and neglected too much to be accurate with regard to the time when they happened. The Authors quoted by Athenæus deſerve more to be credited than Diodorus; for they deſigned purpoſely to deſcribe Harpalus's luxurioufneſs: it is therefore probable, that they have given a more exact and particular account of them, than Diodorus could do, who mentioned Harpalus only in general, and only glanced upon the particular circumſtances of his life. This is the method which is followed in a general hiſtory. Now, what do the Authors quoted by Athenæus relate? Here follows their account. After the death of Pythionice, with whom Harpalus had been paſſionately in love, he ſent for Glycera, made her live in the royal palace, which was at Tarſus, and cauſed her to be adored by the people, and ſtiled a Queen. Ἦν ϗ ἐλθοῦσαν οἰκεῖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς ἐν Ταρσῷ, ϗ προσκυνεῖσθ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους βασιλίσσαν προσαγορευομένην. *Ac illo profectam in Regia, quæ Tarſis fuit collocaſſe, ut adorarent omnes ac Reginam ſalutarent, juſſiſſe* (4). If he had been Governor of Babylon when he ſent for Glycera, he would have introduced her into the Palace of Babylon, it is at Babylon that he would have cauſed her to receive the honours of adoration, and to be ſtiled a Queen. But he did all this at Tarſus; he was therefore Governor of Cilicia when Pythionice died, and when Glycera ſucceeded her; whence it follows that Diodorus Siculus was miſtaken as to the circumſtance of the time, ſince he ſuppoſes that Harpalus's amours with Pythionice, and afterwards with Glycera, were poſterior to the time, when Harpalus was made Governor of Babylon, and when Alexander ſet out for India. Let it not be objected, that Harpalus raiſed a monument to Pythionice at Babylon (5). For it does not follow from thence, that this woman died after he was made Governor of Babylon. I do not know whether one might place amongſt the effects of this Governor's luxury, the care he took to ſend for all ſorts of plants from Greece, to adorn the gardens and walks of Babylon: Ἅρπαλος δὲ τῆς χώρας ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπιμελητὴς, ϗ φιλοκαλῶν Ἑλληνικαῖς φυτείαις διακοσμῆσαι τὰ βασίλεια ϗ τοὺς περιπάτους, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐκράτησεν, τὸν δὲ κιττὸν οὐκ ἔσχεν ἡ γῆ μόνον, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ διέφθειρεν, ὁ φόρτος τὴν κρᾶσιν. i. e. "Harpalus

(4) Theopompus & Cleitarchus, *apud* Athen. lib. 13. pag. 586.

(5) Theopompus, *apud* Athen. lib. 13. pag. 595.

would never be in Alexander's power to make them give an account of their extortions, had committed an infinite number of unjuſt actions. The firſt thing Alexander did on his return from India, was to puniſh ſome of theſe Governors very ſeverely. This made Harpalus dread the ſame treatment, ſo that in order to eſcape it, he fled into Greece, with immenſe ſums of money, which he took out of the King's treaſure, with which he had been truſted. He alſo raiſed ſix thouſand men, whom he landed at Tenarus in the territories of the Lacedemonians, and he went to Athens with a deſign to perſuade the Citizens to make war againſt Alexander (*d*). He bribed ſome Orators with large ſums of money (*e*); for he knew very well that the tongue of thoſe men is the moſt powerful inſtrument to diſturb the public tranquillity, and to engage the people to riſe up in arms. But if he knew the great influence they have on the people's mind, he was not ignorant alſo that a large ſum of money has a great power with them. Finding himſelf therefore poſſeſſed of an immenſe treaſure, he hoped to draw the city of Athens to his ſide. But he was diſappointed: Phocion was not to be bribed [*C*]; and beſides this, the letters of Antipater, Governor of Macedonia, and thoſe of Olympias, Alexander's mother, kept the Athenians in awe (*f*). So that Harpalus was obliged to look for another ſanctuary [*D*]. He returned to Tenarus where he had left his ſoldiers, and went from

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

(*e*) Plutarch. *in Phocione*, p. 750. *in Demoſthene*, pag. 857.

(*f*) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 17. cap. 108.

" Harpalus being left Governor of the country, and " deſiring to adorn the palace and walks of Babylon " with plants from Greece, ſucceeded with regard to " ſeveral; but the ſoil would not bear the Ivy, which " always periſhed there, the climate not being proper " for it." For if we may depend upon Theophraſtus (7), he did it only by Alexander's command. If Scaliger had inferred from thence, that Harpalus had the direction of the royal gardens and orchards at Babylon, he would have deſerved to be cenſured for one miſtake only: but he aſſerts that Plutarch aſcribes that employment to Harpalus (8). He is guilty therefore of a double miſtake. I. He did not remember that Harpalus was Governor of Babylon, and that therefore the direction of the gardens was not his chief employment, but only a very little dependency of it. II. It is falſe that Plutarch aſſerts, what he aſcribes to him.

(7) *Apud* Plutarch. *Sympoſiac.* lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 648.

(8) *Plutarchus in Sympoſiacis, qui inter alia ſcribit eum hortis regiis & viridariis Babyloniacis præpoſitum fuiſſe.* Scalig. *Animadv. in Euſebium*, num. 1692, pag. 127.

[*C*] *Phocion was not to be bribed.*] Harpalus endeavoured chiefly to gain him: he ſaw the other declaimers come to him, and he gave them but ſmall ſums of money; but he offered 700 talents to Phocion, and would leave the determination of his affairs entirely to him. Τῶν ἰώθοτων ἀπὸ τῦ βήματο χρηματιζέσθαι ἐξόμο ἦν ϗ ἄμιλλα φθειρομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν, τύτοις μὲν ἀπὸ πολλῶν μικρὰ διελάζων, προήκαλο ϗ διέῤῥιψε, τῷ δὲ Φωκίωνι προσέπεμψε δισὶς ἑπλακόσια τάλαντα. i. e. " Thoſe who uſed to get money by their " declarations, crouded to him, boaſting what " they could do; but he gave them very little ſums " of his great treaſure, and only as a bait to catch " them; but he ſent perſons to Phocion to offer him " 700 talents (9)." Phocion refuſed his offers, and let him know, that he would make him repent of his undertaking, if he continued to bribe the inhabitants: this obliged Harpalus to act with more caution; he found by experience, that all thoſe baſe and mercinary perſons, whom he had bribed, ſpoke publickly againſt him, in order to remove the ſuſpicions that were entertained againſt them, and that Phocion, who refuſed his money, was the perſon who oppoſed him leaſt; this made him attempt again to bribe him, but he found him proof againſt all poſſible temptations. Charicles, Phocion's ſon-in-law, did not inherit this integrity; he made himſelf ſo much ſuſpected, that his father-in-law would not aſſiſt him, when he was proſecuted according to law, for correſponding with Harpalus (10). As for Demoſthenes he acted moſt unfairly; for he received large ſums of money in order to ſpeak for Harpalus; but the time being come when he was to harangue, he appeared in the court with his neck wrapped up in rags, and complained of a ſore throat, that made him uncapable to plead (11); this gave occaſion to a jeſt, which alluded to the ſquinancy. Οἱ δὲ εὐφυεῖς χλευάζονλες ἐχ ὑπὸ συνάγχης ἔφραζον ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀργυράγχης ἐιλῆφθαι νύκλωρ τὸν ῥήμαγωγόν. i. e. " The " men of wit ſaid in jeſt, that the Orator had been " taken in the night time, not with a natural ſqui- " nancy, but with a ſilver ſquinancy (12)." He did not come off with being only rallied; for his correſpondence with Harpalus was the cauſe of his baniſhment (13). Obſerve that Pauſanias thinks he was not guilty (14). Harpalus, and Glycera his concubine, cauſed a great quantity of corn to be diſtributed amongſt the people at Athens. This was one of the particulars for which he was ridiculed in a comedy which was acted on the banks of the Hydaſpes, and of which ſome ſay that Alexander himſelf was the Author (15). It is very remarkable that after Harpalus's death, a girl he had had by Pythionice was received into Phocion's houſe, and educated with all poſſible care both by him, and by his ſon-in-law Charicles (16).

(9) Plut. *in Phocione*, pag. 751, B.

(10) Idem, ibid.

(11) Idem, in *Demoſthene*, pag. 857.

(12) Idem, ibid.

(13) Juſtin. lib. 12. cap. 5.

(14) See the remark [*D*] towards the end.

(15) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 586, 595.

(16) Plutarch. *in Phoc.* pag. 751.

[*D*] *Harpalus was obliged to look for another ſanctuary.*] He was commanded to retire from Athens, as Plutarch (17) and Curtius (18) tell us. I imagine that his cauſe was pleaded with ſome ſolemnity; for Pollux quotes an Oration of Hyperides ὑπὲρ Ἁρπάλε, *for Harpalus*. I do not mention Dinarchus's Oration, which is intitled ὑπὲρ τῦ μὴ ἐκδῶναι Ἁρπαλον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. i. e. " That Harpalus ought not to be given up " to Alexander." This Oration is thought to be ſpurious. Yet it is true that this Orator did really plead in that cauſe; there were five of his Orations extant περὶ Ἁρπαλείων (19). i. e. " Concerning the caſe of " Harpalus." This cauſe was attended with very great conſequences; for after it had been reſolved at Athens to baniſh Harpalus, informations were made againſt thoſe, who ſuffered themſelves to be bribed by his preſents. He would have been given up to Alexander, if all the Athenians had been proof againſt bribery (20). One of Alexander's friends (21) endeavoured moſt powerfully to perſuade the Athenians to deliver Harpalus to him; and as he could not perſuade them to it, he declared to them ſome time after who they were to whom Harpalus had given money, and how much he gave to each of them. He found this among the papers of Harpalus's Steward (22).

(17) *In* Demoſth. pag. 875, E.

(18) Lib. 10. cap. 2.

(19) *See* Scaliger. *Animadverſ.* in *Euſebium*, num. 1691, pag. m. 127.

(20) Pauſanias, lib. 1. pag. 35.

(21) Philoxenus a Macedonian. Pauſan. lib. 2. pag. 76.

(22) Idem, ibid.

Let us obſerve in this place the errors that are to be met with in Moreri's *Philoxenus*. The Author who wrote that article (23) aſſerts, that *Philoxenus, a Macedonian General, took Harpalus in Candy, who had carried off Alexander's treaſure . . . . . that he found out all thoſe whom Harpalus had truſted with this treaſure at Athens; that he ſent a liſt of them to the Magiſtrates, in order to get the money back, and to have them puniſhed; but that he would not name Demoſthenes, though he had had ſome diſpute with him, chooſing to act on this occaſion according to the great eſteem he had for that Orator's eloquence, rather than to gratify his own reſentment.* Pauſanias is quoted for this. I find five blunders in this account. I. It is falſe that Philoxenus took Harpalus either in Crete or in any other place; he took only his Steward, who had made his eſcape into the Iſland of Rhodes (24). The Author whom I cenſure does not mention it: This Omiſſion will be his II. fault. III. Harpalus did not *truſt any perſon with his Treaſure at Athens*; he diſtributed money there to bribe ſome perſons, that they might be favourable to him. IV. The Liſt which Philoxenus ſent to the Magiſtrates did not contain the names of thoſe pretended Depoſitaries, but the names of thoſe, to whom Harpalus gave money to bribe them. V. Pauſanias (25), does not ſay, that Philoxenus deſigned to get that money back. VI. And he is ſo far from aſſerting that this Macedonian ſmothered *his reſentment*,

BLUNDERS in the ſupplement to Moreri's Dictionary.

(23) It is in the ſupplement to Moreri's Dictionary.

(24) Pauſanias, lib. 2. pag. 70.

(25) Idem, ibid.

from thence into Crete. But he was not long ſecure in that iſland; one of his friends killed him perfidiouſly (*g*) [*E*]. The Supplement to Moreri is erroneous with regard to this particular, as I ſhall ſhew below (*b*). Alexander was ſo well perſuaded that Harpalus was an honeſt man, that he ordered thoſe to be put in irons as falſe accuſers, who brought him the firſt news of that man's flight (*i*). The news he received of that traitor's being driven from Athens and killed, made him alter the reſolution he had taken of returning into Europe to bring the Athenians back to their duty [*F*]. When he found that no books were to be met with in the Provinces diſtant from Greece, he employed Harpalus to procure him ſome [*G*]. The tomb which Harpalus erected to one of his miſtreſſes was very magnificent [*H*]. I imagine that a certain complaint againſt Providence, which

(*g*) Idem, ibid.

(*b*) In the remark [*D*].

(*i*) Τοὺς δὲ πρώτους τοὺς τὴν Ἁρπάλου φυγὴν καὶ ἀπόδρασιν ἀπαγγείλαντας ἔδησεν Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Κίσσιον ὡς καταψευδομένους τοῦ ἀνδρός. i. e. "He put "Ephialtes and "Ciſſus in irons, "who brought "him the firſt "news of Har-"palus's eſcape "and flight, as "falſe accuſers." Plut. in *Alexand.* pag. 689. B.

ſentment, becauſe of the great eſteem he had for Demoſthenes's Eloquence, that on the contrary he ſuppoſes very plainly that this Orator would have been in Philoxenus's Liſt, if his name had been found in the Papers of Harpalus's Steward. Pauſanias reaſons thus. If Harpalus had given money to Demoſthenes, it would have been diſcovered by his Steward's Papers; and if it had been diſcovered, Philoxenus would have ſet his name down in the Liſt he ſent to the Athenians, for he had been engaged in a private Quarrel with Demoſthenes, and he knew that Alexander was terribly exaſperated againſt that famous Orator. Now he did not in the leaſt mention Demoſthenes, when he acquainted the Athenians with the names of thoſe to whom Harpalus had given money, and let them know how much money he gave to every one of them. Whence we ought to infer, that Demoſthenes did not receive any money from him. See now how much ſuch compilers of Dictionaries ought to be depended upon. Or rather deplore the fate of an infinite number of Readers, who imagined innocently, that Pauſanias gives us here an inſtance of very great generoſity in the Character of a Man who was ſuch an admirer of Demoſthenes, though his Enemy, that he ſmothered his reſentment againſt him, when he had a very good opportunity to be revenged of him. Such is the power of Eloquence, will young Orators cry out, who ſhall have looked for materials in this new *Polyanthea* (26).

(26) That is to ſay in Moreri's Dictionary.

[*E*] *One of his Friends killed him perfidiouſly.*] Diodorus Siculus tells us, that his name was Thimbron, and he was of Lacedemon, according to Arrian: He ſeized upon all Harpalus's effects. Others ſay that a Traveller committed that murther (27); others again charge Harpalus's Servants with it (28); and laſtly ſome aſſert, that a certain Macedonian named Pauſanias was guilty of it (29). Such different accounts tire the Readers patience, and are a diſgrace to the Hiſtorians.

(27) Quint. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 2.

(28) Pauſanias, lib. 2. pag. 76.

(29) Idem, ibid.

[*F*] *The news . . . that this Traitor had been driven from Athens . . . . made* Alexander *alter his reſolution . . . . to bring the Athenians back to their duty.*] Quintus Curtius acquaints us with this. *His cognitis*, ſays he, *Rex Harpalo Athenienſibuſque juxta infeſtus, claſſem parari jubet, Athenas protinus petiturus. Quod conſilium dum agitat, clam litteræ ei redduntur, Harpalum intraſſe quidem Athenas, pecunia conciliaſſe ſibi principum animos, mox concilio plebis habito, juſſum urbe excedere, ad Græcos milites perveniſſe, à quibus interruptum & trucidatum a quodam viatore per inſidias. His lætus in Europam trajiciendi conſilium omiſit* (30). i. e. "The "King hearing this, was equally exaſperated both "againſt Harpalus and againſt the Athenians, and or-"dered his Fleet to be fitted out, being determined "to ſail immediately to Athens. But as he was ma-"king preparations to perform that deſign, he received "ſecretly a Letter, which acquainted him, that Harpa-"lus was indeed come to Athens, and had bribed the "chief Citizens in his favour; but that the people "meeting ſoon after in Council, he was ordered to de-"part from the City; and that being retired to his "Greek Soldiers, he was taken by them, and treache-"rouſly killed by a certain Traveller. Alexander re-"joicing at this, altered his Reſolution of ſailing "into Europe."

(30) Quint. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 2.

A man muſt be quite ſtupid, who does not obſerve that there muſt be a pretty large paſſage wanting between the firſt and ſecond Chapter of Curtius's tenth Book. For is there any Hiſtorian ſo deſtitute of common ſenſe as to ſpeak of Harpalus in the manner as Curtius does in the paſſage we have tranſcribed, without telling his Readers firſt, who that Harpalus was, and in what undertaking he had been engaged. I need not to inſiſt upon this. If any reader be not ſenſible of what I have juſt now obſerved, he would not be capable of underſtanding the reaſons I might alledge.

[*G*] Alexander *had employed Harpalus to procure him ſome Books.*] Plutarch acquaints us with this particular: Read the following paſſage, you will find in it, that men did not think this Prince would be diſpleaſed, if they ſent him Poems. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βιβλίων ἐκ ἐυπορῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω τόποις, Ἅρπαλον ἐκέλευσε πέμψαι. καὶ κεῖνος ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ πάς τε Φιλίστου βίβλους, καὶ τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Αἰσχύλου τραγῳδιῶν συχνὰς, καὶ Τελέστου καὶ Φιλοξένου διθυράμβους (31). i. e. "As other "Books could not eaſily be had in thoſe remote Coun-"tries, he (Alexander) commanded Harpalus to ſend "him ſome. Harpalus ſent him the Books of Phi-"liſtus, and a great number of Tragedies written by "Euripides, Sophocles, and Æſchylus; as alſo Teleſ-"tus's Phyloxenus's Dithyrambicks *." (31) Plut. in *Alexandro*, pag. 668, D.

* Songs in honour of Bacchus.

[*H*] *The Tomb which Harpalus erected to one of his Miſtreſſes was very magnificent.*] He had ſpent incredible Sums with Pythionice during her life, nor did he ſpend leſs for her burial. The funeral was attended with the moſt agreeable Symphony. All that could be performed in Muſick both with Voices and Inſtruments was made uſe of (32). He raiſed two ſtately Monuments to her, the one at Babylon, the other near Athens; they coſt him above two hundred Talents. He conſecrated a Temple and a grove to that woman under the name of Venus Pythionice, Ταύτης ἐτόλμησεν ὁ φίλος εἶναι σῶ φάσκων ἱερὸν καὶ τέμενος ἱδρύσασθαι, καὶ προσαγορεύσαι τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν Πυθιονίκης Ἀφροδίτης. i. e. "He who glories that he is your friend, dared to con-"ſecrate a Temple and a Grove to her, which he called "a Temple and a Grove of Venus Pythionice." (33). The Tomb he built to her in Attica on the road to Eleuſis ſurpaſſed all thoſe that were in the Neighbourhood. One would have taken it for the Tomb of one of the moſt eminent men that Athens ever produced. With what an aſtoniſhment muſt foreigners have been ſtruck, when they were told that it was only the Tomb of a Courteſan? This is Dicearchus's Reflexion (34). An Author, who was very well skilled in theſe matters, aſſerts, that the Tomb which was in the road to Eleuſis, was the moſt beautiful of all the antient Monuments that were to be ſeen in all Greece. Ὡς καὶ μνῆμα ἀποθανούσης ποιῆσαι πάντων ὁπόσα Ἑλλησίν ἐσιν ἀρχαῖα, θέας μάλιστα ἄξιον. i. e. "He raiſed a "Tomb to her after her Death, which is the beſt "worth ſeeing of all the antient Monuments of "Greece (35)." It is even certain, that Harpalus's deſign was not faithfully executed; they did not ſpend the whole Sum which he intended for that Monument. Chericles, Phocion's Son-in-law, took upon him, at Harpalus's requeſt, the direction of that work, and did not ſpend in it the thirty Talents with which he had been truſted for that purpoſe. He diſgraced himſelf two ways; 1. by taking upon him the Direction of a Monument that was deſigned for a Proſtitute; 2. by keeping for himſelf part of the money with which he had been truſted. Μνημεῖον ἀπὸ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐπιτελέσαι θελήσας προσέταξε τῷ Χαρικλεῖ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. ὅσαν δὲ τὴν ὑπουργίαν ταύτην, ἀγεννὴ προσκατήσχυνεν ὁ τάφος συντελεσθείς. διαμένει γὰρ ἔτι νῦν ἐν Ἑρμείῳ, ᾗ βαδίζομεν ἐξ ἄστεος εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα, μηδὲν ἔχων τῶν τριάκοντα ταλάντων ἄξιον, ὅσα τῷ Ἁρπάλῳ λογισθῆναι φασὶν εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τοῦ Χαρικλέους. i. e. "Har-"palus deſigning to raiſe a moſt ſtately and rich Mo-"nument, committed the care of it to Charicles. This "Task, which was diſgraceful in itſelf, appeared ſtill "more ſo when the Tomb was finiſhed, which is ſtill "to be ſeen near the Temple of Mercury in the road "from Athens to Eleuſis; it does not appear that this "Monument

(32) Poſidonius, lib. 22. *Hiſtoriar.* apud *Athen.* lib. 13. pag. 594.

(33) Theonomus, *in Epiſt. ad* Alexandrum, *apud* Athen. pag. 594.

(34) *In Libris de Deſcenſu in antrum Trophonium*, apud *Athenæum*, pag. 594.

(35) Pauſanias, lib. 1. pag. 36.

which Tully has preſerved, does not relate to our Harpalus [*I*]. If I am in the right father Leſcalopier's moral reflections are miſapplied. There is a blunder in Euſebius, which I ſhall take notice of [*K*].

" Monument coſt thirty Talents, which Sum Chari-
" cles is ſaid to have reckoned to Harpalus." Pauſanias owns that he knew nothing of Pythionice's Country, nor of her family, but only that ſhe followed the trade of a Courteſan at Athens and Corinth. Athenæus was a little better acquainted with her. He tells us, that ſhe had been a Servant to Bacchis, who uſed to play on the Flute, and that ſhe entered afterwards into the Service of a Thracian Bawd, who lived at Egina, and followed her to Athens, whither that Bawd removed with her Brother; ſo that Pythionice was a threefold Slave, and a threefold Proſtitute; ὥστε γίνεσθαι μὴ μόνον τρίδουλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίπορνον αὐτήν; *Ut non ſolum ter mancipium, ſed etiam ter ſcortum fuerit* (37).

(37) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 595. *ex* Theopompo *in Epiſt. ad Alexandrum.*

[*I*] *I imagine that a certain complaint againſt Providence does not relate to our Harpalus.*] Here follow Tully's words (38): *Diogenes quidem Cynicus dicere ſolebat, Harpalum, qui temporibus illis prædo felix habebatur, contra Deos teſtimonium dicere, quòd in illa fortuna tam diu viveret.* i. e. " Diogenes the Cynick uſed to
" ſay, that Harpalus, who paſſed at that time for a
" ſucceſsful Pirate, bore witneſs againſt the Gods by
" continuing ſo long happy." I am of Monſieur Menage's opinion; the Harpalus of Cicero, the Hirpalus of Diogenes Laertius (39), and the Hirpalus of Suidas (40) ſeem to me to be but one and the ſame perſon. Now the Scirpalus of Diogenes Laertius, and the Scirtalus of Suidas was a notorious Pirate, who took Diogenes priſoner, and ſold him. I believe therefore that Tully's Harpalus was a noted Pirate, and not one of Alexander the Great's Generals. The Character which Cicero gives of Harpalus cannot in the leaſt be applied to Alexander's General. Cicero's Harpalus was a noted Robber, as famous for the Happineſs that attended him in his plunders, as for the Robberies themſelves. His continued proſperity was well known, as appears by the conſequence, which Diogenes inferred from it; for a man would expoſe himſelf to ridicule, if he ſhould argue, as Diogenes did, in a City, where a Pirate had but for three or four Years become famous by the conſiderable prizes he made. Add to this, that a man is never more inclined to reflect upon Providence for the Proſperity of the wicked, than when he ſuffers himſelf by that Proſperity, (41). If therefore there was any Robber, whoſe long continued Impunity could draw from Diogenes's Mouth the complaint related by Cicero, it was no doubt the Man, whoſe Slave Diogenes became; and as he became the Slave of a Pirate, and not of the Governor of Babylon, we ought to infer from thence, that the witneſs, he thought could be produced againſt the being of the Gods, was the very Pirate who took him.

(38) *De Natura Deorum*, lib. 3. cap. 34.

(39) Lib. 6. in *Diogen.* num. 74.

(40) In Διογένης.

(41) See above, the remark [*C*] of the article DIAGORAS *the Atheiſt.*

It is therefore to no purpoſe, that Father Leſcalopier (42) repreſents to his Readers, that Harpalus the Governor of Babylon did not continue long unpuniſhed, after he had robbed the Treaſure of the King his Maſter. It is to no purpoſe that he obſerves, this Robber ſuffered misfortunes upon misfortunes, and was miſerably murthered at a year's end; he only argues againſt himſelf; the nearer he comes to his ſcope, the farther he recedes from the Subject he had in hand: for the Queſtion is about a Robber who had been a long time happy; this is the objection; and you mention to us a Robber who was puniſhed ſoon after he committed the fact; this is not anſwering; it is rather labouring, without being aware of it, to make of a trifling Difficulty a ſtumbling-block for weak men; it gives them offence to ſee, that you anſwer a free-thinker by altering quite the ſtate of the queſtion. And then, is not this concluſion of the Father Jeſuit very edifying? *Omitte Harpalum, ſume Diogenem: ne querere quod regiæ pecuniæ prædo unum annum vivat in ſua fortuna: querere quod prædo divinæ providentiæ in ſua impietate longam vitam vivat: ſed neque id certe conquerendum eſt, nam longa vita miſerrimi canis omnibus infeſti, omnibus exoſi, longum ſupplicium fuit, longioris tamen ſupplicii breve præludium* (43). i. e. " Do not men-
" tion Harpalus; ſpeak of Diogenes; do not complain,
" that the Robber of the King's Treaſure ſhould en-
" joy his happineſs for one year only; but complain
" that he who robbed God of his providence, ſhould
" live a long while in his impiety, or rather do not
" complain even of this; for the long life of a moſt
" wretched Dog, hating all, and hated by all, was a
" long puniſhment, and yet but a ſhort beginning of
" an eternal ſuffering."

(42) Leſcalopier, *Commentar. in Ciceron. de Natura Deorum*, lib. 3. pag. 683.

(43) Leſcalopier, *in Cicer. de Nat. Deor.* lib. 3. pag. 682.

[*K*] *There is a blunder in Euſebius, which I ſhall take notice of.*] He obſerves under the third year of the 113th Olympiad, that Harpalus fled into *Aſia*. *Harpalus fugit in Aſiam*. Scaliger approves this Chronology; but he corrects *Aſiam* into *Atticam*. And it is certain, that if Euſebius did not ſay *Atticam*, he ought to have ſaid it. Bongars (44) had corrected it thus, *fugit ex Aſia, he fled out of Aſia.*

(44) *In Juſtin.* lib. 12. cap. 5.

HARAVAD (ISAAC BEN), a famous Rabbi towards the end of the twelfth Century. He wrote ſomething, but it is not exactly known what it is. They aſcribe two wonderful properties to him; for they aſſert, that he could know by people's faces, whether they had a ſoul that came from another body, or whether it began only to exiſt the moment it was united to theirs; and though he were blind, yet he could diſcover with certainty by his ſmell only, whether a perſon was alive or dead (*a*). Father Bartolocci's cenſure is ſomewhat unpolite on this occaſion [*A*].

(*a*) *Taken from* Bartolocci's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, tom. 5. pag. 888, 889.

☞HARRINGTON

[*A*] *Father Bartolocci's cenſure is ſomewhat unpolite on this occaſion.*] Having quoted the following words from the Rabbi Rekanati, *& licet fuiſſet cæcus, ſenſibiliter percipiebat ex aere an iſte fuiſſet vivus an verò mortuus*, i. e. " and though he were blind, yet he
" could ſenſibly perceive by the air whether the man
" were dead or alive; he adds (1)," *cognoſcere cadaver ex olfactu mira res apud Judæos; quia cum Judæi male olentes inter ſe continuo verſentur, illorum olfaciendi ſenſus videtur depravatus, ut inter cadaveris & latrinarum malum odorem diſtinguere neſciant, niſi prodigium fiat.* i. e. " To diſcover a dead corps by the ſmell is a
" wonder amongſt the Jews; for as all the Jews
" ſtink, it ſeems that by converſing together their
" ſenſe of ſmelling is ſo depraved, that they cannot,
" without a miracle, diſtinguiſh the ſmell of a corps,
" from that of a houſe of office." This is a very ſilly joke, and if we will diveſt ourſelves of all cavilling humour, we ſhall confeſs, that there was ſomething very remarkable in the ſmell of that Rabbi, in caſe he did really make the diſtinction that is aſcribed to him: for we ought not to imagine, that it is aſſerted he could ſmell whether a man, who had been dead for ſome days, was not alive; there is no blind perſon but could do this, the meaning is, that the alteration he perceived in the air as ſoon as a man was expired, made him know with certainty that the man was dead. Will it not be confeſſed that this alteration in the air is imperceptible? Father Bartolocci has found fault with another thing; he aſks how this blind Rabbi could diſcover the age of the ſoul by looking a perſon in the face. But this cenſure falls to the ground, unleſs the ſame perſons, who mentioned this quality of our Rabbi, had alſo expreſly aſſerted that he was actually blind, when he look'd ſome men in the face. Now it does not appear that they made any ſuch aſſertion. *Pius ille Harravad connoſcebat ex vultu, utrum animâ creatâ in ipſo actu infuſionis informaretur homo, an vero aliunde ex tranſmigratione animam haberet adventitiam* (2). i. e. " That pious man Harra-
" vad could know by a perſon's face, whether the ſoul
" that animated him was created the moment it was u-
" nited with the body, or whether it came from ano-
" ther place by tranſmigration." The words of the Rabbi Rekanati (3) indeed prove, that the other Rabbi knew by people's faces, whether their ſoul was entirely

(1) Bartoloccius, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, tom. 3. pag. 889.

(2) R. Rekanati, *apud* Bartolocc. *Biblioth. Rabbinica*, tom. 3. pag. 888.

(3) Gruter has inſerted them into the 2d vol. of his *Theſaurus Criticus.*

☞HARRINGTON (JAMES), an eminent Engliſh writer in the ſeventeenth Century, was deſcended of an antient family in Rutlandſhire [*A*], and was eldeſt ſon of Sir Sapcote Harrington by Jane the daughter of Sir William Samuel of Upton in Northamptonſhire (*a*). He was born at Upton the firſt Friday in January 1611 (*b*). In his very childhood he gave ſure hopes of his future abilities, as well by his inclination and capacity to learn whatever was propoſed to him, as by a kind of natural gravity; whence his parents and maſters uſed to ſay, that he rather kept them in awe, than needed their correction. Yet when grown to a man, none could eaſily ſurpaſs him in quickneſs of wit, and a moſt facetious temper (*c*). He was entered a Gentleman Commoner of Trinity College in Oxford in the year 1629 (*d*) under the tuition of Mr. (*e*) William Chillingworth. He left the Univerſity before he took a degree, and travelled into Holland, France, Italy, Denmark and Germany [*B*], and learned the languages of thoſe countries. Upon his return to England, he was admitted one of the Privy Chamber extraordinary to the King, whom he attended in that quality in his Majeſty's firſt expedition againſt the Scots; and took care of the affairs of the Elector Palatine (*f*). In the beginning of the civil wars in 1642 he adhered to the intereſts of the Parliament, and endeavoured to get a ſeat in it, but in vain (*g*). In January 164$\frac{6}{7}$, attending out of curioſity on the Commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament to bring the King from Newcaſtle nearer London, he was by ſome of them named to wait on his Majeſty, as a perſon known to him before, and engaged to no party or faction. The King approved the propoſal; yet Mr. Harrington would never preſume to come into his preſence except in public, till he was particularly commanded by the King, and that he and Mr. Thomas Herbert (created a Baronet after the Reſtoration) were made Grooms of the Bed-Chamber at Holmby, together with Mr. James Maxwell and Mr. Patrick Maule (afterwards Earl of Penmure in Scotland), which two only remained of his old ſervants in that ſtation (*h*). His Majeſty loved his company, "and choſe rather, ſays Mr. Wood, (find-"ing him to be an ingenious man) to diſcourſe with him than with others of this Cham-"ber. They had often diſcourſes concerning government; but when they happened to "talk of a Commonwealth, the King ſeemed not to endure it." It is aſſerted from his ſiſter's papers, cited by Mr. Toland, that at the King's command he tranſlated into Engliſh Dr. Sanderſon's book *concerning the obligation of oaths*. But Mr. Wood tells us (*i*), that this Tranſlation was made by his Majeſty himſelf, and that he ſhewed it at different times to Mr. Harrington, Mr. Herbert, Biſhop Juxon, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Sheldon. He ſerved the King with great fidelity [*C*], and made uſe of his intereſt with his friends in Parliament to procure matters to be accommodated with all parties (*k*). After the King was removed out of the Iſle of Wight to Hurſt-Caſtle in Hampſhire, our author

(*a*) *Life of James Harrington*, pag. 13. prefixed to his *Oceana* and other *Works*, printed at London 1700, in fol.

(*b*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 588. 2d edit. London 1588.

(*c*) *Life of James Harrington*, pag. 14.

(*d*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Not *Dr.* as Mr. John Toland in his *Life of James Harrington*, pag. 14. ſtiles him.

(*f*) *Life of Harrington*, pag. 14, 15.

(*g*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*h*) *Life of Harrington*, pag. 16.

(*i*) Vol. 1. col. 321.

(*k*) *Life of Harrington*, pag. 164.

entirely new or not; but not, whether he knew it by looking into their face or by touching it. Now theſe two methods are equally wonderful; nay, the latter ſeems to be more difficult than the former. It will be objected in Bartolocci's behalf, that Rekanati ſpeaking of the other propriety, obſerves that the Rabbi Harravad was blind. But I ſhall ſtill aſk, does he ſuppoſe, that when Harravad was blind, he was at the ſame time that wonderful Phyſiognomiſt, who could diſcover whether the ſoul was in its native place? For if he only meant that Harravad could diſcover this before he was blind, what will become of Bartolocci's railleries, exclamations and invectives? He was in the right to turn all thoſe ſilly tales into ridicule, but he ſhould have made uſe of other arguments to expoſe them. We ought to be accurate and exact, whomſoever we pretend to refute.

[*A*] *Deſcended of an antient Family in Rutlandſhire.*] He was great grandſon of Sir James Harrington; of whom it is obſerved by the Hiſtorian of that County (1), that there were ſprung in his time eight Dukes, three Marquiſſes, ſeventy Earls, twenty ſeven Viſcounts, and thirty ſix Barons; of which number ſixteen were Knights of the Garter. Our Author's father Sir Sapcote Harrington was younger brother to Sir Edward Harrington of Ridlington in Rutlandſhire Bart. and ſon of Sir James Harrington Bart. younger brother to John Lord Harrington. Sir Sapcote by his firſt wife Jane the daughter of Sir William Samuel had children beſides our Author; viz. William, a Merchant in London, Elizabeth married to Sir Ralph Aſhton of Lancaſhire Bart; Anne, married to Arthur Evelyn Eſq;. By a ſecond wife he had John, killed at ſea; Edward, a Captain in the Army; Frances, married to John Bagſhaw at Culworth in Northamptonſhire Eſq;, and Dorothy, married to Allan Bellingham of Levens in Weſtmorland Eſq; (2).

(1) Wright in his *Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, pag. 52.

(2) Toland's *Life of James Harrington*, pag. 13.

[*B*] *Travelled into Holland, France, Italy, Denmark and Germany.*] He firſt went to Holland, then the principal ſchool of martial diſcipline, and (what touched him more ſenſibly) a country wonderfully flouriſhing under the influence of liberty, which they had ſo lately aſſerted by breaking the yoke of the King of Spain. And here no doubt it was, that he began to make government the ſubject of his meditations; for he was often heard to ſay, that before he left England, he knew no more of Monarchy, Anarchy, Ariſtocracy, Democracy, Oligarchy, and the like, than as hard words, whereof he learned the ſignification in his Dictionary. For ſome months he liſted himſelf in the Lord Craven's Regiment and Sir Robert Stone's; during which time being much at the Hague, he had the opportunity of further accompliſhing himſelf in two Courts, that of the Prince of Orange, and that of the Queen of Bohemia, daughter of King James I. She entertained him with great civility and favour on account of his great uncle (3) John Lord Harrington, who had been her Governor; but particularly for his own merit. The Prince Elector likewiſe courted him into his ſervice, and engaged him to attend him in a journey to the Court of Denmark. Thro' Flanders he paſſed into France, and thence into Italy.

(3) Not *Uncle*, as Mr. Toland ſays, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 14.

[*C*] *He ſerved the King with great fidelity.*] Mr. Wood tells us (4), that he "finding his Majeſty quite "another perſon as to his parts, religion, morals, &c. "than what were repreſented by the faction, who "gained their ends by lies and ſcandals, he be-"came paſſionately affected with him, and took all "occaſions to vindicate him in what company ſoever "he happened to be." And Mr. Toland obſerves (5), that during the Treaty of the Iſle of Weight *he frequently warned the Divines of his acquaintance to take heed how far they preſſed the King to inſiſt upon any thing, which, however it concerned their dignity, was no eſſential point of Religion: and that ſuch matters driven too far would infallibly ruin all the endeavours uſed for a peace; which prophecy was proved too true by the event.*

(4) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 588.

(5) *Life of James Harrington*, pag. 16.

author was forcibly turned out of the ſervice, becauſe he vindicated ſome of his Majeſty's arguments againſt the Parliament-Commiſſioners of Newport, and thought his conceſſions not ſo unſatisfactory as ſome others did [*D*]. As they were taking the King to Windſor, he begged admittance to the boot of the coach, that he might bid his maſter farewell; which being granted, and he preparing to kneel, the King took him by the hand, and pulled him in to him. He was for three or four days permitted to ſtay; but becauſe he would not take an oath againſt aſſiſting or concealing the King's eſcape, he was not only diſcharged from his office, but alſo for ſome time detained in cuſtody till Major General Ireton obtained his liberty. He afterwards found means to ſee the King at St. James's, and attended him on the ſcaffold, where, or a little before, he received a token of his Majeſty's affection (*l*). After his Majeſty's death he was obſerved to keep much in his Library, and to be more retired than uſual; which was by his friends for a long time aſcribed to melancholy or diſcontent. But he at laſt ſhewed them the manuſcript of his *Oceana*, printed in 1656 [*E*], which he had been privately writing all that while.

(*l*) Ibid. pag. 17.

[*D*] *Was forcibly turned out of the ſervice, becauſe he vindicated ſome of his Majeſty's arguments againſt the Parliament-Commiſſioners at Newport, and thought his conceſſions not ſo unſatisfactory as ſome others did.*] This is the account of Mr. Toland (6). Mr. Wood relates the affair as follows (7). His Majeſty being hurried away from Holmby to the Iſle of Wight, and thence to Hurſt-Caſtle in Hampſhire on the 30th of November 1648, it happened, that Mr. Harrington one morning fell into diſcourſe with the Governor of the Caſtle and ſome others of the Parliament-Officers there concerning the late Treaty of Newport, "wherein he "magnified the King's wiſdom in his arguments with "the Commiſſioners upon the propoſitions for peace, "and ſatisfaction the Parliament had in his conceſſi-"ons, and probability in a happy event, if this force "in removing him to Hurſt-Caſtle had not intervened "and made an unhappy fracture, which created par-"ties; enlarging alſo upon his Majeſty's learned diſ-"putes with Mr. Richard Vines and other Preſbyterian "Divines with ſuch moderation, as gained applauſe "from all thoſe that heard him argue. Which diſ-"courſe, how inoffenſive ſoever, and without excep-"tion at any other time or place, truth is not at all "times ſeaſonable or ſafe to be ſpoken, as by our Au-"thor's example was evidenced. For thoſe captious "perſons, with whom he held diſcourſe, being full "of jealouſy, and apt to wreſt his words to the worſt "ſenſe, they withdrew a little, and at their return "they told him plainly they were diſſatisfied with "what he had ſaid. He deſired them to inſtance "wherein: they replied in all particulars; which "when he began to repeat for his own ſatisfaction "and their better underſtanding, they interrupted "him, and told him in plain terms, they could not "ſuffer his attendance any longer about the King. "Which proceeding and diſmiſs, without acquaint-"ing him with the occaſion, was ill reſented by the "King, who had Harrington in good eſteem, look-"ing upon him as a Gentleman qualified with ſpecial "parts; and having found him truſty, his ſervice "was the more acceptable, yet blamed him neverthe-"leſs for not being more wary amongſt men, that "were at ſuch a time full of jealouſies, and very little "obliging to his Majeſty."

(6) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 16, 17.

(7) Col. 588, 589.

[*E*] *His* Oceana *printed in* 1656.] It was publiſhed in a thin folio under the title of *The Commonwealth or Oceana: to his Highneſs the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* When he ſhewed the manuſcript of this work to his friends before the publication of it, he told them, that ever ſince he had begun to examine things ſeriouſly, he had principally applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Civil Government, as being of the higheſt importance to the peace and felicity of mankind; and that he ſucceeded, at leaſt to his own ſatisfaction, being now convinced, that no Government is of ſo accidental and arbitrary an inſtitution as people are wont to imagine, there being in ſocieties natural cauſes producing their neceſſary effects as well as in the earth or the air. Hence he frequently argued, that the troubles of his time were not to be wholly attributed to wilfulneſs or faction, neither to the miſgovernment of the Prince, nor the ſtubbornneſs of the people; but to a change in the balance of property, which ever ſince Henry VIIth's time was daily falling into the ſcale of the Commons from that of the King and Lords, as he ſhews in his Book. Not that hereby he approved either the breaches, which the King had made on the laws, or excuſed the ſeverity, which ſome of the ſubjects exerciſed on the King; but to ſhew, that as long as the cauſes of theſe diſorders remained, ſo long would the like effects unavoidably follow; while on the one hand a King would be always endeavouring to govern according to the example of his predeceſſors, when the beſt part of the national property was in their own hands, and conſequently the greateſt command of money and men; as one of a thouſand pounds a year can entertain more ſervants, or influence more tenants, than another, that has but one hundred; out of which he cannot allow one valet. And on the other hand he ſaid, that the people would be ſure to ſtruggle for preſerving the property, whereof they were in poſſeſſion, never failing to obtain more privileges, and to enlarge the baſis of their liberty, as often as they met with any ſucceſs (which they generally did) in quarrels of this kind. His chief aim therefore was to find out a method of preventing ſuch diſtempers, or to apply the beſt remedies, when they happened to break out. But as long as the balance remained in this unequal ſtate, he affirmed, that no King whatſoever could keep himſelf eaſy, let him never ſo much endeavour to pleaſe his people; and that though a good King might manage affairs tolerably well during his life, yet this did not prove the government to be good, ſince under a leſs prudent Prince it would fall to pieces again, while the orders of a well conſtituted State make wicked men virtuous, and fools to act wiſely. He was the firſt who diſcovered, that *Empire follows the balance of property*, whether lodged in one, in a few, or in many hands; and he no ſooner diſcourſed publickly of this new doctrine, being a man of univerſal acquaintance, but it engaged all ſorts of people to buſy themſelves about it as they were variouſly affected. Some, becauſe they underſtood him, deſpiſed it, alledging, that it was plain to every man's capacity; as if his higheſt merit did not conſiſt in making it ſo. Others, and thoſe in number the feweſt, diſputed with him about it, merely to be better informed. But a third ſort out of pure envy ſtrove to leſſen or defame him; and one of them (ſince they could not find any precedent writer, out of whoſe works they might make him a plagiary) endeavoured, after a very ſingular manner, to rob him of the glory of this diſcovery; for our author having freely lent him a part of his papers, the latter publiſhed a ſmall piece to the ſame purpoſe intitled, *A Letter from an Officer of the Army in Ireland, &c.* Major Wildman was then reputed the author by ſome, and Henry Nevil Eſq; by others; which latter, by reaſon of this thing, and his great intimacy with Mr. Harrington, was by his detractors reported to be the author of his works, or that at leaſt he had a principal hand in compoſing them. Notwithſtanding theſe provocations, ſo true was Mr. Harrington to the friendſhip, which he profeſſed to Mr. Nevil and Major Wildman, that he avoided all harſh expreſſions or public cenſures on this occaſion, contenting himſelf with the juſtice, which the world was ſoon obliged to yield to him by reaſon of his other writings, wherein no ſuch aſſiſtances could reaſonably be expected. But the publication of his book met with greater difficulties from the oppoſition of the ſeveral parties then ſet againſt one another, and all againſt him; but from none more than ſome of thoſe, who pretended to be for a

while. This work of his was attacked by ſeveral writers, againſt whom he defended it.

Commonwealth, which was the ſpecious name under which they covered the rankeſt tyranny in Cromwell. Our Author by ſhewing, that a Commonwealth was a government of Laws, and not of the ſword, could not but detect the violent adminiſtration of the Protector by his Major Generals, which created him no ſmall danger; while the Cavaliers on the other hand taxed him with ingratitude to the memory of the late King, and preferred the Monarchy even of an Uſurper to the beſt ordered Commonwealth. To theſe he anſwered, that it was enough for him to forbear publiſhing his ſentiments, during that King's life; but the Monarchy being now quite diſſolved, and the Nation in a ſtate of anarchy, or, what was worſe, groaning under an horrid uſurpation, he was not only at liberty, but even obliged as a good citizen to offer his aſſiſtance to his countrymen, and to ſhew them ſuch a model of government, as he thought moſt conducing to their tranquillity, wealth, and power. That the cavaliers ought of all people to be beſt pleaſed with him, ſince if his model ſucceeded, they were ſure to enjoy equal privileges with others, and ſo be delivered from their preſent oppreſſion; for in a well conſtituted Commonwealth there can be no diſtinction of parties; the paſſage to preferment is open to merit in all perſons, and no honeſt man can be uneaſy. But that if the Prince ſhould happen to be reſtored, his doctrine of the balance would be a light to ſhew him what and with whom he had to do, and ſo either to mend or avoid the miſcarriages of his father; ſince all that is ſaid of this doctrine may as well be accommodated to a Monarchy regulated by law, as to a Democracy or more popular form of Government. He uſed to add on ſuch occaſions another reaſon of writing this model, which was, that if it ſhould ever be the fate of this nation to be like Italy of old, over-run by any barbarous people, or to have its Government and Records deſtroyed by the rage of ſome mercileſs conqueror, they might not be then left to their own invention in framing a new Government; for few people can be expected to ſucceed ſo happily as the Venetians have done in ſuch a cauſe. In the mean time it was known to ſome of the Courtiers, that the book was printing; whereupon, after hunting it from one preſs to another, they ſeized it at laſt, and conveyed it to Whitehall. All the ſollicitations Mr. Harrington could make were not able to retrieve his papers, till he remembered that Oliver's favourite daughter, the Lady Claypole, acted the part of a Princeſs very naturally, obliging all perſons with her civility, and frequently interceding for the unhappy. To this Lady, though an abſolute ſtranger to him, he thought fit to make his application; and being led into her antichamber, he ſent in his Name, with his requeſt, that ſhe would admit him to her preſence. While he attended, ſome of her women coming into the room, were followed by her little daughter about three years old, who ſtayed behind them. He entertained the child ſo divertingly, that ſhe ſuffered him to take her up in his arms till her mother came; whereupon he ſtepping towards her, and ſetting the child down at her feet, ſaid, *Madam, it is well you are come at this nick of time, or I had certainly ſtole this pretty little Lady. Stoln her!* replied the mother, *pray what to do with her? for ſhe is too young to become your miſtreſs.* "Madam, ſaid he, "though her charms aſſure her of a more conſiderable conqueſt, yet I muſt confeſs, it is not love, "but revenge that prompted me to commit this theft." *Lord*, anſwered the Lady again, *what injury have I done you, that you ſhould ſteal my child?* "None at all, "replied he, but that you might be induced to prevail with your father to do me juſtice, by reſtoring "my child, that he has ſtollen." But ſhe urging, that it was impoſſible, becauſe her father had children enough of his own; he told her at laſt, that it was the iſſue of his brain, which was miſrepreſented to the Protector, and taken out of the preſs by his order. She immediately promiſed to procure it for him, if it contained nothing prejudicial to her father's government; and he aſſured her, that it was only a kind of Political Romance, ſo far from any treaſon againſt her father, that he hoped ſhe would acquaint him, that he deſigned to dedicate it to him, and promiſed, that ſhe herſelf ſhould be preſented with one of the firſt copies. The Lady was ſo well pleaſed with his manner of addreſs, that he had his book ſpeedily reſtored to him; and he accordingly inſcribed it to Oliver Cromwell, who after the peruſal of it, ſaid, that "the Gentleman had like to trapan him out of his "power; but that what he got by the ſword, he "would not quit for a little paper-ſhot; adding, that "he approved the government of a ſingle perſon as "little as any of them, but that he was forced to take "upon him the office of an High-Conſtable, to preſerve the peace among the ſeveral parties in the "nation, ſince he ſaw that being left to themſelves, "they would never agree to any certain form of "Government, and would only ſpend their whole "power in defeating the deſigns, or deſtroying the "perſon of one another." We ſhall now proceed to give an account of the Book, which is written after the manner of a Romance, in imitation of Plato's *Atlantic Story*. By *Oceana* he means *England*; by *Adoxus*, King *John*; by *Convallium*, *Hampton-Court*; by *Coraunus*, *Henry VIII*; by *Dicoitome*, K. *Richard II*; by *Emporium*, *London*; by *Halcionia*, the *Thames*; by *Halo*, *Whitehall*; by *Hiera*, *Weſtminſter*; by *Leviathan*, *Hobbes*; by *Marpeſia*, *Scotland*; by *Morpheus*, King *James I*; by *Mount Celia*, *Windſor*; by *Neuſtrians*, *Normans*; by *Olphaus Megaletor*, *Oliver Cromwell*; by *Panopæa*, *Ireland*; by *Pantheon*, *Weſtminſter-Hall*; by *Panurgus*, *Henry VII*; by *Parthenia*, Queen Elizabeth; by *Scandians*, *Danes*; by *Teutons*, *Saxons*; by *Turbo*, *William the Conqueror*; by *Verulamius*, Lord *Bacon*. The book conſiſts of preliminaries divided into two parts, and a third ſection called the *Council of Legiſlators*. Then follows the model of the Commonwealth, or the body of the book; and laſtly the corollary or concluſion. The Preliminary Diſcourſes contain the principles, generation, and effects of all Governments, whether Monarchical, Ariſtocratical, or Popular, and their ſeveral corruptions, as tyranny, oligarchy, and anarchy, with all the good or bad mixtures, which naturally reſult from them. But the firſt part treats in a more particular manner of antient prudence, or that genius of Government, which moſt prevailed in the world ſince the time of Julius Cæſar. The ſecond part of the Preliminaries treats of modern prudence, or that genius of Government which has moſt obtained in the world ſince the expiration of the Roman liberty, particularly the Gothic conſtitution, beginning with the inundation of the barbarous nations over the Roman empire. He gives a clear account of the Engliſh Government under the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, till the diſſolution of it under Charles I. Next follows the *Council of Legiſlators*; for our author being about to give the moſt perfect model of Government, made himſelf maſter of all the antient and modern Politicians, that he might as well imitate whatever was excellent or practicable in them, as avoid all things, which were impracticable or inconvenient. To this end he introduces under feigned names nine Legiſlators, who perfectly underſtood the ſeveral Governments, which they were appointed to repreſent. The province of the firſt was the Commonwealth of *Iſrael*; that of the ſecond, *Athens*; of the third, *Sparta*; of the fourth, *Carthage*; of the fifth, the *Achæans*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*; of the ſixth, *Rome*; of the ſeventh, *Venice*; of the eighth, *Swiſſerland*; and of the ninth, *Holland*; Out of the excellencies of all theſe, ſupplied with the fruits of his own invention, he formed the model of his *Oceana*. In the *Model*, he obſerves this method, to lay down his orders or laws in ſo many poſitive propoſitions, to each of which he ſubjoins an explanatory diſcourſe; and, if there be occaſion, adds a ſpeech ſuppoſed to be delivered by the Lord Archon, or ſome of the Legiſlators. The Epitome of this model is as follows. The center or fundamental laws are, firſt, the Agrarian, proportioned at two thouſand pounds a year in land, lying and being within the proper territory of Oceana, and ſtating property in land at ſuch a balance, that the power can never ſwerve out of the hands of the many.

Secondly, The ballot conveying this equal ſap from the root, by an unequal election or rotation, into the branches

branches of magiſtracy or ſovereign power.

The orbs of this Commonwealth being civil, military, or provincial, are, as it were, caſt upon this mold or center by the diviſions of the people: Firſt, into citizens and ſervants: Secondly, into youth and elders: Thirdly, into ſuch as have one hundred pounds a year in lands, goods, or monies, who are of the horſe; and ſuch as have under, who are of the foot: Fourthly, they are divided by their uſual reſidence into pariſhes, hundreds, and tribes.

The civil orbs conſiſt of the elders, and are thus created. Every Monday next enſuing the laſt of December, the elders in every pariſh elect the fifth man to be a Deputy; which is but half a day's work. Every Monday next enſuing the laſt of January, the Deputies meet at their reſpective hundred, and elect out of their number one Juſtice of the Peace, one Juryman, one Coroner, and one High Conſtable of the foot; one day's work.

Every Monday next enſuing the laſt of February, the hundreds meet at their reſpective tribe, and there elect the Lord's High-Sheriff, Lieutenant, Cuſtos Rotulorum, the Conductor, the two Cenſors out of the Horſe, the Magiſtrates of the Tribe, and of the Hundreds, with the Jurymen conſtituting the Phylarch, and who aſſiſt in their reſpective offices at the Aſſizes, hold the Quarter-ſeſſions, &c. The day following the Tribe elects the annual Galaxy, conſiſting of two Knights, and three Deputies out of the Horſe, with four Deputies out of the Foot, thereby indued with power, as Magiſtrates of the whole nation, for the term of three years. An officer choſen at the Hundred may not be elected a Magiſtrate of the Tribe; but a Magiſtrate or Officer either of the Hundred or of the Tribe, being elected into the Galaxy, may ſubſtitute any one of his own order to his Magiſtracy or Office in the Hundred or in the Tribe. This of the Muſter is two days work. So the body of the people is annually at the charge of three days work and an half, in their own Tribes, for the perpetuation of their power, receiving over and above the Magiſtracies ſo divided among them.

Every Monday next enſuing the laſt of March, the Knights, being an hundred in all the Tribes, take their places in the Senate, and make the third region of the ſame, and the Houſe proceeds to the Senatorian Elections. Senatorian Elections are annual, biennial, or emergent.

The annual is performed by the tropic.

The tropic is a ſchedule, conſiſting of two parts; the firſt, by which the Senatorian Magiſtrates are elected; and the ſecond, by which the Senatorian Counſellors are perpetuated.

The firſt part is of this tenor. The Lord Strategus, the Lord Orator, the firſt Cenſor, and the ſecond Cenſor, annual Magiſtrates, and therefore ſuch as may be elected out of any region; the term of every region having at the tropic one year at leaſt unexpired. The third Commiſſioner of the Seal, and the third Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, triennial Magiſtrates, and therefore ſuch as can be choſen out of the third region only, as that alone, which has the term of three years unexpired.

The Strategus and the Orator ſitting are Conſuls or Preſidents of the Senate.

The Strategus marching is General of the Army, in which caſe a new Strategus is elected to ſit in his room.

The Strategus ſitting with the ſix Commiſſioners, being Counſellors of the nation, are the ſignory of the Commonwealth.

The Cenſors are Magiſtrates of the Ballot, Preſidents of the Council for Religion, and Chancellors of the Univerſity.

The ſecond part of the tropic perpetuates the Council of State by the election of five Knights out of the firſt region of the Senate, to be the firſt region of that Council, conſiſting of fifteen Knights, five in every region.

The like is done by the Election of *four* into the Council of Religion, and four into the Council of Trade, out of the ſame Region in the Senate; each of theſe Councils conſiſting of twelve Knights, four in in every Region.

But the Council of War conſiſting of nine Knights, three in every Region, is elected by and out of the Council of State, as the other Councils are elected by and out of the Senate. And if the Senate add a Juncto of nine Knights more, elected out of their own number, for the term of three Months, the Council of War, by Vertue of that addition, is dictator of *Oceana* for the ſaid Term.

For the Signory jointly or ſeverally has a right of Seſſion, and ſuffrage of every Senatorian Council, and to propoſe either to the Senate, or any of them. And every Region in a Council electing one weekly Provoſt, any two of thoſe Provoſts have power alſo to propoſe to their reſpective Council, as the proper and peculiar Propoſers of the ſame; for which cauſe they hold an Academy, where any man, either by word of Mouth, or writing, may propoſe the Propoſers.

Next to the Elections of the Tropic is the biennial Election of one Embaſſador in Ordinary, by the ballot of the Houſe, to the Reſidence of France; at which time the Reſident of France removes to Spain, he of Spain to Venice, he of Venice to Conſtantinople, and he of Conſtantinople returns. So the orb of Reſidents is wheeled about in eight years by the Election of one Embaſſador in Ordinary.

The laſt kind of Election is emergent. Emergent Elections are made by the ſcrutiny. Election by ſcrutiny is when a competitor being made by a Council, and brought into the Senate, the Senate chooſes four more competitors to him; and putting all five to the ballot, he who has moſt above half the Suffrages, is the Magiſtrate. The Polemarchs or Field-Officers are choſen by the ſcrutiny of the Council of War; an Embaſſador Extraordinary by the ſcrutiny of the Council of State; the Judges and Serjeants at Law by the ſcrutiny of the Seal; and the Barons and prime Officers of the Exchequer by the ſcrutiny of the Treaſury.

The opinion or opinions, that are legitimately propoſed to any Council, muſt be debated by the ſame; and ſo many as are reſolved upon the debate, are introduced into the Senate, where they are debated and reſolved, or rejected by the whole Houſe. That which is reſolved by the Senate is a decree, which is good in matters of State, but no Law, except it be propoſed to, and reſolved by the Prerogative.

The Deputies of the Galaxy, being three Horſe and four Foot in a Tribe, amount in all the Tribes to one hundred and fifty Horſe, and two hundred Foot; which having entered the Prerogative, and choſen their Captains, Cornets, and Enſign (triennial Officers) make the third Claſs, conſiſting of one Troop and one Company; and ſo joining with the whole Prerogative, elect four annual Magiſtrates, called Tribunes, whereof two are of the Horſe, and two of the Foot. Theſe have the command of the Prerogative Seſſions, and ſuffrage in the Council of War, and Seſſions without Suffrage in the Senate.

The Senate having paſſed a decree, which they would propoſe to the people, cauſe it to be printed and publiſhed, or promulgated for the ſpace of ſix Weeks; which being ordered, they chooſe their Propoſers. The Propoſers muſt be Magiſtrates, that is, the Commiſſioners of the Seal, thoſe of the Treaſury, or the Cenſors. Theſe being choſen, deſire the Muſters of the Tribunes, and appoint the Day. The people being aſſembled at the Day appointed, and the decree propoſed, that which is propoſed by authority of the Senate, and commanded by the people, is the Law of *Oceana*, or an act of Parliament. So the Parliament of *Oceana* conſiſts of the Senate propoſing, and the people reſolving.

The People or Prerogative are alſo the ſupreme Judicatory of this Nation, having power of hearing and determining all cauſes of Appeal from all Magiſtrates, or Courts provincial, or domeſtick; as alſo to queſtion any Magiſtrate, the term of his Magiſtracy being expired, if the caſe be introduced by the Tribunes or any of them.

The military Orbs conſiſt of the Youth, that is, ſuch as are from eighteen to thirty Years of Age; and are created in the following manner.

Every Wedneſday next enſuing the laſt of December, the Youth of every Pariſh aſſembling, elect the fifth of their number to be their Deputies. The Deputies of the Youth are called Stratiots; and this is the firſt Eſſay.

it [*F*]. In 1659 he publiſhed an Abridgment of his *Oceana* under the title of *The Art of Lawgiving* [*G*]. Beſides his endeavours to propagate his Republican notions by his writings,

Every Wedneſday next inſuing the laſt of January, the Stratiots aſſembling at the Hundred, elect their Captain and their Enſign, and fall to their Games and Sports.

Every Wedneſday next enſuing the laſt of February, the Stratiots are received by the Lord Lieutenant their Commander in chief, with the Conductors and the Cenſors; and having been diſciplined and entertained with other Games, are called to the Urns, where they elect the ſecond Eſſay, conſiſting of two hundred Horſe and ſix hundred Foot in a Tribe; that is, of ten thouſand Horſe, and thirty thouſand Foot in all the Tribes, which is the ſtanding Army of this Nation, to march at any warning. They alſo elect at the ſame time a part of the third Eſſay, by the mixture of Balls marked with the Letter *M*, and the Letter *P*. for *Marpeſia* (6), and *Panopea* (7); they of either mark being ten Horſe, and fifty Foot in a Tribe, that is, five hundred Horſe, and two thouſand five hundred Foot in all the Tribes, which are forthwith to march to their reſpective Provinces.

(6) Scotland.

(7) Ireland.

But the third Eſſay of this nation, more properly ſo called, is when the Strategus with the Polemarchs, (the Senate and the People, or the Dictator having decreed a War) receive in return of his Warrants the ſecond Eſſay from the Conductors at the Rendezvous of Oceana; which army marching with all accommodations provided by the Council of War, the Senate elects a new Strategus, and the Lords Lieutenants a ſecond Eſſay.

A Youth, except he be an only ſon, refuſing any one of his three Eſſays, without ſufficient cauſe ſhewn to the Phylarch or the Cenſors, is incapable of Magiſtracy, and is fined a fifth part of his yearly Rent, or of his Eſtate, for protection. In caſe of Invaſion the Elders are obliged to like duty with the Youth, and upon their own charge.

The Provincial Orb conſiſting in part of the Elders, and in part of the Youth, is thus created.

Four Knights out of the firſt Region falling, are elected in the Senate to be the firſt Region of the Provincial Orb of *Marpeſia*. Theſe being triennial Magiſtrates, take their Places in the Provincial Council, conſiſting of twelve Knights, four in every Region, each Region chooſing their weekly Provoſts of their Council thus conſtituted. One Knight more choſen out of the ſame Region in the Senate, being an annual Magiſtrate, is Preſident, with power to propoſe; and the Opinions propoſed by the Preſident, or any two of the Provoſts, are debated by the Council; and if there be occaſion of farther power or inſtruction than they yet have, tranſmitted to the Council of State, with which the Provincial is to hold Intelligence.

The Preſident of this Council is alſo Strategus or General of the Provincial Army. Wherefore the Conductors, upon Notice of his election and appointment of his rendezvous, deliver to him the Stratiots of his Letter, which he takes with him into his Province; and the Provincial Army having received the new Strategus with the third Claſſis, the Council diſmiſſes the old Strategus with the firſt Claſſis. The like is done for *Panopea*, or any other Province.

But whereas the Term of every other Magiſtracy or Election in this Commonwealth, whether annual or triennial, requires an equal Vacation, the Term of a Provincial Counſeller or Magiſtrate requires no Vacation at all. The *Quorum* of a Provincial, as alſo that of every other Council and Aſſembly, requires two thirds in a time of Health, and one third in a time of Sickneſs. [In the *Corollary*, which is the concluſion of the whole work, he ſhews how the laſt hand was to put his Commonwealth; and beſides the Form of the Senate and Aſſemblies of the People, and the manner of waging war, and governing in peace, he treats of the diſcipline of a national religion, and the ſecurity of liberty of Conſcience; a form of government for Scotland, Ireland, and the other Provinces of the Commonwealth; Governments for London and Weſtminſter, proportionably to which the other Corporations of the Nation are to be modelled; Directions for the encouraging of Trade; Laws for regulating of Academies; Rules for the Education of the Youth, as well to the wars and to the Sea, to Manufactures or Husbandry, as to Law, Phyſick, or Divinity, and chiefly to the breeding and true figure of accompliſhed Gentlemen. He gives orders for reforming the Stage; the number, choice, and buſineſs of the Officers of State, and the revenue, with all ſorts of Officers; and an exact account both of their ſalaries, and the ordinary yearly charge of the whole Commonwealth. Mr. Toland obſerves (8), that

(8) *Life of Harrington*, pag. 23, 24.

"this *Model* gives a full anſwer to thoſe, who imagine, "that there can be no diſtinctions or degrees, neither "Nobility nor Gentry, in a Democracy; being led in- "to this miſtake, becauſe they ignorantly think all "Commonwealths to be conſtituted alike; when, if "they were but never ſo little vers'd in Hiſtory, they "might know, that no order of men now in the world "can come near the figure that was made by the No- "blemen and Gentlemen of the Roman State: nor in "this reſpect, does the Commonwealth of *Oceana* "come any thing behind them; for, as Harrington "ſays very truly, *an Army may as well conſiſt of Soldiers "without Officers, or of Officers without Soldiers, as a "Commonwealth (eſpecially ſuch a one as is capable of "greatneſs) conſiſt of a people without a gentry, or of a "gentry without a people.*"

[*F*] *This work of his was attacked by ſeveral Writers, againſt whom he defended it.*] The firſt, who made exceptions to it, was Dr. Henry Ferne, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter. The Lady Aſhton, Mr. Harrington's ſiſter, preſented him with one of the Books, and deſired his opinion of it, which he quickly ſent in ſuch a manner as ſhewed, that he did not approve of the doctrine, tho' he treated the perſon and his learning with due reſpect. To this Letter a reply was made, and ſome queries ſent along with it by Mr. Harrington; to every one of which a diſtinct anſwer was returned by the Doctor; which being again confuted by Mr. Harrington, he publiſhed the whole in 1656 under the title of *Pian Piano, or an Intercourſe between H. Ferne, Doctor in Divinity, and James Harrington Eſq; upon occaſion of the Doctor's cenſure of the Commonwealth of Oceana*. The next, who wrote againſt *Oceana*, was Matthew Wren, ſon of Dr. Matthew Wren Biſhop of Ely. His Book was intitled, *Conſiderations on Mr.* Harrington's Commonwealth of Oceana, *reſtrained to the firſt part of the Preliminaries*. London 1657 in 8vo. To this is prefixed a Letter to Dr. John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College, who had deſired Mr. Wren to give his judgment concerning Mr. Harrington's Book; who wrote an Anſwer to Mr. Wren in the firſt Book of his *Prerogative of Popular Government: A political Diſcourſe, in two Books, the former containing the firſt Preliminary of* Oceana, *enlarged, interpreted, and vindicated from all ſuch miſtakes or ſlanders, as have been alledged againſt it under the notion of objections. The ſecond concerning Ordination, againſt Dr. Hammond, Dr. Lazarus Seaman, and the Authors they follow. In which two Books are contained the whole Commonwealth of the Hebrews or of Iſrael, Senate, People, and Magiſtracy, both as it ſtood in the Inſtitution by Moſes, and as it came to be formed after the Captivity. As alſo the different policies introduced into the Church of Chriſt during the time of the Apoſtles.* London 1658 in 4to. As Mr. Wren was one of the Virtuoſi, who met at Dr. Wilkins's lodgings at Oxford, (the Seminary of the Royal Society) Mr. Harrington obſerves, that *the Univerſity Wits or good Company were good at two things, diminiſhing of a Commonwealth and the multiplying of a louſe*. Mr. Wren publiſhed a Rejoinder under the title of, *Monarchy aſſerted: or the State of Monarchical and Popular Government in vindication of the Conſiderations on Mr. Harrington's* Oceana. London 1659 in 8vo. In anſwer to which Mr. Harrington wrote his *Politicaſter, or a comical Diſcourſe in anſwer to Mr. Wren's Book intitled,* Monarchy aſſerted againſt Mr. Harrington's *Oceana*. London 1659. Mr. Baxter wrote againſt our Author his *Holy Commonwealth: or Political Aphoriſms opening the true Principles of Government*. London 1659 in 8vo.

[*G*] *In* 1659 *he publiſhed an Abridgment of his* Oceana *under the title of* The Art of Law-giving.] It was

writings, he inſtituted likewiſe for the ſame purpoſe a nightly meeting of ſeveral ingenious Gentlemen in the New-Palace Yard at Weſtminſter; which club was called the *Rota* [*H*], and continued till about the 21ſt of February 1659, at which time the ſecluded Members of Parliament being reſtored by General Monk, all their models vaniſhed (*m*). After the Reſtoration he lived in a retired manner. But December the 28th 1661 he, by order of the King, was committed to the Tower of London for treaſonable deſigns and practices [*I*]; and, Chancellor Hyde, at a conference of the Lords and Commons, charged him with being concerned in a plot. But a committee of Lords and Commons, after ſeveral ſittings, could make nothing of that pretended plot, and did not ever name our author in all their reports (*n*). At laſt he was conveyed to St. Nicholas Iſland oppoſite to Plymouth; from whence he was removed to Plymouth, where he fell into an uncommon diſorder of imagination [*K*]. Having obtained his liberty by means of the Earl of Bath, he

(*m*) Wood, col. 591.

(*n*) *Life*, pag. 35.

was printed at London in 8vo, and divided into three Books; the firſt ſhewing the foundations and ſuperſtructures of all the kinds of Governments; the ſecond ſhewing the frames of the Commonwealths of Iſrael and the Jews; the third ſhewing a model fitted to the preſent ſtate or balance of this Nation. To this Treatiſe is added a ſmall Diſſertation, intitled, *A Word concerning a Houſe of Peers*.

[*H*] *He inſtituted . . . a nightly meeting of ſeveral ingenious Gentlemen in the New Palace Yard at Weſtminſter, which Club was called the* Rota.] They met at the Turk's Head, called Miles's Coffee-Houſe, next to the ſtairs where the people take water. "Their "diſcourſes, ſays Mr. Wood (9), about Government "and of ordering of a Commonwealth were the moſt "ingenious and ſmart that ever were heard; for the "arguments in the Parliament-Houſe were but flat to "thoſe. This gang had a balloting-box, and balloted how things ſhould be carried by way of *Tentamens*; which being not uſed or known in England before upon this account, the room every evening was very full. Beſides our Author and H. Nevil, who were the prime men of the Club, were Cyriack Skinner, a merchant's ſon in London, an ingenious young Gentleman, and ſcholar to Jo. Milton, which Skinner ſometimes held the Chair; Major John Wildman; Charles Wolſeley of Staffordſhire; Roger Coke; William Poultney, afterwards a Knight, who ſometimes held the Chair; John Hoſkyns; John Aubrey; Maximilian Pettie of Tetteſworth in Oxfordſhire, a very able man in theſe matters, and who had more than once turned the Council-Board of Oliver Cromwell; Mich. Mallet; Ph. Carteret of the Iſle of Guernſey; Francis Cradock, a Merchant; Henry Ford; Major Venner, Nephew to Dr. Tob. Venner, the Phyſician; Tho. Marriett of Warwickſhire; Henry Croone, a Phyſician; Edward Bagſhaw of Chriſt-Church; and ſometimes Rob. Wood of Lincoln College; and James Ardern, then or ſoon after a Divine; with many others, beſides antagoniſts and auditors of note. Dr. William Petty was a Rotaman, and would ſometimes trouble Jo. Harrington in his Club; and one Stafford a Gentleman of Northamptonſhire, who uſed to be an auditor, did with his gang come among them one evening very mellow from the tavern, and did much affront the Junto and tore in pieces their orders and minutes. The ſoldiers, who commonly were there, as auditors and ſpectators, would have kick'd them down ſtairs; but Harrington's moderation and perſuaſion hindered them. The doctrine was very taking, and the more, becauſe as to human foreſight there was no poſſibility of the King's return. The greateſt of the Parliament-Men hated this deſign of Rotation and Balloting, as being againſt their power. Eight or ten were for it, of which number Henry Nevil was one, who propoſed it to the Houſe, and made it out to the Members thereof, that except they embraced that way of government, they would be ruined. The model of it was, that the third part of the Senate or Houſe ſhould rote out by ballot every year, ſo that every ninth year the ſaid Senate would be wholly altered. No Magiſtrate was to continue above three years, and all to be choſen by ballot; than which choice nothing could be invented more fair and impartial, as it was then thought, though oppoſed by many for ſeveral reaſons. This Club of Commonwealth's-Men laſted till about the 21ſt of February 1659; at which time the ſecluded Members being reſtored by General George Monke, all their models vaniſhed."

(9) Col. 591.

[*I*] *By order of the King committed to the Tower of London for treaſonable deſigns and practices.*] When he was ſeized, he was engaged in reducing his politics into ſhort and eaſy *Aphoriſms*, and had the written ſheets of that piece lying looſe upon the table before him. Finding that he was to be carried before the Council, he beg'd the favour, that he might ſtitch the ſheets together, which was granted. He had no time given him to take leave of any body, but was immediately conveyed to the Tower, where none were allowed to come to his ſight and ſpeech. He was examined by the Earl of Lauderdale, Sir George Carteret, and Sir Edward Walker; and notwithſtanding his apparent innocence, was ſtill detained a cloſe priſoner (10).

(10) *Life of Harrington*, page 30-34.

[*K*] *Fell into an uncommon diſorder of imagination.*] Among the acquaintance he made at Plymouth, one was Dr. Dunſtan, who adviſed him to take a preparation of Guaiacum in coffee, as a certain cure for the ſcurvy, with which he was then troubled. He drank of this liquor in great quantities every morning and evening. But after uſing it for ſome time, his ſiſters, to their no ſmall amazement, received no more anſwers to their letters. At length advice was brought them from his Landlady, that his fancy was much diſordered: Immediately one of them addreſs'd herſelf to the Earl of Bath, then chief Governor of Plymouth, and informed him of his priſoner's ſad condition. That Nobleman having procured a Warrant from the King for his releaſe, the Lady Aſhton and another of his ſiſters took their journey towards Plymouth, where they found their brother ſo changed in body and mind, that they ſcarce could perſuade themſelves, that it was the ſame perſon. He was reduced to a ſkeleton, not able to walk alone, ſlept very little, his imagination diſturbed, often fainted when he took his drink, and yet ſo fond of it, that he would by no means be adviſed to forbear it. Dr. Prujean, and other eminent Phyſicians greatly blamed Dr. Dunſtan's preſcriptions, giving their opinions under their hands, that Guaiacum and the other drying things, which he had adminiſtred to his patient in coffee, were enough of themſelves to beget melancholy or phrenzy, where there was no previous diſpoſition to it. A rumour at Plymouth, that Mr. Harrington had taken ſome drink, which would make any man mad in a month, the ſurlineſs of his Phyſician, and ſomething blab'd by a maid, who was put againſt his will to attend him, made his ſiſter ſuſpect, that he had foul play, leſt he ſhould write any more *Oecanas*. It is certain, that tho' his recovery was never perfect, he mended greatly as ſoon as he was perſuaded to abſtain from this liquor, and in leſs than a month he was able to bear the journey to London in a coach, where he was no ſooner arrived, but Sir John Skelton, Deputy Governor of Plymouth, who was then in town, paid him a viſit. The Lady Aſhton complaining to him, that ſhe had not timely notice of her brother's diſtemper, he proteſted, that he would have ſent her word of it, had not Dr. Dunſtan aſſured him, that he only counterfeited; and yet at the ſame time made him take ſtrong doſes of hellebore and other things. Mr. Harrington paſſed ſome time at Aſhted in Surrey to drink the Epſom-waters, by which he found no benefit. At London he was put wholly under the care of Dr. Prujean, who with all his art could afford little help to the weakneſs of his body, and none at all to the diſorder of his mind, to his dying day. He was allowed to diſcourſe of moſt things as rationally as any man, except his own diſtemper, fancying ſtrange things in the operation of his animal ſpirits, which he thought to tranſpire from him in the ſhape

he was carried to London, where he married the daughter of Sir Marmaduke Dorrel of Buckinghamſhire. Towards the latter end of his life he was ſubject to the gout, and enjoyed little eaſe, but languiſhing for a good while, at laſt fell into a palſy, and died at Weſtminſter September the 7th 1677, and was interred in St. Margaret's Church on the ſouth-ſide of the altar, next to the grave of Sir Walter Ralegh, with an inſcription over him. Beſides the works already mentioned, he wrote ſeveral others [*L*]. A new edition of all his political works is now in the preſs.

ſhape of birds, of flies, of bees, or the like. And thoſe about him reported, that he talked much of good and evil ſpirits, and that he ſometimes argued ſo ſtrenuouſly, that this was no depraved imagination, that his Phyſician was often at a loſs for an anſwer. He would on ſuch occaſions compare himſelf to Democritus, who for his admirable diſcoveries in Anatomy was reckoned diſtracted by his fellow-citizens, till Hippocrates removed their miſtake. Mr. Toland found among his papers the beginning of a little Treatiſe written by himſelf, wherein he endeavours to prove thoſe perſons to be mad, who thought him ſo with reſpect to what he diſcourſed of nature, which he maintained to work mechanically or mathematically. It appears there, that his pretended viſions of Angels and Devils were nothing elſe but good and bad animal ſpirits; and that his flies and bees were only ſimilitudes, whereby he uſed to expreſs the various figures and forms of thoſe particles. *I own*, ſays Mr. Toland (11), *that he might probably enough be much decayed in his underſtanding by reaſon of his great and long weakneſs of body; but I ſhall never be convinced, that he was delirious in that only inſtance, which they alledge; and to ſatisfy the learned in this point (which, in my opinion, is a memorable ſtory, that concerns them all) I ſhall ſubjoin his own diſcourſe to this Hiſtory.*

(11) *Life of Harrington*, pag. 38.

[*L*] *Beſides the works already mentioned, he wrote ſeveral others.*] *The Uſe and manner of Ballots:* printed on one ſide of a ſheet of paper; in the middle of which is a cut repreſenting the ſeſſion of Magiſtrates belonging to a Commonwealth. *Aphoriſms Political*; London 1659, in 4to. in one ſheet and an half. They are in number ſeventy ſix. But the ſecond edition is in two ſheets and an half, and the *Aphoriſms* are in number one hundred and twenty. *Brief Directions ſhewing how a fit and perfect model of popular Government may be made, found, or underſtood:* London 1659, in two parts. The firſt contains ſeven models, the ſecond propoſeth a model of a Commonwealth fitted to the preſent ſtate of the nation, under five propoſitions or heads. *Pour enclouer le Canon: or, the nailing of the Enemy's Artillery:* London 1659, in one ſheet in 8vo. *A Diſcourſe upon this Saying; The Spirit of the Nation is not yet to be truſted with Liberty, leſt it introduce Monarchy, or invade the Liberty of Conſcience.* London, 1659, in two ſheets in 4to. *A Propoſition in order to the propoſing of a Commonwealth or Democracy:* printed on one ſide of a ſheet of paper. *A Diſcourſe ſhewing, that the Spirit of Parliaments, with a Council in the Intervals, is not to be truſted for a Settlement, leſt it introduce Monarchy and Perſecution for Conſcience.* London, 1659, in one ſheet and an half. To this are ſubjoined *Certain Maxims calculated unto the preſent State of England*, written by our Author. *A Parallel of the Spirit of the People with the Spirit of Mr.* Rogers: *And an Appeal thereupon unto the Reader, whether the Spirit of the People, or the Spirit of Men, like Mr.* Rogers, *be fitted to be truſted with the Government.* London, 1659, in one ſheet in 4to. This Mr. John Rogers was an Anabaptiſt, a ſeditious Enthuſiaſt, and a Fifth-Monarchy-Man. There was an anſwer publiſhed to Mr. Harrington's *Parallel*, without a date, intitled, *Mr.* Harrington's *Parallel unparallel'd, or a Demonſtration upon it, and the Parable opened:* in one ſheet in 4to. *Valerius and Publicola: or the true Form of a Popular Commonwealth extracted* ex puris Naturalibus. London, 1659, in five ſheets in 4to. Dated October 22, 1659. To this is added *A ſufficient Anſwer to Mr.* Stubbe *his* Letter to an Officer concerning a ſelect Senate, mentioned by them in their Propoſals to the late Parliament. This Letter of Mr. Stubbe was printed at London, 1659, in 4to. Theſe ſeven laſt pieces of Mr. Harrington, with his *Aphoriſms Political*, have been bound up together and publiſhed under the general title of *Political Diſcourſes tending to the Introduction of a free and equal Commonwealth in England:* London, 1660, in 4°, with the Author's picture before it. etch'd by Hollar. *The Stumbling-block of Diſobedience and Rebellion cunningly imputed by* P. H. *unto* Calvin, *removed in a Letter to the ſaid* P. H. *from* J. H. This was reprinted and anſwered by Dr. Peter Heylin in the *third Part* of his *Certamen Epiſtolare*, printed at London 1659, in 8°; which *third Part* is intitled, *A Decertation about Forms of Government, the Power of the Spartan Ephori, and the Jewiſh Sanhedrim; managed Letter-wiſe between* Peter Heylin *D. D. and* J. H. *of the City of Weſtminſter, Eſq*; Dr. Heylin's letter is dated from *Lacy*'s Court in Abingdon, Decemb. 24. 1658. The Dr. ſtiles our author a *generous and ingenious adverſary, of whoſe ſociety and friendſhip*, ſays he, *I ſhould count it no crime to be ambitious.* Mr. Harrington likewiſe wrote *The Rota; or Model of a free State or equal Commonwealth, once propoſed and debated in brief, and to be again more at large propoſed to, and debated by a free and open Society of Gentlemen.* London, 1660, in four ſheets in 4to. It was publiſhed in the beginning of February $16\frac{59}{60}$. In anſwer to this came out a ludicrous cenſure, pretended to be made by the *Rota*, printed in two ſheets in the latter end of March 1660. And a little before there was a ſheet printed in 4to intitled, *Decrees and Orders of the Committee of Safety of the Commonwealth of* Oceana. He publiſhed alſo, *The Ways and Means, whereby an equal and laſting Commonwealth may be ſuddenly introduced and perfectly founded, with the free Conſent and actual Confirmation of the whole People of England.* London, 1660, in one ſheet in 4to. To this was added, *The humble Petition of divers well affected Perſons, delivered the ſixth day of July*, 1659. It was delivered by Mr. Henry Nevil. He tranſlated from Latin into Engliſh two of Virgil's Eclogues, and two books of his Æneis, which he thus intitled, *An Eſſay upon two of Virgil's Eclogues and two of his Æneis, towards the Tranſlation of the whole.* London, 1658, in 8vo; and in 1659 was printed his tranſlation of the third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth books of the Æneis. T.

(a) A city of Germany on the river Mein.

HARTUNGUS (JOHN) born at Miltemberg (*a*) in the year 1505, ſtudied firſt in his native place, and afterwards in the Univerſity of Heidelberg. He entered afterwards into the army, and ſerved in Hungary againſt the Turks; but ſome time after he entered again into the agreeable ſervice of the Muſes, and was made Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue in the Univerſity of Heidelberg. He acquitted himſelf with glory of that function during fifteen years; nor would he have left his poſt had not the Proteſtant Religion been eſtabliſhed in the Palatinate in the year 1546. This alteration obliged him to look for another poſt: he obtained one at Friburg in the Briſgaw, and was ſo well ſatisfied with it, that he reſigned it only with his laſt breath. He was honourably diſtinguiſhed amongſt the Profeſſors of Friburg, and had a great many pupils. He read Lectures on Homer, and on ſome other Poets, and wrote pretty good books [*A*]. He

[*A*] *He wrote pretty good books.*] Prolegomena's and notes on the three firſt books of the Odyſſea. *Chiliades locorum Homericorum: Decuriæ locorum quorundam memorabilium* (1). He tranſlated Apollonius's Poem on the

(1) Mel. Adam, *in Vitis Philoſ.* pag. 301.

(b) *Taken from* Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Philoſoph. Germanor.* pag. 300, 301.

He died in the ſame city June the 16th 1579, after he had taught polite Literature there during thirty three years. It appears by the epitaph he compoſed for himſelf, that in teaching the youth he ſuffered a great deal, and learnt much (*b*) [*B*].

the Argonauts into Latin. This tranſlation is not much eſteemed: Here follows the judgment, which a good Critic (2) paſſed upon it. *Miratus ſum hominem eruditum, & in Græca præſertim lingua cum laude verſatum ita tranſtuliſſe* [Apollonium] *ut non paulò facilius ſit Apollonium ſua, hoc eſt Græca, lingua aſſequi, quam ea qua eum Hartungus loquentem fecit, Latina.* i. e. "I wonder that a learned man, who had gained "ſome reputation, eſpecially by his ſkill in the Greek "tongue, ſhould have ſo tranſlated Apollonius, "that it is much eaſier to underſtand him in his "own tongue, that is to ſay, in Greek, than in that, "which Hartungus made him ſpeak, that is to ſay, "in Latin." Immediately after this he takes notice of ſome errors that are in this tranſlation, and hints that he could point out a great many more. *Infinitum eſſet ea perſequi, in quibus longiſſimè à ſententia Apollonii aberrarit* (3). i. e. "It would be endleſs to point "out all the paſſages, in which he has entirely miſ-"taken Apollonius's ſenſe."

(2) Janus Rutgerſius, *Variarum Lection.* lib. 6. cap. 6. p. 562.

(3) Idem, ibid. pag. 566.

[*B*] *The Epitaph he compoſed for himſelf ſhews that . . . . he ſuffered . . . . and learnt much.*] It deſerves to be tranſcribed.

Πολλὰ παθὼν, κ᾽ πολλὰ μαθὼν ἐν παιδοδιδάκλῳ,
Ἔνθα δὲ νῦν σὺν Θεῷ ἡσύχιος.

The Latin tranſlation of it, which we meet with in Melchior Adam (4), is very indifferent; it does not in the leaſt anſwer the Author's deſign, which was to declare that his Profeſſorſhip was a very heavy burthen to him. I do not tranſcribe the other Greek Epitaph, which Hartungus made for himſelf; you may find it in Melchior Adam. I am perſuaded that Lorenzo Craſſo would have put him in his Catalogue of Greek Poets, if he had known what has been juſt now obſerved. This Italian's omiſſion makes me remember, that Mr. Baillet has not given Hartungus a place amongſt the Critics.

(4) It is as follows. *Multa tuli, didici, docui dum fata ſinebant, Mortuus in ſumma nunc requieſco Deo.* i. e. "I have "ſuffered, learnt, "and taught a "great deal, as "long as fate "would permit "me; and now I "reſt with the "ſupreme God." It ſhould be, I have ſuffered and learnt a great deal, *whilſt I was teaching the youth, &c.*

☞HARVEY (WILLIAM), an Engliſh Phyſician in the ſeventeenth Century, famous for the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, was eldeſt ſon of Thomas Harvey (*a*) Gent. by Joan Halke his wife, and was born at Folkſton in Kent April the 2d 1578. At ten years of age he was ſent to a grammar ſchool at Canterbury, from whence at fourteen he was removed to Gonvil and Caius College in Cambridge. At nineteen he travelled into France and Italy; and at twenty three he ſtudied Phyſic at Padua under Euſtac. Radius, John Tho. Minadous, and Hieron. Fabr. ab Aquapendente. At twenty four he became Doctor of Phyſic and Chirurgery in that Univerſity; and ſoon after returning into England (*b*), was incorporated Doctor of Phyſic in Cambridge, practiſed Phyſic in London, and married (*c*). In 1604 he was admitted Candidate of the College of Phyſicians in London; and three years after elected Fellow (*d*). Upon the death of Dr. Davies he was appointed Lecturer of Anatomy and Chirurgery in that College (*e*), and on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of April 1616 he read a courſe of Lectures in Anatomy there [*A*], in which he opened his diſcovery relating to the circulation of the blood; which after a variety of experiments publicly exhibited, he communicated to the world in his *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis & Sanguinis*, printed at Francfort 1628 in 4to [*B*]. December the 3d 1627 he was choſen one of the Elects of the

(*a*) Dr. Charles Goodal's *Epiſtle Dedicatory* to his *Hiſtorical Account of the College of Phyſicians Proceedings againſt Empyricks, &c.* London 1684 in 4to.

(*b*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 6. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Goodall, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *On the 16th, 17th, and 18th of April* 1616, *he read a courſe of Lectures in Anatomy there.*] The original manuſcript of thoſe Lectures is extant in the valuable Muſæum of Sir Hans Sloan, Bart. and Preſident of the Royal Society, who favoured us with a ſight of it. It is intitled, *Prælectiones Anatom. univerſal. per me* Gulielmum Harveium, *Medicum Londinenſem, Anato. & Chirurg. Profeſſorem. An. Dom.* 1616. *Anno ætatis* 37. *Prælect. Apr.* 16, 17, 18.

[*B*] *His* Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis & Sanguinis, *printed at Frankfort* 1628 in 4*to.*] It was dedicated to King Charles I, and there follows another Dedication to Dr. Argent, Preſident, and to the reſt of the College of Phyſicians London, in which he obſerves, that he had frequently before in his Anatomical Lectures declared his new opinion concerning the motion and uſe of the Heart, and the circulation of the Blood; and for above nine years had confirmed it before the College by ocular demonſtration, and illuſtrated it by reaſons and arguments, and defended it from the objections of the moſt ſkillful Anatomiſts; and now thought proper to publiſh it to the world in a profeſſed treatiſe upon that ſubject. *Meam de motu & uſu Cordis & Circuitu Sanguinis ſententiam antea ſæpius in Prælectionibus meis Anatomicis aperui novam; ſed jam per novem & amplius annos multis ocularibus demonſtrationibus in conſpectu veſtro confirmatam, rationibus & argumentis illuſtratam, & ab objectionibus doctiſſimorum & peritiſſimorum Anatomicorum liberatam, toties ab omnibus deſideratam, à quibuſdam efflagitatam, in lucem & conſpectum omnium hoc libello produximus.* He obſerves afterwards, that this book had been finiſhed ſome years before: *Libellum hunc per aliquot ab hinc retro annos perfectum.* It was attacked by James Primeroſe in his *Exercitationes & Animadverſiones in Librum* de Motu Cordis & Circulatione Sanguinis, *contra Harveium*, printed at London, 1639, in 4to; and by Æmilius Pariſanus in his *Refutatio Harvæi de Motu Cordis & Sanguinis in Animali*, printed at Leyden, 1639, in 4to. In anſwer to this laſt book, Dr. George Ent publiſhed at London, 1641, in 4to, *Apologia pro Circulatione ſanguinis contra Æmilium Pariſanum.* It has been aſſerted by ſome, that Father Paul the Venetian was the firſt diſcoverer of the circulation; and Honoratus Faber profeſſed himſelf to be the author of that invention. But the pretences in favour of the firſt of theſe have been refuted by Dr. Walter Charlton, in his *Anatomical Lectures* read in the Theatre of the College of Phyſicians in 168$\frac{3}{4}$, and publiſhed in 1683. And Honoratus Faber has been confuted by Jo. Alph. Borelli, in his *Hiſtoria & Metereologia Incendii Ætnæi*, wherein he gives this ſhort account about Faber's pretenſions: *Cum verò ſit omnino incredibile & impoſſibile hominem nobilem, religioſum, & pium, ea quæ vera non ſunt, aſſerere voluiſſe, nil aliud in ejus excuſationem dicendum reſtat, niſi quod cum ingenio velociſſimo præditus ſit, a celeritate ipſâ, quâ aliena legit, & propria ſcribit, multoties decipiatur. Quod alias ei contigiſſe non erit ſupervacaneum oſtendere, ut inde pateat ſolenne ei eſſe Autores alicujus nominis furti inſimulare, hâc ſolummodo de cauſa, quia curſim & oſcitanter eorum opera legit. Si enim patienter & debitâ attentione dignatus fuiſſet legere ea, quæ ſpatio* 38 *annorum edita fuerant, & vulgatiſſima per univerſam Europam erant, proculdubio non ſcripſiſſet anno* 1666 *Lib. primo de Homine Prop.* 2. *ſe Circulationem ſanguinis inveniſſe & docuiſſe ab anno* 1638, *antequam* Gul. Harveii Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis *prodiret; quem pariter multa Fabri inventa in ſuis Exercitationibus inſeruiſſe affirmat: omnes enim ſciunt* Harveium *an. Dom.* 1628 *Francofurti typis Gual. Fitzeri ſuam Exercitationem primum edidiſſe; ſcilicet decem annos antequam Cl. Fabri ſanguinis circulationem docuiſſet.* Mr. Wood tells us (*), that Dr. George Morley, Biſhop

(*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 461.

the College of Physicians; and December the 30th 1629 he resigned the place of Treasurer of the College (*f*). In 1632 (*g*) he was made Physician to King Charles I, as he had been before to King James I (*h*); and adhering to the Royal Cause upon the breaking out of the civil wars, attended his Majesty at the battle of Edge-Hill, and thence to Oxford, where he was incorporated Doctor of Physic December the 7th 1642 (*i*). In 1645 he was elected Warden of Merton College in that University (*k*) by vertue of the King's letters sent to the society of that house for that purpose; but the year following, when the garrison of Oxford surrendered to the Parliament, he left that office, and retired to London (*l*). In 1651 his book intitled, *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium; quibus*

(*f*) From the Register of the College.

(*g*) Wood, *ubi supra.*

(*h*) Goodal, *ubi supra.*

(*i*) Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 6.

(*k*) Idem, *Hist. & Antiquitat. Universitat. Oxonienf.* lib. 2. pag. 86.

(*l*) Idem, *Fasti Oxon. ubi supra.*

of Winchester, and Dr. John Pell used to say, that Mr. Walter Warner, an eminent Mathematician, born in Leicestershire, who died in the latter end of the year 1640, "made it appear in a manuscript of his "composition, that the blood in a body circulates, "which he communicating to the immortal *Harvey*, "he took his first hint thence concerning that matter, "which he afterwards published as the first inventor." Dr. Freind (1) observes, that as the discovery of the circulation was *entirely owing* to our Author, "so he "has explained it with all the clearness imaginable; "and though much has been since written upon that "subject, I may venture to say his own book is the "shortest, the plainest, and the most convincing of "any; as we may be satisfied, if we look into the "many Apologies written in defence of the circulation, or have the patience to read the tedious uninstructive treatise of Raymond Vieussens *de Sanguine & Corde*. This new doctrine of the circulation, however proved beyond all doubt in a demonstrative way, met with great opposition; and "the inventor of it was obliged to bear the attack of "numberless adversaries, who generally in their answers shewed more a spirit of contradiction, than "any force of reasoning." Dr. Wotton tells us (2), that "this discovery, first made perfectly intelligible "by Dr. Harvey, is of so very great importance to "shew the communication of all the humours of the "body, each with other, that as soon as men were "perfectly satisfied, that it was not to be contested, "which they were in a few years, a great many put "in for the prize, unwilling that Dr. Harvey should "go away with all the glory. Vander Linden, "who published a most exact edition of *Hippocrates* in "Holland about thirty years ago, has taken a great "deal of pains to prove, that *Hippocrates* knew the "circulation of the blood, and that Dr. Harvey only "revived it." Dr. Wotton then remarks (3), that the first step towards the discovery was the finding that the whole mass of blood passes through the lungs by the pulmonary artery and vein. The first, who appears to have had a distinct idea of this matter was Michael Servetus, a Spanish Physician, who was burnt for Arianism at Geneva. In his book intitled, *Christianismi Restitutio*, printed in 1553, he clearly asserts, that the blood passes through the lungs from the left to the right ventricle of the heart, and not through the partition, which divides the two ventricles, as was at that time commonly believed. Servetus's words are as follow: *Vitalis Spiritus in sinistro Cordis ventriculo suam Originem habet, juvantibus maximè pulmonibus ad ipsius generationem. Est spiritus tenuis, caloris vi elaboratus, flavo colore, igneâ potentiâ, ut sit quasi ex puriore sanguine lucidus, vapor. Generatur ex factâ in pulmone mixtione inspirati aeris cum elaborato subtili sanguine, quem dexter ventriculus sinistro communicat. Fit autem communicatio hæc non per parietem cordis medium, ut vulgo creditur, sed magno artificio a dextro cordis ventriculo, longo per pulmones ductu, agitatur sanguis subtilis; a pulmonibus præparatur; flavus ejecitur, & à venâ arteriosâ in arteriam venosam transfunditur; deinde in ipsâ arteriâ venosâ inspirato aeri miscetur, & exspiratione à fuligine repurgatur; atque ita tandem à sinistro Cordis ventriculo totum mixtum per diastolen attrahitur, apta supellex ut fiat spiritus vitalis.* Realdus Columbus of Cremona was the next, who said any thing of it in his *Anatomy* printed at Venice 1559 in Folio, and at Paris 1572 in 8vo, and afterwards elsewhere. There (4) he asserts the same circulation through the lungs, that Servetus had done before; but says, that no man had ever taken notice of it before himself, or had written any thing about it; which shews, that he did not copy from Servetus; unless one should say, that he stole the notion without mentioning Servetus's name; which is injurious, since in these matters the same thing may be, and very often is observed by several persons, who never acquainted each other with their discoveries. But Columbus is much more particular; for he says (5), that the veins lodge the whole mass of blood in the *vena cava*, which carries it into the heart, whence it cannot return the same way that it went. From the right ventricle it is thrown into the lungs by the pulmonary artery, where the valves are so placed as to hinder its return that way into the heart; and so it is thrown into the left ventricle, and by the *aorta* again, when enlivened by the air, diffused through the whole body. Some years after appeared Andreas Cæsalpinus, who printed his *Peripatetical Questions* at Venice in 4to in 1571, and afterwards with his *Medical Questions* at the same place in 1593. He is rather more particular than Columbus, especially in examining how arteries and veins join at their extremities; which he supposes to be by opening their mouths into each other; and he uses the word *circulation* in his *Peripatetical Questions*, which had never been used in that sense before. He also takes notice, that the blood swells below the ligature in veins, and urges that in confirmation of his opinion. At last Dr. Harvey published his discourse *De Motu Sanguinis*. "This notion, "says Dr. Wotton (6), had only been occasionally and "slightly treated of by Columbus and Cæsalpinus, "who themselves, in all probability, did not know "the consequence of what they asserted; and therefore it was never applied to other purposes, either "to shew the uses of the other *viscera*, or to explain "the natures of diseases. Neither, for any thing that "appears at this day, had they made any numbers of "experiments, which were necessary to explain their "doctrine, and to clear it from opposition. All this "Dr. Harvey undertook to do, and with indefatigable pains traced the visible veins and arteries "throughout the body in their whole journey from "and to the heart, so as to demonstrate, even to the "most incredulous, not only that the blood circulates "through the lungs and heart, but the very manner "how, and the time in which that great work is performed. When he had once proved, that the motion of the blood was so rapid as we now find it is, "then he drew such consequences from it, as shewed "that he throughly understood his arguments, and "would leave little at least, as little as he could, to "future industry to discover in that particular part "of Anatomy. This gave him a just title to the "honour of so noble a discovery, since what his predecessors had said before him was not enough "understood to form just notions from their words." Dr. Wotton then remarks (7), that one may observe how gradually this discovery, as all abstruse truths of human disquisition, was explained to the world. Hippocrates first talked of the *usual motion of the blood.* Plato said, that the *heart* was the *original* of the *veins* and of the *blood*, that was carried about every member of the body. Aristotle also somewhere speaks of a *recurrent motion of the blood. Still all this was only opinion and belief. It was rational, and became men of their genius's; but not having as yet been made evident by experiments, it might as easily be denied as affirmed.* Servetus *first saw, that the blood passes through the lungs.* Columbus *went further, and shewed the uses of the* valves *and trap-doors of the heart, which let the blood in and out of their respective vessels, but not the self same road. Thus the way was just open, when Dr. Harvey came, who built upon the first foundations.*

(1) *History of Physick*, Part. 1. pag. 235. edit. London 1725.

(2) *Reflections upon ancient and modern Learning*, cap. 18. pag. 207. edit. London 1694 in 8vo.

(3) Ibid. pag. 211.

(4) *Anat.* lib. 7. pag. 325. edit. Paris.

(5) Ibid. p. 330. *and* lib. 11. pag. 411.

(6) *Ubi supra*, pag. 214.

(7) Pag. 215.

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quibus accedunt quædam de Partu, de Membranis ac Humoribus Uteri, & de Conceptione, was printed at London in 4to [*C*]. In 1654 he, though abſent, was choſen Preſident of the College of Phyſicians, but refuſed that poſt on the 30th of September that year. July the 28th 1655 he ſettled his eſtate in Kent on that College (*m*), and died June the 3d 1657, in the eightieth year of his age. He was interred in the Church of Hempſted in Eſſex, where a monument is erected to his memory [*D*]. He deſigned to have publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes, particularly, I. " A Practice of Phyſick conformable to his " Theſis of the Circulation of the Blood." II. *Tractatus de Pulmonum uſu & motu ; de eventilatione omni, aeriſque neceſſitate & uſu ; de variis & differentibus organis hujus cauſâ in Animalibus factis.* III. *Tractatus de quantitate ſanguinis in unoquoque aut ſingulis pulſationibus protruſâ, & quando plus & quando minus, & quâ de cauſâ ; itidem de Circuitûs cauſis, utilitatibns, & ſanguinis Arcanis.* IV. *Obſervationes de uſu Lienis.* V. *Exercitationes de Reſpirationis cauſis, organis, & uſu.* VI. *Obſervationes de motivis Organis Animalium & de Muſculorum Fabricâ.* VII. *Tractatus de Animalium amore, libidine, & coitu.* VIII. *Obſervationes Medicinales de Herniæ carnoſæ curatione, aliiſque curationibus præter vulgi ſententiam & methodum fæliciter peractis.* IX. *De Nutritionis modo.* X. *Hiſtoria multorum Animalium, præſertim Inſectorum, ab inconſpicuis præ exiguitate principiis & ſeminibus (quaſi atomis in aere volitantibus) à ventis huc illuc ſparſis ac diſſeminatis, ortorum.* XI. *Anatomia Medica ad Medicinæ uſum maximè accommodata, ubi ex multis Diſſectionibus corporum ægrotorum graviſſimis & miris affectionibus confectorum ; quomodo & qualiter partes interiores in ſitu, magnitudine, conſtitutione, figurâ, ſubſtantiâ, & reliquis accidentibus ſenſibilibus a naturali formâ & apparentiâ permutentur, & quam variis modis & miris afficiantur, enarrare ſuſciperet.* In a letter to Walter Moyle Eſq; (*n*) we are informed the Phyſician, who, has a part

(*m*) *From the Regiſter of the College.*

(*n*) Printed in *the Account of Mr. Moyle and his Writings,* pag. 26, 27. prefixed to *The whole Works of Walter Moyle Eſq; that were publiſhed by himſelf,* edit. London 1727.

To make this work yet the eaſier, the valves of the veins, which were diſcovered by Father Paul *the Venetian, had not long before been explained by* Fabricius ab Aquapendente ; *whence the circulation was yet more clearly demonſtrated.* The very learned and ingenious Dr. Thomas Pellet, now Preſident of the College of Phyſicians, London, in his Anniverſary Oration before that College (8) obſerves, that by this diſcovery the moſt important ſervice was done to the practice of Phyſic ; and pays a compliment to our Author in very elegant verſe, telling us, that he was the firſt, who taught,

(8) *Oratio Anniverſaria habita in Amphitheatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Lond. in laudem Benemeritorum & benemerentium de Medicina, die xix Octobris anno* 1719. edit. London in 4to.

Quâ ratione cibi concocti lacteus humor
Declivis fertur, donec per cæca viarum
Labatur tacitis in ſtagna argentea vivis.
Inde per anguſtum tendens iter, oſtia lævi
Pectoris evadit, venamque irrumpit apertam,
Sanguine miſcendus, motuque rubeſcere diſcit.
Tum volvendo ruens per dextri limina Cordis
Pectoris irrigui gelidas adlabitur auras,
Floridus inde redit lento per devia paſſu
Exultatque fores cordis pulſare ſiniſtras.
Nec mora, per totum trepidat ſe didere corpus
Extremoſque artus, unde impete fertur in Orbem,
Purpureos volvens ſua per veſtigia fluctus.
Quoque modo vitæ molecula prima capeſſit
Paulatim vires, hominiſque adipiſcitur auctus.

[*C*] *In* 1651 *his book, intitled,* Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium &c. *was printed at London in* 4*to.*] It was dedicated by Dr. George Ent to the Preſident and College of Phyſicians in London. There have been ſeveral editions of it ; and it has been tranſlated into Engliſh. In this work, after our author has given the anatomy of the parts ſerving for generation in the hen, he acquaints us with the formation and growth of the egg, and afterwards with the ſeveral parts whereof it conſiſts. He then proceeds to give an account how the chick is formed, which he obſerved by a daily inſpection of the eggs during the time of incubation ; and was the firſt, who diſcovered, that the original of the chick was from the *Cicatricula.* He then gives an account in what order the ſeveral parts appear, and confutes a multitude of errors delivered by former writers, proving that the *punctum ſaliens* is the heart; that the blood is not formed by the liver, becauſe its *Parenchyma* is formed after, and of the blood, and grows to the blood-veſſels ; nor yet by the heart, becauſe that is not in being till ſome time after the blood. He proves that all the *Viſcera* at their firſt formation appear white ; that the veins are the firſt conſpicuous foundation, as it were, of the whole body ; that the diviſion of the parts into ſpermatical and ſanguineous is ridiculous, ſince all come from the ſame original. He delivers an account of the parts ſerving for generation in deer, and how the *Fœtus* is formed. He acquaints us, that nothing is to be found *in utero* for a conſiderable time after coition ; and how analagous conception is to an egg, and that it is ſome time *in utero,* before it is affixed to it. He takes notice of ſeveral memorable things concerning the generation of other animals, both oviparous and viviparous. In ſpeaking of the formation of the human *Fœtus,* he delivers ſeveral curious obſervations made on abortions of ſeveral ages ; as alſo inſtances of Superfœtation, Hermaphrodites, of a *Fœtus* found in *Tuba Uteri,* &c. When he treats *de partu,* he gives very memorable inſtances, to ſhew how much the *Fœtus* conduces to its own birth. Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral remarkable obſervations ſcattered through the whole book ; as *de partu difficili, de gravidatione falſâ, de ulcere uteri, de uteri procidentiâ, &c.* as alſo *de uteri membranis, humoribus, placentâ, de conceptione, de calido innato, de humido primigenio, &c.* and of his cure of a *Sarcocele* of that bigneſs, that none durſt undertake the cure either by cutting or otherwiſe ; which he happily performed by tying the artery, and thereby depriving it of nouriſhment ; by which means it was afterwards eaſily extirpated.

[*D*] *Where a monument was erected to his memory.*] Upon it is the following inſcription.

" GULIELMUS HARVEIUS,
" Cui tam colendo Nomini aſſurgunt omnes Academiæ ;
" Qui diuturnum ſanguinis motum poſt tot annorum
" Millia primus invenit ;
" Orbi ſalutem, ſibi immortalitatem
" Conſequutus.
" Qui ortum & generationem Animalium ſolus omnium
" A Pſeudophiloſophiâ liberavit.
" Cui debet
" Quod ſibi innotuit humanum Genus, ſeipſam Medicina.
" Sereniſſ. Majeſtat. Jacobo & Carolo Britanniarum
" Monarchis Archiatrus & chariſſimus.
" Collegii Med. Lond. Anatomes & Chirurgiæ Profeſſor
" Aſſiduus & feliciſſimus :
" Quibus illuſtrem conſtruxit Bibliothecam,
" Suoque dotavit & ditavit Patrimonio.
" Tandem
" Poſt triumphales
" Contemplando, ſanando, inveniendo
" Sudores
" Varias domi foriſque ſtatuas,
" Quum totum circuit Microcoſmum,
" Medicinæ Doctor & Medicorum,
" Improles obdormivit
" III Junii anno ſalutis CIↃIↃCLVII, Ætat. LXXX.
" Annorum & Famæ ſatur. T.

part in the Dialogue in Mr. Henry Nevil's *Plato Redivivus*, was deſigned to repreſent Dr. Harvey, *who relieved his abſtruſer ſtudies by converſations in politics.* Mr. John Greaves (*o*) relates a converſation between himſelf and our author, upon the ſubject of Mr. Greaves and his company's having continued three hours in the greateſt of the Egyptian Pyramids; which Dr. Harvey was extremely ſurprized at, imagining there would be a difficulty of Reſpiration there.

(*o*) *Pyramidographia: or a Deſcription of the Pyramids in Ægypt.* pag. 101, 102. edit. London 1646, in 8vo.

HAY, a Scots family, which owes the firſt origin of its Nobility to a very illuſtrious action. It is reported that the Danes having invaded Scotland under the reign of Kenneth III, about the year 990, there was a battle fought between them and the Scots (*a*), in which the latter having been immediately routed, retired towards Perth. They were obliged to paſs through a very narrow way between the mountains and the river Tay. A countryman, who happened to be there with his two ſons, made himſelf maſter of that narrow paſſage, encouraged them that ran away to return again to the enemy, and ſtopt thoſe that would continue their flight. He did more, for he armed himſelf with the firſt weapon he met, and accompanied by his two ſons, both armed with a piece of their plough, he fell with ſo much fury upon the Danes, and by his example did ſo much raiſe the courage of thoſe that were running away, that the Scots gained the victory. The enemy was routed in his turn, and Scotland prevented from the ſlavery to which the Danes deſigned to reduce it. This countryman, who was afterwards known under the name of Hay, is the founder of the family I ſpeak of. He and his ſons ſignalized themſelves in the moſt extraordinary manner during the fight; they put the enemy under the moſt terrible conſternation, and made a very great havock wherever they fought. This glorious action, by which they ſaved their country, was rewarded as it deſerved [*A*], and ſince that time this family has been one of the moſt illuſtrious in the Kingdom. It has produced ſeveral branches [*B*], and ſeveral perſons of very great merit [*C*]. The Earl of Errol is at preſent the head of it; he is married to Anne Drummond, the Earl of Perth's ſiſter (*b*).

(*a*) The place where this battle was fought is called *Licurtia*.

(*b*) Taken from ſome *Memoirs* communicated to the bookſeller.

[*A*] *This glorious action was rewarded as it deſerved.*] Hay was conducted by the whole army to the King's palace, and in the aſſembly of the Parliament he was raiſed to the higheſt degree of Nobility; the King gave him a conſiderable part of the enemy's ſpoil, and granted him in land the whole flight of a falcon; that is to ſay, they let a falcon fly out, and obſerved the place where it reſted; and all the lands where the falcon began his flight to the place where it reſted, were given to Hay. That laſt place is ſtill called Falcon's Stone (*). By this means Hay was poſſeſſed of all the fruitful lands in all Scotland, ſituated on the ſpot where the battle was fought, along the banks of the River Tay. King Kenneth gave him a coat of arms, which was *Argent* with three *ſcutcheons gules*; to intimate that the courage of three men had ſaved the Kingdom (1).

(*) Leſley obſerves, that in his time a ſtone called the *Falcon* was ſtill to be ſeen near Dundee in Angusſhire. Leſlæus, *De Morib. & Reb. geſt. Scotor.* lib. 5. pag. m. 197.

(1) Taken from the ſame *Memoirs*.

[*B*] *This family . . . has produced ſeveral branches.*] Which have ſpread not only through England and Scotland, but alſo in France, and particularly in Normandy (2). I mention only the branches of the Earls of Tweedale and Kinnoul, which do ſtill ſubſiſt (3).

(2) Mr. Peliſſon, *Hiſtoire de l'Academie Françoiſe*, pag. m. 246. ſays: Paul Hay, Sieur du Chatelet, was of the ancient family of the Hay's in Britany, which boaſts to be deſcended ſix hundred years ago from that of the Earls of Carliſle, one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Scotland.

(3) Taken from the ſame *Memoirs*.

[*C*] . . . . *Several perſons of very great merit.*] We can ſay nothing of the condition in which that family was from the reign of Kenneth III, to that of Robert Bruce: for Edward I King of England making an advantage of the diviſions of Scotland, when Robert Bruce and John Baliol diſputed with each other the Crown, invaded the Kingdom, and carried away not only all public Records, but alſo all the papers of private families. Thoſe of the family of the Hay's were taken away as well as thoſe of a great many others. During that civil war Robert Hay followed Robert Bruce's party with a perfect fidelity, and did him ſuch great ſervices, that he conferred upon him, as a reward, the office of hereditary High-Conſtable of Scotland in the year 1310: and that he might ſupport his dignity with a ſuitable ſplendor the ſame Prince gave him ſeveral lands in the Shire of Aberdeen. This office has continued ever ſince in that family, and is now enjoyed by the Earl of Errol, who is reckoned the nineteenth of his family, who poſſeſſed that office. NICHOLAS Lord HAY was killed in the year 1332 with two hundred and eighty Gentlemen of his family, in the battle of Duplin, in King David Bruce's party againſt Edward Baliol. DAVID Lord HAY his ſucceſſor accompanied King David Bruce in the war againſt the Engliſh, and was killed in the battle of Durham in the year 1344. THOMAS Lord HAY married King Robert IId's daughter, with whom he had the Barony of Inchtuhill in the Shire of Perth, about the year 1376. WILLIAM Lord HAY was choſen in the year 1423 with ſome other Noblemen, to conſult how to reſtore King James I to his liberty, who was kept a priſoner in England. He ſucceeded in this affair, and was ſoon after created Earl of Errol. WILLIAM HAY Earl of Errol, Lord High-Conſtable of Scotland, and Sheriff of the Shire of Aberdeen, attended King James IV in the battle of Floudown in the year 1513, and was killed there with his Prince, and twenty ſeven Gentlemen of his name. FRANCIS HAY Earl of Errol having conſtantly followed Queen Mary's party, and continued in the Roman Catholick Religion, ſuffered great misfortunes. His houſes were demoliſhed, his eſtate plundered, and himſelf impriſoned. But he was in favour under King James VIth, Queen Mary's ſon. He was one of the Scots Lords who were ſent into England in the year 1604, to ſettle the union of the two Crowns. His ſon aſſiſted at Charles I's Coronation in Scotland in the year 1633. GILBERT HAY Earl of Errol had a great ſhare in Charles I'ſts favour, and made a great figure in the Parliament at Edinburgh at the Reſtoration of Charles II. JOHN HAY, Earl of Errol, now Lord High-Conſtable of Scotland, is his ſon (4).

(4) Taken from the ſame *Memoirs*.

HAY (JOHN) a Scots Jeſuit, entered into the Society of the Jeſuits in the year 1566 (*a*), and paſſed his Noviciate at Rome, where he alſo made the fourth vow. The place where he appeared chiefly was the College of Tournon, in which he taught Divinity, Mathematics, and the Hebrew tongue. He died May the 21ſt 1607 at Pontamouſſon, where he was Chancellor of the Univerſity. He applied himſelf very much to controverſies, and wrote ſeveral books againſt the Proteſtants [*A*]. He had alſo a diſpute

(*a*) According to Southwell, *Bibliotheca Script. Societ. Jeſu*, pag. 459. for Father *Alegambe* ſays it was in the year 1562, and not in 1566.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral Books againſt the Proteſtants.*] *A Collection of Queſtions to the Miniſters.* He compoſed this in the Scots language, according to Father Alegambe, who adds that it was tranſlated into French by Michael Coyſſard. *A Vindication of theſe Queſtions.* He compoſed it in French according to Father Alegambe: but it is a miſtake, for John Hay aſſerts in his Preface, that he wrote it in Latin, and that it was

(*b*) *Taken from* Alegambe, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jesu*, p. 248.

(*c*) See the remark [*A*].

diſpute by word of mouth at Straſburg with Pappus, and with John Sturmius (*b*). Father Alegambe deſerves to be a little cenſured (*c*). We ought not to take this John Hay for the Jeſuit of that name who was baniſhed by a decree of the Parliament of Paris [*B*]. They both pretended to be deſcended from the family of the HAYS (*d*), which I have mentioned in the foregoing article.

(*d*) See the *Defenſe des Demandes de Jean Hay.*

tranſlated into French by ſome of the Jeſuits pupils. This Vindication was written againſt *a Libel of James Pineton of Chambrun, a Preacher at Niſmes*, and printed at Lyons in the year 1586. It appears from the Dedication, dated July 2d 1585, that it was five years ſince the Author had begun to read public Lectures of Divinity at Tournon. *Antimonium ad Reſponſa Bezæ.* " A vomit againſt Beza's Anſwer." *Diſputatio contra Miniſtrum anonymum Nemauſenſem.* " A Diſputation " againſt an anonymous Miniſter of Niſmes." His *Helleborum Joanni Serrano* " A Purge for John de Ser- " res," which was found among his papers, is kept at Rome with the Records belonging to the Society (1). This is all that the Bibliographers of the Jeſuits tell us: they did not know that John Hay had actually publiſhed a Book againſt de Serres, namely an Anſwer to the ſecond Anti-Jeſuit of that Miniſter (2). John Hay's other works are *Scholia brevia in Bibliothecam ſanctam Sixti Senenſis*: i. e. " Short Obſerva- " tions on Sixtus Senenſis's ſacred Library;" and a Latin Tranſlation of ſome Letters of the Jeſuits written from Japan and Peru. It was printed at Antwerp in the year 1605, in 8vo. See Father Alegambe.

(1) Southwell, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jesu*, pag. 459.

(2) See the *Defenſe des Demandes*, at the end of the anſwer to the Preface.

[*B*] *The Jeſuit of that name who was baniſhed by a Decree of the Parliament of Paris.*] His name was ALEXANDER HAY. " He was found guilty of ſpeak- " ing ſeditiouſly againſt the King, ſince the City of " Paris had been forced to ſubmit to his Majeſty; he " went ſo far as to declare that if the King ever paſſed " before their College (of the Jeſuits) he would throw " himſelf headlong out of the window upon him to " break his neck by the fall." This is what we read in Mezerai's large Hiſtory (3). The Author of the *Anticoton* will tell us the date of the Parliament's Decree. *Informations were made againſt Alexander Hayes a Scots Jeſuit, who had taught publickly, that men muſt diſſemble, and obey the King for a time artfully, ſaying often theſe words,* Jeſuita eſt omnis homo: (a Jeſuit is a man of all parties). *This Jeſuit was alſo charged with ſaying, that if the King happened to paſs by their College, he wiſhed he might fall out of the window to break the King's neck. For which reaſon a Decree was pronounced by the Court* (of Parliament) *January the 10th* 1595, *by which the ſaid Hayes was baniſhed for ever, and commanded to keep his baniſhment upon pain of being hanged and ſtrangled, without any further tryal* (4). The Author of the *Butter-women's Thanks* ſays the ſame, and then adds (5), that this Jeſuit, *having ſince repeated and confirmed the ſame words at Prague, the greateſt men in the Kingdom petitioned to have him ſent into France; but it was anſwered, that he had ſwallowed a meſs of water-gruel, which was not thoroughly boiled, and he was found dead as ſuddenly as the Provoſt of the Marſhals of Pluviers . . . who was ſtrangled in the Chatelet with the ſtring of his drawers, that was not ſtrong enough to bridle a fly.* If we may believe Paſquier (6), Alexander Hayes *taught the firſt form in the College of the Jeſuits at Paris, during the civil war.*

(3) Tom. 3. pag. 1135, 1136.

(4) *Anti-Coton*, pag. m. 38.

(5) Pag. 19. This *Remercieſment des Beurrieres* was printed in the year 1610.

(6) *Catechiſme des Jeſuites*, liv. 2. chap. 20. pag. m. 472.

☞ HAYWARD (Sir (JOHN), an eminent Engliſh Hiſtorian in the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, was educated in the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he took the degree of Doctor of Laws. In 1599 he publiſhed at London in 4to, *The firſt Part of the Life and Raigne of King* Henrie *the IIII. extending to the End of the firſt Yeare of his Raigne. Written by* J. H. [*A*], dedicated to Robert Earl of Eſſex. Upon the account of

[*A*] *In* 1599 *he publiſhed at London in* 4*to*, The firſt part of the Life and Raigne of King *Henrie* the IIII. extending to the end of the firſt yeare of his raigne. Written by *J. H.*] In the preface he obſerves that " among all ſortes of humane writers there is none " that have done more profit, or deſerved greater " prayſe, then they who have committed to faithfull " records of Hiſtories eyther the government of migh- " ty States, or the lives and actes of famous men. For " by deſcribing the order and paſſages of theſe two, " and what events had followed what counſailes, they " have ſet foorth unto us not onely precepts, but lively " patterns both for private directions and for affayres " of State, whereby in ſhorte time younge men may " be inſtructed, and ould men more fullie furniſhed " with experience, then the longeſt age of man can af- " foorde." He afterwards remarks that Cicero rightly calls Hiſtory the Witneſs of Times, the Light of Truth, the Life of Memory, and the Meſſenger of Antiquity. *Heereby*, ſays our Author, *wee are armed againſt all the rage and harſhneſſe of fortune; and heereby we may ſeeme (in regarde of the knowledge of thinges) to have travelled in all countries, and to have lived in all ages, and to have been converſant in all affayres. Neyther is that the leaſt benefit of Hiſtory, that it preſerves eternally both the glory of good men, and ſhame of evill.* He concludes his preface with obſerving, that it might not ſeem impertinent to write of the ſtile of an Hiſtory, what beginning, what continuance, and what mean is to be uſed in all matter, what things to be ſuppreſſed, what lightly touched, and what to be treated at large, how credit may be won, and ſuſpicion avoided; what is to be obſerved in the order of times and deſcription of places and other ſuch circumſtances of weight, what liberty a Writer may uſe in framing ſpeeches, and in declaring the cauſes, counſels, and events of things done; how far he muſt bend himſelf to profit, and when and how he may play upon pleaſure; " but this, *ſays he*, were too large a fielde to " enter into: therefore leſt I ſhould run into the fault " of the *Mindians*, who made their gates wider then " their towne, I will here cloſe up, only wiſhing that " all our Engliſh Hiſtories were drawne out of the " droſſe of rude and barbarous Engliſh, that by plea- " ſure in reading them, the profit in knowing them " myght more eaſily be attayned." In this Hiſtory (1) our Author introduces a ſpeech of Dr. Thomas Merks, Biſhop of Carliſle, *a man*, ſays he, *learned and wiſe, and one that alwayes uſed both libertie and conſtancie in a good cauſe*; in which the Biſhop is repreſented as declaring in Parliament againſt the ſettlement of the Crown on King Henry IV. The ſpeech begins thus: " This queſtion, Right honourable Lordes, concerneth " a matter of great conſequence and weight; the de- " termining whereof will aſſuredly procure eyther " ſafe quiet or daungerous diſturbance, both to our " particular conſciences; and alſo to the common State. " Therefore before you reſolve uppon it, I pray you, " call to your conſideration theſe two things: firſt, " whether King *Richard* bee ſufficiently depoſed or " no: ſecondly, whether King *Henrie* be with good " judgement or juſtice choſen in his place. For the " firſt point wee are firſt to examine whether a King " being lawfully and fully inſtituted by any juſt title, " may, upon imputation eyther of negligence or of ty- " rannie, be depoſed by his ſubjects. Secondly, what " King *Richard* hath omitted in the one, or committed " in the other, for which he ſhould deſerve ſo heavie " judgement." *I will not ſpeake what may be done in a popular State, or in a conſular; in which, although one beareth the name and honour of a Prince, yet he hath not ſupreme power of Majeſtie; but in the one, the people have the higheſt Empire, in the other the Nobilitie and chiefe men of eſtate, in neyther the Prince* (2). . . . . *In theſe and ſuch like governments the Prince hath not regall rightes, but is himſelfe ſubject to that power, which is greater than his, whether it be in the Nobility or in the common people. But if the Sovereigne Majeſty be in the Prince, as it was in the three firſt Empires, and in the Kingdomes of Judea and Iſraell, and is now in the Kingdomes of England, Fraunce, Spaine, Scotland, Muſcovia, Turky, Tartaria, Perſia, Æthiopia, and almoſt*

(1) Pag. 100, & ſeqq.

(2) Ibid. pag. 101.

all

of this book he ſuffered a tedious impriſonment (*a*) [*B*]. In 1603 he publiſhed at London in 4to, *An Anſwer to the firſt Part of a certaine Conference concerning Succeſſion, publiſhed not long ſince under the name of R. Doleman* [*C*]. In 1610 he was appointed one of

(*a*) Camden's *Annals of Elizabeth*, ad ann. 1601.

all the Kingdomes of Aſia and Africke; although for his vices he be unprofitable to the ſubjectes, yea hurtfull, yea intollerable; yet can they lawfully neither harme his perſon, nor hazard his power, whether by judgement or els by force; for neyther one nor all Magiſtrates have any authority over the Prince, from whome all authority is derived, and whoſe onely preſence doeth ſilence and ſuſpend all inferiour juriſdiction and power. As for force, what ſubject can attempt, or aſſiſt, or counſaile, or conceale violence againſt his Prince, and not incurre the high and heynous crime of treaſon (3)? .... *Not only our actions, but our ſpeeches alſo, and our very thoughtes are ſtrictly charged with duty and obedience unto Princes, whether they be good or evill* (4). . . . *God ſtirreth up the ſpirit even of wicked Princes to doe his will; and (as Jehoſhaphat ſaid to his rulers) they execute not the judgement of man, but of the Lord; in regard whereof David calleth them Gods, becauſe they have rule and authority immediately from God, which if they abuſe, they are not to bee adjudged by their ſubjects, for no power within their Dominions is ſuperiour to theirs: but God reſerveth them to the ſoreſt tryall.* Horribly and ſodainly *(ſaith the wiſe man)* will the Lord appeare unto them, and a harde judgement ſhall they have. *The Law of God commandeth, that the childe ſhould be put to death for any contumely done unto the parents. But what if the father be a robber? if a murtherer? if for all exceſſe of villanyes, odious and execrable both to God and man? Surely he deſerveth the higheſt degree of puniſhment; and yet muſt not the ſonne lift up his hand againſt him, for no offence is ſo great as to be puniſhed by parricide. But our country is deerer unto us then our parentes; and the Prince is* Pater Patriæ, *the Father of our Country, and therefore more ſacred and deere unto us then our parentes by nature, and muſt not be violated, how imperious, how impious ſo ever he bee* (5). . . " Neyther " have we any cuſtome, that the people at pleaſure " ſhould elect their King; but they are always bound " unto him, who by right of blood is right ſucceſſour; much leſs can they confirme and make good " that title, which is before by violence uſurped; for " nothing can there be freely doone, when liberty is " once reſtrained by feare (6)." Dr. White Kennet, Dean of Peterborough, obſerves (7), that the firſt notice given to the world of any ſuch ſpeech by Biſhop Merks, came from Mr. Edward Hall, who died about 150 years after the ſpeaking, and yet pretends no manuſcript copy; and that it was immediately caught up by Mr. Grafton, who cites Mr. Hall for it. Mr. John Stow in his *Annals* publiſhed in his own life-time takes no notice of any ſpeech or oppoſition of this Biſhop in this Parliament; nor has Mr. Edmund Howes inſerted it. But Mr. Hollingſhed and his friends, who were to be general collectors, took hold of it, but refer to Mr. Hall, and let it reſt again ſingly upon his teſtimony. " But ſoon after, *ſays Dr. Kennet* (8), " comes a bolder man, Sir John Hayward, L.L. D. to " give an Eſſay upon Henry IV, and he not only ſuppoſes a ſpeech to have been really delivered, but he " gives a new and larger copy of it, i. e. he made a " new ſpeech, and dreſſed it up in arguments and " language as unlike to Biſhop Merks, as his own " military ſword was to that Prelate's mitre. And " yet he introduces it with great ceremony. *The inheritance of the Kingdom*, ſays he, *being in this ſort ſettled in King Henry and his line, it was moved in the Parliament, what ſhould be done with King Richard. The Biſhop of Caerliel, who was a man learned and wiſe, and one that always uſed both liberty and conſtancy in a good cauſe, in his ſecret judgment did never give allowance to theſe proceedings, yet diſſembled his diſlike untill he might to ſome purpoſe declare it. Therefore now being in a place to be heard of all, and by order of the Houſe to be interrupted by none, hee roſe up and with a bold and preſent uttered his mind as followeth &c.* " All " which, *continues Dr. Kennet*, is an imaginary en" trance into an enchanted caſtle, or a mere fiction " pleaſant enough to any who love to be deceived. " The Author, like other diverting Writers, would " not bind himſelf up to relate what another ſaid, " but would make an exerciſe upon what might be " now ſaid upon that ſubject. This ſpeech for Biſhop " Merks was not his firſt Eſſay of that kind in this " *Life and Reign of Henry IV*. He made a fine ſpeech " for Archbiſhop Arundel to Duke Henry in France, " which he calls a *ſolemn Oration*; and a pretty " ſpeech of the Duke in anſwer to it, with reply and " rejoinder very agreeable. He makes a moſt be" moaning ſpeech for King Richard, when *his bitterneſs did in this manner break from him*; and ano" ther Farewell-ſpeech in the Tower, when he deli" vered up his crown and ſceptre. In ſhort he is a " profeſt Speech-maker thro' all his little Hiſtory. . . " The true occaſion of his making that elaborate " ſpeech for Biſhop Merks, ſeems to have been this. " He was employed by the Earl of Eſſex to anſwer " the Book of Titles, called *Doleman*, written by Fa" ther Parſons, and cautiouſly to recommend the *He*" *reditary Right* of the King of Scots; and upon " that view he took a ſtep out of the way, and put " his own thoughts into the form of a ſpeech for Bi" ſhop Merks in defence of *Hereditary Right*. For " which he ſuffered in the jealous times of Queen " Elizabeth, and was honourably rewarded by King " James I, who knighted him, and made him Hiſto" riographer of Chelſea-College."

(3) Ibid. pag. 102.

(4) Ibid. pag. 104.

Sap. 6.

(5) Ibid. pag. 104, 105.

(6) Ibid. pag. 107.

(7) *Third Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle, Lord Almoner to his Majeſty, upon the ſubject of Biſhop Merks*, pag. 46, & *ſeqq.* edit. London 1717, in 8vo.

(8) Ibid. p. 49.

[*B*] *Upon the account of this Book he ſuffered a tedious impriſonment.*] We are informed in the Lord *Bacon's Apothegms* (9), that Queen Elizabeth being highly incenſed at this Book, ſhe aſked Mr. Bacon, who was then one of her Council learned in the Law, *Whether there was any treaſon contained in it?* Mr. Bacon anſwered, " No, Madam; for treaſon, I cannot deli" ver opinion, that there is any, but very much fe" lony." The Queen apprehending it gladly aſked, *How, and wherein?* Mr. Bacon anſwered, " Becauſe " he had ſtollen many of his ſentences and conceits " out of *Cornelius Tacitus*." Camden tells us (10), that this Book being dedicated to the Earl of Eſſex, when that Nobleman and his friends were tried, the lawyers urged, that " it was written on purpoſe as a copy and an en" couragement for depoſing the Queen;" and they particularly inſiſted upon thoſe words in the Dedication, in which our Author ſtiles the Earl, *Magnus & præſenti judicio, & futuri temporis expectatione.*

(9) *Works of Lord Bacon*, edit. London 4 vol. in fol.

(10) *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, ad ann. 1601.

[*C*] *In* 1603 *he publiſhed at London in* 4*to* An Anſwer to the firſt part of a certaine Conference concerning Succeſſion, *publiſhed not long ſince under the name of* R. Doleman.] The *Conference* was written by Father *Robert Parſons*, the Jeſuit, and printed in 1593, 1594 in 8vo, under the name of *R. Doleman*, and was known by the name of *the Book of Titles*. The firſt part was reprinted at London 1648 in ten ſheets in 4to, by *Robert Ibbotſon* in Smithfield, under this title, *Several Speeches delivered at a Conference concerning the Power of Parliaments to proceed againſt their King for miſgovernment*. This pamphlet was licenſed January 31ſt 1647, by *Gilbert Mabbot*. Dr. Thomas Barlow, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, wrote the following note in a blank leaf before the title of it. " This baſe " and traiterous pamphlet is *verbatim* the firſt part of " *Francis Doleman (Parſons* was the man under that " name) touching Succeſſion to the Crown. Theſe nine " *Speeches* (as here they call them) are the nine *chapters* " in *Doleman*. And this was printed at the charge of " the Parliament, which coſt 30 pounds, being paid " by them to the Printer *in perpetuam eorum infamiam*. " See the Collection of his Majeſty's moſt gracious " Meſſages for peace, p. 125, 126. The ſaid Meſ" ſages were collected and printed with obſervations " upon them by Mr. *Symons*. The ſaid traiterous " pamphlet [*Several Speeches*] was put out by — " *Walker* an Ironmonger, ſometime a Cow-herd, who " when the King came into London about the five " Members, threw into his coach a traiterous pam" phlet, *To thy tents, O Iſrael. Vide Lambert Wood's* " Hiſtory. He the ſaid *Walker* wrote the *Perfect Oc*" *currences*, and now (1649) is made a Miniſter by " the Preſbyterians. Mr. *Darby* a Yorkſhire and Par" liament Man bought *Doleman* of *Cornelius Bee* at " the

of the Hiſtoriographers of Chelſea College near London [*D*]. In 1613 he publiſhed at London in 4to, *The Lives of the Three Normans, Kings of England*; William *he Firſt*, William

" the King's Arms in little Britain, and gave it to " *Walker*. *Doleman* beforementioned was an honeſt " ſecular Prieſt, who hated traiterous doctrines; and " Father *Parſons* hated him, and, to make him odious, " did uſe his name, as if *Doleman* had been the author, " when *Parſons* indeed made the Book." The titles of the chapters of the *firſt part* of the *Conference* are as follow: I. *That ſucceſſion to Governement by neereneſs of bloude is not by lawe of nature or divine, but only by humane and poſitive lawes of every particular Commonwealth; and conſequently, that it may upon juſt cauſes be altered by the ſame.* II. *Of the particular Forme of Monarchies and Kingdomes, and the different Lawes whereby they are to bee obtained, holden, and governed in divers countries, aecording as each Commonwealth hath choſen and eſtabliſhed.* III. *Of the great reverence and reſpect due to Kings, and yet how divers of them have been lawfully chaſtiſed by their Commonwealthes for their miſgovernment; and of the good and proſperous ſucceſſe that God commonly hath given to the ſame, and much more to the putting back of an unworthie pretender.* IV. *Wherein conſiſteth principally the lawfulneſſe of proceeding againſt Princes, which in the former chapter is mencioned: What intereſt Princes have in their ſubjects goods or lives: How oathes doe binde or may be broken of ſubjects towards Princes; and finally the difference betweene a good King and a Tyrant.* V. *Of the Coronation of Princes and Maner of admitting to their authoritye, and the Oathes which they do make in the ſame unto the Commonwealth for their good government.* VI. " What is " due to onely ſucceſſion by birth; and what intereſt " or right an heire apparent hath to the Crowne, be- " fore he is crowned or admitted by the Common- " wealth; and how juſtly he may be put backe, if " he hath not the partes requiſite. VII. How the " next in ſucceſſion by propinquity of bloud have of- " tentimes bin put backe by the Commonwealth, " and others further off admitted in their places even " in thoſe Kingdoms where ſucceſſion prevaileth; with " many examples of the kingdome of Iſrael and Spain, " VIII. Of divers other examples out of the State of " France and England for proof, that the next in " bloud are ſometimes put backe from Succeſſion, and " how God hath approved the ſame with good ſuc- " ceſſe. IX. What are the principall points, which a " Commonwealth ought to reſpect, in admitting or " excluding any Prince; wherein is handled largely " alſo of the diverſitie of Religions and other ſuch " Caſes." The *ſecond part* of this *Conference* was deſigned to prove, that the Infanta of Spain was the legal heir to the Crown of England. As ſoon as this Book was publiſhed, the Parliament enacted in the 35th of Q. Elizabeth, that whoever ſhould be found to have it in his houſe, ſhould be guilty of high treaſon. This *Conference* was reprinted at London 1681 in 8vo, which occaſioned the publication of a piece intitled, *The apoſtate Proteſtant, in a Letter to a Friend, occaſioned by the late reprinting of* Doleman. London 1682 in eight ſheets in 4to, ſaid to be written by Edward Pelling, Rector of St. Martin's Ludgate in London. Our Author Hayward's *Anſwer to the firſt part of the Conference*, which was likewiſe reprinted at London 1683 in 8vo, is dedicated to King James I, and in the Dedication he ſtiles it *a Defence both of the preſent Authoritie of Princes, and of Succeſſion according to proximitie of blood*; *wherein*, ſays he, *is maintained, that the people have no lawfull power to remove the one, or repell the other. In which two points I have heretofore alſo declared my opinion, by publiſhing the tragicall events, which enſued the depoſition of King Richard, and uſurpation of King Henrie the fourth. Both theſe labours were undertaken with particular reſpect to your Majeſtie's juſt title of Succeſſion in this Realme.* In the *Epiſtle to R. Doleman* our Author obſerves, that the reaſon of his not anſwering the *Conference* ſooner was, *partly from contempt, and partly from fear.* " The fear, *ſays he*, " was occaſioned by the nimble ear, which lately was " borne to the touche of this ſtring: for which cauſe " our Engliſh fugitives did ſtand in ſome advantage, " in that they had free ſcope to publiſh whatſoever " was agreeable to their pleaſure, knowing right well, " that their bookes could not be ſuppreſſed, and might " not be anſwered. It may be you will queſtion, " wherefore I have not anſwered your *ſecond part*. It " is ready for you, but I have not now thought fit " to divulge the ſame; partly becauſe it hath been " dealt in by ſome others; but principally becauſe I " know not how convenient it may ſeeme to diſcuſſe " ſuch particulars, as with generall both liking and " applauſe are now determined. I forbeare to ex- " preſſe your true name; I have reſerved that to my " anſwere to ſome caſt pamphlet, which I expect you " will caſt forth againſt mee."

[*D*] *In* 1610 *he was appointed one of the Hiſtoriographers of Chelſea College near London*] This College was " intended, *ſays Fuller* (11), for a ſpiritual garriſon, " with a magazine of all books for that purpoſe, where " learned Divines ſhould ſtudy and write in mainte- " nance of all controverſies againſt the Papiſts. Indeed " the Romaniſts herein may riſe up, and condemn thoſe " of the Proteſtant Confeſſion. For as Solomon uſed (a) " not his military men for any ſervile work, in build- " ing the Temple, whereof the text aſſigneth this rea- " ſon, *for they were men of war*; ſo the Romiſh " Church doth not burden their Profeſſors with preach- " ing or any parochial incumbrances, but reſerves " them only for Polemical ſtudies. Whereas in Eng- " land the ſame man reads, preacheth, catechiſeth, " diſputes, delivers ſacraments, &c. So that were it " not for God's marvellous bleſſing in our ſtudies, and " the infinite odds of truth on our ſide, it were im- " poſſible in human probability, that we ſhould hold " up the bucklers againſt them." Beſides the divines, at leaſt two able Hiſtorians were to be maintained in the College, to record and publiſh to poſterity all memorable paſſages in the Church and State. In purſuance of this deſign King James I incorporated the ſaid foundation by the name of *King James's College in Chelſey*, and by Letters Patents beſtowed on it the reverſion of lands in Chelſea, then in poſſeſſion of Charles Earl of Nottingham; and made it capable of receiving any lands of his ſubjects not exceeding in the whole the yearly value of three thouſand pounds. Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, beſtowed likewiſe on this College ſeveral farms in Devonſhire worth about three hundred pounds *per Ann.* and by his will, dated November 1. 1628, bequeathed to Dr. John Prideaux, and Dr. Clifford, as Feoffees, in truſt to ſettle the ſame on the College, the benefit of the extent on a ſtatue of four thouſand pounds, acknowledged by Sir Lewis Steuklie. In the Parliament which met at Weſtminſter, February 19, 1609, there was an act paſt to enable *the Provoſt and Fellows of Chelſea College to dig a trench out of the river Lee, to erect engines, waterworks, &c. to convey and carry water in cloſe pipes under ground unto the city of London and the ſuburbs thereof, for the perpetual maintenance and ſuſtentation of the Provoſt and Fellows of that College, and their ſucceſſors by the rent to be made of the ſaid waters ſo conveyed.* The fabric of this College was begun on a piece of ground called *Thameſhot*, containing about ſix acres, and then in poſſeſſon of Charles Earl of Nottingham, who granted a leaſe of his term therein to the ſaid Provoſt at the yearly rent of ſeven pounds ten ſhillings. King James laid the firſt ſtone of it, and gave all the tember neceſſary to it out of Windſor Foreſt. " And " yet, *ſays Fuller* (12), that long range of building, " which alone is extant, ſcarce finiſhed at this day, " thus made, though not of free-ſtone, of free timber, " as I am informed, coſt full three thouſand pound. " But alas! what is this piece (not an eighth part) to " a double quadrant, beſides wings on each ſide, which " was intended?" The names of the firſt Provoſt and Fellows ſettled by the King, May 8, 1610, are as follow. Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, Provoſt: Dr. John Overal, Dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Thomas Morton, Dean of Wincheſter; Dr. Richard Field, Dean of Glouceſter; Dr. Robert Abbot; Dr. John Spenſer; Dr. Miles Smith; Dr. William Covitt; Dr. John Howſon; Dr. John Layfield; Dr. Benjamin Charrier; Dr. Martin Fotherbie; Dr. John Boys; Dr. Richard Brett; Dr. Peter Lilie; Dr. Francis Burley; William Hillier, Arch-deacon of Barſtable; and John White, Fellow of Mancheſter College. The

(11) *Church Hiſtory of Britain*, B. 10. pag. 51.

(a) 2 Chron. viii. 9.

(12) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 52.

William *the Second*, Henrie *the Firſt. Written by* J. H. [*E*], and dedicated to Charles Prince of Wales. In 1619 he received the honour of Knighthood from his Majeſty at Whitehall (*b*). In 1624 he publiſhed a diſcourſe intitled, *Of Supremacie in Affaires of Religion. By Sir* John Hayward, *Knt. Doctor of Lawe* [*F*], London in 4to, dedicated to

(*b*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 203. 2d edit. London 1721.

two Hiſtorians were William Camden, Clarenceaux, and John Hayward, L. L. D. None, who were actually Biſhops, were capable of places in this College; and when ſome were afterwards advanced to Biſhoprics, or died, the King by his Letters Patents November 14, 1622, ſubſtituted others in their room; among whom Antonio de Dominis, Archbiſhop of Spalato, though only Dean of Windſor in England, was moſt remarkable. In 1616 his Majeſty ſent his letters to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to excite the clergy of his province to contribute to ſo pious a work; yet for all theſe endeavours and collections in all the pariſhes of England, the ſums of money brought in were ſlow and ſmall. *Many of them*, ſays Fuller (13), *were ſcattered out in the gathering them up, the charges of the collectors conſuming the profit thereof.* And the ſame writer obſerves, that it was *vehemently ſuſpected, that ſome part of theſe collections had been detained by private perſons.* Various were the conjectures concerning what obſtructed the proceedings with regard to the College. Some aſcribed it to the untimely death of Prince Henry; but Mr. Fuller, upon a ſtrict peruſal of the records of the College, could not find ſo much as mention of the name of the Prince as in any degree viſibly contributing to it. Others aſcribed it "to the large, looſe, and "lax nature thereof, no one prime perſon (Sutcliffe "excepted, whoſe ſhoulders ſunk under the weight "thereof) zealouſly engaging therein; King James's "maintenance amounting to little more than counte- "nance of the work (14)." Others imputed it to the failure of the project for making a new river; others to the remiſſneſs of the greateſt prelates, who though ſeemingly forward to the utmoſt, were ſuſpicious, that theſe controverſal Divines would be conſidered as the principal champions for religion, and more ſerviceable in the church than themſelves, and perhaps might acquire principles prejudicial to their epiſcopal juriſdictions. Others imagined, that it was obſtructed by the jealouſy of the Univerſities; or by the ſuſpicion of ſome patriots and commoners in Parliament, "that this "College would be, *ſays Fuller* (15), too much cour- "tier; and that the Divinity, but eſpecially the "Hiſtory thereof, would Ἰακωβίζειν, propend too much "in favour of King James, and report all things to "the diſadvantage of the ſubject. Wherefore though "the ſaid patriots in Parliament countenanced the "Act, as counting it no policy publickly to croſs the "project of King James, eſpecially as it was made po- "pular with ſo pious a plauſibility; yet when returned "home, by their ſuſpicious items and private inſtructi- "ons they beat off and retarded people's charities there- "unto. The ſame conceived this foundation ſuper- "fluous, to keep men to confute Popiſh opinions by "writings, whilſt the maintainers of them were every "where connived at, and countenanced, and the pe- "nal laws not put in any effectual execution againſt "them." Others remarked, that this deſign was begun in a bad time, when the world ſwarmed with projectors, and neceſſitous courtiers, contriving all ways to get money; and it was the misfortune of it to appear in a time, when ſo many monopolies were on foot. Some great Churchmen were more backward, becauſe the deſign was conducted by Dr. Sutcliffe, who was known to be a rigid Anti-Remonſtrant, and when old, very ſevere in his writings againſt the Remonſtrants.

(13) Pag. 53.

(14) Idem, ibid. pag. 53, 54.

(15) Pag. 34.

[*E*] *In* 1613 *he publiſhed at London in* 4*to*, The Lives of the three Normans, Kings of England.] In the Epiſtle Dedicatory to Prince Charles he obſerves, that he publiſhed this work at the deſire of Prince Henry, who had ſent for him a few months before his Highneſs's death, and complained much of the Hiſtories of England, and that the Engliſh, who were inferior to none in honourable actions, ſhould be ſurpaſſed by all in leaving the memory of them to poſterity. Our Author anſwered, that he conceived theſe to be the cauſes hereof; *One, that men of ſufficiencie were otherwiſe employed, either in publike affaires, or in wreſtling with the world, for maintenance or encreaſe of their private eſtates. Another is, for that men might ſafely write of others in maner of a tale, but in maner of a Hiſtory ſafely they could not, becauſe, albeit they ſhould write of men long ſince dead, and whoſe poſteritie is cleane worne out, yet ſome alive finding themſelves foule in thoſe vices, which they ſee obſerved, reproved, condemned in others; their guiltineſſe maketh them apt to conceite, that whatſoever the words are, the finger pointeth only at them. The laſt is, for that the argument of our Engliſh Hiſtorye hath bene ſo foiled heretofore by ſome unworthie writers, that men of qualitie may eſteeme themſelves diſcredited by dealing in it.* The Prince aſked our author, whether he had written any part of our Engliſh Hiſtory beſides what had been publiſhed, which at that time he had in his hands. "I anſwered, ſays he, "that I had wrote of certaine of our Engliſh Kings "by way of a brieſe deſcription of their lives: but "for Hiſtorie, I did principally bend and binde my "ſelfe to the times, wherein I ſhould live, in which "my owne obſervations might ſomewhat direct me. "But as well in the one as in the other, I had at that "time perfected nothing." The Prince replied, that in regard of the honour of the time, he liked well of the laſt, but for his own inſtruction he more deſired the firſt; and directed our author, that againſt his Highneſs's return from his progreſs then at hand, he would perfect ſomewhat of both ſorts for him, which he promiſed amply to requite. This engaged Dr. Hayward to finiſh the *Lives of the three Kings of the Norman Race*, and certain years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. At the Prince's return from the progreſs to his houſe at St. James's theſe pieces were delivered unto him; but becauſe *the Lives of the Three Normans, Kings of England* ſeemed perfect, he expreſſed a deſire, that they ſhould be publiſhed; but he ſoon after died.

[*F*] *In* 1624 *he publiſhed a diſcourſe intitled*, Of Supremacie in affaires of Religion. By Sir *John Hayward* Knight and Doctor of Law.] It contains eighty eight pages in 4to. It is written in the manner of a converſation held at the table of Dr. Toby Matthews, Biſhop of Durham, in the time of the Parliament in the year 1605. The propoſition of it is, that ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical affairs is a right of ſovereignty. In the diſcuſſion of this, it is ſhewn, that ſovereign or majeſtical power muſt be perpetual and abſolute. That affairs of the greateſt importance are annexed to the ſovereign Majeſty. That nothing in a State is of ſo great importance as Religion. That affairs of Religion are to be managed by thoſe, who bear the Sovereignty. That it is dangerous for others to be depended upon in regard of Religion. That two policies were antiently obſerved for avoiding theſe dangers, to exclude external ceremonies, and to commit the ordering of matters in Religion to the ſovereign authority within the State. With regard to the firſt, it is obſerved (16), "that the Jews would not "converſe or accompany a man, who was not of "their owne Religion. Among the Grecians, *So- "crates* and *Protagoras* were condemned, *Anaxagoras* "and *Ariſtotle* were accuſed, for holding opinions con- "trary to their received Religion. *Joſephus* writ- "eth (*p*), that the Athenians had a ſevere Law a- "gainſt any man, who ſhould ſpeake a word in Re- "ligion againſt that which was eſtabliſhed by Law. "The Scythians put *Anacharſis* to death for perform- "ing the rites of Bacchus after the manner of the "Grecians. *Livie* writeth, that among the Ro- "manes the Ædiles received in part of their charge (*q*), "that no externall Religion or Ceremony ſhould bee "brought in. And to the ſame purpoſe *M. Æmilius* re- "cited a decree (*r*), *that no man ſhould ſacrifice in a pub- "like or ſacred place after a newe or externall rite. How "often*, ſaith the ſame Livie (*s*), *have our Fathers and "Anceſtors given charge to the Magiſtrates, that ex- "ternall ceremonies ſhould be forbidden?* Mecænas in "*Dio* (*t*) gave this exhortation and advice to "Auguſtus (*u*). *Obſerve Religion after the faſhion "of your country, and compell others to doe the like; "but thoſe, who bring in ſtrange and forraine rites, "hate and correct, becauſe they perſwade many to "worke alterations, from whence conſpiracies and ſe- "ditions*

(16) Sect. 10. pag. 20, 21. *Doctrinis variis & peregrinis nolite abduci.* Heb. i. 13. 19.

(*p*) *Joſeph. Lib. 2. contra Appion,* ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ῥημα μόνον παρὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων νόμους ὀφθὲν μένους περὶ θεῶν ἀπειρατήτους κολάζειν.

(*q*) *Ne qui niſi Romani dii neve alio more quam patrio colerentur.*

(*r*) Liv. lib. 15. *Ne quis in publico ſacrove loco novo aut externo ritu ſacrificaret.*

(*s*) Lib. 39. *Quoties patrum avorumque ætate negotium magiſtratibus datum eſt, ut ſacra externa fieri vetarant?*

(*t*) Dio, lib. 52.

(*u*) Τὸ μὲν θεῖον πάντη πάντως αὐτούς τε σέβου, &c.

to Prince Charles. He died at his houſe in the pariſh of Great St. Bartholomew London on Wedneſday June the 27th 1627, and was interred in the Church belonging to that pariſh. He wrote likewiſe *The Life and Reign of King Edward VI* [G], and ſeveral theological works, particularly *The ſtrong Helper, or how in all our Troubles to caſt our Burden upon God.* London 1614 in 8vo. *The Sanctuary of a troubled Soul.* London 1616 in 8vo. *Chriſt's Prayer on the Croſs for his Enemies.* London 1623 in 8vo. *David's Tears; or an Expoſition of the Penitential Pſalms.* London 1623 in 4to. Mr. Wood tells us (c), "that he was accounted a learned and godly man, and one better read in theological authors than in thoſe belonging to his own profeſſion;" and that with regard to his Hiſtories, "the phraſe and words in them were in their time eſteemed very good; "only ſome have wiſhed, that in his *Hiſtory of Henry IV* he had not called Sir Hugh "Lynne by ſo light a word as *Mad-Cap*, though he were ſuch; and that he had not "changed his *Hiſtorical* Style into a *Dramatical*, where he induceth a mother uttering a "woman's paſſion in the caſe of her ſon." Archdeacon Nicholſon (d) obſerves, that he had *the repute in his time of a good clean pen and ſmooth ſtyle.* Mr. John Strype (e) ſays, that our author "muſt be read with caution; that his ſtyle and language is good, "and ſo is his fancy; but that he makes too much uſe of it for an Hiſtorian, which puts "him on ſometimes to make ſpeeches for others, which they never ſpake, and to relate "matters, which perhaps they never thought on."

(c) *Faſti Oxon,* ubi ſupra.

(d) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library,* Part 1. pag. 216. edit. London 1696, in 8vo.

(e) *Preface* to Sir John Hayward's *Life and Reign of King Edward VI,* printed in the 2d volume of the *Complete Hiſtory of England.*

"*ditions are oftentimes occaſioned.*" With reſpect to the ſecond point, viz. *to commit the ordering of matters in Religion to the ſovereign authority within the State,* this is ſhewn to have been practiſed by the Jews, Ægyptians, and divers other people, in the Empires of Aſſyria and Perſia, in the States of Greece, in the Empire of Rome under the Government of Kings, in the popular State, and under the Heathen and firſt Chriſtian Emperors. It is ſhewn likewiſe, that matters of external or accidental form in the Church depended altogether upon the firſt Chriſtian Emperors, by whoſe direction and authority matters of faith and eſſential form were alſo ordered. That the eight General Councils were called and confirmed by Emperors. That there was a conteſt between the Biſhops of Rome and Conſtantinople for ſuperiority, the latter being favoured by divers Emperors. That by giving this prerogative to the Biſhops of Rome the Eaſtern Empire was diſmember'd. That the abſolute power of the Biſhops of Rome in Eccleſiaſtical affairs reduced the Weſtern Empire, not only to a feeble State, but to be held in a vaſſalage to the See of Rome. That by the ſame power the Biſhops of Rome claimed Sovereignty alſo over divers principal Kingdoms in Europe, and generally over all States in the world; by which means divers diſtreſſes were occaſioned.

[G] *He wrote likewiſe,* The Life and Reign of King Edward VI.] It was printed at London 1630 in 4to, and there was another edition of it in 1636 in 24mo, under this title; *The Life and Raigne of King Edward the Sixt. With the beginning of the Raigne of Queene Elizabeth. Both written by Sir* John Hayward, *Knight, Doctor of Lawe.* To this is prefixed the author's picture. T

☞ HEARNE (THOMAS), eminent for his Writings and Editions of Books and Manuſcripts [A], was ſon of George Hearne, Pariſh-Clerk of White Waltham in Berkſhire, by Edith his wife, daughter of Thomas Wiſe of Shotteſbrooke in the ſaid county. He was born at Littlefield Green in the pariſh of White Waltham in the year 1680, and received no other inſtruction than from his father, (who kept a writing-ſchool in

[A] *Eminent for his Writings and Editions of Books and Manuſcripts.*] They are as follow. I. Reliquiæ Bodleianæ: *or ſome genuine remains of Sir Thomas Bodley. Containing his life, the firſt draught of the Statutes of the publick Library at Oxford, (in Engliſh) and a collection of letters to Dr. James, &c. Publiſhed from the originals in the ſaid Library.* London 1703 in 8vo. II. *C. Plinii Cæcilii ſecundi Epiſtolæ & Panegyricus, cum variis lectionibus & annotationibus. Accedit Vita Plinii ordine chronologico digeſta.* Oxford 1703 in 8vo. III. *Eutropii Breviarium Hiſtoriæ Romanæ, cum Pæanii Metaphraſi Græcâ. Meſſala Corvinus de Auguſti Progenie. Julius Obſequens de Prodigiis. Anonymi Oratio funebris Gr. Lat. in Imp. Fl. Conſtantinum Conſtantini M. fil. Cum variis lectionibus & annotationibus.* Oxford 1703 in 8vo. IV. Ductor Hiſtoricus: *Or a ſhort Syſtem of univerſal Hiſtory, or an Introduction to the ſtudy of it. Volume the firſt, in three Books, containing,* 1, *A Chronology of all the moſt celebrated perſons and actions from the Creation to this time. To which is premiſed an Explication of Terms and other Præcognita.* 2. *An Introduction to Hiſtory. Wherein an account is given of the writings of the ancient Hiſtorians Greek and Roman, with the judgment of the beſt Criticks upon them. Together with an ample collection of Engliſh Hiſtorians.* 3. *A compendious Hiſtory of all the ancient Monarchies and States from the Creation to the Birth of Chriſt.* London 1705 in 8vo, ſecond Edition. It was printed again in 1714 and 1724 without our Author's knowledge. With regard to the firſt Edition, it is to be aſcribed to another perſon; and the two firſt books in the ſecond, third, and fourth Edition are by another hand, who wrote likewiſe the Preface. But Mr. Hearne wrote the third Book himſelf. V. Ductor Hiſtoricus: *Or a ſhort Syſtem of univerſal Hiſtory. Volume the ſecond. Containing a compendious account of the moſt conſiderable tranſactions in the world, from the Birth of Chriſt to the final Decay of the Roman Monarchy, and the Eſtabliſhment of the German Empire by Charles the Great. In three Books, viz.* 1. *A Series of the Succeſſion, and a Hiſtory of the Reigns of all the Emperors, from the Birth of Chriſt to the removal of the Imperial Seat to Conſtantinople.* 2. *The Succeſſion of the Emperors, continued from the Tranſlation of the Empire to the reign of Charlemagne.* 3. *The Hiſtory of Perſia under Parthian Kings, and the Perſian Race reſtored, to the Deſtruction of that Monarchy by the Saracens. The ſeveral Kingdoms erected in Europe by the Franks, Saxons, Goths, Vandals, &c. and their reſpective ſucceſſions. The Life of Mahomet, and the Succeſſion of the Saracen Caliphs. Together with an account of the Foundation of the moſt conſiderable Cities, &c. for* 800 *years after Chriſt, with other miſcellaneous things not mentioned in the courſe of the Hiſtory.* Oxford 1704 in 8vo. It was printed three times at London without our Author's knowledge, who declared in the Preface his deſign to publiſh a third volume, for which he had made great collections out of the beſt Authors. But he laid aſide this deſign upon the publication of the Engliſh Tranſlation of *Puffendorf's Introduction,* which begins where the ſecond volume of the *Ductor Hiſtoricus* ends, and continues the Hiſtory to the preſent times. VI. *M. Juniani Juſtini Hiſtoriarum ex Trogo Pompeio Libri XLIV. MSS. Codicum collatione recogniti, annotationibuſque illuſtrati.* Oxford 1705 in 8vo. VII. *T. Livii Patavini Hiſtoriarum ab Urbe conditâ Libri qui ſuperſunt, MSS. Codicum collatione recogniti, annotationibuſque illuſtrati.* Oxford 1708 in ſix volumes in 8vo. VIII. *A Letter containing an account of ſome Antiquities between Windſor and Oxford, with a Liſt of*

in the Vicarage Houſe of White Waltham, being permitted to live there by the Miniſter on condition that he taught ten boys yearly,) till the year 1693; when the learned and pious Francis Cherry of Shotteſbrooke Eſq; put him to the Free-ſchool of Bray in Berks on purpoſe to learn the Latin tongue. In this ſchool he preſently became remarkable for his induſtry and application, and ſoon made a very ſurpriſing progreſs; of which Mr. Cherry being fully ſatisfied, reſolved, by the advice of Mr. Dodwel, who then lived at Shotteſbrooke,

the ſeveral Pictures in the School-Gallery adjoyning to the Bodleian Library. Printed in 1708 in *The monthly Miſcellany, or Memoirs for the Curious.* This Letter is reprinted at the end of the fifth volume of our Author's Edition of *Leland's Itinerary,* with additions and corrections, but without the *Liſt of Pictures.* But this Catalogue being greatly ſought for by men of learning, he reprinted an hundred copies of the whole Tract reviſed (for the London was very incorrect) in 1725 in 8vo. IX. *The Life of Ælfred the Great by Sir John Spelman, Knt. Publiſhed from the original MS. in the Bodleian Library. To which are added many hiſtorical Remarks, and a Diſcourſe upon an old Roman Inſcription lately found near Bathe.* Oxford 1710 in 8vo. X. *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, in IX volumes 8vo. Publiſhed from the original MSS. and other authentic copies.* Oxford 1710, 1711, 1712. This work, which is very ſcarce, there having been only an hundred and twenty copies printed, viz. 12 in fine, and 108 in ordinary paper, is adorned with divers curious diſcourſes and obſervations, partly written by the editor, and partly by others. XI. *Henrici Dodwelli de Parmâ Equeſtri Woodwardianâ Diſſertatio. Accedit Thomæ Neli Dialogus inter Reginam Elizabetham & Robertum Dudleium, Comitem Leyceſtriæ & Academiæ Oxonienſis Cancellarium, in quo de Academiæ Ædificiis præclarè agitur.* Oxford 1713 in 8vo. XII. *Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea.* Oxford 1715 in ſix volumes in 8vo. There were but an hundred and fifty ſix copies printed. XIII. *Acta Apoſtolorum Græco-Latine, literis majuſculis. E Codice Laudiano, characteribus uncialibus exarato, & in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ adſervato, deſcripſit ediditque Tho. Hearnius. Qui Symbolum etiam Apoſtolorum ex eodem Codice ſubjunxit.* Oxford 1715 in 8vo. There were but an hundred and twenty copies printed. XIV. *Joannis Roſſi Antiquarii Warwicenſis Hiſtoria Regum Angliæ. E Codice MS. in Bibliothecâ Bodlejanâ deſcripſit, notiſque & indice adornavit Tho. Hearnius. Accedit Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii Nænia in mortem Henrici Duddelegi Equitis; cui præfigitur Teſtimonium de Lelando amplum & præclarum, hactenus ineditum.* Oxford 1716 in 8vo. There were only ſixty copies printed. XV. *Titi Livii Foro-Julienſis Vita Henrici quinti, Regis Angliæ. Accedit Sylloge Epiſtolarum à variis Angliæ Principibus ſcriptarum. E codicibus calamo exaratis deſcripſit ediditque Tho. Hearnius: Qui Appendicem etiam Notaſque ſubjecit.* Oxford 1716 in 8vo. XVI. *Aluredi Beverlacenſis Annales, ſive Hiſtoria de Geſtis Regum Britanniæ, Libris IX. E codice pervetuſto, calamo exarato, in Bibliotheca Viri clariſſimi Thomæ Rawlinſoni, Armigeri, deſcripſit ediditque Tho. Hearnius. Qui & Præfatione, Notis, atque Indice illuſtravit.* Oxford 1716 in 8vo. There were but one hundred and forty eight copies printed. XVII. *Gulielmi Roperi Vita D. Thomæ Mori Equitis aurati, Linguâ Anglicanâ contexta. Accedunt Mori Epiſtola de ſcholaſticis quibuſdam Trojanos ſeſe appellantibus; Academiæ Oxonienſis Epiſtolæ & Orationes aliquammultæ; Anonymi Chronicon Godſtovianum, & feneſtrarum depictarum Eccleſiæ Parochialis de Fairford in Agro Gloceſtrienſi Explicatio. E Codicibus vetuſtis deſcripſit ediditque, Notiſque etiam adornavit Tho. Hearnius.* Oxford 1716 in 8vo. There were but an hundred and forty eight copies printed. XVIII. *Gulielmi Camdeni Annales Rerum Anglicarum & Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha. Tribus Voluminibus comprehenſi. E Codice præclaro Smithiano, propria Auctoris manu correcto, multiſque magni momenti Additionibus locupletato, eruit ediditque Tho. Hearnius, aliumque inſuper Codicem è Bibliotheca Rawlinſoniana adhibuit.* Oxford 1717 in 8vo. XIX. *Gulielmi Neubrigenſis Hiſtoria ſive Chronica Rerum Anglicarum, libris quinque. E Codice manuſcripto pervetuſto in Bibliotheca prænobilis Domini Domini Thomæ Sebright Baronetti, uberrimis additionibus locupletata, longèque emendatiùs quam antehac edita. Studio & opera Tho. Hearnii, qui & præter Joannis Picardi Annotationes, ſuas etiam Notas qualeſcunque & Spicilegium ſubjecit. Accedunt Homiliæ tres eidem Gulielmo à Viris eruditis adſcriptæ, partim è Codice præclaro antedicto, partim è Codice antiquo Lambethano nunc primum editæ.* Oxford, 1719, in 8vo. XX. *Thomæ Sprotti Chronica è Codice antiquo MSto in Bibliothecâ prænobilis Adoleſcentis Dni Edvardi Dering de Surrenden Dering in Agro Cantiano Baronetti, deſcripſit ediditque Tho. Hearnius: qui & alia quædam Opuſcula e Codicibus MSStis authenticis a ſeipſo itidem deſcripta ſubjecit.* Oxford, 1719, in 8vo. XXI. *A Collection of curious Diſcourſes, written by eminent Antiquaries upon ſeveral Heads in our Engliſh Antiquities, and now firſt publiſhed chiefly for the Uſe and Service of the young Nobility and Gentry of England.* Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XX. *Textus Roſſenſis, Accedunt Profeſſionum antiquorum Angliæ Epiſcoporum Formulæ de canonicâ obedientiâ Archiepiſcopis Cantuarienſibus præſtandâ, & Leonardi Hutteni Diſſertatio Anglicè conſcripta de Antiquitatibus Oxonienſibus. E Codicibus MSS. deſcripſit ediditque Tho. Hearnius.* Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XXIII. *Roberti de Aveſbury Hiſtoria de Mirabilibus Geſtis Edvardi tertii. Accedunt, 1. Libri Saxonici, qui ad manus Joannis Joſcelini venerunt. 2. Nomina eorum, qui ſcripſerunt hiſtoriam gentis Anglorum, & ubi exſtant, per Joannem Joſcelinum. E Codicibus MSS. deſcripſit ediditque Tho. Hearnius. Appendicem etiam ſubnexuit, in quâ, inter alia, continentur,* Letters of King Henry VIII to Anne Bolen. Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XXIV. *Johannes de Fordun Scotichronicon genuinum, una cum ejuſdem Supplemento ac Continuatione. E Codicibus MSS. eruit ediditque, Appendicem etiam ſubjunxit, totumque Opus (in quinque Volumina diſtinctum) Præfatione atque Indicibus adornavit Tho. Hearnius.* Oxford, 1722, in 8vo. XXV. *The Hiſtory and Antiquities of Glaſtonbury. To which are added, 1. The Endowment and Orders of Sherington's Chantry founded in St. Paul's Church, London. 2. Dr. Plot's Letter to the Earl of Arlington concerning Thetford. To all which pieces (never before printed) a Preface is prefixed, and an Appendix ſubjoined.* Oxford, 1722, in 8vo. XXVI. *Hemingi Chartularium Eccleſiæ Wigornienſis. E Codice MSS. penes Richardum Graves de Mickleton in Agro Glouceſtrienſi Armigerum, deſcripſit ediditque Tho. Hearnius; qui & eam partem Libri de* Domeſday, *quæ ad Eccleſiam pertinet Wigornienſem, aliaque ad Operis (duobus Voluminibus comprehenſi) nitorem facientia ſubnexuit.* Oxford, 1723, in 8vo. XXVII. Robert of Glouceſter's *Chronicle. Tranſcribed, and now firſt publiſhed from a MS. in the Harleyan Library. To which is added, beſides a Gloſſary and other Improvements, a Continuation (by the Author himſelf) of this Chronicle from a MS. in the Cottonian Library. In two Volumes.* Oxford, 1724, in 8vo. XXVIII. Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle, (as illuſtrated and improved by* Robert of Brunne) *from the Death of Cadwalader to the end of King Edward the Firſt's reign. Tranſcribed, and now firſt publiſhed from a MS. in the Inner-Temple Library. To which are added, beſides a Gloſſary, and other curious Papers, 1. A Roll concerning Glaſtonbury Abby, being a Survey of all the Eſtates belonging to that Houſe at the Diſſolution, taken by King Henry the Eighth's order, and for his uſe. 2. An Account of the Hoſpital of St. Mary Magdalen near Scroby in Nottinghamſhire, by John Slacke, Maſter of that Hoſpital. 3. Two Tracts by an anonymous Author; the firſt relating to Conqueſt in Somerſetſhire; the ſecond concerning Stone-henge.* Oxford, 1725, in two Volumes in 8vo. XXIX. Johannes, *Confratris & Monachi Glaſtonienſis, Chronica, ſive Hiſtoria de Rebus Glaſtonienſibus. E Codice MS. membraneo antiquo deſcripſit ediditque Tho. Hearnius. E quo Codice & Hiſtoriolam de antiquitate & augmentatione vetuſtæ Eccleſiæ S. Mariæ Glaſtonienſis præmiſit, multaque excerpta e Richardi Beere (Abbatis Glaſtonienſis) Terrario hujus cœnobii ſubjecit. Accedunt quædam eodem ſpectantia, ex egregio*

Snotteſbrooke, to take him into his own houſe, which accordingly he did about Eaſter 1695, and provided for him as if he had been his own ſon, and inſtructed him in Religion and Claſſical Learning every day, when at home hearing him read himſelf, and when abſent taking care that he ſhould read to Mr. Dodwel, when both the one and the other explained to him the difficult places, and always illuſtrated them with curious and uſeful obſervations. December the 4th 1695 Mr. Cherry had him entered a Batler of Edmund Hall in Oxford, where he was matriculated the day following, and then returned to Mr. Cherry's, by whoſe order he went again daily to ſchool at Bray four miles diſtant from Mr. Cherry's, till Eaſter Term 1696, when Mr. Cherry went himſelf with him to Oxford, provided a chamber and all neceſſaries for him, and ſaw him fully ſettled before he returned. Here Mr. Hearne followed his ſtudies ſo cloſely as to be ſoon taken conſiderable notice of by Dr. Mill, Principal of Edmund Hall, who being then buſy about the *Appendix* to his edition of the *New Teſtament*, and finding this young man to be verſed in manuſcripts, got him to compare for him ſome manuſcripts, which are uſed in the ſaid *Appendix*. At three years ſtanding he went at Dr. Mills's requeſt to Eton, to compare a manuſcript of *Tatian* and *Athenagoras* (for both authors are comprehended in the ſame manuſcript) in that Library. The variations were afterwards made uſe of by Mr. Worth in his edition of *Tatian*, and by Mr. De Chaire in his edition of *Athenagoras*, but without any mention made by either Editor of him, who collated the manuſcripts. The book, in which Mr. Hearne wrote the Variations, is now in the Bodleian Library. He was likewiſe very aſſiſtant to Dr. Grabe, at that time Reſident in

egregio MS. communicato ab amicis eruditis Cantabrigienſibus, ut & Appendix, in quâ, inter alia, de S. Ignatii Epiſtolarum Codice Mediceo, & de Johannis Dee, Mathematici celeberrimi, vitâ atque ſcriptis agitur. Oxford, 1726, in 8vo. XXX. Adami de Domerham *Hiſtoriæ de Rebus geſtis Glaſtonienſibus. E Codice MS. perantiquo, in Bibliothecâ Collegii S. Trinitatis Cantabrigiæ, deſcripſit primuſque in lucem protulit Tho. Hearnius, qui & (præter alia, in quibus Diſſertatio de Inſcriptione perveteri Romanâ Ciceſtriæ nuper repertâ) Gulielmi Malmeſburienſis Librum de Antiquitate Eccleſiæ Glaſtonienſis, & Edmundi Accheri Excerpta aliquammulta ſatis egregia è Regiſtris Wellenſibus, præmiſit.* Oxford, 1727, in 2 Volumes in 8vo. XXXI. Thomæ de Elmham *Vita & Geſta Henrici quinti, Anglorum Regis. E Codicibus MSS. Vetuſtis deſcripſit, & primus luci publicæ dedit* Tho. Hearnius. Oxford, 1727, in 8°. XXXII. *Liber Niger Scaccarii. E Codice, calamo exarato & a Richardo Graveſio Mickletonienſi donato, deſcripſit & nunc primus edidit* Tho. Hearnius; *qui & cum duobus aliis codicibus MSS. Contulit, Wilhelmique etiam Worceſtrii Annales rerum Anglicarum (antehac itidem ineditos) ſubjecit.* Oxford, 1728. In Two Volumes in 8vo. XXXIII. *Hiſtoria Vitæ & Regni* Richardi II. *Angliæ Regis, a Monacho quodam de Eveſham conſignata. Acceſſerunt, præter alia Joannis Roſſi Hiſtoriola de Comitibus Warwicenſibus; Joannis Berebloci Commentarii de rebus geſtis Oxoniæ, ibidem commorante Elizabethâ Reginâ; & D. Ricardi Wynne Baronetti Narratio hiſtorica de Caroli, Walliæ Principis, Famulorum in Hiſpaniam Itinere A. D. MDCXXIII. E Codicibus MSS. nunc primus edidit Tho. Hearnius.* Oxford, 1729, in 8vo. XXXIV. *Joannis de Trokelowe Annales Edvardi II. Henrici de Blaneforde Chronica, & Edvardi II. Vita a Monacho quodam Malmeſburienſi fusè enarrata. E Codicibus MSS. nunc primus divulgavit Tho. Hearnius. Qui &, præter Appendicem (in quâ, inter alia, Ordinationes Collegii Orielenſis) monumenta quædam vetera, ab Edmundo Archero communicata, ſubjunxit.* Oxford, 1729, in 8vo. XXXV. *Thomæ Caii (Collegii Univerſitatis regnante Elizabethâ Magiſtri) Vindiciæ antiquitatis Academiæ Oxonienſis contra Joannem Caium, Cantabrigienſem. In lucem ex Autographo emiſit Th. Hearnius: Qui porrò non tantum Antonii Woodi Vitam à ſe ipſo conſcriptam, & Humphredi Humphreys (Epiſcopi nuper Herefordienſis) de viris claris Cambro-Britannicis Obſervationes, ſed & reliquias quaſdam ad Familiam religioſiſſimam Ferrariorum de Gidding Parva in agro Huntingdonienſi pertinentes ſubnexuit.* Oxford, 1730, in two Volumes in 8vo. XXXVI. *Walteri Hemingforde, Canonici de Giſſeburne, Hiſtoria de rebus geſtis Edvardi I. Edvardi II. & Edvardi III. Accedunt, inter alia, Edvardi III. Hiſtoria per anonymum; Narratio de Proceſſu contra Reginaldum Peacockium, auctore Joanne Whethamſtedio; Excerpta hiſtorica è Thomæ Gaſcoignii Dictionario Theologico; Libellus de Caroli I. ab urbe Oxonienſi fugâ ſive diſceſſu, Notitiaque Domorum Religioſarum in Diœceſi Batho-Wellenſi. E Codicibus MSS. nunc primum publicavit Tho. Hearnius,* Oxford, 1731, in two Volumes in 8vo. XXXVII. *Duo rerum Anglicarum Scriptores veteres, viz. Thomas Otterbourne & Johannes Whethamſtede, ab origine gentis Britannicæ uſque ad Edvardum IV. E Codicibus MSS. antiquis nunc primus eruit Tho. Hearnius. Accedunt, inter alia, Liber de Vitâ & Miraculis Henrici VI. per Johannem Blackmannum; Statuta Hoſpitalis de Ewelme in Agro Oxonienſi; Literæ perplures de rebus geſtis in partibus noſtris Septentrionalibus A. D. M. D. XXIII. & M. D. XXIV. in quibus Epiſtolæ autographæ perpaucæ Margarettæ, Scotorum Reginæ, Henrici noſtri VII. filiæ natu majoris; Franciſci Godwyni Catalogus, hactenus ineditus, Epiſcoporum Bathonienſium & Wellenſium, Humphredique Humphreys Commentariolus de Decanis Bangorienſibus & Aſaphenſibus.* Oxford, 1733, in two Volumes in 8vo. XXXVIII. *Chronicon ſive Annales Prioratûs de Dunſtable, una cum Excerptis è Chartulario ejuſdem Prioratûs. E Codicibus MSS. in Bibliothecâ Harleianâ deſcripſit primuſque vulgavit Tho. Hearnius.* Oxford, 1733, in 8vo. XXXIX. *Benedictus, Abbas Petroburgenſis, de Vitâ & Geſtis Henrici II. & Ricardi I. E Codice MS. in Bibliothecâ Harleianâ deſcripſit, & nunc primus edidit Tho. Hearnius. Acceſſerunt alia.* Oxford, 1735, in two vol. in 8vo. At the end of this work he publiſhed propoſals for printing from an antient MS. in the Harleyan Library, *Joannis Beveri, Monachi Weſtmonaſterienſis, Chronicon a Bruti primi Regis introitu in hanc Inſulam uſque ad annum Domini* 1306. To which was to be added from an old MS. in the ſame Library, *Joannis Merylinch, Monachi Glaſtonienſis, Rerum (in Angliâ ſpeciatim ac Hiberniâ) ſub novem primis annis Joannis XXII^di, Pontificis Romani, geſtarum, Deſcriptio.* This work was to have been printed in two Volumes in 8vo; but our Author did not live to finiſh the edition. He wrote likewiſe a piece printed in 1731 in 8vo, under the title of, *A Vindication of thoſe who take the Oath of Allegiance to his preſent Majeſtie from Prejudice, Injuſtice, and Diſloyaltie, charged upon them by ſuch as are againſt it. Wherein is evidently ſhewed, that the common good of a Nation is what is primarily and principally reſpected in an Oath, and therefore when the Oath is inconſiſtent with that, the Perſons who have taken it, are abſolved from it. In proving of which the Caſe of Maud and King Stephen is particularly conſidered. In a Letter to a Nonjuror.* It is addreſſed to Mr. Cherry, from whom it came, with many other MSS, expreſly by will to the Bodleian Library. It is dated from Edmund Hall in Oxford, June 11, 1700. It was publiſhed without Mr. Hearne's knowledge or conſent. In the Preface there is ſome account of him and his writings. Our Author made the Index to Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange's Tranſlation of Joſephus into Engliſh*, London, 1702, in Folio. Three Indexes to *Cyrilli Hieroſolymitani Opera*, Oxford, 1703, in Folio; the Index to the four parts of Dr. *Edwards's Preſervative againſt Sociniani/m*, Oxford, 1704, in 4to; and that to the *Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, Oxford, 1704, in Folio.

in Edmund Hall, for whom he collated many manuſcripts, and made conſiderable collections. In Act Term 1699 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and determined in the ſchools the Lent following. Soon after this he was offered very advantageous terms to go a miſſionary to Mary-Land, and was wrote to for that purpoſe by Dr. White Kennet, at the inſtance of Dr. Bray Commiſſary to the Biſhop of London for the care of the Weſtern Plantations. But being unwilling to leave Oxford and the valuable acquaintance, which he had contracted there, he choſe to decline the offer. Having taken his degree he became a conſtant Student in the Bodleian Library, and was ſo remarkable on this account, that Dr. Hudſon, ſoon after he was elected Library-Keeper, took him in for his Aſſiſtant, having firſt obtained leave of the Curators for that purpoſe. In this place he did very conſiderable ſervice to the Library. At the public Act in Act Term 1703 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. Upon the death of Mr. Emanuel Pritchard, *Janitor* of the public Library, that place was conferred on Mr. Hearne, to whom afterwards were offered two Chaplainſhips ſucceſſively of Corpus Chriſti and All Souls Colleges by the reſpective Heads of thoſe houſes, both of which he was obliged to decline, as he could not hold either of them with the office of *Janitor*, which he choſe not to give up. In 1712 he became ſecond Library-Keeper of the Bodleian Library on the death of Mr. Jo. Crabb. January the 19th 171$\frac{4}{5}$ he was elected Superior or Eſquire Beadle in the Civil Law of the Univerſity of Oxford, which he held till the 8th of November following with his place of Under-Librarian; but then finding that they were not tenable together, he gave up the Beadleſhip, and very ſoon after relinquiſhed the other place alſo, upon the account of the oaths, with which he could not comply. In this opinion he continued to the laſt, having ſeveral times refuſed the offer of ſuch preferments, as would have been of great advantage and very agreeable to him (*a*). He died [*B*] June 10, 1735, aged fifty five years, and lies interred in the ſouth-ſide of the Church-yard of St. Peter's in the Eaſt at Oxford, where there is a tomb erected for him with an inſcription written by himſelf [*C*].

(*a*) Theſe particulars were extracted from a life of our author written by himſelf, and communicated to us by the learned and ingenious Dr. William Bedford, to whom Mr. Hearne left his manuſcripts.

[*B*] *He died.*] Some particulars of his death are contained in the following Letter dated at Oxford June 13th 1735. "Laſt night at my return home I "found Mr. Hearne dead. He died on Tueſday in "the evening. This morning I made it my buſineſs "to gain the beſt account of his affairs, and found "his will in the hands of the Apothecary, who attended him in his illneſs, which was of his own "hand-writing, and in it are the following paragraphs. Imprimis, *I give and bequeath to Mr.* "William Bedford *of London, ſon of my late Friend* "Helkiah Bedford, *all the MSS. and other Books,* "*that Dr.* Thomas Smith *left me.* Item, *I give and* "*bequeath to the ſaid Mr.* William Bedford *all the* "*MSS. of my own collection and writing, and all* "*printed Books by me collated with MSS. or that have* "*MS. Notes upon them, and all MSS. whatſoever now* "*in my poſſeſſion.* Item, *I give and bequeath to the aforeſaid Mr.* William Bedford *my box or cabinet of coins,* "*medals, and other things contained therein. And my* "*deſire is, that whatſoever hands they may hereafter* "*fall into, they may be kept together, and never be expoſed but to perſons, that underſtand them.* This is "the ſenſe, and pretty near the words of that part "of the Will, Upon a paper found with his Will is "his Epitaph of his own hand-writing, In the beginning of his illneſs he was obſtinate; but as it "increaſed, and he grew weaker, he was the more "willing to comply with the directions given him. "But this, I believe, will not be much talked of, "nor known to the world. He refuſed to have any "of his relations ſent for, and ſuffered but few people to ſee him; nor any to ſit up with him all "night, till the night before he died, though he "had ſuffered for want of help in the night by "tumbling out of bed, &c. His poor relations "have already found eight or nine hundred pounds "in caſh among the books and papers in his chambers; and when the whole comes to be turned over, "expect to find more (*)."

(*) They found in all about thirteen hundred pounds.

[*C*] *An Inſcription written by himſelf.*] It is as follows: *Here lyeth the body of* Thomas Hearne, *M. A. who ſtudied and preſerved Antiquities. He dyed June* 10. 1735. *aged* 55 *years.* Deut. xxxii. 7. *Remember the days of old; conſider the years of many generations, aſk thy father, and he will ſhew thee, thy Elders, and they will tell thee.* Job viii. 8, 9, 10. *Enquire, I pray thee.* H.

HEBEDJESU, Patriarch of the Neſtorians who were reconciled to the Church of Rome under Pius IV, in the year 1562. I have mentioned him already under another name (*a*), by which ſeveral authors have called him; but I thought that what I have ſtill to ſay of him deſerved to be related in this place. Since the article of ABDISSI was printed, I have read in a very curious work (*b*), that after the death of Simon Julacha [*A*], a Monk of St. Pachomius's Order, whom Pope Julius III had made Patriarch of the Neſtorians, "Abdjeſu, or Hebedjeſu, if you will pronounce his name "after the manner of the Chaldeans, was choſen Patriarch in his ſtead. Abraham "Ecchellenſis,

(*a*) Under the name of *Abdiſſi*; ſee that article.

(*b*) The title of it is, *Hiſtoire Critique de la Creance & des Cortumes des Nations du Levant*, Publiſhed by the Sieur de Moni, at Frankfort, for Frederic Arnaud, (or rather at Rotterdam for Reiner Leers) 1684. It is thought that Father Simon is the author of that Hiſtory.

[*A*] *Simon Julacha.*] He ſhould have ſaid *Sulacha*; as Aubertus Miræus has done (1). We ought not to wonder that the Criticks are able to collect an infinite number of various readings from manuſcripts, ſince even printed Books are not without them. The Sieur de Moni names *Caremit* that city in Meſopotamia, which Aubertus Miræus calls Charemet. The latter calls that perſon *Donha Simon*, whom the former calls *Denha Simon*. They both wrote after the ſame Author, namely Peter Strozza in his book *de Chaldæorum Dogmatibus* (of the opinions of the Chaldæans); why then did they not ſpell the ſame words after the ſame manner? Is it eaſier to write *Sulacha* than *Julacha*, *Donha* than *Denha*? Monſieur Arnauld, who follows the ſame Author, aſſerts (2), that Simon Sulacha ſettled his reſidence at Caramit. Monſieur Claude (3) makes uſe of the name of Sulak. Father Paul in the beginning of his Vth Book (4) ſays one *Simon Sultakam*; and Monſieur Amelot does not correct this in his French Tranſlation. Theſe are mere trifles, I own it; but ſuch trifles have often occaſioned very real and very conſiderable controverſies. *Hæ nugæ ſeria ducunt in mala*, i. e. "Theſe trifles lead to real evils." It would be better for the Republick of Letters, if writers would make it their duty to avoid even the moſt inſignificant errors.

(1) *Polit. Eccleſiaſt.* pag. 216.

(2) *Perpet. Défendue*, liv. 5. chap. 10.

(3) *Reponſe à la Perpet. Défendue*, liv. 4. chap. 5.

(4) Of the *Hiſtory of the Council of Trent.*

" Ecchellenſis, who has publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe of Abdjeſu in the Syriac tongue [*B*], " ſtiles him Metropolitan of Soba, in the preface which he has prefixed to that work. " He obſerves that this Hebedjeſu compoſed ſeveral works in defence of Neſtorius's " Religion, but that being come to Rome under Pope Julius III, he abjured Neſtori- " aniſm. It is he that is mentioned in the Life of Pius IV, under whoſe Pontificate he " took a ſecond journey to Rome [*C*], with a deſign to be confirmed in his Patriarchate, " and he was preſent at the Council of Trent [*D*]. As he was a man of parts, he had " the art to perſuade a great number of Neſtorians to enter into the pale of the Church " of Rome. But his ſucceſſors, who wanted his ſkill and ability, could not keep them " in that obeiſſance. Ahathalla, who was alſo a Monk of St. Pachomius's Order, ſuc- " ceeded Hebedjeſu; but dying ſoon after, he was ſucceeded by Denha Simon, who " had been before Archbiſhop of Gelu. This laſt was obliged to leave Caremit [*E*], " and to retire into the Province of Zeinalbech ſituated at the extremity of Perſia, " having been forced to yield to the power of the Patriarch of Babylon. His ſucceſſor, " who was alſo called Simon, reſided in the ſame place, which leſſened very much the " authority of this ſecond Patriarch." This is what I read in that book (*c*). When I drew up the article of Abdiſſi, I imagined that we might depend on Father Paul's account; but I muſt not omit what I have ſince obſerved in Father Palavicini; namely, that it is not true that this Patriarch wrote letters to the Council. You will find in the notes below what has been cenſured in Father Paul's account [*F*].

(c) Page 85.

[*B*] *Abr. Ecchellenſis has publiſhed a ſmall Treatiſe of Abdjeſu in the Syriac Tongue.*] I imagine it to be the ſame Treatiſe, which Monſieur Arnaud mentions, when he quotes (5) *the Notes of Abraham Ecchellenſis the Maronite upon a Catalogue of Chaldean Books written by Abdjeſu or Hebedjeſu, a Neſtorian Biſhop, who was reconciled to the Church of Rome.* Some pages lower (6) he mentions ſome circumſtances relating to Hebedjeſu, which deſerve to have a place here; for they ſerve to let us know what ſort of a man our Hebedjeſu was. " He had been formerly one of the moſt " paſſionate Neſtorians, *ſays Monſieur Arnaud*, and " wrote ſeveral Books, whilſt he laboured himſelf un- " der their errors, and he gives us a liſt of thoſe Books " in the Catalogue he has made of the Chaldean Books " compoſed by him, which Catalogue has been tranſ- " lated into Latin by Ecchellenſis. It appears from " that Catalogue, that the Book intitled *Margarita-* " *rum* (of Pearls) was written by him, whilſt he was " ſtill a Neſtorian." It is obſerved in the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary (7), that the Catalogue of Syrian Writers (it is no doubt that of which Hebedjeſu is the Author) was printed at Rome in the Syriac Language in the year 1653, with Abraham Ecchellenſis's Latin Tranſlation and Notes; that this Catalogue mentions ſeveral works compoſed in Syriac by Hebedjeſu; that there are lodged in the Library of the Vatican two Poems compoſed in the Syriac tongue, and written with his own hand, in which he gives an account of his re-union, &c. Aubertus Miræus (8), that this Patriarch's picture was placed in the Palace of the Vatican amongſt thoſe of Cardinals and Prelates, who attended Pope Alexander III, when he received the Emperor Frederic's ſubmiſſions at Venice.

(5) *Perpetuité de la Foy Défendue*, liv. 5. chap. 5.

(6) In chap. 10.

(7) In the article EBED-JESU.

(8) *Polit. Eccleſiaſt.* pag. 217.

[*C*] *He took a ſecond journey to Rome.*] I wonder that neither Father Paul, nor his Cenſurer Cardinal Pallavicini, nor any of the ſeveral Authors I have conſulted concerning Hebedjeſu, ſhould mention his journey to Rome under Pope Julius III. This particular would have been neither ſuperfluous nor uſeleſs; and I am perſuaded that they would not have omitted it, had they known it.

[*D*] *He was preſent at the Council of Trent.*] I have confuted this falſity in another place. It will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that there is never ſuch a pitiful Writer but may ſometimes miſlead the moſt eminent Authors. Peter Strozza, Secretary to Pope Paul V, was probably impoſed upon by ſome ſorry Chronicler, and it is no doubt upon that Secretary's credit, that the Sieur de Moni and Mr. Arnaud (9) before him have aſſerted, that Hebedjeſu was preſent at that Council.

(9) *Perpetuité défendue*, liv. 5. chap. 10.

[*E*] *Denha Simon . . . was obliged to leave Caremit.*] This happened at the time when Leonard Abel Biſhop of Sidon went into the Levant in the character of Apoſtolick Nuncio (10). He was a native of Malta, and underſtood perfectly well the Arabick Tongue, which is in a manner the mother-tongue in that Iſland. He died at Rome in the year 1605, or 1606. He wrote a work concerning the Condition of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, out of which work Aubertus Miræus, from whom I borrow this whole remark, confeſſes, that he extracted a great many things, which are to be read in his *Notitia Epiſcopatuum* (Account of Biſhopricks.) He adds that this work of Leonard Abel is in manuſcript in the Library of the late Cardinal Aſcanio Colonna, Protector of the Churches in the Eaſt, and that this Library has been wonderfully improved by the addition of Cardinal William Sirlet's books.

(10) *See* Aubertus Miræus, pag. 218, &c. of his *Status Politiæ Eccleſiaſticæ*, printed at Lyons in the year 1620.

[*F*] *You will find in the Notes below what has been cenſured in Father Paul's account.*] This Author relates, that they read the Letters of Cardinal Amulius, " who being Protector in the Churches of the Eaſt " acquainted the Council with the news of Abdiſſi's " arrival. . . . He aſſerted, that the Nations ſubject to " this Prelate had been inſtructed in the Faith by the " Apoſtles St. Thomas and St. Thaddæus, &c (11). The Hiſtorian adds, that they read afterwards this Patriarch's Confeſſion of Faith, and *laſtly the Letters, which he wrote to the Council, deſiring to be excuſed from going thither, which was impoſſible for him, &c* (12). Cardinal Pallavicini (13) relates this more fully and more accurately, not blending together what Amulius ſaid by the Pope's Command, with the conſequences he drew himſelf from the Neſtorian Prelate's account. It does not appear that Father Paul made this diſtinction, But his chief blunder is his aſſerting that they read the Letter, which Abdiſſi had written to the Council. Pallavicini maintains that ſuch a Letter never exiſted but in Father Paul's imagination (14).

(11) Fra-Paolo, *Hiſt. du Concile de Trente*, liv. 6. pag. 557. of Amelot's Tranſlation.

(12) See the article of ABDISSI.

(13) *Hiſt. Concil. Trident.* lib. 18. cap. 9. num. 5.

(14) *Sed hæc Epiſtola non in alia pagina, niſi in Suaviana imaginatione fuit exarata.* Idem, ibid. num. 8.

HEGESILOCHUS was one of thoſe who committed a thouſand outrages in the iſland of Rhodes, when the Democratical Government was changed there into an Ariſtocracy, by the credit of Mauſolus King of Caria (*a*). Athenæus has tranſmitted to us ſome inſtances of the exceſſes of which theſe new maſters were guilty (*b*). They committed adultery with the wives of the moſt eminent Citizens, and raviſhed ſeveral boys. At laſt they carried their licentiouſneſs ſo far, that they even ſtaked at dice the honour of the women [*A*], and it was a rule eſtabliſhed amongſt them, that the loſer ſhould be obliged

(a) *See* Libanius, *in Argum. Orat. Demoſth. pro Rhod. Libertate.*

(b) Athen. lib. 10. cap. 12. pag. m. 444. *ex* Theopompo.

[*A*] *He was one of thoſe Rhodians . . . . that ſtaked at dice the honour of the women.*] The Abbot Lancelot of Peruſia had here a very good opportunity to put the *Hoggidiani* to a non-plus; for I do not think that there has been in this age in any Country of Europe ſuch a licentiouſneſs as that of the Rhodians was.

obliged to procure to the winner the Lady who had been played for, and ſhould employ all poſſible means and artifices to bring her into his arms. They ſuffered no foul play; perſuaſions and violence were to ſucceed each other, and either to precede or to follow each other according as it was found neceſſary, till the full and actual payment of what had been ſtaked. Hegeſilochus was the perſon who played at this new game moſt often and moſt ſhamefully (*c*). His drunkenneſs and other exceſſes rendered him ſo uncapable of managing public affairs, that he loſt his dignity, and his very friends looked upon him as an infamous wretch. He ought not to be miſtaken for another HEGESILOCHUS who was ſent Embaſſador to Rome by the Rhodians [*B*], after he had been raiſed to the higheſt office in the State [*C*]. The latter lived in the time of Perſeus King of Macedon, and the former in the time of Philip Alexander the Great's father.

(*c*) Ταύτην τὴν κυβείαν ἔπαιζον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥοδίων τινές. ἐπιφανέστατα δὲ καὶ πλειστάκις αὐτὸς ὁ Ἡγησίλοχος: Athen. lib. 10. cap. 12. *ex* Theopompo, pag. 445. (inſteadof*ſæpiſſime* i. e. oftner) there is *ſæviſſime*, moſt cruelly, in the edition of Lyons, 1657.

I have been told, indeed, that the footmen of a certain great Miniſter of State, who has not been long dead, uſed to play for Captains Commiſſions at dice or at cards; but, beſides that this ſtory is very uncertain, it was nothing very material; namely, that every one of theſe footmen was promiſed, for a Chriſtmas-box, at the year's end, that a certain number of companies would be given to the perſons recommended by him: after which they played this fund between them; and when any of them loſt a company, it was not at his recommendation, but at the winner's, that the company was given. Notwithſtanding this diſorder, it was an eaſy matter to prevent Commiſſions from being given unleſs to perſons proper to ſerve in the armies; and therefore this was by no means to be compared with the diſſoluteneſs of thoſe little tyrants of Rhodes, who played for maidenheads, and for horns to be planted on the heads of the moſt eminent men, and who would not give the loſer any reſt, till he had delivered them their prey. It was not enough for them to venture the honour of the moſt beautiful women (inſeparable from that of their huſbands, ſince men would have it ſo) but they expoſed alſo their own reputation; for the loſer was to do the office of a pimp. This was enough to make a man cry out, *ô tempora! ô mores!* Oh the wicked age and corrupt morals.

[*B*] *Another* HEGESILOCHUS *was ſent Embaſſador to Rome by the Rhodians.*] Polybius acquaints us with this (1). There was Geſilochus in the manuſcripts: but Fulvius Urſinus (2) having obſerved in Livy (3), that this ſame Rhodian was called Hegeſilus, corrected theſe two Authors by each other, and wrote *Hegeſilochus* in both.

(1) *Excerpt. ex Legat.* cap. 64.
(2) *Notis in ea Excerpta.*

[*C*] *He was raiſed to the higheſt office in the State.*] It was called πρυτανεία (4), and the functions of it were expreſſed by the verb πρυτανεύειν. The Latins have called them who enjoyed that dignity *Prytanes*. *Quadraginta navibus, auctore Hegeſilocho, comparatis*, ſays Livy (5), *qui cum in ſummo Magiſtratu eſſet* (*Prytanim ipſi vocant*). i. e. "They fitted out forty ſhips by Hegeſilochus's command, who being then in the higheſt office, which they call Prytanis, &c."

(3) Titus Livius, lib. 42.
(4) *See* Meurſius, *de Rhodo*, pag. 65.
(5) Tit. Livius, lib. 42.

HEIDANUS (ABRAHAM) Profeſſor of Divinity at Leyden, was born at Frankenthal in the Palatinate Auguſt the 10th 1597. He went through his courſe of polite Literature at Amſterdam, where his father Jaſper Heidanus had been choſen a Miniſter in the year 1608. An Engliſhman called Matthew Sladus (or Slade) who was then Rector (or Principal) of the College at Amſterdam took a particular care of Abraham Heidanus, whom he found to be a very hopeful youth. Daniel Colonius did not apply himſelf with leſs zeal to improve his pupil, when he was committed to his care in the Walloon College at Leyden. Colonius being none of thoſe hot-brained Divines, who would have things carried to extremes, when the Arminian controverſies broke out, was ſuſpected to incline that way [*A*]; ſo that ſeveral perſons took it very ill, that Jaſper Heidanus ſhould ſuffer his ſon to ſtudy under ſuch a maſter. But theſe raſh ſlanders produced a quite contrary effect to what thoſe zealots intended. The Miniſter of Amſterdam left his ſon under the tutorſhip of Colonius, his ancient friend, with whoſe Orthodoxy he was perfectly well acquainted. He left, I ſay, his ſon with him, to give his friend

[*A*] *Colonius being none of thoſe hot-brained Divines . . . was ſuſpected of* Arminianiſm.] This is one of the moſt diſagreeable inconveniencies that attend religious controverſies. They who by their natural diſpoſition or from an exact knowledge of the true intereſt of the Church, endeavour to reconcile the minds of the people, and do not ſpeak of cutting off the unſound members, become ſuſpected of heterodoxy. The hot-tempered, angry, and paſſionate zealots, who are always crying out *principiis obſta*, and are continually repeating this maxim, *the evil muſt be nipped in the bud*, expoſe thoſe that are moderate, and draw the people's hatred upon them. Hence it happens, that ſome perſons, who otherwiſe are not of a paſſionate temper, do yet give up the outward appearance of moderation; and chooſe rather to act againſt their own inclination, and even againſt their conſcience, than to be look'd upon as perſons who baſely betray the good cauſe. The zealots know perfectly well, that this will be the effect of their ſlanders, and therefore they ſpread them to the utmoſt of their power, and without the leaſt ſcruple, privately from houſe to houſe, and publickly from the pulpit. This happened in the beginning of the Arminian Controverſy, if we may believe Wittichius. *Vigebat illo tempore ob diſcrepantes de prædeſtinatione ſententias, non tantum inter diſſentientes magna contentio, quæ animos a ſe invicem alienabat & disjungebat, ſed etiam inter ὁμοψήφους & idem de controverſia illa ſentientes obſcura quædam diffidentia, qua locus dabatur ſuſpicionibus, quibus alii alios tanquam bonæ cauſæ minus addictos differebant. Qui enim ferventioris erant ingenii, & omnia ſumma tentanda in initiis putabant, ut in herba opprimeretur malum, quoſcunque videbant moderatius & lentius agere, ac de reconciliatione animorum potius laborare, ſi vulnus forte poſſet conſolidari, ac ſchiſma, quod ad opera carnis pertinet, evitari, eos tanquam prævaricatores bonæ cauſæ apud plebem criminabantur* (1). i. e. "The different opinions about Predeſtination occaſioned at that time not only a great diſpute "between thoſe who differed in their opinions, which "alienated and divided them from each other; but it "created even amongſt thoſe, who had the ſame "thought and opinion of that controverſy, a ſecret "and hidden miſtruſt, which gave riſe to ſuſpicions, "by which ſome repreſented the others as perſons little affected to the good cauſe. For they that were "of a hot temper, and imagined that the ſevereſt courſe "was to be taken in the beginning, to nip the evil "in the bud, traduced thoſe as traytors, who acted "with more moderation and meekneſs, and were of "opinion that it was proper to endeavour a reconciliation between the two parties, if it were poſſible "to heal the wound by that means, and to prevent a "ſchiſm, which belongs to the works of the fleſh." This is a very natural deſcription. Such diſputes occaſion a violent war without; and produce within bad

(1) Wittich. *in Oratione funebri Heidani.*

ſeeds

friend by that means an authentic teſtimony that they both agreed in their opinions. The pupil made a great progreſs under Colonius, and did not follow the example of moſt of the other ſtudents, who only filled their heads with the controverſy concerning the five articles of the Remonſtrants (*a*). He learnt this, and alſo all that was proper for him to know. He was admitted a *Proponent* by the Synod of the Walloon Churches in the year 1618, and preached in ſeveral French Churches with great applauſe of the audience; he preached alſo in ſome Dutch Churches with the ſame ſucceſs. He travelled during two years, and viſited part of Germany, Switzerland, France, and England. Soon after his return into Holland he was promoted to the office of a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and exerciſed the functions of it at Naerden till the year 1627, when he accepted the offers of the Conſiſtory of Leyden. He was betrothed to the daughter of one of the moſt eminent Merchants of Amſterdam, when he took poſſeſſion of that new living, and ſoon after he celebrated his nuptials. He was a very good preacher, and this together with ſeveral good qualities of his heart and mind gained him a very great reputation. He was fifty years old when the Province of Guelderland being determined to found an Univerſity at Harderwyk offered him the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity upon very advantageous terms. The Church of Leyden being willing to keep him, offered him either the like advantages, or in general wherewithall to make him amends abundantly for what he refuſed. The Governors of the Univerſity found out a better method ſtill to prevent his going into Guelderland; they conferred upon him the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, which happened to be vacant by the death of Conſtantine L'Empereur. He was ſo well pleaſed with his ſituation at Leyden, that he would not accept the offers which the Elector Palatine made him, though that Prince endeavoured moſt earneſtly to perſuade him to it. Notwithſtanding his refuſal the Elector gave him a very honourable and kind reception [*B*], when he paſſed through Heidelberg in the year 1656, in the journey he took to Straſburg with his family. Profeſſor Smidius, who invited him to a public diſputation, and deſired him to propoſe his objections, did not get off with honour [*C*]. But Heidanus's victory on this occaſion was not ſo viſible as that which he gained in the College of the Jeſuits at Cologne [*D*]. This learned man died at Leyden, with

(*a*) *Studioſi juvenes in partes diſtracti, & quæſtionibus illis quotidianis agitati, ſæpe quo ſe verterent neſcirent, & neglecto pietatis ſtudio ille doctiſſimus haberetur, qui de quinque iſtis articulis argutè diſſerere, & adverſarium argumentis irretire poſſet, ſecuri de reliquis fidei articulis cognoſcendis, quaſi in hoc ſolo omnis eruditionis culmen poſitum eſſet.* Wittichius, *in Orat. Fun. Heidani.*

ſeeds of ſuſpicions, which are wonderfully fruitful. It produced, amongſt other things, as I obſerved juſt now, a great alteration in thoſe, whom right reaſon inſpired with a ſpirit of moderation. They are rendered odious like hidden traytors (2), and there happen to be ſome, who do not chooſe to be reaſonable at that rate, and imagine that juſtice and equity would coſt them too dear, if it made them loſe their reputation; they do therefore ſet up for perſecutors, in order to refute the ſlanderers;

(2) See the article FERRIER, (Jeremy) remark [*D*] towards the end, and remark [*L*].

Tanto major famæ ſitis eſt quam virtutis (3).
That is,
" So much the thirſt of honour fires the blood,
" So many would be great, ſo few be good."
Dryden.

(3) Juvenal, Sat. 10. ver. 140.

This is what was done in France by ſeveral Roman Catholicks, who had not approved the ſeverity that was uſed againſt the Proteſtants, under Francis I and Henry II.

[*B*] *The Elector gave him a very honourable and kind reception.*] They who may find it ſtrange that I ſhould give an account of this, will thereby cenſure Mr. Wittichius rather than me: For it is more reaſonable to tranſcribe ſuch particulars in a Dictionary that contains two volumes (*) in folio, when one meets with them in a funeral Oration, than to expatiate upon them in funeral Orations, when one only tranſcribes them from a manuſcript. However it be, Wittichius tells us, that a meſſenger was ſent every day to Abraham Heidanus to invite him to dinner, nor does he forget to mention the preſents which Heidanus received. *Dum Heidelbergam appulit, nihil omiſit ſereniſſimus Elector quod non ferventiſſimum erga ipſum ſpiraret affectum. Ad menſam quotidie, novis ſemper miſſis nunciis, invitabat, in colloquiis benevole complectebatur, donabat medio cervo, & aliquot leporibus, nunciato hanc omnem eſſe prædam, quam illo die cepiſſet; quæcumque in diverſorio cum familia conſumpſerat, liberaliſſime ſolvit, & cum Bacheracum rediiſſet, ad ſuos Leidenſes reverſurus, magno dolio optimi & generoſiſſimi vini Bacheracenſis voluit donatum.* i. e. " When he was " arrived at Heidelberg, the moſt ſerene Elector omit- " ted nothing that was capable of teſtifying the great " affection he had for Heidanus; he ſent every day new " meſſengers to invite him to dinner; and when in his " company he treated him moſt kindly, he made him " a preſent of half a buck, and ſome hares, telling " him it was all they had taken in hunting that day; " the Elector alſo paid all that Heidanus had ſpent " with his family at his inn. And when he was come " again to Bacrach (†) on his return to Leiden, the " Prince would give him a large caſk of the beſt wine " of Bacrach."

(*) Mr. Bayle's Dictionary contained but two volumes in the firſt edition.

(†) A town of the Lower Palatinate of the Rhine, famous for its excellent wine.

[*C*] *Profeſſor Smidius, who . . . . deſired him to propoſe his objections in a public diſputation, did not get off with honour.*] Heidanus having ſeveral times deſired to be excuſed from entering the liſt, was at laſt prevailed upon by Smidius's repeated civilities; he propoſed his objections againſt univerſal Grace, which the Lutherans maintain; the whole audience heard him with a very great attention, and the ſucceſs was very glorious for Heidanus. *Smidius ipſum palam non ſemel, ſed quia declinabat noſter, iteratis vicibus ad opponendum invitavit, quod, cum non videretur ſibi ſalvo honore ſuo poſſe detrectare, ea ſoliditate, ea efficacia Gratiam, quam Lutherani urgent, Univerſalem ita oppugnavit, ut omnium oculos in ſe converterit, & apud omnes præſentes magnam admirationem ſuæ conſummatæ eruditionis excitaverit, diſputationis vero præſes multorum judicio parum honorificè ex illa diſputatione diſceſſerit* (4). i. e. " Smi- " dius invited him more than once to propoſe his ob- " jections in a public diſputation; and as he declined " it, he entreated him ſo earneſtly to it, that he thought " at laſt, he could not refuſe it without expoſing his " reputation; he made ſuch ſolid and ſtrong objecti- " ons againſt univerſal Grace, which the Lutherans " maintain, that he drew the attention of the whole au- " dience upon himſelf, and filled them with admiration " of his conſummate learning; and in the opinion of " ſeveral, the Moderator at this diſputation (‡) did " not come off very honourably."

(4) Wittichius, *in Oratione funebri Heidani.*

(‡) It was Smidius himſelf.

[*D*] *Heidanus's victory . . . . was not ſo viſible, as that which he gained in the College of the Jeſuits at Cologne.*] If this laſt victory could more eaſily be obſerved than the former, yet it was leſs glorious, for it conſiſted only in the making of a joke, to which the Jeſuit, who had ſhewed him all that was worth to be ſeen, in the College of the Jeſuits, and who was perhaps but a lay-brother, had not one word to anſwer. Heidanus aſked that Jeſuit, whether Jeſus Chriſt had done and ſuffered all that was neceſſary for our ſalvation: *Yes*, anſwered the Jeſuit; to which Heidanns replied, *you Jeſuits are not then his aſſociates.* The Jeſuit loaded with ſhame and aſtoniſhment had nothing to anſwer. Malincrot, Dean of Munſter, who heard that diſcourſe, and who was become acquainted with Heidanus,

with a great ſenſe of devotion, October the 15th 1678, having finiſhed his eighty firſt year, which is reckoned to be the moſt dangerous of all the climacteric years, and not without reaſon. He left four children, two ſons and two daughters, thirteen grandſons, and three great grandſons. He had a great ſhare in Des Cartes friendſhip, and compleated by that means the deſign he had begun under Jachæus Profeſſor of Philoſophy at Leyden, and one of the moſt ſubtle Peripatetics who were then living. This Jachæus rendered the controverſy about ſubſtantial forms famous [*E*] in the Univerſity. Young Heidanus, being ſtirred up by the noiſe it made, examined the objections thoroughly, and compared them with Jachæus's anſwers. He found, that as long as men would argue upon ſuch principles, they would only loſe their time; and he hoped that a ſafer road would one day or other be diſcovered (*b*). He pretended to have found it in the writings and converſations of Des Cartes. But if this road were more proper to lead him to the knowledge of truth, it was not the ſafeſt with regard to his temporal intereſt; for it expoſed him to a thouſand vexations, and to a thouſand proſecutions [*F*], of which his

(5) *Dum Coloniæ initio itineris aliquot dies ſubſiſteret, in diverſorio inciderit in familiaritatem Malincrotii. . . viri elegantiſſimi ingenii, qui inter literatos primatum jure merebatur, hominis Pontificiæ quidem religioni addicti, ſed moderati, qui etiam nunquam cum Heidano de religione ſermonem voluit cædere.* Idem, ibid.

Heidanus (5), wiſhed him joy for this victory, *which you gained*, ſaid he, *over my enemies*. Wittichius, who did alſo hear this converſation, relates it thus. *Accidit ut poſtquam Collegium luſtraveramus Jeſuitarum, & jam in area eramus conſtituti ut patribus valere diceremus, converſus Heidanus ad Jeſuitam qui nos ducebat, ex ipſo rogaverit, annon Jeſus omnia illa quæ ad ſalutem eſſent neceſſaria egiſſet & paſſus fuiſſet? Ac Jeſuita nihil ſiniſtri metuens, reſpondiſſet, Omnino: Heidanus regeſſerit: Ergo vos non eſtis Socii Jeſu; atque ſic illo in ruborem dato & attonito ut ne verbum quidem reſpondere poſſet, diſceſſit noſter & nos cum ipſo, atque patribus valere dixit. Quod Malincrotium tanto affecit gaudio, ut hoc nomine gratias ſolennes illi egerit, quod ſic ſuos hoſtes (ita vocabat Jeſuitas) ad incitas ex improviſo redegiſſet.* i. e. "It happened that after we had "viewed the College of the Jeſuits, and when we "were already in the court to take our leave of the "Fathers, Heidanus turning himſelf to the Jeſuit, "who had conducted us, aſked him whether Jeſus "had not done and ſuffered all that was neceſſary for "our Salvation? Upon which the Jeſuit, who ap"prehended no trap in that queſtion, anſwered inno"cently, By all means; upon which Heidanus re"plied, you Jeſuits are not then his aſſociates; at "which the Jeſuit bluſhed with ſhame, and was ſo "ſurprized, that he could not anſwer one ſingle word; "ſo that Heidanus, and we with him, retired, having "bid the Fathers farewell. Malincrot was ſo well "pleaſed with this, that he returned Heidanus thanks, "for reducing his enemies (thus he called the Jeſuits) "ſo unawares to a non-plus." I confeſs that I have hitherto vainly endeavoured to find where the jeſt lies in the conſequence which Heidanus drew (α); I cannot gueſs what he hinted at, nor by what Logical rules he argued.

§ (α) To ſtile one's ſelf a perſon's aſſociate, is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, to pretend to be in all reſpects like him; now the Jeſuit confeſſed, that the members of his Society were not Chriſt's aſſociates in the work of our redemption; whence it follows, that it is without reaſon they call themſelves the aſſociates or companions of Jeſus Chriſt. Such was Heidanus's argument, to which the Jeſuit having nothing to reply, Malincort looked upon it a victory gained by his friend Heidanus. CRIT. REM.]

[*E*] *Jachæus rendered the controverſy about ſubſtantial forms famous.*] There is no queſtion in Natural Philoſophy that ſhews more evidently than this, how great the power of prejudice is. It darkens men's minds with regard to the plaineſt notions; for there are a great many perſons that think a ſubſtance cannot be drawn from matter, unleſs it be there beforehand, or unleſs it be produced by a true creation. The Peripatetics tell you faintly, or rather they aſſert in a paſſionate manner, that the forms do not exiſt in their ſubject, and yet that they are produced out of it by an action, which muſt not be called a creation, but an eduction (6). This doctrine would be the greateſt of monſters, were it not a more monſtrous prodigy to ſee, that ſome very learned and ingenious men do ſtill maintain at this time the doctrine of ſubſtantial forms. Wittichius could not better prepare his audience to meet with a diſciple of Des Cartes in the perſon of Heidanus, than by obſerving to them, that this ſame Heidanus, when he was ſtill but a ſtudent, conceived an ill opinion of the Schoolmen's doctrine, by the unexplicable difficulties in which Jachæus intangled himſelf. *Fervebat in Academia quæſtio de formis ſubſtantialibus, earumque ex potentia materiæ productione, quæ mirificè non tantum Auditores, ſed & ipſum defenſorem earum acerrimum Jachæum vexabat & torquebat. Quam cum univerſa diſtinctionum ſuarum panopliâ expedire non poſſet, & ad liquidum oſtendere quænam illæ formæ ſubſtantiales eſſent, à materia realiter diſtinctæ & tamen materiales, quænam illa potentia materiæ, an pars ejus quædam converſa in formam, an vero ejus cùm producitur tantum ſuſtentaculum, an autem, ut ex aſſere figura ſcammi educitur, ita eodem modo præexiſteret in materia forma; cumque aliæ plurimæ ſupereſſent difficultates, nec ullum ſuppeditaretur filum ex hoc labyrintho emergendi, factum eſt ut auditores & perſpicaciores diſcipuli, inter quos Heidanus primas obtinebat, de tota hac philoſophandi ratione quam intelligendo aſſequi ſe non poſſe videbant, plane deſperarent* (7). i. e. "The "queſtion concerning ſubſtantial forms, and their pro"duction from the power of matter, was at that time "very much debated in the Univerſity; and did won"derfully puzzle, and perplex not only the audience, "but even the moſt ſtrenuous aſſertor of theſe forms, "I mean Jachæus, who notwithſtanding his great "ſtore of diſtinctions was not able to extricate him"ſelf, or to explain in a clear manner, what theſe "ſubſtantial forms are, how they are really diſtinct "from matter, and yet material; what that power of "matter is; whether ſome part of matter be changed "into a form, or whether matter be only the form's "ſupport when it is produced: whether the form "pre-exiſted in matter after the ſame manner as the "figure of a bench in a piece of wood, out of which "it is carved. As there were a great many more "difficulties beſides theſe, and no thread could be "found to get out of that labyrinth, it happened "that the audience, and the moſt ingenious ſcholars, "amongſt whom Heidanus was the moſt eminent, "gave that Philoſophy entirely over, finding it was "abſolutely impoſſible to make ſenſe of it."

(7) See the article GORLÆUS (David), remark [*A*].

[*F*] *Des Cartes's method expoſed him to a thouſand vexations, and to a thouſand perſecutions.*] I do not know the particulars of this, but I remember a paſſage in his Conſiderations, in which he relates, that he raiſed a great many enemies againſt himſelf, and was expoſed to horrid ſlanders, becauſe he was always averſe from too ſevere maxims. He had not declared war againſt Proteſtant Canons; he had not thundred from the pulpit againſt Periwigs; it had not been his opinion, that the Remonſtrants who returned into the boſom of their antient mother, ought to be rigorouſly examined. Hereupon he was traduced as an enemy of the new Reformation, which ſome would eſtabliſh; all his other opinions were ſtrictly examined; he was charged with being addicted to Des Cartes's ſentiments, and with deſpiſing the ſabbath-day. *Ætatem illam meam ancipitem duxi, modo tempeſtates, hinc expertus halcyonia, intra & extra nos paſſus adverſarios, hinc hoſtes, inde fratres, nec nunquam mordacis linguæ exceptus flagellis. Fuit, cum ſciſſam in partes chariſſimam hanc noſtram Eccleſiam metu prævidimus: tum nobis ſed eam ſapientiam ſimul largitus eſt Deus, ut quidvis pati totius, quam idipſum permittere, maluerimus. Hinc jam Moderatores, per contemptum (ac ſi probroſum hoc nomen foret) audivimus; jam ut Carteſii plus ſatis addicti Philoſophiæ; hinc Sabbathi contemptores; inde novæ quam urgebant quidam Reformationis hoſtes traducti*

(6) A Jeſuit called John Guilleminot, Doctor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Pont-a-Mouſſon, publiſhed at Paris in the year 1679 two Diſſertations *De Principiis intrinſecis rerum corporearum*, i. e. "Of the inter"nal Principles "of corporeal "things," in which he racks his brains to prove againſt F. Maignan, that the production of the forms is not a real creation. Vain endeavours!

his Panegyriſt Wittichius, from whom I borrow this article, thought it proper to ſay nothing. Heidanus was of a good family [G]. I ſhall mention his works below.

traducti ſumus: quod fœneratoribus trapeziticis pluſculum illis concedere viſi, nec Canonicis bellum indicere, neque de ſuggeſtis in comas detonare, neque Eccleſiæ diſciplinam ſtrictiùs, nec Remonſtrantes ad nos tranſeuntes rigidiùs examinare, & quæ ſunt id genus alia (8). i. e. "My life has been a ſcene of various accidents; ſometimes I was in a ſtorm, and then enjoyed happy days again: I met with ſeveral adverſaries both at home and abroad, ſome amongſt the enemies, and ſome amongſt my brethren; nor was I ever free from the ſlanders of an evil tongue. It was when our dear Church being divided into parties, I foreſaw, out of fear, the evils that might befall her; but then, God vouchſafed that prudence to me, rather to undergo any thing, than to ſuffer thoſe evils to happen by my fault. Hence I was called, by way of contempt, a Moderator, as though ſuch a man was a reproach. I was traduced as a man too much addicted to Des Cartes's opinions; and as a deſpiſer of the ſabbath-day; hence as I was calumniated as an enemy to the new Reformation, which ſome would introduce, becauſe I was a little more indulgent than others, to thoſe that lend money upon intereſt; becauſe I did not declare war againſt the Canons; becauſe I did not thunder from the pulpit againſt periwigs; becauſe I would not have the Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline exerciſed with too much rigour, nor thoſe Remonſtrants examined too ſeverely who returned to us; and for other reaſons of the ſame nature." Things were carried to ſuch a length, that he was depoſed from his Profeſſorſhip for the following reaſon. The Governors of the Univerſity of Leyden made a decree January the 16th 1676, by which the Profeſſors were prohibited to treat, in what manner ſoever it might be, of ſome propoſitions (9), which of late were very much controverted, and of Des Cartes's Metaphyſics. Heidanus acted againſt this decree almoſt in the ſame manner as the Janſeniſts did againſt the Archbiſhop of Paris's charge, by which he prohibited the reading of the French Tranſlation of the New Teſtament printed at Mons. Heidanus criticiſed upon that decree; he pretended to find irregularities or errors in it which rendered it void; he aſſerted that the twenty propoſitions which had been condemned, had not been controverted in the Univerſity of Leyden, as the Governors declared; he complained that theſe Gentlemen ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by unfair extracts. He made an odious parallel between thoſe that furniſhed thoſe extracts, and the Jeſuits, who cauſed ſome propoſitions to be condemned at Rome as if they were maintained by Janſenius, though they were no where to be met with in Janſenius's works. He made uſe alſo of another compariſon; for he quoted a Lutheran writer, named Giles Hunnius, who pretended to convict John Calvin of Judaiſm by ſome extracts artfully tranſcribed from his works. Laſtly, he explained the propoſitions that were condemned, and endeavoured to ſhew that they were orthodox in the ſenſe of the authors, from whoſe works they were extracted. This work of Heidanus was firſt printed in Dutch, and afterwards in Latin (10). The Governors of the Univerſity were ſo exaſperated at it, that they depoſed this Profeſſor. Heidanus's friends pretend, that this was the happieſt event that could befal him, becauſe his old age could not ſuffer him to acquire a new reputation by his Lectures, nor even to keep that fame up, which he had already gained; they added alſo, that his deprivation endeared him more and more to his party, and rendered him more venerable to them (11), and was proper to make the other party more odious.

(8) *Heidanus, Conſiderationes ad res quaſdam nuper geſtas in Academia Batava,* pag. 40. i. e. "Reflections upon ſome late tranſactions in the Univerſity of Leyden."

(9) They mentioned twenty propoſitions, ſome of which were Theological, and the others philoſophical.

(10) I make uſe of the Latin tranſlation printed at Hamburg, 8vo, 1678.

(11) Florus, lib. 4. cap. 4. expreſſes this by theſe words, *injuria favorabilis*, i. e. "a favourable injuſtice; *and* Tacitus, *Annal.* lib. 3. cap. 75. by *Commendatio ex injuria*; i. e. "an injury which becomes a recommendation.

[G] *Heidanus was of a good family.*] Gerard Vander Heyden, his great grandfather was of Mechlin) (12), and of an antient and honourable family. His grandfather Jaſper Vander Heyden was of the ſame city; but he was expelled his father's houſe, becauſe he had embraced the reformed Religion. He was choſen a Miniſter at Antwerp, whence the perſecution obliged him to retire to Francfort, where he met with ſeveral Refugees, whom the ſtrict Lutherans would not ſuffer to live in that city; which obliged them to petition Frederic II Elector Palatine for a place where they might live ſecure. Peter Dathenus was at their head. The Elector granted them the Monaſtery of Frankenthal, whence the Monks were commanded to retire. Theſe Refugees performed their religious exerciſes there in the Dutch tongue, and converted that monaſtery by degrees into a town. Dathenus being called to Heidelberg, our Jaſper Vander Heyden was choſen Paſtor of that church in his ſtead. He was deſired to be preſent at the National Synod held at Embden in the year 1571, and was choſen Preſident or Moderator of that Aſſembly, in which the Canons of the Church-diſcipline were drawn up. Soon after his return into the Palatinate, the Elector commanded him to attend his ſon, whom he ſent with an army to ſuccour the reformed in the Low-Countries: theſe troops being routed, Vander Heyden retired into Holland, and was Preſident in the National Synod which met at Dort in the year 1574. He was for ſome time Miniſter of the church at Middleburg, and thinking himſelf afterwards ſecure by the pacification concluded at Ghent, he returned to his former flock at Antwerp. This city being taken by the Spaniards, he returned into the Palatinate, and was made Superintendant of the Churches about Bacrach. He was upon the point to reſign this employment in order to ſatisfy the deſire of the Church of Frankenthal, who deſired his miniſtry again, when he died, leaving only one ſon, named Jaſper, like him who was born in the year 1566. This ſon was firſt Miniſter at Volmerſheim, then at Frankenthal, and laſtly at Amſterdam, where he died in the year 1626. He married Clara Vander Borne, daughter of the High Bailiff of Frankenthal, and had ſix ſons and eight daughters by her. Our Abraham Heidanus was one of his ſons (13).

(12) *Proavus illi fuit Gerhardus Vander Heyden, antiqua & honeſta familia natus Mechliniæ.* Wittichius, *in Orat. funebri Heidani.*

(13) *Taken from* Wittichius's *Funeral Oration on Heidanus.*

[I] *I ſhall mention his works below.*] He publiſhed Orations upon ſeveral ſubjects; an Examination of the Catechiſm of the Remonſtrants; a book in 4to, *De Origine Erroris* (Of the Origin of Error) and a book in Dutch in which he aſſerts the cauſe of God againſt the Pelagians, and Semi-Pelagians, with ſo much ſtrength, that no body could anſwer him, *Evolve ſolidiſſimum & nunquam ſatis laudandum Commentarium de Cauſa Dei Belgice ante plures annos conſcriptum (qui digniſſimus videtur ut in Latinam linguam transferatur, ut ab exteris legi poſſit) in quo adeo nervoſe, adeo eloquenter partes Dei defendit contra hominem, ut Pelagiani nihil in hunc uſque diem potuerint reperire, quo vires ſuas plane attritas & fractas queant reſtaurare* (14). i. e. "Read his ſolid Commentary concerning the cauſe of God, which work can never be ſufficiently commended; it was written in Dutch ſeveral years ago, and deſerves to be tranſlated into Latin, that foreigners may read it. The author aſſerts in that book the cauſe of God againſt man with ſo much ſtrength and eloquence, that the Pelagians could not till this day find any thing to re-eſtabliſh their ſyſtem, which he has entirely ruined and overthrown." As to his *Corpus Theologiæ Chriſtianæ in quindecim locos digeſtum*; i. e. "Body of Chriſtian Divinity reduced to fifteen topics" it was printed after his death in two volumes in 4to in the year 1686, by the care of Mr. Crucius his grandſon. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (15).

(14) Wittichius, ibid.

(15) For June 1686, in the *Catalogue of New Books*, num. 7. pag. 729.

HELENA, daughter of Tyndarus King of Lacedemon, was the moſt beautiful woman of her age [A]; but otherwiſe without the leaſt honour or virtue, and her whole life

[A] *She was the moſt beautiful woman of her age.*] There are ſome authors (1), who have given a particular deſcription of the beauty of Helena. The Writer, who is moſt ample on the ſubject, is Conſtantine Manaſſes: he has introduced into eleven Greek verſes a conſiderable number of epithets, which repreſent the

(1) Dares Phrygius, Cedrenus.

life was full of unhappy adventures. There are ſome authors who have given ſo particular an account of the perfections of her body [*B*], that they cannot be excuſed, even when they ſay in expreſs terms, that they only did it by way of amuſement. She was ſought

natural perfections of this Lady. He has not forgot to mention, that her beauty owed nothing to artifice, and that her complexion, without having occaſion for waſhes, had a noble luſtre (2). They have aſcribed to her legs well made, a little mouth (3), a long neck and very white (4), large eyes, and fine breaſts (5). Brantome furniſhes me with a paſſage relating to this laſt particular. "Helena, *ſays he* (6), being deſirous one day to preſent to the Temple of Diana "an handſome cup in conſequence of a vow, and employing a Goldſmith to make it, ordered him "to take the model from one of her handſome breaſts, "and he made the cup of white gold, in ſuch a manner, that one could not tell whether to admire moſt, "the cup, or the reſemblance of the breaſt, which he "had taken for his model, and which appeared ſo "pretty, and ſo like, that the artificial one could not "but create a deſire for the natural. Pliny relates "this with great admiration, and is very particular, "where he aſſerts that there is white gold, which is "very ſtrange, and that this cup was made of white "gold. . . . Whoever ſhould make gold cups from the "large dugs of ſome women, muſt furniſh the Goldſmith with a great deal of gold, and would not eſcape afterwards the laughter of the world when it "ſhould be ſaid, See, there are cups modelled after the "breaſts of ſuch and ſuch Ladies. Theſe cups would "not reſemble cups, but round wooden pails, which "the hogs are ſerved with, and the nipple would reſemble a rotten cherry." Brantome is miſtaken in two points; for Helena did not dedicate this cup in the Temple of Diana; and it is not true, that Pliny aſſerts it to have been made of white gold. *Minervæ templum habet Lindos inſula Rhodiorum in quo Helena ſacravit calicem ex electro. Adjicit hiſtoria mammæ ſuæ menſura.* i. e. "There is a temple of Minerva "at Lindos an Iſland of the Rhodians, in which "Helena dedicated a cup of *Electrum*. Hiſtory adds, "that it was of the ſame proportion of her breaſt." Here is what Pliny ſays in the IVth chapter of the XXXIIId Book.

To return to Helena, I obſerve, that the deſcriptions, which have been made of her beauty, do not give us an idea of it equal to what we form from reading a paſſage in the Iliad, which have nothing of a deſcription in them. Homer only introduces the Counſellors of Priam, who ſaw Helena coming while they were deliberating upon the affairs of State with their Prince, ſaying, that neither the Greeks nor Trojans were to be blamed for ſuffering ſo many evils for ſo divine a beauty.

Οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
Τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·
Αἰνῶς ἀθανάτοισι θεῇς εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν.

"They cried, no wonder ſuch celeſtial charms
"For nine long years have ſet the world in arms;
"What winning graces! what celeſtial mien;
"She moves a Goddeſs, and ſhe walks a Queen!"
Pope.

(2) Καλὸς ἀνυπονόητον, ἀβλαβῆ τὸν, αὐτόχρουν. Conſtantin. Manaſſes, *cited by* Meziriac upon Ovid, pag. 917.

(3) *Cruribus optimis, ore puſillo.* Dares Phrygius.

(4) Δειρὴ μακρὰ καταλεύκος. Conſtantin Manaſſes. He adds, that on this account the Poets feigned, that ſhe was born of a ſwan. Meziriac knew not that this notion came from Lucian. See the remark [Q].

(5) Ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσα μεγάλους, εὐμάσους. Cedrenus.

(6) *Mémoires des Dames Galantes*, tom. 1. pag. m. 275.

(7) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 3. ver. 156. *See* Athenæus, lib. 5. pag. 188. *and* Quintil. lib. 1. cap. 4. pag. m. 378.

[*B*] *There are ſome Authors, who have given ſo particular an account of the perfections of her body*] A Spaniſh Monk remarks, that the beauty of this woman was a prodigy of nature, and for a great many ages it was uſual to ſay, when a perſon deſigned to pay the higheſt compliment to a beauty, *ſhe is an Helena*. He adds, that John Nevizan ſaid, that of thirty things, which are neceſſary to make a woman perfectly handſome (α), there was not one, which ſhe wanted. *Nacio eſta tan aventajada, y enrequecida de hermoſura, que fue un portento, un prodigio, y milagro de naturaleza, quedando deſde aquel tiempo à eſte, y aun para muchos ſiglos, en proverbio, ſu belleza, y gallardia: de tal ſuerte, que quando queremos ponderar, y encarecer la hermoſura de una muger, dezimos que es una Helena: y en tal lugar la pone, el Nivernienſe* (8), *Natal Comite, Bartolomo Caſaneo, Juan Nemizano* (9); *el qual pone las treynta coſas, que ſe requieren para que una muger ſea perfectiſſima en ſu hermoſura: y dize que las tenia todas ſin faltar ninguna, la hermoſa Helena* (10). I believe, that he had not ſeen the work of John Nevizan, and that he ſpoke merely upon the authority of Chaſſaneuve, who not only cites it, but alſo quotes the Latin Verſes, which contain the thirty things, which are ſaid to comprehend the perfection of beauty, and were all centered in the perſon of Helena. *Difficile eſt cuſtodire quam plurimi amant*, it is Caſſaneuve who ſpeaks (11), *ut ſatis colligitur ex dictis Jo. Nevizani Aſtenſis* in ſua Sylva nuptiali, in ampliatione 7. in verb. quæro juxta prædicta, ſi ſint duo, *ubi ponit, quid operetur pulchritudo mulieris. Et ibi dicit, quod debet habere triginta quatuor, ad hoc, ut ſit pulchra, quæ his verſibus ibi poſitis continentur*: i. e. "It is difficult to ſecure a woman, who is the object "of many perſons love, as ſufficiently appears from "a paſſage in John Nevizanus Aſtenſis's *Sylva nuptialis*, where he lays down the effects of a woman's "beauty; and ſays, that ſhe ought to have thirty "four things, in order to be handſome, which things "are contained in the following verſes introduced "there:

Triginta hæc habeat, quæ vult formoſa vocari
Fœmina, ſic Helenam fama fuiſſe refert.
Alba tria, & totidem nigra, & tria rubra puella:
Tres habeat longas res, totidemque breves.
Tres craſſas, totidem graciles: tria ſtricta, tot ampla
Sint itidem huic formæ: ſint quoque parva tria.
Alba cutis, nivei dentes, albique capilli,
Nigri oculi &c.

That is,

"Let her, who would be accounted beautiful, have "theſe thirty things, for which Helena is reported "to have been eminent; three things white, three "black, and three red; three long, and three ſhort; "three thick, three ſlender; three narrow, three "wide, and three ſmall. A white ſkin, white teeth, "and white hair, black eyes, &c."

I ſuppreſs the reſt of this little Latin Poem (12), tho' Caſſaneuve, who was firſt Preſident of the Parliament of Aix, made no ſcruple to inſert it intire in his Book. He makes this addition: *Non aliter hic inſiſto circa talia, cum ſatis, & ultra quam decens ſit, ponatur in dicta Sylva nuptiali.* i. e. "I ſhall not inſiſt farther "upon theſe points, ſince enough and more than is "decent is laid down in the ſaid *Sylva nuptialis*." I may maintain with reaſon, that thoſe, who thus quote John Nevizan, are not exact, ſince he himſelf copies from other writers, and cites them by their names. The ſource, to which he had recourſe, is a French writer, whoſe Book is intitled *De la Louange & Beauté des Dames*. The eighteen Latin verſes, which he cites, and which Chaſſaneuve has quoted after him, were a Tranſlation from the French by Francis Corniger. He ſays that it was not then printed, but that there was an Italian Verſion in a Book publiſhed by Vincent Calmeta. *Et triginta requiſita*, ſays he (13), *enumerantur per Gallicum in libr. de la loüange & beauté des dames circa fin, quas Latinas fecit Franciſc. Corniger, quem nunc refero, quia non eſt impreſſus: ſed bene Vincentius Calmeta idem ponens in carm. vulgari. incip. dolce Flaminia, & ecloga proxima ſeq. incip. per dare riſpoſta Lege ergo verſus Cornigeri.* i. e. "And thirty qualifi- "cations are reckoned up by a French Author in his "Book *de la Loüange & Beauté des Dames* towards "the end, which are tranſlated into Latin by Francis "Corniger, whoſe tranſlation I quote, becauſe it is "not printed. But Vincent Calmeta has properly in- "troduced theſe verſes in an Italian Poem beginning "*Dolce Flaminea*, and the following Eclogue begin- "ning *per dare Riſpoſta*. Read Corniger's Verſes:"

Triginta hæc habeat &c.

If you conſult the Book intitled *Les neuf Matinées du Seigneur de Cholieres*, you will find there a Sonnet (14), which begins thus,

(8) That is to ſay, *Raviſius Textor.*

(9) He ought to ſay, *Nevizano.*

(10) Baltaſar de Victoria, *Predicador de San Franceſco de Salamanca*, Theatro de los Dioſes de la Gentilidad, lib. 2. cap. 9. pag. 181. edit. de Salamanca, 1620.

(11) Bartholomæus Chaſſanæus, *in Catalogo Gloriæ Mundi*, Part. 2. Con. 22. pag. m. 168.

(12) It contains 18 verſes.

(13) Joann. Nevizanus, in *Sylva Nuptiali*, Art. 93. pag. 182. edit. Lugd. 1572, in 8vo.

(14) Pag. 167. of the Paris edition, printed by John Richer, 1585 in 8vo.

(α) *See* Brant. tom. 2. pag. 330. of his *Dames Galantes*. CRIT. REM.

sought for in marriage by a great number of Princes; and as her father knew not how to act, being fearful of exasperating those to whom he should refuse her, he learned an excellent expedient of Ulysses (*a*). It was to engage all the rivals to swear, that they would approve the choice he should make of a son-in-law, and be ready to assist him against those, who should endeavour to disturb Helena's marriage. Upon this Tyndarus married her to Menelaus [*C*]. She had before been stollen away by Theseus; but she was believed upon her word, that she escaped with her virginity [*D*]. However there was nothing less true. Theseus had not sent her back without having a child by her, of which she was brought to bed at her sister's (*b*). The affair continued a secret, because her sister made the child (*c*) pass for her own (*d*). The usual fate of young women when they are carried away, is to change their condition, whether they own it or not. The more beautiful they are, the more probable it is, that they have submitted to this Law. Our romance writers have not attended to this [*E*]; or they have preferred a scene

(*a*) Apollodorus, lib. 3. *See also* Pausanias, lib. 3. pag. 103. who remarks, that they swore upon the entrails (according to Amasæus's translation, *the testicles*) of an horse, who was sacrificed and afterwards buried there. *See likewise* Socrates in *Encomio Helenæ*.

(*b*) Clytemnestra, Wife of Agamemnon.

(*c*) The child whom Helena brought forth was the famous *Iphigenia*.

(*d*) See remark [*D*].

Celle qui veut paroir des belles la plus belle
Ces dix fois trois beautez, trois longs, trois courts, trois blancs,
Trois rouges, & trois noirs, trois petits, & trois grands,
Trois estroits & trois gros, trois menus soient en elle.

and ends with these words, *levres, doigts & cheveux menus, tell' fut Helene*. The conclusion is no less impertinent than all the preceding verses; for to know that Helena was so made, it would not have been sufficient to have seen her, while she was performing her exercises at Lacedemon (15); it was necessary to have been Paris or Menelaus, or some other of those men, who had been her husbands, or gallants.

(15) *Inter quos Helene nudis capere arma papillis Fertur, nec fratres erubuisse deos.* Propert. *Eleg.* 13. lib. 3. *See the* article LYCURGUS, remark [*B*].

[*C*] *Tyndarus married her to Menelaus.*] Some say (16), that he did not himself choose Menelaus for his son-in-law, but that he permitted Helena to choose among her lovers, whom she pleased, and that she preferred Menelaus to the rest. Apollodorus (17) asserts, that Tyndarus resigned his Kingdom to his son-in-law; but others tell us (18), that he only appointed him his successor. Helena therefore was a noble fortune, since with so accomplished a person she brought a crown to the man, whom she married.

(16) Hygin. cap. 78.

(17) *Biblioth.* lib. 3.

(18) Hygin. cap. 78.

[*D*] *She had before been stolen away by Theseus; but she was believed upon her word, that she escaped with her maidenhead.*] According to Plutarch, she was not of a marriageable age, when Theseus stole her from the Temple of Diana, where she was dancing (19). He put her under the care of his mother (20), and placed them both under the protection of one of his good friends at Aphidnæ, and went upon another adventure to seize a Lady (21) with his friend Perithous. Castor and Pollux, Helena's brothers, lost no time; they entered Attica with an armed force to demand their sister. The Athenians protested, that they knew not where she was. This answer was not satisfactory; hostilities were ready to begin, when one Academus informing Helena's brothers that she was at Aphidnæ (22), they went to attack that city, and carried it by assault. The gates of Athens were opened; they entered the city without committing the least disorder; they demanded only to be initiated in the mysteries. They carried Helena back to Lacedemon: it is said likewise that they carried away Theseus's mother, and this Lady attended Helena (23) to Troy (24).

(19) Plutarch. in *Theseo*, pag. 15.

(20) Her name was *Æthra*.

(21) Proserpina, daughter of Aidoneus, King of the Molossians.

(22) Herodotus, lib. 9. cap. 77. ascribes this to the Decelians, a Tribe of Athens, or at least to Decelus himself.

Hellanicus makes Theseus fifty years old (25), and Helena seven (26), at the time she was carried away, and does not scruple to say, that Theseus lay with her. Duris the Samian affirms (27), that Helena was with child of Iphigenia, when she was rescued from the hands of her ravisher. Pausanias says the same thing, and adds, that she was brought to bed at Argos at the house of her sister Clytemnestra, wife of Agamemnon, and that she committed the care of her daughter's Education to her (28). He says, that Euphorion, Alexander Pleuronius, and Stesichorus had asserted in their Poems, that Iphigenia was the daughter of Theseus and Helena. The Argians were so much persuaded of this, that they believed, that Helena, after her child-birth, built the Temple of Lucina, which was to be seen in their city (29). A great many persons were deceived on this occasion. Agamemnon thought that Iphigenia was his daughter; for his wife assured him so. Castor and Pollux were persuaded, that their sister returned a virgin; for when they asked her upon this tender point, she answered that she had never

(23) See the article ACAMAS, remark [*A*].

(24) Plutarch. in *Theseo*, pag. 15.

(25) *Apud* Plutarch. ibid. pag. 14.

(26) *Apud* Tzetzen *in Lycophron.*

(27) Cited by Meziriac *sur les Epitres d'Ovide*, pag. 482.

(28) Pausan. lib. 2. pag. 65.

(29) Idem, ibid.

never been touched. Θησέως δὲ Ἑλένης τῆς Διὸς ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ Ἰφιγένεια, ἣν αὐτὴν ἐξέτρεφεν ἡ πᾶς Ἑλένης ἀδελφὴ Κλυταιμνήστρα πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἶπεν αὐτὴ τεκεῖν Ἑλένη γὰρ πυθανομένη τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἔφη κόρη παρὰ Θησέως ἀπελθεῖν (30). What shall we say of Menelaus, who married her some time after? He thought, that himself was the first, who had opened the breach, and yet he had married one, who had been a mother.

(30) Nicander, lib. 4. *Alterator.* *apud* Antonin. *Liberalem*, Narrat. 27.

When I said that Helena was questioned by her brothers, I followed the learned Monsr. Meziriac (31), who thus understands the Greek passage, which I quote: but others, with more reason perhaps, tell us, that Castor and Pollux advised their sister to boast that she had her virginity still. It was a very prudent piece of advice, and which might well have been spared to Helena, young as she was; she would have boasted of this advantage without the suggestion of any person. She affirms in Ovid, that Theseus only forced some kisses from her, and that she came off clear, abating only her fear.

(31) *Sur les Epitres d'Ovide*, pag. 483.

Non tamen è facto fructum tulit ille petitum,
Excepto redii passa timore nihil:
Oscula luctanti tantummodo pauca protervus
Abstulit: ulterius nil habet ille mei (32).

(32) Ovidius, *Epist. Helenæ ad Paris.* ver. 25, & *seqq.*

She owns however, that Theseus was very young (33): Ovid has observed *decorum* in representing her as speaking in this manner, but he does not observe it less, when he introduces another woman, who believes Helena to assert a falshood:

(33) *Et juvenem facti pœnituisse patet.* Ibid. ver. 32.

Illam de patria Theseus, (nisi nomine fallor)
Nescio quis Theseus, abstulit ante suâ.
A juvene & cupido credatur reddita virgo.
Unde hoc compererim tam bene, quæris? amo.
Vim licet appelles, & culpam nomine veles,
Quæ toties rapta est, præbuit ipsa rapi (34).

(34) Ovid. *in Epist. Oenones ad Paris.* ver. 127, & *seqq.*

The following remark will serve as a supplement to this.

A REFLECTION upon the rapes of Heroines in romance.

[*E*] *Our Romance-writers have not attended to this.*] It is certain, that Monsr. or Mademoiselle de Scudery, and other Romance-writers their contemporaries, have greatly shocked probability, when they have represented their Heroines to be stolen away, without allowing us to suppose that they granted, voluntarily or by force, any favour to their lovers. I know, that they would be infinitely more inexcusable, if they did not suppose, as they do, that the Ladies were carried away without consenting in any measure. There are some countries, where those are not punished who steal young women, who consent to it. This impunity is the reason why such thefts are very frequent; and no body imagines that the ravishers use the least delay to enjoy them. The first lodging they come to is the utmost; and most people even suppose that enjoyment preceded the escape. However that be, this kind of rape is almost always followed by marriage, since if the parents should not consent to the marriage, they would find themselves burthened with a daughter, disgraced, according to the opinion of the world, and who would not meet with an husband, except any one should be content to take up with the leavings of another. We must confess therefore, that the Romance-writers secure themselves from the greatest part of the ridicule, by the care which they take in supposing, that the Heroine opposes, as much as possible, her being carried

ſcene of adventures to probability. All the world knows that Helena was ſtollen away by Paris the ſon of Priam, and that all the Greeks intereſted themſelves in the injury done to Menelaus. Hence ſprung the Trojan war ſo much ſpoken of by all the Poets. Paris having loſt his life the laſt year of that war, his brother Deiphobus ſupplied his place with Helena. The Greeks killed him in a cruel manner the night in which Troy was taken: they were favoured in this by Helena as much as they could wiſh [*F*]. Menelaus

ried off: however they cannot extricate themſelves out of the affair; they overthrow the common notions, and form a ſyſtem diametrically oppoſite to the judgment of the public, and to good ſenſe. What is the motive of their Heroes, when they ſteal a miſtreſs? Would they declare to her, that they die for love of her, and that her rigours reduce them to deſpair? They have told her this I know not how often, and they have not recourſe to this violent method till they find her determin'd to make ſome other man happy, and to be for ever indifferent to them. Do they hope, that their ſighs, which have been ſo ineffectual before they provok'd her, will move her amidſt the reſentments, with which ſhe is fir'd againſt her raviſher? Probability contradicts this: they muſt therefore propoſe to take advantage of the State, which reduces her to their mercy, and to put her upon ſuch terms as ſhall oblige her to ſpeak of matrimony firſt. This is really one of the views of thoſe, who ſteal away a young Lady without her conſent: They perſuade themſelves, that after ſhe has been ſome months in their power, her reputation at leaſt will ſuffer greatly, and cannot be reſtored but by the nuptial benediction. Beſides we ſee, that if others marry ſuch women, they are vehemently ſuſpected of poſſeſſing only the leavings of a raviſher: they are extremely raillied, and are conſidered as men of no delicacy. This is a new ſtroke againſt our Romance-writers, whoſe Heroes are ambitious of marrying miſtreſſes, who have been more than once ſtollen away by their rivals. You will find a critique upon all this in the *Parnaſſe reformé*. Cyrus complains there, that he has not a miſtreſs given him, "who is of an "irreproachable character. You judge well enough "without doubt from this diſcourſe, *ſays he* (35), that "I am not ſatisfied with Mandana; and indeed what "would you have me think of her, after ſhe has been "ſtollen away ſo often? Ought I to believe, that ſhe "eſcaped untouched from the hands of four raviſhers? "And can thoſe who are the leaſt clear-ſighted in theſe "myſteries doubt, but that you have beſtowed on me "the leavings of others? I think, you ſhould have "put her modeſty to other ſort of proofs. Theſe are "a little too ſtrong for ſo brittle a thing, and Mandana was not a fort capable of reſiſting ſo many aſſaults. Perhaps ſhe might have eſcaped well enough "from the firſt attack: I am willing to believe, that "ſhe had virtue enough not to ſubmit at once, and "her honour might be preſerved without a miracle "from this exigence. But relapſes are mortal in theſe "affairs: a ſecond carrying off overthrows every "thing, and an Heroine, who has only the remains "of a ſhaken reſolution, or perhaps not ſo much, "makes but a very uſeleſs effort in her defence." Apollo had regard to this complaint, and pronounced this decree. "We declare, that we do not acknow-"ledge for Heroes all thoſe, who are Cuckolds, nor "for Heroines all thoſe Ladies, who ſhall have been "ſtollen away above once (36)." The Ballad of Saraſin *upon the carrying off of Mademoiſelle de Bouteville by Monſieur de Coligny* (37), is another ſentence of condemnation; for here is the judgment of that man of wit:

(35) Parnaſſe, *Reformé*, pag. 165. Dutch edition.

(36) Ibid. pag. 187.

(37) Not he, who fought with the Duke of Guiſe, as the author of the *Galanteries des Rois de France* aſſerts, tom. 2. pag. 223. but his younger brother.

Ce gentil joli jeu d'amours
Chacun le pratique à ſa guiſe,
Qui par Rondeaux & beaux Diſcours,
Chapeau de fleurs, gente cointiſe,
Tournoy, bal, feſtin, ou deviſe
Penſe les belles captiver;
Mais je penſe, quoy qu'on en diſe,
Qu'il n'eſt rien tel que d'enlever.
C'eſt bien des plus merveilleux tours
La paſſeroute & la maiſtriſe:
Au mal d'aimer, c'eſt bien toujours
Une prompte & ſouëfve criſe,
C'eſt au gaſteau de friandiſe
De Venus la fève trouver.
L'Amant eſt fol qui ne s'aviſe
Qu'il n'eſt rien tel que d'enlever.
Je ſçay bien que les premiers jours
Que Becaſſe eſt bridée & priſe,
Elle invoque Dieu au ſecours
Et ſes parens à barbe griſe:
Mais ſi l'Amant qui l'a conquiſe
Sçait bien la Roſe cultiver,
Elle chante en face d'Egliſe
Qu'il n'eſt rien tel que d'enlever (38).

That is,

"Let every one practiſe this elegant ſcheme of gallantry, in his own manner, who by Rondeaux, "and polite diſcourſes, chaplets of flowers, neatneſs "of dreſs, tournaments, balls, feaſts, or deviſes, thinks "to captivate fair Ladies. But I am of opinion, "whatever is ſaid to the contrary, that there is nothing like ſtealing them away. This is the right "way for the lover to gain his point, the beſt remedy "for the pains of love. That lover is a very ſilly one, "who does not conſider, that there is nothing like "ſtealing her away. I know well enough that the "firſt day a miſtreſs is carried away, ſhe calls upon "God to aſſiſt her, and upon her aged parents. But "if the lover, who has gained her, knows how to "manage his point, ſhe ſings before the whole church, "that there is nothing like ſtealing a Lady away."

(38) Sarraſin, *Poeſies*, pag. 59, 60.

[*F*] *The Greeks maſſacred* .... Deiphobus .... *being favoured by Helena as much as they could have wiſhed.*] See in Virgil the ſhocking treatment of Deiphobus's body, and in what manner his wife betrayed him.

Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidit, lacerum crudeliter ora:
Ora manuſque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhoneſto vulnere nares (39).

(39) Virg. Æn. lib. 6. ver. 495.

"Here Priam's ſon, Deiphobus, he found,
"Whoſe face and limbs were one continu'd wound;
"Diſhoneſt, with lopp'd arms, the youth appears,
"Spoil'd of his noſe, and ſhorten'd of his ears."

Sed me fata mea, & ſcelus exitiale Lacænæ,
His merſêre malis: illa hæc monumenta reliquit (40).

(40) Ibid. ver. 511.

"Theſe are the monuments of Helen's love,
"The ſhame I bear below, the marks I bore above."

Flammam media ipſa tenebat
Ingentem, & ſummâ Danaos ex arce vocabat.
Tum me confectum curis, ſomnoque gravatum
Infelix habuit thalamus; preſſitque jacentem,
Dulcis & alta quies, placidæque ſimillima morti.
Egregia interea conjux arma omnia tectis
Emovet; & fidum capiti ſubduxerat enſem:
Intra tecta vocat Menelaum, & limina pandit.
Scilicet id magnum ſperans fore munus amanti,
Et famam exſtingui veterum ſic poſſe malorum (41).

(41) Ibid. ver. 518.

"Then waving high her torch the ſignal made
"Which rais'd the Grecians from their ambuſcade.
"With watching overworn, with cares oppreſs'd,
"Unhappy I had lain me down to reſt,
"And heavy ſleep my weary limbs poſſeſs'd.
"Mean time my worthy wife our arms miſlaid,
"And from beneath my head my ſword convey'd,
"The door unlatch'd, and with repeated calls,
"Invites her former Lord within my walls.
"Thus in her crime her confidence ſhe plac'd,
"And with new treaſons would redeem the paſt."

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She thought that this barbarous ſacrifice was neceſſary to appeaſe the reſentment of Menelaus: ſhe would have judged better of things, if ſhe had attended leſs to the enormity of her crime, than to the good nature of the Greek Prince.

Menelaus acted like a good-natured man; he was reconciled without much difficulty to his wife, and took her home to him very generouſly [G]. After his death ſhe was obliged to retire into the Iſle of Rhodes, where ſhe died unfortunately [H]; for ſhe was hanged on a tree. The ſcandalous irregularities of her life [I] did not prevent her from having divine

[G] *Menelaus ..... was reconciled without much difficulty to his wife, and took her home to him very generouſly.*] This poor cuckold was ſo ſimple, that he imagined, that his wife conſumed herſelf with grief in Priam's houſe; and this was the chief motive, that urged him to the conqueſt of Troy.

Μάλιϛα δὲ ἴελο θυμῷ τίσασθαι
Ἑλένης ὀρμήμαΐα τε ϛοναχάς τε (42).

(42) Homer. *Il.* l. 2. v. 26. See the *Penſees ſur les Cometes*, num. 237. pag. 717.

There were very good grounds to reproach him, that his conjugal flame, which was almoſt extinct, was revived when Helena abandoned him for another man:

Acrius Hermionen ideò dilexit Oreſtes,
Eſſe quod alterius cœperat illa viri.
Quid Menelae doles? ibas ſine conjuge Creten,
Et poteras nupta lætus abeſſe tua:
Ut Paris hanc rapuit, tum demum uxore carere
Non potes, alterius crevit amore tuus.

" Oreſtes loved Hermione the more, becauſe ſhe be-
" gan to be poſſeſſed by another man. Why, Me-
" nelaus, do you grieve? You went to Crete without
" your wife, and was able to bear chearfully her ab-
" ſence. But when Paris carried he away, then at
" laſt you begin to be uncapable of ſupporting the
" loſs of her; your love was increaſed by that of ano-
" ther man."

Antiquity muſt have been very ſtrongly convinced of the good humour of cuckolds, ſince it repreſents the God Vulcan ſo eaſy towards his wife. " The Deity
" of our Poet, when he ſurprizes with his wife one of
" her galants, is content with expoſing them .....
" and ſuffers himſelf to be worked upon by the ſoft
" careſſes, which ſhe offers him, complaining that
" ſhe entertained a diſtruſt of his love.

(*) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 8. ver. 395.

" (*) *Quid cauſas petis ex alto? fiducia ceſſit*
" *Quo tibi, Diva, mei?*

" Why ſeek you reaſons for a cauſe ſo juſt,
" Or your own beauty, or my love diſtruſt?
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" She makes a requeſt to him for a baſtard of her's:
(†) Ibid. ver. 383. " (†) *Arma rogo genetrix nato*, which is readily grant-
" ed him; and Vulcan ſpeaks of Æneas with re-
(‡) Ibid. ver. 441. " ſpect: (‡) *Arma acri facienda viro*, with a gene-
" roſity indeed more than human. This exceſs of
(‡) *Cat. ad Mal.* " goodneſs I conſent to be left to the Gods: (‡) *Nec*
" *divis homines componier æquum eſt* (43)." Theſe
(43) Montagne, *Eſſais*, lib. 3. cap. 5. pag. m. 138. words of Montagne are too ingenious to diſpleaſe men of taſte here. But not to diſſemble any thing, I muſt obſerve, that there are ſome perſons officious enough to do Menelaus the honour of arming him with reſentment againſt the infidelity of Helena. In the Troades of Euripides he threatens to kill her; and ſhe is obliged to make uſe of all kinds of excuſes to obtain her pardon. She ſays among other things, that after the death of Paris, ſhe had ſeveral times endeavoured to leave Troy, and retire into the camp of the Greeks, and that centinels ſurprized her, when ſhe was attempting to deſcend from the walls by a rope. She adds, that Deiphobus married her by force. Pauſanias mentions a ſtatue of Menelaus purſuing Helena ſword in hand, to
(44) Pauſan. lib. 5. pag. 166. kill her when Troy was taken (44). But others ſuppoſe, that he threw away his ſword, when he ſaw the throat of Helena, and ſuffered himſelf to be killed by this traiterous bitch, and careſſed her:

Ἑλὼν δὲ Τροίαν, εἶμι γὰρ καὶ ταῦθά σοι,
Οὐκ ἔκλανες γυναῖκα χειρίαν λάϐρων·
Ἀλλ' ὡς ἐσεῖδες μαϛὸν, ἐκϐαλὼν ξίφος
Φίλην ἐδέξω, ϖροδότιν αἰκαίλλων κύνα (45).

(45) Eurip. *in Androm.* ver. 627. pag. m. 520.

[H] *She died unfortunately.*] Nicoſtratus and Megapenthus, Menelaus's natural ſons, had driven her from Lacedemon. She retired to Polyxo her relation, the widow of Tlepolemus King of Rhodes, and Regent of the Kingdom during her ſon's minority. Polyxo remembring that her huſband died at the ſiege of Troy, and that ſhe could not but conſider Helena as the cauſe of her being a widow, ſhe reſolved upon revenge; for which purpoſe while Helena was in the bath, ſhe ſent women thither dreſſed like Furies, who hanged her upon a tree. The Rhodians being deſirous to perpetuate this accident, built a Temple, which they called the Temple of *Helena Dendritis*. It is Pauſanias, who informs me of this (46). The Author of *ancient and modern Athens* is in the right to ſay (47), that *a thouſand people ſpeak of the beautiful Helena, who do not know, that ſhe was hanged.* It is an error in Moreri's Dictionary to ſay, that *one of the companions* of Helena occaſioned her death. You will find in Photius, that ſhe ſtrangled herſelf, and that near the oak, where ſhe hung herſelf, there grew an herb named *Heleneion*, which rendered thoſe, who eat it, quarrelſome (48). Pliny aſcribes quite different qualities to this herb: it made women beautiful, and thoſe gay, who put it in their wine (49). He remarks (50), that it was ſaid to have ſprung from the tears of Helena. You will find in the ſame Photius (51), that Thetis deſtroyed Helena during the return of the Greeks; and according to others, that ſhe went with Menelaus into Cherſoneſus Tauricus to ſeek Oreſtes, and that they were both ſacrificed there by Iphigenia. I have read in Vigenere (52), that Herodotus relates that Nicoſtratus and Megapenthus baniſhed Helena, and that ſhe retired to Rhodes to Polypo the widow of King Tlepolemus, and that the maids of Polypo hating Helena, *becauſe ſhe had been the occaſion of the death of their late Lord, one day as ſhe was gone to divert herſelf in an orchard without their miſtreſs, hang'd her upon one of the trees.* I have not found any particular of this account in Herodotus.

(46) Pauſan. lib. 3. pag. 102.
(47) Pag. m. 63.
(48) Photius, pag. 479. *ex* Ptolem. Hephæſtione.
(49) Plin. lib. 21. cap. 21.
(50) Ibid. cap. 10.
(51) Photius, pag. 479.
(52) *Sur le Proteſilas de Philoſtrate*, folio 235 *verſo*, edit. in 4to.

The Spaniſh Monk, whom I have quoted above, has been groſly miſtaken with regard to the cauſes of Helena's death. He ſays (53), that ſhe retiring to Rhodes to Polyxena wife of Ptetolemo, King of that Iſland, behaved ill, as ſhe had always done from her earlieſt youth, and fell in love with her hoſt, and abandoned herſelf to him. Polyxena being enraged with jealouſy, cauſed her to be hanged on a tree. Pauſanias, continues he, aſſures us, that becauſe ſhe had committed adultery with Ptetolemo during the ſiege of Troy, Polyxena put her to death. Judge by this whether this Spaniſh Author is faithful or judicious in his quotations.

(53) Baltaſar de Victoria, *Theatro de los Dioſes de la Gentilidad*, lib. 2. cap. 19. pag. 189.

[I] *The ſcandalous irregularities of her life.*] Several Authors (54) *have blamed her for laſciviouſneſs; but eſpecially Lycophron in his Caſſandra, where he calls her* πενταλέκτρον, *that is, the woman of five huſbands* (55). *... Euripides in his Tragedy of Andromache repreſents Hermione daughter of Helena thus reproached with her mother's fault:*

(54) Meziriac, *ſur les Epitres d'Ovide*, pag. 485 & *ſeq.*
(55) Namely, Theſeus, Menelaus, Paris, Deiphobus, and Achilles.

Μὴ τὴν τεκοῦσαν τῇ φιλανδρίᾳ γύναι
Ζήτει παρελθεῖν·

That is,

" Do not endeavour to ſurpaſs your mother in this luſt
" after men.

.... Ptolemy Hephæſtion in Photius relates a very remarkable ſtory, which gives credit to the wantonneſs of Helena. The fact is, that *a certain Arcadian named Peritanus, meeting with Paris Alexander in the country of Arcadia, had an affair with her. But Paris by way of puniſhment for this adultery cut off his parts of Generation.* Hence it came that in Arcadia thoſe, who *are thus puniſhed, are called Peritanes.* Lycophron has done worſe than calling her the woman with five huſbands: it is ſaid, that he has ſtiled her a dove on account of her laſciviouſneſs, and a bitch on account of her impudence, or becauſe ſhe lay promiſcuouſly with a great many men (56). I do not find, that thoſe, who endeavour to excuſe Helena alledge any other reaſon

(56) *See* Canterus *and* Meurſius *upon the 87th verſe of* Lycophron.

divine honours paid her after her death, nor from having miracles aſcribed to her [*K*]. It is not at all probable that Paris waited to enjoy her till they landed in an Iſle [*L*]. However it is ſaid, that he ordered a monument of his firſt enjoyment to be built in that Iſle. It is added that Menelaus did not deſtroy this monument [*M*], and that he only ſignified, there,

ſon than this, that it was (57) the Gods who forced her to go away with Paris (58). There is no crime, which ſuch an apology is not capable of juſtifying; but I own, that by giving the affair the turn, which the Scholiaſt of Homer has done, we may make a good apology for her. See here what he ſays (59). "*Alexander the ſon of Priam went from Aſia to Lacedemon, where he formed a deſign to carry away Helena, who had entertained him in her palace. But ſhe, who had been well educated, and was extremely fond of her huſband, would not conſent to it, declaring that ſhe preferred a lawful marriage to a ſhameful adultery, and that ſhe choſe much rather to live with Menelaus. Paris not being able therefore to gain his point, it is ſaid that Venus made uſe of a ſtratagem, which was to change the perſon of Alexander into the reſemblance of Menelaus, and deceived Helena by this means; for ſhe imagining that he was the true Menelaus, made no ſcruple to follow him to the ſhips, where Paris obliging her to go aboard immediately ſet ſail.* Euſtathius likewiſe upon the ſame Book of Homer, touches upon this ſtory, and remarks, that Penelope acted much more prudently; for tho' ſhe thought ſhe knew Ulyſſes again, yet ſhe did not careſs him at all, and would not lie with him, till he had acquainted her with a great many particulars, and given her ſeveral ſigns to aſſure her, that he was really her huſband, and that ſhe could not be deceived (60)."

(57) *See* Homer in the 23d book of the *Odyſſey*, *and* Euripides in the *Troades*, and in the *Andromache*, cited by Meziriac upon Ovid's *Epiſtles*, pag. 486, 487.

(58) See the remark [*X*].

(59) In XXIII Libr. Odyſſ. *quoted by* Meziriac upon Ovid's *Epiſtles*, pag. 487.

(60) See the Reflexions of the Critick upon Maimbourg with regard to the Alcmena, *Nouv. Lettres*, pag. 284. *See alſo* pag. 277, 278.

[*K*] . . . . *Did not prevent her from having divine honours paid her after her death, nor from having miracles aſcribed to her.*] I have already ſpoken of the Temple, which the Rhodians dedicated to her. Pauſanias mentions that erected in the country of Lacedemon (61). With regard to her miracles, it is ſufficient to remark, that ſhe deprived Steſichorus of his ſight, who had ventured to treat her memory ill in his Poems (62), and reſtored it to him, when he had made a palinody or recantation (63). She gave an extraordinary ſhare of beauty to a very ugly young woman, who was brought into her Temple every day (64). See the article ACHILLEA, where we have obſerved, that ſhe was the wife of Achilles in the other world, and that ſhe knew how to make herſelf conſiderable there. See likewiſe Iſocrates in his Panegyric upon Helena: you will find there, that ſhe gained not only immortality, but alſo a divine power, which ſhe made uſe of to raiſe her brothers and huſband to the number of the Gods; ſo that if Caſtor and Pollux were capable of aſſiſting thoſe, who prayed to them in ſtorms, it was becauſe their ſiſter inveſted them with this power, in order to ſhew the whole world the metamorphoſis, which ſhe had made in them. They were in the grave, when ſhe conferred Divinity upon them. What is moſt commendable is, that having granted the ſame favour to Menelaus, ſhe was deſirous of living eternally with him. Τὼς ἀδελφὼς ἤδη κατεχομένους ὑπὸ τῆς πεπρωμένης, εἰς θεὼς ἀνήγαγε· βουλομένη ϑ πιθὴν ποιῆσαι τὴν μεταβολὴν, ὕτως αὐτοῖς τὰς τιμὰς ἐναργεῖς ἔδωκεν, ὥσθ' ὁρωμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κινδυνευόντων σώζειν, οἵ τινες ἂν ἐυσεβῶς αὐτὼς ἐπικαλέσωνται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μενελάῳ τοσαύτην χάριν ἀπέδοκεν . . . ὥςε . . . ϑ μόνον . . . . ἀλλὰ κ) θεὸν ἀντὶ θνητῦ ποιήσασα σύνοικον αὐτῇ κ) πάρεδρον εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα κατεςήσατο (65). Iſocrates alledges in proof of this the practice of the Lacedemonians, who offered ſacrifices to Menelaus and Helena, not as to Heroes, but as Gods. It was at Therapnæ that they paid them divine honours, as the ſame Author obſerves. But Pauſanias ſays not, that there was a Temple of Helena in that city; he only ſays, that Menelaus's Temple was there, and that it was believed that Menelaus and Helena were interred there (66).

(61) Pauſan. lib. 3. pag. 96.

(62) Idem, ibid. pag. 102.

(63) Suidas *in* Στησίχορος, *& ante ipſum* Iſocrates *in* Helenæ Encomio.

(64) Herod. lib. 6. cap. 61.

(65) Iſocrat. in *Helenæ Encomio*, pag. m. 320.

(66) Pauſan. lib. 3. pag. 102.

I ſhould have been glad that Theodoret had depended upon the authority of Iſocrates, and not of Euripides, in reproaching the Pagans, becauſe Helena ſo famous for her adulteries was ranked among the Deities; for tho' Euripides has feigned, that ſhe never died, but was raiſed to heaven by the favour of the Gods, and inveſted with immortality, it does not follow, that this was the opinion of the Pagans. The Epiſodes of a Tragedy were ſo far in the Poet's hands, that unleſs we otherwiſe know them to be real, they are taken merely for the particular fiction of the Author of the Tragedy. I ſhall quote Theodoret's own words. Καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην δὲ, μετὰ τὴν πολυθρύλλητον κ) παμπόλλην μαχείαν, τῷ Μενέλεω χωρίσαντες, εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν, ϕησὶν Εὐριπίδης, ἀνήγαγον (67).

(67) Theodor. Therapeut. *Serm.* 3.

[*L*] *It is not at all probable, that Paris waited to enjoy her till they landed in an Iſle.*] Homer, who repreſents him as maſter of this patience, did not do him any honour, according to the principles of men of gallantry (68). See now upon what occaſion he relates this circumſtance of the place. Paris being overcome by Menelaus ſuffered a thouſand reproaches from Helena. He deſired her not to inſult him, but go to bed to him, pretending that he had never found himſelf poſſeſſed with ſo ſtrong a flame of love, not even when he had firſt enjoyed her in the Iſle of Cranae. Upon this he roſe from his ſeat to go to bed, and was followed by Helena without the leaſt reluctance.

(68) See *Nouv. de la Republiq. des Lettres*, Jan. 1687, pag. 68.

Οὐ γὰρ πὼ ποτέ μ' ὧδε ἔρως ϕρένας ἀμϕεκάλυψεν,
Οὐδ' ὅτε σε πρότερον Λακεδαίμονϑ ἐξ ἐρατεινῆς
Ἔπλεον ἁρπάξας σὺ πολυπόροισι νέεσσι,
Νήσῳ δ' ἐν Κραναῇ ἐμίγην φιλότητι κ) εὐνῇ.
Ὡς σέο νῦν ἔραμαι, καί με γλυκὺς ἵμερϑ αἱρεῖ.
Ἦ ῥα, κ) ἀρχὸς λέχϑ δὲ κιὼν, ἅμα δ' εἵπετ' ἄκοιτις.

(69) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 3. ver. 442. See above the quotation (45) of the article of the 3d Duke of GUISE.

"Not thus I lov'd thee, when from Sparta's ſhore
"My forc'd, my willing heav'nly prize I bore;
"When firſt intranc'd in Cranae's Iſle I lay,
"Mix'd with thy ſoul, and all diſſolv'd away!
"Thus having ſpoke, th' enamour'd Phrygian boy
"Ruſh'd to the bed, impatient for the joy.
"Him Helen follow'd ſlow with baſhful charms,
"And claſp'd the blooming Hero in her arms."
Pope.

Jaſon had a more extraordinary degree of patience aſcribed to him than Paris; and this makes it difficult to conceive where the judgment of Romance-Writers was employed. Ought not they above all things to have confined themſelves to probability? And did not they violate it, when they ſuppoſe on the one hand, that Medea was ſo fond of Jaſon, that by her love for him ſhe was led to commit the greateſt crimes; and on the other, that ſhe ſpent ſeveral months with him without conſummating the marriage? We may obſerve likewiſe, that it would not have been conſummated ſo ſoon, if ſome advice had not been given to Jaſon. *Quem cum interrogaret Arete, quidnam eſſet judicaturus, reſpondit Alcinous, Si virgo fuerit Medea, parenti redditurum: ſin autem mulier, conjugi. Hoc cum audivit Arete à conjuge, mittit nuntium ad Jaſonem*; *& is Medeam noctu in antro devirginavit*. i. e. "When Arete aſked him, what he determined to do; Alcinous anſwered, that if Medea was a virgin, he would reſtore her to her father; but if a woman, to her huſband. Arete hearing her huſband declare this, ſends a meſſage to Jaſon, who in the night lay with Helena in a cave."

(70) Hygin. cap. 23. pag. m. 60.

[*M*] *Menelaus did not deſtroy this monument.*] Here is a thing, which would juſtify Homer, if it were true. It is pretended, that *upon the bank of the continent oppoſite* to the Iſle of Cranae there was a Temple of Venus, which Paris *had built after this agreeable conqueſt . . . to ſhew his exceeding joy and gratitude. He gave to this Venus the epithet of* Migonitis, *and called this territory* Migonion, *from a word, which ſignified the amorous myſtery, which had been performed there. Menelaus, the unhappy huſband of this Princeſs, eighteen years after ſhe had been ſtolen away from him, came to viſit this Temple, the territory of which had been witneſs to his misfortune, and the infidelity of his wife. He did not deſtroy it; he only placed on each ſide of the ſtatue of Venus, the ſtatues of two other Goddeſſes, that of Thetis, and that of Praxidice, which ſignifies the Goddeſs of Puniſhments, to ſhew that he would not ſuffer the injury to paſs*

there, that he had had ſatisfaction given him for the injury. A modern author does not ſeem to have well comprehended the meaning of Menelaus (*e*). Some authors ſay, that Paris did not long preſerve his prize [*N*]. A great many fables have been related concerning the birth of Helena [*O*]; I mean, concerning the egg, whence it is pretended ſhe was hatched.

(*e*) See the remark [*M*] citation (71).

paſs with impunity. But he had not the good fortune to ſee himſelf revenged upon Helena; for ſhe ſurvived him (71). The Author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, having cited this paſſage, adds the following reflection (72): *Theſe laſt words would furniſh an occaſion for criticiſm to any perſon, who ſhould deſire it; for it is undoubted, that eighteen years after Helena was ſtolen away, Menelaus had revenged himſelf as fully as he deſired by the deſtruction of the Kingdom of Priam, the father of the raviſher. It is very probable therefore, that this ſtatue of the Goddeſs Praxidice had no relation to a future vengeance, but to one already taken; and it is not likely, that it related to any deſign of puniſhing Helena: for if Menelaus had not been really reconciled to his wife, he would not have waited ſo long to puniſh her. The hiſtory of that age intimates, that this artful woman made her peace with her huſband the ſame night that the Greeks took the city; and this is very probable conſidering the character, which is given Menelaus in the Iliad.* However that be, I would not maintain on the one hand, that there was not near the Iſle of Cranae a temple of Venus Migonitis, nor acknowledge on the other, that Paris built it for the reaſon, which is alledged. I adhere to probability, which leads one ſtrongly to imagine, that Paris enjoyed Helena before he left Lacedemon. Who could have hindered him? Menelaus was in the Iſle of Crete (73): his preſence would not have prevented Helena from favouring the handſome Gueſt, who made love to her; his abſence was ſtill more incapable of laying any reſtraint upon her. See a little how Paris took the advantage, and diverted himſelf with this abſence.

(71) Guillet, *Athenes ancienne & nouvelle*, pag. 63. Obſerve that we make uſe of his words, both becauſe he writes well, and becauſe they furniſh an occaſion for criticiſm. The facts, which he relates, are taken from Pauſanias, lib. 3. pag. 105.

(72) *Nouv. de la Republique des Lettres*, Janv. 1687, pag. 67.

(73) Ovid. *Epiſt. Helenæ ad Paridem.* Coluthus, *de Raptu Helenæ.*

(74) Ovid. *Epiſt. Parid. ad Helen.* ver. 297.

Sed tibi (74) *& hoc ſuadet rebus, non voce, maritus:*
Neve ſui furtis hoſpitis obſtet, abeſt.
Non habuit tempus, quo Creſſia regna videret,
Aptius: ô mirâ calliditate virum! &c.

He did not want courage among the Ladies. Helena owns, that he was not ſo reſerv'd as her Theſeus, who only kiſs'd her.

Quæ tua nequitia eſt, non his contenta fuiſſet.
Di melius! ſimilis non fuit ille tui,
Reddidit intactam (75).

(75) Idem, in *Epiſt. Helenæ ad Parid.* ver. 29.

Paris preſs'd her ſo one day, that ſhe betook her ſelf to flight; ſhe loſt one of her ſhoes then. The place where ſhe loſt it, was at Sparta, and was named *Sandalion*, on account of this ſhoe (76).

(76) Ptolemæus Hephæſt. *apud* Photium, pag. 480.

(*N*) *Some authors ſay, Paris did not long preſerve his prey*] It is ſaid, that he ſailed towards Egypt, and landed at the mouth of the Nile call'd Canopus, where there was a Temple of Hercules, which ſerv'd for an aſylum to fugitive ſlaves. Some of Paris's ſlaves having fled thither, inform'd the Prieſts of what their Maſter had done; upon which, Proteus the King ordered him to be ſeized, and reproach'd him in a very ſevere manner, and afterwards commanded him to retire immediately; but he kept Helena, with all the other things, which had been ſtollen from Menelaus (77). It is added, that Paris did not enjoy that Lady till after his arrival in Egypt (78). This is a ſtory already confuted. I cannot tell how Proteus behaved, or whether before he reſtor'd Helena to the Perſon, to whom ſhe belong'd, he did not obtain the laſt favour from her (79). I only know that Herodotus thinks it very probable, that ſhe was not carried to Troy, for he cannot perſuade himſelf that Priam would have been ſo infatuated as to chooſe to retain her, rather than to avoid the fatal conſequences of a refuſal (80). He believes therefore that the Trojans anſwered ſincerely to the Embaſſadors of the Greeks, that Helena was not at Troy, and that they muſt look for her in Egypt, where King Proteus kept her (81). The Greeks taking this anſwer for a ſevere piece of raillery, applied themſelves to the war againſt the Trojans; but when they had taken the city without finding Helena any where, they imagined that ſhe was at the court of King Proteus; upon which Menelaus ſailed thither, and recovered his wife (82). There is ſuch an enormous variety of accounts among the Mythological writers, that I am not ſurprized, that Servius ſhould relate (83), I. That Theſeus having ſtoln Helena, gave her to Proteus, King of Egypt, and that Menelaus recovered her from Proteus after the Trojan war; ſo that this war was not occaſioned by Helena's being ſtolen away by Paris, but by the injury, which the Trojans did to Hercules, in refuſing to receive him when he was ſeeking for Hylas. II. That Helena was recovered from Proteus, to whom Theſeus had intruſted the care of her, and was reſtored to Menelaus, from whom Paris ſtole her.

(77) *See* Natalis Comes, *Mythol.* lib. 6. cap. 23. pag. m. 658. He ſhould have quoted Herodotus, and have obſerved, that a ſtorm obliged Paris to put into Egypt.

(78) *Quam deportavit in Ægyptum, atque ibi primum cum illa congreſſus ſit.* Idem, ibid.

(79) Helena denies it in the Prologue to Euripides's Tragedy, intitled, *Helena*; but her teſtimony is of no weight in this point.

(80) Herod. lib. 2. cap. 120.

(81) Idem, ibid. cap. 118.

(82) Idem, ibid. *and* cap. 119.

(83) Servius *in hæc verba* Virgilii *Æneid.* lib. 11. ver. 262. *Atrides Protei Menelaus ad uſque columnas.*

I forgot to obſerve, that Proteus did not ſend away Paris without leaving him ſome kind of conſolation; for he reſtored to him the picture of Helena (84). One of the Commentators upon Lycophron very erroneouſly applies to this what Helena ſays in Euripides, that Juno, to puniſh Paris for not giving her the triumph of beauty, procured, that inſtead of Helena he had only the living image of that beautiful Lady, which image was formed in the air

Ἥρα δὲ μεμφθείσ', ὅτεκ' ἐ νικᾷ Θέας,
Ἐξηνέμωσε τἄμ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λέχη.
Δίδωσι δ' ἐκ ἔμ', ἀλλ' ὁμοιώσασ' ἐμοὶ
Εἴδωλον ἔμπνουν, αἰθέρωθεν ξυνθεῖσ' ὑπὸ.
Πριάμου τυράννου παιδί. κ᾽ δοκεῖ μ' ἔχειν
Κενὴν δόκησιν ἐκ ἔχων (85).

(84) *See* Canterus & Meurſius *upon* Lycophron, ver. 113.

(85) Eurip. *in Prologo* Helenæ, ver. 31. pag. m. 308.

Every one ſees, that the difference between theſe two things does not conſiſt, as Canterus would have it, in this, that Proteus is the agent in one caſe, and Juno in the other. We ſee likewiſe, that Juno forgot the ſpirit of revenge upon this occaſion. Paris was as happy with a living image of Helena, as he would have been with Helena herſelf. I remember to have read, that Steſichorus ſaid, that the Trojans not knowing the true Helena, diſputed among themſelves about her picture. Ὥσπερ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλένης εἴδωλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ Στησίχορος φησὶ γενέσθαι πεπιμάχηλον ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς (86). This, according to the opinion of ſome Free-thinkers, is a repreſentation of the diſputes about religion.

(86) Plato, *de Republica*, lib. 9. pag. m. 738.

[*O*] *A great many fables have been related concerning the birth of Helena.*] They are not contented to ſay, that ſhe was born of an egg, but they add that this egg fell from heaven out of the moon, and that the women of that country bring forth eggs, whence ſpring men fifteen times larger than thoſe, who inhabit the earth. We learn this from Athenæus (87), who tells us, upon the authority of Herodorus of Heraclea, that Neocles of Crotona had publiſhed this in one of his works. Here follow ſome falſe quotations concerning this Chimera. Cœlius Rhodiginus (88), inſtead of *Herodorus*, writes *Herodotus*. This error has been copied by Salmuth (89). Who can forbear laughing, when he conſiders theſe words of a Spaniſh Phyſician? *Nonne admirabilius adhuc in tota naturæ majeſtate rariſſimum, quod mulieres quaſdam produxerit, quæ non more aliarum fœtus, ſed ova edant ac incubent, ex quibus homines naſcantur, qui ad giganteam proceritatem excreſcant? Et tamen hoc in Selenitidis mulieribus accidere referunt ex Lycoſthene* Raviſius Textor, *& ex Herodoto* Heracleotes, *ut quoque teſtatur Rhodiginus* lib. 27. cap. 17. *licet pro mera fabula hoc habeat Adrianus Junius,* lib. 1. animad. cap. 15, *citatus apud Pancirolum* part. 2. memorab. titulo 2 *hiſtor. tamen cum icone exhibet* (90). i. e. "Is not that more wonderful ſtill, which hap-
" pens very rarely in the whole compaſs of nature,
" that there are ſome women, who do not produce
" living children like the reſt of their ſex, but eggs,
" which they hatch, and from which ariſe men, who
" grow to a gigantic height? And yet that this hap-
" pens in the women of the moon, we are informed by
" Raviſius Textor from Lycoſthenes, and by Heracleo-
" etes from Herodotus, as Rhodiginus likewiſe teſti-
" fies, *lib.* 27. *cap.* 17. tho' Hadrian Junius, *lib.* 1.

(87) Athen. lib. 2. cap. 16. pag. 57.

(88) *Antiq. Lect.* lib. 27. cap. 17. *in fine.*

(89) Salmuth. *Comment. in Pancirolum de novis repertis*, pag. 93.

(90) Caſpar à Reies, in *Elyſio jucundarum Quæſt. Campo*, Quæſt. 47. num. 14. pag. m. 581.

hatched. The inventions aſcribed to her moſt faithful maid-ſervant are a brand of infamy [*P*]. If the authors who have ſpoken ſo much of her had been good Chronologers, her beauty

" *Animadverſ. cap.* 15. quoted by Pancirollus, *part* 2. " *memorab. titulo* 2 *Hiſt.* treats this as a mere fable, " yet he gives us the hiſtory with a picture." Is not this a good manner of beginning his quotations to produce firſt Lycoſthenes, who lived in the XVIth Century? Is it not a ſtrange miſtake to place Raviſius Textor after Lycoſthenes, the latter being poſterior to the former, and an abridger of him? What a leap is it to riſe all at once to Herodotus? What confuſion to take Herodorus for Herodotus? What fiction to give us one Heracleotes, who quotes Herodotus? Is not this finding two authors, where the writer, whom he quotes, gives us but one? for Cœlius Rhodiginus ſays expreſly *Herodotus Heracleotes*. What kind of reaſoning is this: though Hadrian Junius treats it as a mere fable, Lycoſthenes, Raviſius Textor, Herodotus, Heracleotes, Rhodiginus, have not ſcrupled to relate it? How could this Junius's authority have laid any reſtraint upon the reſt, when he lived after all of them except Lycoſthenes? But let us return to Helena.

Some antient Poets have ſaid, that ſhe was the daughter of Jupiter and Nemeſis, and that Nemeſis, in order to ſecure herſelf from the warm addreſſes of Jupiter, fled by ſea and land, and diſguiſed herſelf in all ſhapes; but at laſt Jupiter by a ſuperior force got her with child, firſt of Caſtor and Pollux, and afterwards of Helena:

Τὴν ποτε καλλίκομος Νέμεσις Φολόητι μιγεῖσα
Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλῆι, τέκεν κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης (91).

" The fair-hair'd Nemeſis o'erpower'd by Jove
" Brought Helen forth."

(91) Tarſinus *ſive* Staſinus, *in Carmine* de Rebus Cypriacis, *apud* Hadrianum Junium, *Animadv.* lib. 1. cap. 15.

We read in Pauſanias (92), that according to the common opinion Helena was the daughter of Jupiter and Nemeſis, and that Leda was only her nurſe. Phidias conforming himſelf to this tradition, repreſented Leda in ſuch an attitude upon the Baſe of the ſtatue of Nemeſis, that ſhe ſeemed to bring Helena to that Goddeſs. Some ſay (93), that Nemeſis being impregnated by Jupiter, laid an egg, and that Leda finding this egg ſat on it, and hatched Caſtor and Pollux, and Helena. Others ſay (94), that Jupiter not being able to ſucceed with Nemeſis, made Venus aſſume the form of an eagle, and changed himſelf into a ſwan, which fled before that eagle. He reſted himſelf in the lap of Nemeſis, and was received very kindly: the fair Lady embraced him, and fell aſleep. The counterfeit ſwan taking advantage of this ſleep, enjoyed her; and becauſe he did ſo in the ſhape of a bird, order required that Nemeſis ſhould lay an egg. Mercury took this egg, and carried it to Lacedemon, where he threw it into the lap of Leda. Thus ſprung the beauteous Helena; and this was the reaſon why Leda took her for her daughter. *Nemeſis autem, ut quæ avium generi eſſet juncta, menſibus actis ovum procreavit, quod Mercurius auferens detulit Spartam, & Ledæ ſedenti in gremium projecit, ex quo naſcitur Helena, cæteras corporis ſpecie præſtans, quam Leda ſuam filiam nominavit* (95). Auſonius (96) has followed the diſtinction, which has been made between Nemeſis and Leda.

(92) Pauſanias, lib. 1. pag. 32.

(93) *Interpres Callimachi apud* Hadrian. Junium, *Animadv.* lib. 1. cap. 15.

(94) Hygin. *Aſtronom.* lib. 2. cap. 8.

(95) Hygin. ibid.

(96) Auſon. *Epigram.* 56.

Iſtos tergemino (97) *naſci quos cernis ab ovo*
Patribus ambiguis & matribus aſſere natos.
Hos genuit Nemeſis: ſed Leda puerpera fovit:
Tyndareus pater his, & Jupiter. Hic putat hic ſcit.

That is,

" Theſe whom you ſee ſpring from the tripple egg,
" were born of doubtful fathers and mothers. Nemeſis
" was their mother, but Leda was their nurſe: Tyn-
" dareus and Jupiter were their fathers: the one of
" them thinks ſo, the other knows it."

(97) This word ſhews that Auſonius ſpeaks alſo of Helena, and that we ought not to ſay as *Hadrian Junius* has done, *Anim.* lib. 1. cap. 15. *Conſentit & Auſonius Poeta de Caſtore & Polluce loquens.*

Here is a good number of authors for this opinion; but there are as many, who affirm, that Leda was the true mother of Helena. The ſame Hyginus, whom I have quoted, having ſaid, that there was alſo a tradition, that Jupiter, being turned into a ſwan, lay with Leda, adds, that he had nothing to determine in that point; *de quo in medio relinquimus* (98). This was becauſe he ſaw as many reaſons on one ſide as the other. Theon of Alexandria remarks, that Jupiter in the ſhape of a ſwan lay with Nemeſis, according to ſome, and with Leda, according to others; and that Helena, Caſtor, and Pollux were born of the egg, which Leda laid (99). Pauſanias, who, as we have ſeen, reports the tradition concerning Nemeſis, relates in another place (100) that concerning Leda, and obſerves alſo, that a monument was to be ſeen in the temple at Lacedemon (101); for there hung from the roof of it an egg by a ribbon, which paſſed for that of Leda. He acknowledges the two metamorphoſes of Jupiter into a ſwan, the one with regard to Nemeſis, the other with regard to Leda. Κύκνος γενόμενος εἰς τὰς Νεμέσεως κόλπας καταφυγεῖν· τῷ δὲ πάλιν ὁμοιωθεὶς Λήδᾳ ἐνύμφευσεν (102). This being the caſe, there is no doubt but that he ſuppoſed, that Helena proceeded from this ſecond metamorphoſis. Euripides, in the tragedy of Oreſtes, expreſly aſſerts, that Leda was the mother of Helena, and he gives the latter the epithets of ὀρνιθόγονος and κυκνόπλερος, which declare the metamorphoſis of Jupiter into a ſwan. I do not make uſe of the authority of Plutarch; for by the egg of Tyndarus he might underſtand that which Mercury caſt into Leda's lap. In reality he obſerves, that this egg fell down from heaven (103). So that Hadrian Junius ought not to have alledged Plutarch in defence of this ſecond opinion. Ovid has been cited, ſince he introduces Leda lying under the wings of a ſwan. *Ovidius quoque Ledam recubantem facit ſub olorinis alis* (104). Lucian (105), and the Scholiaſt on Homer (106), might have been cited. This Scholiaſt mentions a thing omitted by many others; which is, that the egg, which Leda laid, and which ſhe put in a cheſt, produced there, Caſtor, Pollux, and Helena, without being hatched.

(98) Hygin. *Aſtronom.* lib. 2. cap. 8.

(99) Theon, Alexandrin. *in Arateis commentariis, apud* Hadr. Junium, *Animadv.* lib. 1. cap. 15.

(100) Lib. 3. pag. 97.

(101) Hadrian Junius thinks, without grounds, that Pauſanias places this temple in the city of Amyclæ.

(102) Socrat. *in Helenæ Encomio.*

(103) Τὸ Τυνδάρειον οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν οὐρανοπετὲς ἀναχθῆναι. Plutarch. *Symp.* lib. 2. cap. 3. pag. 637.

(104) Hadr. Junius, *Animadv.* lib. 1. cap. 15. Here are Ovid's words: *Fecit olorinis Ledam recubare ſub alis* Metam. lib. 6. ver. 109.

(105) In *Dearum Judicio*, pag. m. 170. tom. 1.

(106) In *Odyſſ.* lib. 7.

To reconcile theſe two opinions Junius ſuppoſes, that Nemeſis and Leda are the ſame perſon, and he quotes for this purpoſe Lactantius (107) and the Scholiaſt of Euripides, and Germanicus. The words of the laſt mentioned writers are very expreſs. *Cygnum dicunt inter aſtra conſtitutum eo quod Jupiter in Cygnum transfiguratus evolaverit in Rhamnuntem Atticæ regionis, ibique compreſſerit Nemeſin quæ & Leda dicitur, ut refert Crates tragœdiarum ſcriptor, quæ enixa eſt ovum, unde nata eſt Helena* (108). i. e. " They ſay that the " ſwan was ranked among the ſtars, becauſe Jupiter " being changed into a ſwan, flew into Rhamnus " in Attica, and there compreſſed Nemeſis, who is " alſo called Leda, according to Crates the Tragic " Writer; and this Lady laid an egg, whence ſprung " Helena."

(107) *Inſtit.* lib. 1. cap. 21.

(108) German. Cæſar, *in Arateis Phænomenis*, pag. m. 116.

I ſhall not conclude this remark without obſerving, that Jupiter, who owned for his ſons a great many boys, who were born from his commerce with women, acknowledged only Helena for his daughter. I mean the daughters which ſprung from his amours with women. It is Iſocrates who tells us this (109). I paſs over thoſe, who pretend that Helena was the daughter of Venus, or of the Sun and Leda (110).

(109) In *Encomio Helenæ.*

[*P*] *The inventions aſcribed to her moſt faithful maid-ſervant are a brand of infamy on her.*] It is ſaid, that ſhe invented I know not what poſtures, and that ſhe even wrote upon this ſubject. I ſhall expreſs my ſelf more clearly in Latin in the words of Leonicus Thomæus. *Aſtyaniſſa quædam nomine*, ſays he (111), *inter Helenæ miniſtras & famulas fuiſſe commemoratur, quæ dominam à Theſeo primum, poſtea à Paride raptam ſemper proſequuta eſt: hanc in Venerea palæſtra primam complures reperiſſe figurarum modos omnis perhibet antiquitas. Voluminibus quinetiam quibuſdam editis de variis concubitus generibus perſcripſiſſe narratur, quam poſtmodum Philenis & Elephantis pervulgatiſſimæ mulieres ſunt inſequutæ, quæ hujuſmodi de rebus non minus accurate, quàm turpiter conſcripta commentaria reliquere.* If this be true, it reflects a great deal of ignominy upon the memory of Helena; for it is probable, that if the ſervant gave lectures to her miſtreſs, the latter informed her of their effect, and that by this means Helena and Aſtyanaſſa united their endeavours to perfect theſe ſhocking inventions. I have read in Photius (112), that Aſtyanaſſa ſtole an embroidered girdle,

(110) Ptol. Hephæſt. *apud* Photium, pag. 480.

(111) Nicolaus Leonicus Thomæus, *de Novaria Hiſtoria*, lib. 3. cap. 31. He likewiſe cites *Suidas.*

(112) Photius, *ex* Ptolem. Hephæſt. pag. 480.

beauty must have lasted a prodigious time [Q]; and it must be said, that the Greeks and Trojans fought with each other ten years for the possession of an old woman. This would make them very ridiculous; but they would not fail to be so, though we suppose her

dle, which Juno had obtained of Venus to give it to Helena; but that Venus took it away from that servant.

[Q] *If the authors .... had been good Chronologers, her beauty must have lasted a prodigious time.*] It is said, that Helena and Castor sprung from the same egg. We may therefore reasonably suppose, that Helena was a woman grown when the Argonauts went to Colchos; for her two brothers Castor and Pollux distinguished themselves in this famous expedition. Let us suppose her twenty years old at least; that is not too much. Let us not take advantage of the mistake of Eusebius; I shall speak of it below. Let us take the most exact Chronology. There are reckoned about thirty years between this expedition and that of Troy: Helena was therefore fifty years old, more or less, when Paris stole her away. The siege of Troy continued ten years, and it was in the last year of that siege that Agamemnon and Achilles quarrelled. We must fix in the time succeeding this quarrel, the admiration with which the Counsellors of Priam (113) were struck at her divine beauty. Here is Helena therefore at sixty years of age forcing by her extraordinary lustre of beauty a whole Senate to confess, that she deserved, that two powerful Nations should ravage each other for ten years out of regard to her. Is not this very wonderful? Paris being killed some time after, there arose a very warm contest between his brothers, who should marry his widow. Priam ordered them to try the issue by a combat, and promised her to him who should gain the victory. Deiphobus fought the best of all, and had Helena given him. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοξευθέντι ὑπὸ Φιλοκτήτου, Πριάμου τὸν Ἑλένης γάμον ἔπαθλον ἔθηκε τῷ ἀριστεύσαντι κατὰ τὴν μάχην. Δηΐφοβος δὲ γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενον ἔθηκεν αὐτήν. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Λυκόφρονι (114). One of his brothers (115) was so enraged at being excluded, that he left Troy, and contributed his utmost efforts to the ruin of his country. Does not this prove, that at the age of sixty Helena was still a prodigy of beauty? Lucian proves that at the time of the siege of Troy she was an old woman, and almost as old as Hecuba. Εἶδον γὰρ λευκὴν μέν τινα καὶ ἐπιμήκη τὸν τράχηλον ὡς εἰκάζειν κύκνου θυγατέρα εἶναι. τἄλλα δὲ πάνυ πρεσβύτιν ἡλικιῶτιν σχεδὸν τῆς Ἑκάβης (116). i. e. "For I saw a woman with a white and long "neck, so that one might have conjectured her to "be born of a swan; but she was an old woman, "and almost as aged as Hecuba." She would have been much older than Hecuba, if it were true, as is said (117), that Hercules was the last child of Jupiter. Our astonishment at so aged a beauty would cease, if we could believe what is related, that Helena by a peculiar prerogative was exempt from the severe necessity of growing old (118): but this is not generally allowed. "It is said, that Helena, to-"wards the end of her life, as often as she saw her "self in her glass, sought for herself there with a-"mazement, and complained of time, which had "been her third ravisher, and had stolen Helena "even from Helena herself." I have read this in the book of a Jesuit, whose style is very affected (119). Another modern author relates this almost in the same manner (120). "She, whom you speak of, deserves "to be regarded with such an eye as yours. You "will soon see there another change very opposite to "that (121), which has given you so much admira-"tion. A few years will make you remark this; "the same that made Helena weep at her glass, and "obliged her to call Time her third or fourth ra-"visher, for the number is not certain. A strange "kind of rape, in which we see Helena stolen from "Helena herself; and her, whom three parts of the "world, which were the whole at that time, ac-"knowledged for the most beautiful woman of the "age, seeking her face in a glass, which represented "to her nothing but what was frightful." This thought is very like that in two verses of Ovid,

Flet quoque ut in speculo rugas conspexit aniles
Tyndaris, & secum cur sit bis rapta, requirit (122).

(113) I have already mentioned what they said, remark [A] citation (7).

(114) Scholiastes *Homeri in Iliad.* lib. 2. ult. ver. 251.

(115) His name was Helenus. *See* Photius's *Bibliotheca* in the Extracts of *Conon*, pag. 441.

(116) Lucian. in *Gallo*, *Oper.* tom. 2. pag. m. 251.

(117) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 4. cap. 14.

(118) Τὴν μὲν φάσις ἔμμεν ἀγήρω. Quintus Calaber, lib. 10. ver. 312.

(119) In Father le Moine's *Peintures Morales.*

(120) La Mothe le Vayer, Letter 114. pag. 14 tom. 12.

(121) He speaks of an ugly old woman, who was become beautiful.

(122) Ovid. *Met.* lib. 15. ver. 232.

I ought to remark, that if we follow the Chronology of Eusebius, we shall find that Helena had lived above a Century, when Paris stole her away; for, according to Eusebius, the expedition of the Argonauts was eighty nine years before the taking of Troy. He saw plainly the miscomputation of the Greek writers; upon which he proposes this objection to them: *Si inter Argonautas fuerunt Castor & Pollux, quomodo potest eorum soror Helena credi, quæ post multos annos virgo rapitur à Theseo* (123)? i. e. "If Castor "and Pollux were among the Argonauts, how can "Helena be thought to be their sister, who many "years after being a virgin was stolen away by "Theseus?" Consider well the remark of Scaliger upon this Latin passage. *In Græcis*, says he (124), ἢ μήπω μιτὰ πολλὰ ἔτη παρθένος ἁρπάζεται. *Sive culpa librariorum, sive quod verosimilius, Hieronymi properantia accidit, ut negatio in latina interpretatione expressa non sit, omnino ridicula sententia efficitur. Nam quo remotior fuerit raptus Helenæ eo credibilior erit. Contra quo propior his temporibus eo remotior à Trojæ excidio, ideoque minus credibile Helenæ tempus in hujus sæculi tractum incidisse.* i. e. "In the Greek it is "thus: *who not many years after being a virgin was* "*taken away.* By the error of the Transcribers, or "more probably by the hurry of St. Jerom it has "happened, that the negative is not expressed in the "Latin Translation, and the sentence is rendered ab-"solutely ridiculous. For the more remote the rape "of Helena was, the more credible. On the other "hand the nearer it was to those times, so much the "more remote from the siege of Troy; and there-"fore it is less credible, that the age of Helena fell "into this period of time." This criticism appears to me to be very erroneous; and the more I examine it, the more I am surprized. I do not deny, but that the negative particle, the suppression of which is an error of St. Jerom, according to Scaliger, may make good sense; but I cannot comprehend, that the sense would be ridiculous by suppressing the negative; on the contrary Eusebius's objection seems more intelligible to all sorts of readers without the negative particle, than with it. Eusebius's design is to prove, that those who have asserted that Castor and Pollux, the brothers of Helena, were in the Argonautic expedition, and that Theseus stole away Helena when she was young, have been inconsistent in their Chronology. If Castor and Pollux, says he, were of the number of the Argonauts, how is it possible to suppose, that they were brothers of Helena, who was stolen away young by Theseus many years after? The most stupid readers perceive the force of this objection without having occasion to reason much, and without being obliged to have recourse to any thing but the words of Eusebius. But if we suppose with Scaliger, that Eusebius expresses himself in this manner; *If Castor and Pollux were of the number of the Argonauts, how can we persuade our selves, that they were the brothers of Helena, who was stolen away young by Theseus a few years after?* Every one sees, that in order to discover it to be an objection, we ought to remove from before our eyes the words, which contain it, and to have recourse to the reasonings and calculations which we find in the subsequent pages; for if we consider only Eusebius's expressions, we should imagine that he reasoned ill, and what he urges for proof, infers the contrary to his design.

(123) Euseb. *in Chronic.* num. 756.

(124) *Animadv. in Eusebium*, num. 756. pag. m. 47.

FAULTS of Scaliger.

Here are some other words of Scaliger, which do not appear to me just. *Ab hoc tempore* (125), says he, (126), *ad excidium Ilii, anni sunt LXXIX. ut Helenam admodum anum fuisse oportuerit, si Argonautica hoc tempore contigerunt. Nam adultis Castoribus, Helenam quoque maturam viro fuisse necesse est. Quod si Argonautica hic collocentur, tempore excidii Iliaci Helena fuerit major annorum CXX. Hoc est quod objicit Eusebius & merito.* i. e. "From this time to the destruction "of Troy there are seventy nine years, so that He-"lena must have been a very old woman, if the Ar-"gonautic expedition happened at this time. For if "Castor and Pollux were of adult age, Helena must "have been fit for marriage. If the Argonautic ex-"pedition be fixed here, at the destruction of Troy,

(125) That is, from the number 756. of Eusebius; but I am surprized, that Scaliger did not observe that Eusebius had before spoken of the Argonautic expedition under the number 746.

(126) *Animadv. in Eusebium*, pag. 46.

her miſtreſs of all the beauty aſcribed to her by the Poets. See in Herodotus the value which ought to be ſet upon a woman who ſuffered herſelf to be run away with [R]. There are very different opinions concerning the children of Helena. Some ſay, that ſhe had only daughters (f); others affirm, that Menelaus had four ſons by her (g). They ſpeak likewiſe of a ſon whom ſhe had by Achilles (h). She had by Menelaus the fair Hermione, and by Paris a daughter, who was named Helena, and whom Hecuba put to death. The father would have had her named Alexandra; but upon the mother's oppoſing it, they were obliged to caſt lots, who ſhould give her the name. Helena won, and gave her daughter her own name (k). Helena's necklace has been much talked of [S], as

(f) Stephanus, *Voce* Ἄργος.

(g) Scholiaſt. *Homeri*, & Euſtathius *in Iliad.* lib. 3.

(h) See the article of ACHILLEA, citation (e).

(i) Ptol. Hephæſt. *apud* Photium, pag. 480.

(k) Idem, ibid.

" Helena muſt have been above a hundred and twenty " years old. This is what Euſebius objects, and that " juſtly." If there were ſeventy nine years, ſays Scaliger, between the Argonautic expedition and the deſtruction of Troy, Helena muſt have been above a hundred and twenty years old at the taking of that city. What conſequence is this! Is it worthy of the great Scaliger? Is it neceſſary, that a woman ſhould be above forty years old, that we may ſay with propriety, ſhe is fit for marriage, *matura viro?* This is the expreſſion of the author, whom I am confuting.

He has ſucceeded much better in his Criticiſm upon Euſebius's Calculations; for it is not true, that the Argonautic expedition and that of Troy were ſo diſtant from each other as Euſebius imagines. But it is certain, that Euſebius has followed very eminent writers; and conſequently I might maintain, that if the antient authors, who ſpeak of Helena, had been good Chronologers, her beauty muſt have laſted a prodigious while, even beyond a Century. Let us conſider a little the computation which Clemens Alexandrinus borrowed from Apollodorus and ſome other celebrated Hiſtorians. In one place (127) he tells us, that there were thirty eight years from the time when Hercules began to reign at Argos, after the expedition of the Argonauts, to his deification; and that Caſtor and Pollux were deified fifty three years after Hercules, about the time of the taking of Troy. This is reckoning ninety one years between the Argonautic expedition and the deſtruction of Troy, and making Helena an hundred years old, more or leſs, at the time when Paris ſtole her away as a perfect beauty. In another place (128) the ſame father makes a computation, by which there are ſixty eight years between the rape of Helena by Paris and the Argonautic expedition.

(127) Clemens Alexandr. lib. 1. Stromat. pag. 322, *ex* Apollodoro.

(128) Ibid. pag. 356.

[R] *See in Herodotus the value which ought to be ſet on a woman, who ſuffered herſelf to be carried away.*] Herodotus in tracing up the firſt origin of the wars, which had continued ſo long between Europe and Aſia, acknowledges the Aſiatics to have been the aggreſſors, becauſe they had carried away Io the daughter of Inachus King of Argos (129). The Europeans (130), who ſtole the daughter of the King of Tyre, did it only by way of repriſals. They did not ſtop there; they undertook another rape, that of Medea the daughter of the King of Colchos. This Prince demanded ſatisfaction for the injury; but he was anſwered, that they would not give him any, ſince they had never received any on account of Io. The rape of Helena was undertaken by way of repriſals; and when the Greeks demanded her to be returned, they were anſwered that they were treated in the ſame way as they had uſed the Aſiatics, when they had demanded Medea. They were not ſatisfied with this anſwer; they raiſed a great army, and went to deſtroy the Kingdom of Priam. This is what the Perſians urged to juſtify their wars; they pretended, that the expedition againſt Troy gave them a right to conſider the Europeans as enemies, and treat them as ſuch. They diſapproved the violence of thoſe, who ſtole a woman; but they reckoned thoſe as fools, who gave themſelves the trouble of recovering her, and as wiſe men thoſe, who deſpiſed her, on condition that no women were taken away but thoſe who were willing. As for us, ſaid they, we never troubled ourſelves about thoſe Women, who were ſtolen out of Aſia; the Greeks began the war on the account of a Woman of Lacedemon. Τὸ μὲν νῦν ἁρπάζειν γυναῖκας, ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων ἔργον νομίζειν εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἁρπαθεισέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν, ἀνοητων, τὸ δ' μηδεμίην ἄρην ἔχειν ἁρπασθεισέων, σωφρόνων. δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβουλέατο, οὐκ ἂν ἡρπάζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἁρπαζομένων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγων οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι (131). It will

(129) Herodot. lib. 1. *init.*

(130) They were Cretans.

(131) Herod. lib. 1. cap. 4.

be proper to place here the following obſervation of Iſocrates; the Trojan War, ſays he, was of prodigious uſe to Greece; a great many things were invented in it; they began to render Europe ſuperior to Aſia. Before this war the Barbarians made conqueſts upon the Greeks. Helena was the cauſe, that things took another turn; for after that war the Greeks took cities and provinces from the Barbarians (132).

(132) Iſocrat. *in Encomio Helenæ*, ſub fin.

We muſt not omit the Paſſage of Euripides, where Peleus ſpeaks ſo many Truths to Menelaus. He reproaches him chiefly with two groſs faults; the firſt, in having treated his wife, as if ſhe had been honeſt; the ſecond, in having raiſed troops to recover her. You left her, ſays he, to her own conduct, and without giving orders to have your doors ſhut, and leaving ſervants to look after her, and went away juſt as if Helena, who was the moſt vicious of her ſex, had been the moſt chaſte.

Ἄκλης' ἄδεμνα δώματ' εἰσίας λιπὼν,
Ὡς δὴ γυναῖκα σώφρον' ἐν δόμοις ἔχων,
Πασῶν κακίστω (133).

(133) Eurip. *in Andromacha*, ver. 593. pag. m. 518.

She went away with a young ſtranger, and you, for love of her, cauſe all Greece to take arms: you ought on the contrary, after having experienced the infidelity of your wife, to have left her where ſhe was, and even to have paid a tribute to prevent her ever ſetting her foot within your houſe.

Ἦν χρῆν σ' ἀποκτύσαντα, μὴ κινεῖν δόρυ,
Κακὴν ἐφευρόντ', ἀλλ' ἐᾶν αὐτῇ μένειν,
Μισθόν τε δόντα, μή ποτ' εἰς οἴκους λαβεῖν (134).

(134) Idem, ibid. ver. 607.

Menelaus anſwers very mildly, that his wife's adventures had been involuntary, and the work of Heaven (135), and that from thence had ariſen great advantage to the Greeks (136), who had begun to learn the art of war at the ſiege of Troy. He confirms the obſervation of Iſocrates.

(135) See the beginning of the remark [T].

(136) Eurip. in *Andromacha*, ver. 681. pag. 522.

[S] *Helena's Necklace has been much talk'd of.*] Menelaus preparing for the Expedition againſt Troy, was at Delphi with Ulyſſes to conſult the Oracle, and dedicated Helena's necklace there. Τότε δὴ Μενέλαος μὲν τῇ προνοίᾳ (137) Ἀθηνᾷ, τὸν τῆς Ἑλένης ὅρμον ἀνέθηκεν ἐν Δέλφοις (138). The Oracle commanded him to do ſo, and promiſed by this means revenge upon the raviſher. Athenæus (139) has preſerved the Oracle's anſwer: it conſiſts but of three verſes, and informs us, that this necklace was of maſſy Gold, and that Venus gave it to Helena. When the Phoceans plundered the Temple of Delphi in the 106 Olympiad, this necklace was part of their booty; but it produc'd a ſtrange effect; the Lady, who got it, became an infamous proſtitute (140). She left her houſe to run over the World with a young Epirot, whom ſhe was fond of (141). It was a very active contagion, or a manner of puniſhment very unworthy of the Goddeſs, to whom Menelaus had dedicated it. It would have been proper to have puniſhed with a natural, and not with a moral Evil, the preſumption of that Woman, in ſeizing the ſpoils of ſo ſacred a Place. See the Remark [C] of the Article ÆGIALEA.

(137) Meurſius inſtead of προνοίᾳ would have it read προναίᾳ *protemplari*. See his treatiſe *de Regno Laconico*, pag. 22. where he refers to his *Lectiones Atticæ*, lib. 2. cap. 17. concerning the true Epithets of Minerva προνοία & προναία.

(138) Euſtathius *ad Odyſſ.* lib. 3.

(139) Athen. lib. 6. pag. 232.

(140) Diod. Sic. lib. 16. cap. 65.

Obſerve, that ſome ſay, that the Lady, who had this necklace, was already a Woman of looſe Character. It is ſaid, that the wives of thoſe, who plunder'd the Temple, diſputed who ſhould have the necklace of Helena, and that of Eriphyle, and that they were obliged to decide the Conteſt by Lot. Eriphyle's necklace fell to a woman of cruel diſpoſition, who afterwards kill'd her Huſband: the other fell to a Woman of great beauty, but very laſcivious (142).

(141) Athen. lib. 6. pag. 233.

(142) Idem, ibid

as likewiſe her *Crater*, and the *Nepenthes*, which ſhe gave Telemachus, the ſon of Ulyſſes, to drink [T]. It is ſaid alſo, that being upon the point of being ſacrificed,

[T] .... *as likewiſe her* Crater, *and the* Nepenthes *which ſhe gave Telemachus the Son of Ulyſſes to drink.*] The *Crater* was a work of Vulcan: it was a Marriage-preſent, for when Pelops was married, Vulcan gave him it. Menelaus being deſcended from Pelops received this as part of his inheritance, and loſt it when Paris ſtole away Helena together with the jewels and moveables of his hoſt. But it is ſaid, that Helena threw this beautiful preſent into the ſea near the Iſle of Cos, and that it being taken up in the net of ſome Fiſhermen, there aroſe a diſpute, which was at laſt determined by dedicating it to Apollo. According to the Author, who informs me of this, it was a Tripos (143); however the Commentators (144) pretend that Lycophron, Diogenes Laertius, Apuleius (145) and Philoſtratus have meant the ſame thing. Now Lycophron calls it ταμάσιον κρατῆρα; and here are the words of Apuleius (146): *Nunquam apud eum* (Homerum) *marino aliquo & piſculento medicavit nec Proteus faciem, nec Ulyſſes ſcrobem, nec Æolus follem, nec Helena* CRATEREM, *nec Circe poculum, nec Venus cingulum.* i. e. "In Homer we never find, that Proteus uſed any "thing from the ſea or of fiſhes to enchant his face, "or Ulyſſes the ditch, or Æolus the bellows, or Hele-"na the Crater, or Circe the cup, or Venus the girdle." As for Philoſtratus, here is what he ſays in the Epiſtle dedicatory to his Lives of the Sophiſts. Τόδε φρόντισμα τῆτο ἄριςε ὑπάτων, ἡ τὰ ἄφθη σοὶ κυφισῖ τῆς γνάμης, ὥσπερ ὁ κρατὴρ τῆς Ἑλένης τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις φαρμάκοις. It does not appear to me, that either he or Apuleius ſpeak of a particular Veſſel, which belong'd to Helena as an exquiſite piece of workmanſhip. It is plain, that they allude to what Homer relates in the IVth Book of the Odyſſey, concerning the Nepenthes; it is, that Helena, in order to make Telemachus the Son of Ulyſſes, and the other Gueſts merry, and to prevent them from thinking of their misfortunes, mixed with their wine a little Nepenthes, which was I know not what, endowed with an excellent vertue.

Ἐνθ' αὖθ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησ' Ἑλένη Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα.
Αὐτίκ' ἄρ' εἰς οἶνον βάλε φάρμακον, ἔνθεν ἔπινον,
Νηπενθές τ' ἄχολον τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἁπάντων.
Ὃς τὸ καταβρόξειεν ἐπὴν κρητῆρι μιγείη (147).

Helena had brought this wonderful remedy from Egypt. Polydamna the wife of Theon had taught it her. Homer ſays nothing about the veſſel, which contained this mixt wine; and therefore Apuleius and Philoſtratus conſider only the vertue of Nepenthes, and conſequently do not ſpeak of the beautiful veſſel mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, I mean the marriage-preſent, which Pelops received of Vulcan, &c. You may recollect here what I ſaid in the firſt remark, where I mention a cup, which Helena offered to Minerva; and if you would know why I made uſe of the barbarous term *Crater*, I ſhall tell you, that it was becauſe the words glaſs, cup, bowl, goblet, do not expreſs what was meant by *Crater* in Homer's time. Crater *was a large veſſel not to drink out of, but only to mix water with wine in it . . . and from this veſſel the wine thus mixed was poured into pots, and then into drinking-cups* (148). Obſerve, that the veſſel mentioned by Diogenes Laertius was thrown into the ſea before the Siege of Troy; and that mentioned by the other Writers was in Menelaus's poſſeſſion during that war.

I ought not to omit, that ſome learned men have choſen the Nepenthes of the Odyſſey for the ſubject of their lucubrations and meditations. They have made a great many conjectures, and raiſed a great many hypotheſes. See Peter Petit's Diſſertation intitled *Homeri Nepenthes*, printed at Utrecht 1689 in 8vo. We find in it both genius and learning. The Author mentions a Civilian of Naples, who has treated of the ſame ſubject, and abandoned himſelf to all the exceſſes of a ſpirit of digreſſion. I ſhall cite this deſcription, becauſe it repreſents very clearly the affectation of amaſſing together all that a man has read, and becauſe we may ſee in it a great many crude imaginations relating to Nepenthes. *Non morabor hic ſtudioſos variis quæſtionibus, ut Petrus la Sena, an Nepenthes ex eorum numero eſſet medicamentorum quæ chimica arte parantur, an ſimplex quid & ſolius naturæ proprietate efficax. Ut ſcilicet habeat occaſionem, quæ de artis ejus origine & antiquitate legerat, effundendi: qua in diſputatione plures onerat paginas, abutiturque patientia lectorum. Nec minus inanis & ſuperfluæ operæ arguendus, cum tam ſollicite de gemmarum viribus diſſerit, ceu non ſatis ex Homeri deſcriptione conſtaret Nepenthes plantis eſſe annumerandum, quod ipſe poſtea fatetur. Cum etiam profeſſus non eſſe hominis frugi, tempus terere inveſtigando, an forte hæc Helenæ potio (verba ejus refero) μαγικῶς, hujuſmodi curationis efficaciam retinuerit, multa nihilo ſecius ſubjungit de Magia Ægyptiorum, veterumque Medicorum incantationibus, locaque Homeri profert ex Odyſſea, quæ ad magiam pertinere exiſtimantur, eorum ſcilicet teſtimonio, qui, ut Plinius* lib. 30. cap. 50 *refert, Proteæ & Sirenum cantus apud Homerum non aliter intelligi voluerunt. Tum multa interponit de cratere Helenæ, captata occaſione ſermonis ex quodam Cælii Rhodigini loco. Et quid magis ἀπροσδιόνυσον, quam de Clematide Ægyptia dicere, quo ſcommate Zenonem Cittiæum ſolitum peti, quod procero gracilique & fuſco corpore eſſet, tradit Laertius? His igitur (inquam) quæ nihil ad rem attinent, prætermiſſis, aio Nepenthes fuiſſe unum e terra naſcentibus; quoddam ſcilicet herbæ aut virgulti genus* (149).

(143) Diog. Laertius, *in Thalete*, lib. 1. num. 32.

(144) Menag. *in Laert.* ibid. Meurſius *in Lycophr.* pag. 272.

(145) *In* Caſſandra, ver. 854.

(146) Apolog. pag. m. 294.

(147) Homer. *Odyſſ.* lib. 4. ver. 219.

(148) Mezíriac *ſur Ovide*, pag. 286. where he proves this, and cenſures Amiot and Vigenere, who have tranſlated Crater by *taſſe* or *coupe*.

(149) Petrus Petitus *in* Homeri *Nepenthe*, cap. 3. *init.* pag. 6.

i. e. "I ſhall not amuſe the ſtudious here with vari-"ous queſtions, as Peter la Sena has done, whether "Nepenthes be one of thoſe medicines, which are "prepared by Chemiſtry, or whether it is a ſimple "medicine, and operates merely by the property of "its own nature. This he has done merely that he "might have an occaſion of throwing out what he had "read concerning that art and the antiquity of it, in "which diſputation he loads a great many pages, and "abuſes the patience of his readers. Nor is he guilty "of a leſs impertinent and ſuperfluous labour, when "he examines ſo careſully into the virtues of gems, "as if it were not ſufficiently clear from Homer's "deſcription, that Nepenthes is to be ranked among "the plants, as he afterwards owns. Beſides after he "has declared, that it is wrong to ſpend one's time "in enquiring, whether perhaps this potion of Helena "retained its efficacy by magic, he notwithſtanding "treats of the magic of the Egyptians, and the in-"cantations of the old Phyſicians, and produces paſ-"ſages out of Homer's Odyſſey, which are ſuppoſed "to relate to magic, that is, in the opinion of thoſe, "who, as Pliny obſerves *B. XXX. C.* 50. would "have the ſtory of Proteus and the Syrens Songs in Ho-"mer underſtood in that manner. He introduces like-"wiſe a great many things concerning Helena's *Cra-"ter*, upon occaſion of a paſſage in Cælius Rhodigi-"nus. And what is more impertinent than to ſpeak "of the *Egyptian Clematis*, which was a jeſt, that, "according to Laertius, was commonly caſt upon Ze-"no Cittiæus, becauſe he was a tall thin man of a "brown complexion? To paſs by theſe obſervations, "I ſay, which are nothing to the purpoſe, I aſſert "that Nepenthes was a production of the earth, ei-"ther a kind of herb or ſprig." The Chevalier de Meré imagines, that Nepenthes is nothing elſe but the charms of Helena's converſation. Here is the manner in which he expreſſes himſelf in a diſcourſe addreſſed to a Lady. "Tho' Homer does not expa-"tiate upon Helena's eloquence, notwithſtanding he "ſpeaks ſo largely of that of Ulyſſes and Neſtor; "yet he gives us to underſtand by a myſtery of Poe-"try, that it was a pleaſure to hear her ſpeak; and "here is in a few words what led me to think in that "way. Ulyſſes was a long time after the taking of "Troy unable to return to his Iſland of Ithaca. His "ſon Telemachus was in great anxiety; and in order "to know whether he was living or not, he went to "viſit Neſtor, who could not inform him what was "become of his father. Upon this the youth went "from thence to Menelaus, where he ſaw Helena, "and ſupped with her. He being very melancholy, "that Princeſs pitied him, and made uſe of a charm "to make him forget all his uneaſineſs. This charm, "ſays Homer, was a liquor, which ſhe poured into "the wine before it was brought to the table, and this "mixture was ſo potent, that after having taſted it,

An inſtance of the effects of the ſpirit of digreſſion.

ficed, a miracle ſaved her [*U*]; and they have endeavoured to excuſe her adulteries, by alledging, that the Gods forced her to them [*X*]. The Pagans have employed ſuch ſuppoſitions upon ſo many occaſions, that it will not be impertinent to enquire what might ſerve them as a motive to reaſon in that manner. This is what I deſign a remark for [*Y*]. Some ſay, that when ſhe cut off her hair upon an occaſion of mourning,

" it was impoſſible for a perſon to ſhed a tear all that " day. She had likewiſe an admirable ſecret, which " ſhe received from the graces. You know, Madam, that " there is no Lady, that can imitate the ſound of your " words; but if ſhe had obſerved you, ſhe would " have aſſumed ſo perfectly your voice and manner, " that ſhe would have been taken for you (150)."

(150) *Cheval.* de Meré, *Diſcours des Agremens*, pag. 140. edit. de Hollande.

[*U*] *A miracle ſaved her.*] It was this. A ſevere peſtilence ravaged the city of Lacedemon. The Gods declared, that health ſhould be reſtored, provided that a young Lady of quality was ſacrificed every year. The lot fell upon the beautiful Helena; but as ſhe was led to the altar, an eagle came, and took away the knife, and laid it upon an heifer. This was the occaſion of Helena's life being ſpared (151).

(151) Plutarch. *in Parallelis*, pag. 314.

[*X*] *They have endeavoured to excuſe her adulteries, by alledging, that the Gods urged her to them.*] I have already touched this point (152); but there is ſomething wanting. If ſome ſay, that Venus managed the affair of ſtealing her away, to ſhew her gratitude to the judge, who had given her the prize in the conteſt about beauty; others affirm, that ſhe did it to revenge an affront. Menelaus had promiſed her an hecatomb in caſe ſhe ſhould obtain Helena; but having gained his wiſh, he did fulfill his vow. Venus was provoked; and to puniſh him, procured his wife to be carried away (153). Others carry the affair much higher: they pretend (154), that Tyndarus forgot Venus in a ſacrifice, which he offered to all the Gods, and that as a puniſhment for this contempt, Venus procured that the daughters of this Prince ſhould be twice or thrice married, and leave their huſbands. What is pleaſant is, that the ſame Goddeſs, who had precipitated Tyndarus's daughters into theſe diſorders, reproached him with their adulteries. It is ſaid, that theſe reproaches affected him ſo much, that in revenge he ordered fetters to be put upon her feet. Pauſanias cannot be induced to believe, that Tyndarus would be ſo ridiculous, to imagine, that he could revenge himſelf upon Venus by ordering a ſtatue to be made, which he called by her name, and binding the feet of it with chains. But in this point the Hiſtorian did not underſtand his own religion. He did not know that upon many occaſions the Pagans diſcharged their reſentments upon the temples and ſtatues of the Gods, whom they thought to be the authors of their ill ſucceſs (155). And in reality is it not an affront to a Prince, to abuſe his pictures and ſtatues? Remember Theodoſius's indignation againſt the city of Antioch; nothing was more provoking to him than the outrage done to the ſtatue of the Empreſs during the ſedition. See the hiſtory of him written by Monſr. Flechier (156). For the reſt, I ſhall remark, that when I ſpake of the reproaches caſt upon Tyndarus by Venus, I only related the ſentiments of ſome Moderns, who have been miſled by the tranſlation of Pauſanias: it is certain that the Greek text does not intimate that this Goddeſs reproached Tyndarus in that manner. Thoſe, who underſtand Greek, will ſee that I am not miſtaken. Τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον λόγον, ὡς τὴν Θεὸν πεῖθαις ἐτιμωρεῖτο ὁ Τυνδάρεως γενέσθαι ταῖς Θυγατράσιν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης ἡγεμόνα τὰ ὀνείδη, τοῦτον δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν πιστεύομαι· ἢ γὰρ δὴ παντάπασιν ἔνηθες, κέδρῳ ποιησάμενον ζώδιον καὶ ὄνομα Ἀφροδίτην θέμενον, ἐλπίζειν ἀμυνέσθαι τὴν Θεόν. That is, according to Amaſæus's tranſlation, *Nam Deam ulciſci voluiſſe compedibus (ſunt enim qui hoc etiam memoriæ prodiderint) exprobrantem* (157) *illi filiarum adulteria, ut credam, adduci non poſſum. Quam enim ridiculum, ſi putaſſet ab effigie, quam è cedro feciſſet Veneris nomine, injectis compedibus pœnas expeti poſſe* (158).

(152) In the remark [*I*].

(153) Ptol. Hephæſt. *apud* Photium, pag. 480.

(154) See the article ÆGIALEA, quotation (10).

(155) See *Penſees ſur les Cometes*, num. 132.

(156) Pag. 341, 342. *ad ann.* 387. Dutch edit.

(157) Theſe equivocal words, but which ſignify more evidently the reproaches made by Venus, than thoſe made to Venus, have miſled ſome authors.

(158) Here is the manner in which it ought to be tranſlated, according to Sylburgius, *Nam profecto ſolidum omnino foret, facto è cedro ſimulacro, & Veneris nomine ei indito, putare ſe hac ratione ulciſci.*

[*Y*] *This is what I deſign a remark for.*] Menelaus anſwering the ſevere reproaches of Peleus, declared, that Helena's will was not the cauſe of the adventures which ſhe had undergone, but that we ought to have recourſe to the will of the Gods.

Ἑλένη δ' ἰμόχθησ' οὐχ ἑκοῦσ' ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεῶν (159).

(159) Euripid. *in Androm.* ver. 680. pag. 522.

This was a language very common among the Pagans. They aſcribed to Fortune, that is to the Deity, not only their ill ſucceſs, but even their faults. This excuſe, or this wretched conſolation, ſeemed always ready; they had immediate recourſe to it. Plutarch informs us of this, when he cites ſome verſes, which contain a thing, ſaid by a father to a ſon, and the ſon's anſwer:

Souvent mon fils les habitans des cieux
Font trebucher les hommes ſoucieux.
That is,
" The inhabitants of heaven, my ſon, frequently make " anxious men fall."

The anſwer was:

Il n'y a rien pour ſa faute excuſer
Si à la main que les Dieux accuſer.
That is,
" He has nothing to do in order to excuſe his faults; " but to accuſe the Gods."

I make uſe of Amiot's verſion, and ſhall remark by the by, that the epithet *ſoucieux*, which he has inſerted in the ſecond verſe is a word, which the neceſſity of the rhime extorted from him, and which has no foundation in the original. Compare a little the Greek with the French tranſlation; you will ſee that I am in the right.

Πολλ' ὦ τέκνον σφάλλουσιν ἀνθρώπους Θεοί.
Τὸ ῥᾴδιον εἶπας, αἰτιάσασθαι Θεούς (160).

(160) Plutarch. *de audiendis Poetis*, pag. 20, *D.*

You will imagine, perhaps, that the great facility, with which complaints were formed againſt the Gods, led men to make uſe of this ſubterfuge without examination and reflection, and that it was one of theſe firſt motions, which riſe in our minds before we have had time to prepare ourſelves for judging of things. But it is certain, that upon many occaſions we ſpeak thus after mature deliberation. Thoſe who do not examine to the bottom what paſſes within themſelves, are eaſily perſuaded, that they are free, and that if their will is inclined to evil, it is their own fault, it is thro' a choice, of which they are maſters. Thoſe who form another judgment are perſons, who have carefully ſtudied the ſprings and circumſtances of their actions, and have well reflected upon the progreſs of the motions of their mind. Theſe perſons generally doubt of their free-will, and come even to perſuade themſelves, that their reaſon and mind are ſlaves, which cannot reſiſt the force that hurries them whither they are unwilling to go. Now it was principally this ſort of people, who aſcribed to the Gods the cauſe of their ill actions. They remembered, that they had well conſidered, that they were in a way pernicious to their fortune, and ſcandalous to their character, and that they had made many efforts to ſubdue the paſſion, which led them into it; but they were ſtill more ſenſible, that all theſe efforts were ineffectual, and that reaſon, though a thouſand times called upon, and vows and prayers had been a very weak aſſiſtance. They concluded therefore, that a ſecret cauſe and a ſuperior force puſhed them on, and hurried them away; that the Gods in ſhort, were the cauſe, both of the paſſions, which they felt, and of the pernicious and criminal conſequences of theſe paſſions. Here is the unravelling of the knot; there is ſomething divine here, ſaid they, juſt as there is in the diſeaſes of the body, which baffle the ſkill and experience of the moſt able Phyſicians. We know what ought to be done, what would be of moſt advantage to us, moſt convenient, and moſt honourable; and yet we follow the contrary courſe. This comes from the Gods. It is to Jupiter, that Perſius the Poet addreſſes himſelf to deſire his aſſiſtance, that tyrants may own the power of virtue, and feel the ſhocking remorſe of not having followed it.

Magne

Magne pater divum, ſævos punire tyrannos
Haud alia ratione velis, cum dira libido
Moverit ingenium ferventi tincta veneno :
Virtutem videant, intabeſcantque relicta (161).

(161) Perſ. Sat. 3. ver. 35.

Plutarch mentions a poetical ſentence, which ſhews that they reaſoned in this manner : thoſe who know what is right, do not perform it; the Gods therefore are the cauſe of it. I ſhall give the Greek in the margin (162), and here follows Amiot's tranſlation.

(162) Αἳ αἱ τόδ' ἦδη Θεῖον ἀνθρώποις κακὸν, Ὅταν τις εἰδῇ τἀγαθὸν, χρῄτας δὲ μή. Plutarch. *de audiend. Poetis*, pag. 33, *E*.

Là! c'eſt un mal envoyé des hauts Dieux,
Quand l'homme ſait & void devant ſes yeux
Le bien, & fait néantmoins le contraire.

Medea reaſoned in this manner, when ſhe found, that ſhe could not reſiſt the paſſion, which ſhe had conceived for Jaſon; that ſhe could not, I ſay, reſiſt it, tho' ſhe ſaw plainly the ſhameful and criminal conſequences of her conduct, and though her reaſon condemned them.

Concipit interea validos Æetias ignes,
Et luctata diu, poſtquam ratione furorem
Vincere non poterat ; Fruſtra Medea repugnas,
Neſcio quis deus obſtat, ait (163).
\- - - - - - - -
\- - - - - - - -
Excute virgineo conceptas pectore flammas,
Si potes, infelix. Si poſſem, ſanior eſſem ;
Sed trahit invitam nova vis : aliudque Cupido,
Mens aliud ſuadet. Video meliora, proboque
Deteriora ſequor (164).

(163) Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 7. ver. 9.

(164) Idem, ibid. ver. 17.

" Mean while Æetias fries in ſecret fires,
" Who ſtruggling long with over-ſtrong deſires,
" When reaſon could not ſuch a rage reſtrain,
" She ſaid, Medea, thou reſiſt'ſt in vain :
" Some God, unknown, withſtands.
\- - - - - - - -
\- - - - - - - -
" Theſe furies from thy virgin breaſt repel,
" Wretch, if thou canſt. Could I, I ſhould be
" well.
" A new-felt force my ſtriving pow'rs invades ;
" Affection this, diſcretion that perſuades.
" I ſee the better, I approve it too ;
" The worſe I follow."

SANDYS.

She ſays to herſelf all that could cure her of this paſſion : ſhe repreſents to herſelf the enormity of the crime, which ſhe ſhould commit ; and there were ſome moments, in which theſe ideas of her duty were ready to gain the ſuperiority ; but the ſight of Jaſon eaſily ſuppreſſed all that they had done.

Conjugiumne putas? Specioſaque nomina culpæ
Imponis, Medea, tuæ? Quin aſpice quantum
Aggrediare nefas ; &, dum licet, effuge crimen.
Dixit, & ante oculos rectum pietaſque pudorque
Conſtiterant, & victa aebat jam terga Cupido.
Ibat ad antiquas Hecates Perſeïdos aras,
Quas nemus umbroſum, ſecretaque ſylva tegebat :
Et jam fractus erat, pulſuſque reſederat ador,
Cùm videt Æſoniden, extinctaque flamma reluxit (165).
\- - - - - - - - -
\- - - - - - - - -
Sic jam lentus amor, quem jam languere putares,
Ut videt juvenem, ſpecie præſentis inarſit (166).

(165) Idem, ibid. ver. 69.

(166) Idem, ibid. ver. 82.

" Call'ſt thou him huſband ? wilt thou then thy
" blame,
" Medea, varniſh with an honeſt name ?
" Conſider well what thou intend'ſt to do ;
" And while thou maiſt, ſo foul a crime eſchew.
" Thus ſhe ; when honour, piety, and right
" Before her ſtood, and Cupid put to flight.
" Then goes where Hecate's old altar ſtood,
" O'erſhadow'd by a dark and ſecret wood.
" Her broken ardor ſhe had now reclaim'd ;
" Which Jaſon's preſence forthwith reinflam'd.
\- - - - - - - -
\- - - - - - - -
" So ſickly love, which late appear'd to die,
" New life aſſum'd from his inflaming eye."

SANDYS.

An infinite number of perſons of both ſexes, who are not mentioned in Hiſtory, have been in the ſame caſe. Love has made them commit a thouſand diſorders, of which they ſo evidently ſaw the ſcandal and inconvenience, that they endeavoured to prevent them, by calling in reaſon to their aid, and putting up a thouſand wiſhes to be freed from love. It was natural that they ſhould conclude, that they were not the cauſe of their ill conduct, ſince they had a reaſonable mind, a ſoul that was free and miſtreſs of its will. This firſt concluſion led them to another, that an external cauſe ſuperiour to all their powers urged them on : the ſecond concluſion led them on to a third, that a deity was the external and neceſſitating cauſe. Here is the original of the pretending divinity of Venus and Cupid; and becauſe men find that jealouſy, envy, avarice, drunkenneſs, deſire of revenge, and many other paſſions make them commit a thouſand things, which reaſon condemns, and which are even contrary to the true intereſts of ſelf-love, and which one would not wiſh, it was believed, that the Gods were the inſtigators of theſe things. The blame was not therefore caſt upon them for want of reflection, but becauſe men reflected very carefully upon what paſſes in the mind. If the Pagans had had the juſt notions of God, which we have, and which repreſent him to us as a being perfectly holy, they would have been preſerved from this raſh judgment ; but as they aſcribed to the Gods the ſame faults, to which mankind are obnoxious, there was nothing to hinder them from thinking, that the Gods forced men into evil, and render'd ineffectual all the lights of their reaſon, ſometimes by a previous flattering view of pleaſure which neceſſitated the will, at other times by importunate pain, which was attended with the ſame conſequence. Paris pleaſed Helena : Jaſon pleaſed Medea. They did not think of an union with thoſe objects without feeling beforehand an incredible ſatisfaction ; they could not conſider themſelves as ſeparated from them without feeling before hand an exquiſite diſſatisfaction. Theſe impreſſions did not depend upon their liberty, and were no more ſubject to them than the agreeable or diſagreeable ſenſation, which we have in taſting honey or gall. All that theſe two women could do was to oppoſe to theſe two fore-taſtes reaſon and duty, weak arms, if Paris and Jaſon continued to excite the ſame ideas and impreſſions ; ſince in that caſe they would ſooner or later captivate the will, and force its conſent, however deſirous it might be not to ſubmit, and to paſs from love to indifference. Uſeleſs are the wiſhes, weak the velleities, in the preſence of thoſe fore-taſts, which I have ſpoke of, and the cauſe of which ariſes not from ourſelves. Whence comes it then ? The Pagans in vain ſought for it on the right hand and on the left ; they could not find it on earth, and for that reaſon aſcribed it to the Gods. They might do this two ways, either by ſuppoſing a Cupid, who wounded the heart, or that the author of the human body had adjuſted the parts of it with ſuch art, that the body of Jaſon, for inſtance, would excite in Medea's heart and head thoſe motions of the ſpirits, upon which love mechanically and inevitably depends. According to this latter principle, if Helena or Medea became amorous, it was to be aſcribed to him, who formed and arranged the parts of their bodies, juſt as if a chamber ſmokes, when the wind blows, it muſt be imputed, not to the wind, but to the Maſon, who built the chimney.

How involuntary moſt of the paſſions and their conſequences are.

This was an abyſs, which the Pagans could not extricate themſelves out of, and they unavoidably fell into it, as often as they endeavoured to account for the contrariety to be met with between what we do, and what we know ; and conſequently they muſt fall into it very frequently ; for human life is ſcarce any thing but a continual conteſt between the paſſions and the conſcience, in which the latter is almoſt always overcome. What is moſt ſtrange and odd in this conteſt is, that Victory declares very often for the ſide, which ſhocks at once the ideas, which men have of right, and their knowledge of their temporal intereſt. I am willing to think, that there are ſome people of ſuch a brutal ſtupidity, that they do not ſee, that their life would be more happy, if they did not nouriſh in their

mourning [Z], this did not leſſen her beauty. A French author pretends, that ſhe had a great deal of wit and eloquence, and was as much beloved for theſe qualifications as for her beauty (*l*) [*AA*].

(*l*) See citation (150).

HELIODORUS

breaſts the paſſions, which they indulge there; but I cannot comprehend, but that moſt of the jealous and envious muſt be well convinced, that an exemption from jealouſy and envy would be an incomparable advantage to them in this world, and worthy to be purchaſed with its weight in gold. A woman jealous of her huſband or her gallant, a man jealous of his wife or miſtreſs, are extremely ſenſible of their misfortune, and paſſionately wiſh to be delivered from that torment. They do all they can to expel their fury, which perſecutes them: they employ, in order to undeceive or to deceive themſelves, all the reaſons which their mind is able to ſuggeſt; but in ſpite of all theſe efforts jealouſy ſubſiſts. They find themſelves, to their great regret, more ingenious to invent what foments it, than what would weaken it. We may ſay almoſt the very ſame of the envious. They know well enough, that their ſelf-love would find its account incomparably better in being content with their condition, and ſeeing with pleaſure the proſperity of another, than in afflicting themſelves at the ſucceſs of a neighbour, who grows richer than themſelves; and yet in ſpite of this conviction they chagrin themſelves, and pine away, when they ſee the good fortune of others (167); and inſtead of rejoicing, as they ought to do for their own ſake, are reduced to ſeek ſome remedy in the meaneſt treachery. They impede by calumny and perfidy the affairs of their neighbour: by theſe methods they endeavour to abate the malignant fever, which preys upon them. What could a Pagan Philoſopher ſay upon this point? Would not he be obliged to acknowledge a ſuperior cauſe within, and to rank all theſe perſons among the fanatics, energumeni, enthuſiaſts, and thoſe in general, who were thought to be agitated by a divine fury (168)? Obſerve, that Ovid ſuppoſes, that the jealouſy, which Aglaura, the daughter of Cecrops, King of Athens, conceived againſt his ſiſter, was infuſed into her by a deity (169). The Chriſtian ſyſtem is the only one, which can reſolve theſe difficulties. It informs us, that ſince the firſt man fell from the ſtate of innocence, all his deſcendants have been ſubject to ſuch a corruption, that without ſupernatural grace they are neceſſarily ſlaves to ſin, *inclined to do evil, uſeleſs with reſpect to every thing that is good* (170). Reaſon, Philoſophy, the ideas of right, the knowledge of the true intereſts of ſelf-love, all theſe are incapable of reſiſting the paſſions. The government which was given to the ſuperior part of the ſoul over the inferior, has been taken away from mankind, ſince the fall of Adam. It is in this manner that divines explain the change produced by ſin: but as moſt metaphors ought not to be ſtretched beyond a certain point, we muſt not abuſe this; for it would not be reaſonable to ſay, that in the ſtate of innocence the inferior part was in the ſame condition, as it is at preſent, but that no diſorder could ariſe, ſince the ſuperior part could always reſtrain it in time. This would be ſuppoſing, that the human machine, when it came out of the hands of its Creator, would have been actually determined towards ſenſuality and criminal paſſions; and this would be doing injuſtice to the perfections of the ſupreme being.

(167) *Videt ingratos, intabeſcitque videndo Succeſſus hominum; carpitque & carpitur una; Suppliciumque ſuum eſt.* Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 2. ver. 2. 782. He ſpeaks of envy.

(168) *Eſt Deus in nobis; agitante calescimus illo. Impetus hic ſacræ ſemina mentis habet.* Ovid. *Faſtor.* lib. 6. *circa init.* He ſpeaks of Poets.

(169) Ovid. *Met.* lib. 2. Fab. 12.

(170) See the *Prayers* of the *Liturgy* of Geneva.

[Z] *She cut off her hair upon an occaſion of mourning.*] What I have to ſay upon this text was communicated to me by a Profeſſor of Geneva (171). I ſhall make uſe of his words. "The ſubject of the firſt letter "in the collection of John Michael Brutus is diverting. Victorius, who writes to John della Caſa, "pretends that Helena, in order to ſhew her ſorrow "for the death of Clytemneſtra her ſiſter, cut off her "hair to the roots, but that this did not prevent her "continuing very beautiful ſtill. And Monſignor del- "la Caſa is of opinion, that ſhe cut off only the ends, "as is done ſometimes to hinder them from branching; "and there are produced upon this ſubject ſome verſes "of an ingenious poem of that Archbiſhop, addreſſed "to Count Galeazzo de Florimont, in which that "prelate frankly owns, that he had not quitted the "world but very ſuperficially; and that he had thus "imitated Helena, who ſacrificed to the ſorrow of "her ſiſter's death only the extremities of her locks. "The Poetry is noble.

(171) Mr Minutoli, whom I have already mentioned in the remarks [*L*] and [*M*] of the article of EPICURUS.

" *Ut captâ rediens Helena cum conjuge Troiâ*
" *Lento homine, atque animi lenis, nimiumque remiſſi,*
" *Incidit in cædem ipſam, & funus prope ſororis,*
" *Quam præceps miſeri virtus jugularat Oreſtis,*
" *Succiſam de more comam miſſura ſepulto*
" *Germanæ cineri, fertur dempſiſſe capillo*
" *Vix tandem è ſummo paulum, ne forte placeret*
" *Tonſa minus metuens Spartanis improba mœchis.*
" *Haud aliter, Galatæe. malis erroribus actus*
" *Nuper ego, & Phrygios nautas Paridemque ſecutus*
" *Aufugi longè, atque idem, rediit tamen ut mens*
" *Ad ſeſe, peregrè nimium remorata proterviæ*
" *Ornamenta fugæ ſenſim lenteque repono, &c.*

" When Helena from ruin'd Troy return'd
" With Menelaus to their native home,
" Hearing the fate of poor Electra, ſlain
" By mad Oreſtes, and by cuſtom forc'd
" Her hair to offer at her ſiſter's grave,
" She clipt the ends alone, leſt ſhorn too cloſe,
" The Spartan debauchees ſhould like her leſs:
" So I, O Galeazzo, lately loſt
" In mazy errors, following Paris' crew,
" When reaſon reaſſum'd her power, repent at laſt,
" By ſlow degrees correcting what's amiſs."

The faſhions of head-dreſſes might be diverſified in ſuch a manner, that the charms of the face might not ſuffer any diminution by the loſs of the hair. But in general it is certain, that this loſs is reckoned an accident very formidable to Beauty. See the Remark [G] of the Article of ANACREON.

[*AA*] *A French Author pretends, that ſhe had a great deal of wit and eloquence, and was as much beloved for theſe Qualifications as for her beauty.*] This French Author is the Chevalier de Meré. He proves by two eminent inſtances, that *women ought not to depend too much on their beauty, or men on their good mien; and that it is the addreſs and turn of wit, which do almoſt every thing, provided that the perſon have nothing ſhocking* (172). Cleopatra furniſhes him with the firſt inſtance. She had no great ſhare of beauty, ſays he (173), "and as the world ſpoke of her, ſhe was "not ſo beautiful as to ſurprize one at firſt; but when "one came to conſider her, there was a charm in "her; and it was by her delicate behaviour that "ſhe held Ceſar three or four years inchanted. . . . . "As a certain proof that it was on the account of her "wit, that this Princeſs was ſo much admired, we "may obſerve that Anthony, who knew how to "chooſe as well as Ceſar, never ſaw her till ſhe was of "an age, when few women continue beautiful, and "became ſo deeply in love with her, that he choſe "rather to renounce the Empire of the world, than "to loſe the ſight of her." Here is his ſecond inſtance.

(172) Chevalier de Meré, *Diſcours des Agrémens*, pag. 138. Dutch edition.

(173) Ibid. See above remark [*A*] of the article DELLIUS.

" *Helene par même voye*
" *Aux rares beautez de ſon corps*
" *Ajouſtant de l'eſprit les aimables threſors,*
" *Cauſa l'embraſement de Troye.*
" *Si ſon eſprit n'euſt eu des charmes*
" *Ce peuple n'euſt jamais voulu,*
" *Contre le droit des gens d'un pouvoir abſolu,*
" *Pour la garder prendre les armes.*
" *La Grece auſſi l'eſt oubliée*
" *Entre les bras de ſon amant,*
" *Mais elle ſe ſouvint de ſon eſprit charmant,*
" *Et la guerre fut publiée.*

" Helen, whoſe charms of mind improv'd her beauty,
" To Troy prov'd fatal. Had her wit been leſs,
" The Trojans ne'er had fought to keep her with them,
" And Greece had left her in her lover's arms.
" But as her mind was beauteous as her body,
" Her country thought her worth a ten years war."

" There

HELIODORUS a native of Emeſſa in Phœnicia (*a*), is better known by the Romance he compoſed in his youth [*A*], than by the Biſhopric of Trica (*b*), to which he was afterwards promoted. There are but few perſons that believe he was depoſed by a Synod, becauſe he would not conſent to the ſuppreſſing of that Romance [*B*]. Nicephorus is the only author who aſſerts it. Socrates (*c*) relates that Heliodorus introduced the

(*a*) Heliod. *Æthiop.* lib. 10, *ſub fin.*

(*b*) In Theſſaly.

(*c*) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 5. cap. 22.

" There is great probability, Madam, that her beauty " was not alone, ſince all the Gods intereſted themſelves to give her to thoſe who were their favourites; " and if ſhe had only had a good face, and a fine " ſhape, ſhe would have been but a very indifferent " preſent for them. I imagine, that what they valued in her was of more importance; it was her " art of pleaſing, and gaining the affections by her " converſation (174)." Add to this the words of the ſame author, which I have cited in ſpeaking of Nepenthes (175).

(174) Chevalier de Meré, *Diſcours des Agrémens*, pag. 139.

I do not examine whether he is in the right in the particular fact relating to Helena; but it ſeems to me in general, that his maxim is true (176). Beauty without the charms of wit and converſation is of no great force; and if it make conqueſts, it does ſo in the manner of thoſe brave Generals, who immediately ſubdue a Province, but know not how to keep it. The Empire of the Fair is maintained at leaſt as much by the charms of wit as by thoſe of the face. Theſe are two kinds of graces, which ſtand in need of each other, and render one another mutual good offices. Abſurd and ridiculous diſcourſes would diſguſt extremely, if the beauty of the perſon did not lend them I know not what charms. Certain beauties of the body would make no impreſſion, if the charms of wit were not ſpread over them. Here are mutual aſſiſtances given. But as wit is almoſt always the principal inſtrument in maintaining the conqueſt, and frequently in making it, it may be affirmed to be that which contributes moſt to eſtabliſh the power of beauty. The Poet, who aſſures us that there wants no leſs ſtrength to keep than to gain,

(175) In the remark [*T*] at the end.

(176) See upon this point the remark [*A*] of the article DELLIUS, and the *Nouvelles Lettres contre l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme de Maimbourg*, pag. 591, & 774.

Non minor eſt virtus, quam quærere, parta tueri:
Caſus ineſt illis; hic erit artis opus (177),

(177) Ovid. *de Arte amandi*, lib. 2. ver. 13.

is one of the great Legiſlators in the Empire of Love; and he applies this ſentence to the affair treated of in this place. He goes ſtill further; he lets us know, that the acquiſition is leſs difficult than the conſecration:

(178) Idem, ibid. ver. 15.

Nunc mihi, ſi quando, Puer & Cytherëa, favete:
Nunc Erato: nam tu nomen amoris habes.
Magna paro: quas poſſit Amor remanere per artes
Dicere, tam vaſto pervagus orbe puer (178).

(179) *Plus eſt Provinciam retinere, quam facere.* Flor. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 17. *Facilius eſt quædam vincere quam tueri.* Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 11. *See* Freinſhemius's *Commentaries* upon theſe two paſſages.

This is likewiſe the opinion of ſeveral Hiſtorians with regard to the progreſs of arms (179).

[*A*] *By the Romance he compoſed in his youth.*] It is intitled Αἰθιοπικὰ *Æthiopicks*, and relates the amours of Theogenes and Chariclea. There is an extract of it in Photius (1). Monſieur Huet is of opinion that Heliodorus was with regard to the Romance-writers, what Homer was with regard to the Poets; that is to ſay, that this Biſhop's work has been the ſpring and the model of an infinite number of romances. *Eum ſibi ſequentium temporum fabulatores Romanenſes tanquam exemplum propoſuerant ad imitandum, & tam verè omnes dici poſſunt ex hoc fonte, quam Poetæ ex Homerico ſuas, ſic ut dicam, aquas hauſiſſe* (2). The firſt edition of this Romance is, I think, that of Baſil, printed in the year 1534 (α). Opſopæus, who dedicated it to the Senate of Nuremberg, aſſerts that a ſoldier preſerved the manuſcript of it, when the Library of Buda was plundered (3). Staniſlaus Warſzewicki a Poliſh Knight is the author of the Latin Tranſlation which was printed with the Greek at Baſil in the year 1551. Amiot began his French Tranſlation with that of this work. Melin de St. Gelais Biſhop of Angouleſme (β) has turned a great part of it in French Verſe (4). John Bourdelot's Notes upon this Romance are very learned; they were printed at Paris in the year 1619, with Heliodorus's Greek original, and with the Poliſh Knight's Tranſlation.

(1) Num. 73. pag. 157, & *ſeq.*

(2) Huet, *de Origin. Fabul. Roman.* pag. 38.

(3) *See* Geſner's *Biblioth.* fol. 301.

(4) Sorel, *Remarques ſur le XIII Livre du Berger extravagant*, pag. 685.

[α] *The firſt Edition . . was printed in* 1534.] Mr. Bayle is miſtaken; it was printed in 1533. He is alſo in the wrong when he aſſerts, that Amiot began his French Tranſlations with that of this Romance. For he began with tranſlating ſome of Euripides's Tragedies into French verſe (*). ADD. REM..]

(*) From the Critical Remarks printed at the end of the Paris edition of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary.

[β] If Sorel aſſerted, what Mr. Bayle ſeems to make him ſay here, namely, that Melin de St. Gelais was Biſhop of Angouleſme, he had conſulted neither Sammarthanus's Elogies, nor the *Gallia Chriſtiana*; for it was Octavianus de St. Gelais, Melin's *natural* father, who was Biſhop of that city. He flouriſhed under the Kings Charles VIII and Lewis XII; ſeveral of this Biſhop's Poems are inſerted in the Collection printed in a black letter in 4to, with this title, *Verger d'honneur*, i. e. " The Orchard of Honour."

It is ſurprizing that Mr. Bayle did not obſerve this blunder: it could happen only by ſuch an abſence of mind, to which the moſt learned men are ſometimes ſubject. When he tranſcribed Sorel (†), from whom he borrowed this particular, he did not take notice that this Author was miſtaken; otherwiſe he would have given notice of it, as it is his cuſtom. This was perhaps alſo only an overſight of Sorel; but it is nevertheleſs a great fault; for it miſled not only Mr. Bayle, and the Author of the *Eſſais de Literature* §, but alſo the celebrated Mr. Fabricius †. Inſtead of Melin de St. Gelais, Sorel ought to have ſaid, Octavianus de St. Gelais, Melin's father, who had really been Biſhop of Angouleſme **, and who is the perſon meant here. Neither du Verdier ††, nor la Croix du Maine §§, nor any other Author that I know of, mention this Tranſlation in verſe, of part of the Romance of Theagenes and Chariclea, and Sorel is perhaps the only Author who ſpoke of it.

(†) *Remarques ſur le Berger Extravagant*, liv. 13. pag. 477.

§ Tom. 2. pag. 304, 305. of the Dutch edition.

† *Biblioth. Græca*, tom 6. pag. 787.

** Sammarth. *Elogior.* pag. 39.

†† *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, p. 927.

I ſhall obſerve by the by, that in Beughem's *Incunabula Typographiæ* (the Infancy of the Art of Printing) p. 176, they have changed this *Octavianus de St. Gelas* into *Octavianus de St. Gervais*, which is a ſtrange corruption of names. CRIT. REM.]

§§ *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 364.

[*B*] *There are but few perſons who believe he was depoſed by a Synod, becauſe he would not conſent to the ſuppreſſing of that Romance.*] Nicephorus relates, that a Synod having obliged Heliodorus to chooſe, either to burn his Romance, or to reſign his Biſhoprick, the Author choſe rather not to be a Biſhop any longer, than to commit his work to the flames (5). This ſeems to be entirely fabulous; ſuch a ſtrange particular would have been related by ſeveral Hiſtorians; and would not have been tranſmitted down to us only by Nicephorus, a very credulous and injudicious Writer. *Quæ omnia eò me facile reducunt, ut diffidam iis maxime quæ addit Nicephorus, ſcriptor credulus, ſapientiæ & fidei non ſatis ſpectatæ, Synodum ſcilicet provincialem cognito periculo, in quod lectio fabulæ hujus, cui autoris ſui dignitas tantum ponderis & auctoritatis dabat, juvenes ſuapte natura ad id propenſos & quaſi natantes impelleret, eam ſibi conditionem obtuliſſe, ut aut opus ſuum flammis aboleret, aut ſua dignitate cederet; eumque quod ultimum erat, prætuliſſe* (6). i. e. " All this inclines " me to queſtion chiefly what Nicephorus adds, a credulous Writer, whoſe judgment and veracity are " not much to be depended on: he aſſerts, that a " provincial Synod, being ſenſible how dangerous the " reading of Heliodorus's Romance was, to which " the Author's Rank added a great weight, which " was proper to draw in the youth already ſo much " inclined and naturally diſpoſed to the peruſing of " love-tales, required of the Biſhop, either to burn his " book, or to reſign his dignity; which laſt he choſe." Could Socrates have omitted ſuch a circumſtance in the paſſage, where he obſerves, that Heliodorus wrote a love-tale in his youth, which he intitled *Æthiopicks*. Οὗ λέγεται πονήματα ἐρωτικὰ βιβλία, ἃ νέος ὢν ἔταξε τῇ Αἰθιοπικῇ προσηγορίᾳ: *Cujus nomine circumferuntur amatorii libri, quos ille dum juvenis eſſet compoſuit, & Æthiopicos inſcripſit* (7). Valeſius does not only explode Nicephorus's account as a mere ſtory, but he does not even believe that this Romance was written by the Biſhop

(5) Nicephor. *Hiſt.* lib. 12. cap. 34.

(6) Huetius, *de Orig. Fabul. Roman.* pag. 36.

(7) Socrat. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 5. cap. 22.

the cuſtom of depoſing thoſe Miniſters who lay with their wives after their ordination; which is a probable argument in favour of this Prelate's chaſtity. It even appears from his Romance that he loved this virtue; for the hero of his ſtory is ſo modeſt, that it gave occaſion to ſome very ſmart jeſts [C]. Photius's Tranſlator has not well expreſſed the praiſes that are beſtowed on the amours of Theagenes and Chariclea; for the Tranſlation gives us to underſtand that Heliodorus wrote a Romance of the amours of an huſband and his wife [D], which would be very abſurd. There is an author who has aſſerted

Biſhop Heliodorus. See his notes on that paſſage of Socrates. Let us ſee what the Sieur Sorel ſaid. *I cannot believe, that Heliodorus was a Biſhop, nor that he was ſo ſilly as to chooſe rather to loſe his Biſhoprick than to burn his Book, according to the choice that was propoſed to him. This is only a mere ſtory; for if his Book were ſo ſcandalous, that they would not give him leave to publiſh it, they would entirely have prohibited it nevertheleſs, though he had reſigned his dignity: ſo that he would have been diſappointed in his expectation* (8). Sorel had done better to give his opinion without ſupporting it with any argument; for that which he alledges has not the leaſt ſtrength. A Book is not read the leſs for being condemned by a Synod; it becomes publick notwithſtanding ſuch a condemnation, and is commended as it deſerves; ſo that Heliodorus would not have been diſappointed in his expectation, though the Biſhops, who put the choice to him, had condemned his Book. Father Vavaſſeur reaſoned better, when he obſerved, that it was no longer in Heliodorus's power to ſuppreſs his work, whence it muſt be inferred, that the Biſhops did not propoſe to him the conditions we have mentioned. For of what conſequence could it be with regard to people's morals? *Neutrum, quantum opinio mea eſt, vere dicitur. Neque lata Epiſcopo conditio tam præpoſtera tamque gravis; neque ab illo accepta, aut repudiata quoquo modo; quod ipſe, qui narrat, abunde narratione ſua refellit. An vero fuit in poteſtate Heliodori, ut aboleret igni, ac perderet opus ſuum, aut omnino ſuppreſſum teneret, quod jam exiſſet in vulgus, & manibus omnium evolveretur, quodque juventus periculo aliquo, damnoque morum, ut vult Nicephorus, legendo contriviſſet* (9)? i. e. "In my opinion neither of "theſe two particulars are true: I cannot believe, "that ſuch a prepoſterous and difficult condition was "propoſed to him, nor that he accepted it; as Nicephorus relates, though his very account refutes "itſelf. Was it then in Heliodorus's power to burn "his Book, or to deſtroy it ſo, as to ſuppreſs it entirely, when it was already publick, and in all the "world's hands, and the youth had already undergone the danger of reading it to the corruption of "their morals, as Nicephorus pretends?" He adds that Father Petavius did not think this account of Nicephorus deſerved any credit.

(8) Sorel, *Remarques ſur le Berger Extravagant*, liv. 13. pag. 685.

(9) Vavaſſor, *de Ludicra Dictione*, pag. 150.

[C] *The Hero of his ſtory is ſo modeſt, that it gave occaſion to ſome very ſmart jeſts.*] Read the following paſſage from the *Parnaſſe Reformé*; it is Theagenes that ſpeaks. "If things had been related faithfully, "and as they happened, I ſhould have no reaſon to "complain, and would let my Romancer alone. But "he gives me the character of an inſenſible man; he "aſcribes to me that kind of modeſty, which takes "offence at the leaſt freedom, and he will have me "give my miſtreſs a ſlap on the face, rather than ſuffer her to kiſs me. I, ſaid Chariclea, have reaſons "to complain of that ſlap on the face you mention; "if it were a ſhame to give it, it was a greater ſhame "ſtill to receive it; and the ſatisfaction you might "claim from the Hiſtorian, relates to me alone." Here follows Heliodorus's anſwer: *The ſlap on the face, at which you are ſo much vexed, is a proof of your modeſty*, ſays he, *looking on Theagenes; it is the effect of ſuch a modeſty as is honourable to you; and by this I have preſerved that decency, which the dignity of my character required of me. It is true, replied Theagenes, that as a Biſhop* (10) *you have acted your part very well in that paſſage; but you would have kept up your character much better, if you had burnt your Romance, or if you had never had the thought of writing it. Lovers have nothing to do with the epiſcopal virtues, and a Biſhop's gravity does not well agree with the freedom of lovers. A Veſtal's chaſtity does not become Heroes, and their love ought to be free from thoſe ſcrupulous formalities, which put a damp upon their agreeable raptures and extaſies.* It muſt be obſerved, that it is ſuppoſed the Author had nothing to anſwer againſt Chariclea's complaint. And indeed, what could he ſay againſt ſo well-grounded an objection? Is not a romantick Heroine, who deſigning to kiſs her lover, receives a ſlap on the face from him, a very ridiculous character?

(10) It is not true that Heliodorus was a Biſhop, when he compoſed this Romance; he wrote it in his youth, as Socrates aſſerts.

Thus I finiſhed this remark in the firſt edition of this Dictionary: I ſuppoſed that Monſieur Gueret having ſhewn a great deal of wit and taſte in his *Parnaſſe Reformé*, would not have taken a downright falſity of his own invention for the ground of his jokes; nothing being more inconſiſtent than this with the rules of criticiſm and ſatire (11). Thinking therefore that he could not be guilty of ſuch a fault, I did not in the leaſt doubt but the fact was really as he related it; for which reaſon I did not take the pains to examine the original. But as ſoon as Monſieur Du Rondel had read the remark [C] of this Article, he wrote to me, that the thing did not happen as Monſieur Geuret relates; he acquainted me with the circumſtances of this action, and ſhewed me, that Theagenes did not deſerve the leaſt cenſure. I have juſt now read the paſſage in which Heliodorus relates this ſtory, and have convinced myſelf with my own eyes, that Monſieur Du Rondel is in the right, and that the Author of the *Parnaſſe Reformé* impoſed upon the publick, and took the liberty to caſt ſuch jeſts, as deſerve rather to be called impoſtures. Theagenes and Chariclea being ſeparated from each other by ſuch odd ſtrokes of fortune, as are often to be met with in Romances, came about the ſame time near Memphis. They had not communicated their deſign to each other; they did not come the ſame way; it happened by chance that Chariclea arrived near the city, when Theagenes was walking about the walls, on a ſolemn occaſion, which afforded the inhabitants a very grand ſpectacle. She knew him again at a great diſtance; for as Heliodorus obſerves, lovers have a very ſharp ſight. Ὀξὺ γάρ τι πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν ἐρωτικῶν ὄψις καὶ κίνημα πολλάκις καὶ σχῆμα μόνον, κἂν πόρρωθεν ᾖ καὶ ἐκ νάπης τῆς ὁμοιότητος τὴν φαντασίαν παρίσησιν (12). i. e. "Lovers have a very ſtrong ſharp "ſight, the very motion and very air makes "them know each other, even at a diſtance, or when "they ſee one another only behind." She was ſo moved with ſeeing that object, that, as though ſhe had been ſtung by a waſp, ſhe ran in tranſport to Theagenes, and embraced him round the neck without ſpeaking a word. She was very indifferently dreſſed, and her face was all dawbed; ſo that Theagenes took her for a proſtitute, and thruſt her back, and as he could not get rid of her, he gave her at laſt a ſlap on the face. Χαρικλέα . . . πόρρωθεν ἀναγνωρίσασα τὸν Θεαγένην . . . ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως ἐμμανὴς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴσται· καὶ περιφῦσα τῷ αὐχένι ἀπροὶξ εἶχετο καὶ ἐξῆπτετο, καὶ γοεροῖς τισι κατασπάζετο θρήνοις· ὁ δέ, οἷον εἰκός, ὄψιν τε ῥυπόσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸ αἰσχρότερον ἐπιτεδευμένην [ἰδὼν] καὶ ἐοθῆτα τετυχρωμένην καὶ κατερρωγυῖαν, ὥσπερ τινα τῶν ἀγυιαιῶν, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀλήτιν, διωθεῖτο καὶ παρηγκωνίζετο· καὶ τέλως ἐπειδὴ δ' μεθίει ὡς ἐνοχλοῦσαν καὶ τῇ θέᾳ τῶν ἀμφὶ Καλάσιριν ἐμποδὼν ἰσαμένην, καὶ διερράπιζεν (13). But as ſoon as he found it was his dear Chariclea, he embraced her tenderly (14). It is plain from all this, the Reformer of Parnaſſus had altered the very ſubſtance of the fact, by which all his jeſts and raillaries became inſipid and abſurd. Chariclea received indeed a ſlap on the face, but it cannot in juſtice be aſſerted that Theagenes gave Chariclea a ſlap on the face; he imagined he was only ſlapping one of thoſe women, whom we ſtile Gipſies. You may apply to all this what the Civilians and Caſuiſts obſerve concerning that ſort of ignorance or error, which is innocent.

(11) Compare this with what is obſerved above, in the remark [C] of the article COLOMIES.

(12) Heliodor. lib. 7. pag. 311. edit. Pariſ. 1699.

(13) Heliodor. lib. 7. pag. 311. edit. Pariſ. 1619.

(14) Idem, ibid. pag. 312.

[D] *The Tranſlation gives us to underſtand, that Heliodorus wrote a Romance of the Amours of an Huſband and his wife.*] Here follow the Tranſlator's words. *Dramatis hujus argumentum Auctori præbuere Theagenes & Chariclea caſte inter ſe ac pudice amantes, cum ultro citroque jactati errarunt, & capti etiam identidem, fi-*

asſerted that Heliodorus was not a Chriſtian; but his aſſertion ſeems to be grounded on very weak arguments [*E*]. Monſieur Huet (*d*) does not in the leaſt doubt but the author of this Romance was the Biſhop of Trica who lived under the Emperor Theodoſius; but he thinks it cannot be proved that the Biſhop Heliodorus, to whom St. Jerom wrote ſome letters, was this Biſhop of Trica; yet he thinks alſo, that it would not be an eaſy matter to refute thoſe who ſhould aſſert it. If it were true that Heliodorus was deprived, we ſhould have here a remarkable inſtance of an author's affection for his works. There is a modern writer who is acquainted with ſome perſons, that would have done, what the Biſhop of Trica is ſaid to have done [*F*].

(d) *De Origine fabularum Romanenſium.*

dem tamen CONJUGALEM *conſtanter ſervarunt.* i. e. "The ſubject of the ſtory is taken from Theagenes "and Chariclea, who loved each other chaſtly and "modeſtly, and who wandering up and down the "world, and being ſometimes taken priſoners, yet "kept the CONJUGAL faith conſtantly to each other." There is in theſe words a *tamen, yet,* which is wrong, and an addition of the Tranſlator. Photius did not argue ſo ill as to ſay, that though Theagenes's and Chariclea's misfortunes made them wander through ſeveral Countries, and cauſed them ſometimes to be taken priſoners, yet they did not engage in new amours. It is eaſy to underſtand that ſuch an unſettled life, with the unhappineſs of being ſometimes in priſon, is rather a reaſon why the Hero ſhould not forſake his miſtreſs, nor the Heroine her lover, than a reaſon why they ſhould fall in love with ſome other object. Infidelity in love is much leſs ſurprizing in perſons that lead an eaſy and quiet and happy life. But the greateſt blunder of the Tranſlator is his ſaying, that they kept conſtantly the conjugal faith to each other. How can that be, ſince they were not married? It is not the cuſtom for lovers in Romances to marry but at the end of the Book; and thus Heliodorus's Romance ends. See in the margin a true Tranſlation of Photius's words (15). It was a great while ſince Opſopæus had made the blunder I have mentioned. CONJUGALIS *amoris ac fidei & conſtantiæ pulcherrimum exemplar in Theagene & Chariclea adumbravit* (16). i. e. "He "has given us a noble inſtance of *conjugal* love and "fidelity, and of conſtancy, in the characters of "Theagenes and Chariclea."

(15) Ἐστι αὐτῷ ἡ τοῦ δράματος ὑπόθεσις Χαρίκλεια καὶ Θεαγένης, σώφρονες ἀλλήλων ἐρασταὶ, καὶ πλάνη τούτων, καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαι παντοδαπὴ καὶ φυλακὴ τῆς σωφροσύνης. *Sum ipſi argumentum dramatis Theagenes & Chariclea pudice inter ſe amantes, & eorum errores, ac captivitas omnimoda, & cuſtodia caſtitatis.* Photius, num. 73. pag. 157.

(16) Opſopæus, *Epiſt. Dedicat. apud* Geſner, *Biblioth.* folio 301.

[*E*] *There is an Author, who has aſſerted that Heliodorus was not a Chriſtian, but his aſſertion ſeems to be grounded on very weak arguments.*] The firſt is, that Amiot *obſerves that Philoſtratus mentions a Sophiſt named Heliodorus, and that it was thought he meant him we are ſpeaking of.* The ſecond, that *this Author telling us at the end of his Book, that he is a Phenician born in the city of Emeſſa, and of the race of the Sun, we cannot believe him a Chriſtian; for it would certainly be a great madneſs in a Chriſtian and much more in a Biſhop to declare he was deſcended from that celeſtial body, which diſperſes light through the world* (17). I need not obſerve that the firſt argument proves nothing: the ſecond has a little more ſtrength, yet not enough to come up to a full proof. It is certain that ſeveral Chriſtians in the fourth Century mentioned the ancientneſs of their Nobility (18); why then ſhould we not believe that Heliodorus mentioned his? He did not believe that his family was really deſcended from the Sun, but he might imagine, that he muſt diſtinguiſh it by that mark. This was a title by which his family had been known a long time, and which was honourable to him. And though the principle was falſe, yet one might infer from it ſome conſequences favourable to his family with regard to its antiquity. Such a motive might engage a Chriſtian thus to diſtinguiſh the nobility of his extraction. Add to this that Heliodorus was not yet a Biſhop when he wrote his Romance. He was ſtill in all the mettle of youth; and as he did not put his name to his work, he might with more liberty make his deſcent known by the ancient tradition of his family.

(17) Sorel, *Remarques ſur le Livre XIII du Berger Extravagant*, pag. 685.

(18) See a *Diſſertation of Balzac* at the end of his *Socrate Chrétien.* You will ſee there amongſt other things, that St. Jerom makes St. Paul to be deſcended from Agamemnon, and that Syneſius boaſted he was deſcended from Hercules.

[*F*] *A modern writer was acquainted with ſome perſons, who would have done what the Biſhop of Trica is ſaid to have done.*] The modern writer I mean is Father Vavaſſeur. He does not believe what Nicephorus relates; it appears childiſh to him, either with regard to thoſe who put ſuch a choice to Heliodorus, or with regard to the choice itſelf, which that prelate is ſaid to have made. *Lepida vero optio data præſuli, utrum ſalvum vellet, jocularemne librum, quem ſcripſiſſet olim, an ampliſſimum ſacerdotium, cui tum præeſſet. Lepidius etiam judicium & electio epiſcopi, ſacræ dignitatis jactura commune & pervagatum ſcriptoris nomen redimentis* (19). Yet he aſſerts that he knows ſome perſons, who are ſo much in love with their own works, that they would chooſe rather to loſe the beſt livings in the kingdom, than to renounce the reputation which they imagine they deſerve by their works. *Cujus tamen factum ne magnopere vituperetur, aut ne reprehendatur ex toto, nonnulli obſtant, quos ego ſcio, ſi iſto loco eſſent, fieretque poteſtas eligendi; hoc idem & amplius facturos; taleſque partus ingenii, qualia Heliodori Æthiopica ſunt, non Thraciæ modo, ſed opimis Galliæ ſacerdotiis omnibus antepoſituros, & loco graduque, & quavis dignitate ceſſuros potius, quam laboris, & induſtriæ, & bonæ exiſtimationis fructum hunc qualemcumque amitterent* (20). i. e. "Yet this action of his ought not to be too "much deſpiſed, nor abſolutely condemned; for I "knew ſome perſons, who would do the ſame, and "even more ſtill, if it was thus in their power to "chooſe; they would prefer ſuch an ingenious work, "as Heliodorus's Æthiopicks are, I do not ſay, be"fore any benefices of Thrace, but before all the beſt "livings in France; they would reſign their places, "poſts, and dignities, rather than loſe this fruit, "whatever it be of their labour, and ſtudy, I mean "their reputation."

(19) Vavaſſor, *de Ludicra dictione*, pag. 149.

(20) Ibid. pag. 150.

HELOISE, the concubine, and afterwards wife of Peter Abelard; a Nun, and afterwards Prioreſs of Argenteuil; and laſtly, Abbeſs of the Paraclete, has made ſo much noiſe, that ſhe deſerves an article of ſome length in this Dictionary. She had an uncle, by the mother's ſide, named Fulbert [*A*], who was a Canon of Paris, and had a tender affection

[*A*] *She had an uncle, by the mother's ſide, called Fulbert.*] This is the only very certain particular I have found, with regard to the genealogy of Heloiſe; I therefore did not ſay, that ſhe was related, in a legitimate way, to the antient family of Montmorenci. I have indeed read this in the apologetical Preface of Francis d'Amboiſe (1); but as he does not cite any author on this occaſion, and as Andrew du Cheſne (2) makes no mention of it, I look upon the truth of it to be very doubtful; particularly as Heloiſe owns, in her Letters, that her family had been greatly honoured by her marriage with Abelard, and that this laſt had married very much beneath himſelf. *Quanto amplius te pro me humiliando ſatisfeceras, & me pariter & totum genus meum ſublimaveras, tanto te minus tam apud Deum, quam apud illos proditores obnoxium pœnæ reddideras* (3). Papyrius Maſſo (4) aſſerts, that Heloiſe was the natural daughter of one John, Canon of Paris. Andrew du Cheſne has reaſon not to lay any ſtreſs on this, ſince the author does ſay whence he borrowed that curious circumſtance; but then he has no reaſon to oppoſe to this Annaliſt, the Calendar of the Paraclet, in which the following words are found: VII *Cal. Januar. obiit Hubertus* (5) *Canonicus Dominæ Heloïſæ avunculus.* i. e. "Hubert, uncle to Heloiſe, died the "twenty ſixth of December:" for what can be eaſier than to reconcile Papyrius Maſſo and this Calendar? May not a young woman be baſtard to one Canon, and niece to another Canon? But once again, he who ſays that Heloiſe was the natural daughter of one Canon,

(1) Ad *Oper. Abælardi.*

(2) Notis, *ad Hiſtor. Calamitat. Abælardi.*

(3) Pag. 51.

(4) *Annal.* lib. 3.

(5) This muſt be Fulbertus.

affection for her. He took the utmoſt care of her education; and as ſhe had a very fine genius, ſhe ſoon made ſo great a progreſs, that her reputation flew to all parts of the Kingdom [*B*]. She alſo was pretty handſome [*C*]. There was at that time in Paris a famous Doctor, who read public Lectures with prodigious reputation. This was Peter Abelard, the moſt ſubtle Logician of his age, and who began to bring Philoſophy and ſcholaſtic Divinity in vogue. He enjoyed all the fame and ſplendor which a perſon of his profeſſion could wiſh for or deſire; he had a vaſt number of pupils; he was thought to be a very great maſter; he got a great deal of money; but did not make love to any woman, which he thought was a great flaw in his fortune. In order therefore to complete his felicity, he thought that he ſhould entertain a fond paſſion, and he made choice of Heloiſe for his miſtreſs. We gave elſewhere (*a*), the reaſons which prompted him to make this choice; and in what manner he got into the Canon's houſe, as tutor to Heloiſe. Honeſt Fulbert had flattered himſelf with the hopes that his niece, under ſo great a maſter, would make a wonderful progreſs in the Sciences; but ſhe learnt nothing

(*a*) In the article ABELARD.

non, John, without quoting any author for it, will not deſerve credit. If there is reaſon to ſuſpect any Canon on this occaſion, it ſhould be Fulbert rather than any other; for the fondneſs which Abelard declares he had for Heloiſe, is ſo little found in uncles (6), and reſembles ſo very exactly the affection of the fondeſt fathers; that there is ſome room to imagine, that Fulbert acted like a multitude of others, who cannot be fathers according to the Canons; they conceal that nearer relation under the title of uncle, and accordingly bring up their own children under the name of nephews. This is what one might ſuſpect; but yet it ought not to regulate the ſtile, nor hinder us from giving perſons the names and titles under which they were known to the public. Fulbert, in a book, ought never to be mentioned under any character but that of uncle. It is to be obſerved, that, according to Papyrius Maſſo, the Canon who brought up Heloiſe, and cauſed Abelard to be caſtrated, was named John. This Hiſtorian therefore does not pretend, that Heloiſe was niece to a Canon, and natural daughter of another Canon. He pretends that the Canon, whom all other authors call Fulbert, and whom they conſider as Heloiſe's uncle, was her father, and named John. *Joannes Canonicus Pariſinus Heloyſam naturalem filiam habebat præſtanti ingenio formaque* (7).

(6) See the teſtimonies cited by Lambinus on theſe words of Ode 12. of Book 3. of Horace, *Metuentes patruæverbera linguæ.*

(7) Papyr. Maſſo, *Annal.* lib. 3. pag. m. 256.

[*B*] *She made ſo great a progreſs, that her reputation flew to all parts of the Kingdom.*] Let us hear Abelard. *Qui* (Fulbertus) *eam quanto amplius diligebat, tanto diligentius in omnem quam poterat ſcientiam literarum promoveri ſtuduerat. Quæ cum per faciem non eſſet infima, per abundantiam literarum erat ſuprema. Nam quo bonum hoc, literatoriæ ſcilicet ſcientiæ, in mulieribus eſt rarius, eò amplius puellam commendabat, & in toto regno nominatiſſimam facerat* (8). i. e. "As Fulbert lov-
" ed her moſt affectionately, he took care to have
" her inſtructed in all kinds of literature: And as ſhe
" was not the loweſt among her ſex with regard to
" beauty, ſhe was the higheſt with reſpect to learning.
" For as erudition is very rarely found among wo-
" men, it added to the glory of Heloiſe, and made
" her very famous all over the Kingdom." In that age, a young maiden, with a very ſmall ſhare of erudition, might paſs for a miracle. This the reader muſt obſerve, in order not to amplify the idea that is formed of our Heloiſe; and yet it muſt be looked upon as certain, that ſhe deſerves a glorious place among the *very learned* women. She was ſkilled, not only in the Latin tongue, but alſo in Greek and Hebrew. Abelard declares this alſo, in the Letter which he wrote to the Nuns of the Paraclet. *Magiſterium habetis in matre, quod ad omnia vobis ſufficere tam ad exemplum ſcilicet virtutum, quam ad doctrinam literarum poteſt, quæ non ſolum Latinæ, verum etiam tam Hebraicæ quam Græcæ non expers literaturæ, ſola hoc tempore illam trium linguarum adepta peritiam videtur, quæ ab omnibus in beato Hieronymo tanquam ſingularis gratia prædicatur* (9). Francis d'Amboiſe relates (10), that Heloiſe ſatisfied in a very ſubtle manner St. Bernard, who aſked her, why the Nuns of the monaſtry of the Paraclet, in their repeating the Lord's Prayer, did not ſay, *panem noſtrum quotidianum*, but *panem noſtrum ſuperſubſtantialem*. Heloiſe gave him a reaſon for this, taken from the originals, and obſerved to him, that they muſt follow the Greek verſion of the Goſpel, which St. Matthew had wrote in Hebrew. I know not whether ſuch an anſwer would have pleaſed St. Bernard; however I do not doubt but it might have puzzled him, and obliged him to quit the diſpute. I could wiſh with all my heart, that this incident were true; for it would be an inſtance of a woman's puzzling a great author, on a controverſial point, by quoting the Greek text. I therefore was very ſorry, I confeſs, when, on conſulting the Letter (11) cited by Francis d'Amboiſe, I found that Heloiſe had no hand in it; and that the whole remark is Abelard's, who wrote on that account to St. Bernard, after Heloiſe had informed him of the exceptions, which were made to the *panem ſuperſubſtantialem*. However, be this ſaid without prejudice to the learning of that Abbeſs. If any one ſhould imagine, that ſhe did not acquire learning till after ſhe had confined herſelf to a cloyſter, I would refer them to a Letter of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Clugni, which declares that ſhe had made a very great progreſs in literature before ſhe embraced a monaſtic life. *Necdum*, ſays he to her (12), *metas adoleſcentiæ exceſſeram, necdum in juveniles annos evaſeram, quando nomen non quidem adhuc religionis tuæ, ſed honeſtorum tamen & laudabilium ſtudiorum mihi fama innotuit. Audiebam tunc temporis mulierem, licet necdum ſæculi nexibus expeditam, literatoriæ ſcientiæ & ſtudio ſæcularis ſapientiæ ſummam operam dare, quo efferendo ſtudio tuo & mulieres omnes eviciſti, & pene viros univerſos ſuperaſti.* i. e. "When I was but a lad, the fame, not indeed as yet
" of your ſanctity, but of your polite and laudable
" ſtudies, reached me. I was informed that a wo-
" man, although not withdrawn from the avocations
" of the world, did nevertheleſs apply herſelf in the
" moſt intenſe manner to Letters, and to the ſtudy of
" human literature; by which vigorous purſuit you
" not only ſurpaſſed all your own ſex, but almoſt all
" ours." The Monk of Auxerre affirms, that ſhe was well ſkilled in Latin and Hebrew; and the Calendar of the Paraclet ſays as follows of her: *Heloïſe mere & premiere Abbeſſe de ceans, de doctrine & religion très-reſplendiſſante* (13). i. e. "Heloiſe, mother
" and Abbeſs of this Monaſtry, moſt illuſtrious for her
" erudition and piety."

(8) Abæl. *Oper.* pag. 10.

(9) Ibid. pag. 200.

(10) *Præfat. Apologet.*

(11) It is the 5th of lib. 2.

(12) Vide *Oper. Abælardi*, pag. 337.

(13) *See* Andrew du Cheſne's *Notes*, on Abelard's *Letter de Hiſt. Calamitat.* pag. 1187.

[*C*] *She was pretty handſome.*] I find that a great number of authors declare Heloiſe to have been a miracle in beauty; but ought they to be credited rather than Abelard, who, having more reaſon to amplify rather than leſſen the perfections of Heloiſe, contents himſelf with ſaying, that ſhe was not the laſt of her ſex in beauty, but was the firſt in erudition; *cum per faciem non eſſet infima, per abundantiam literarum erat ſuprema?* Would a perſon expreſs himſelf in this manner, when he was ſpeaking of a finiſhed beauty? Could a lover, whoſe buſineſs it is to juſtify his choice, and the violence of his paſſion, employ ſuch a rhetorical figure? Some (14) obſerve, that Heloiſe was eighteen years of age when Abelard debauched her; but I have not found this circumſtance in any antient author. It is true indeed that the word *adoleſcentula*, which Abelard employs (15), may very well ſuit the age of eighteen. That of *juvencula* which Heloiſe made uſe of (16), agrees alſo with the ſame age; but nothing can be concluded from ſuch a proof. It is a chimæra to aſſert, that Abelard, in his romance of the roſe, drew Heloiſe's picture under the name of *Beauty* (17); that romance not being writ till after his death.

(14) *Hiſtoire abregée d'Eloïſe & d'Abelard*, Hague 1693.

(15) *Operum*, pag. 10.

(16) Ibid. p. 47.

(17) The author of the *Hiſtoire Abregée*, above cited, ſays this.

thing but love. Her docility, with reſpect to this paſſion, was wonderful. She made ſuch ſwift advances in a ſhort time, that her maſter was ſoon indulged the laſt favour; and that without her inſiſting, in any manner, upon a promiſe of marriage. Abelard immerſed himſelf ſo much in thoſe pleaſures, which Cupid diſpenſes [*D*], that he grew negligent with regard to his Lectures. He himſelf confeſſes, that he was inſatiable on theſe occaſions, and that he rioted in thoſe pleaſures without diſtinction of times and places [*E*]; without making the leaſt difference between feſtival and ordinary days; between ſacred and profane places; that he no longer ſtruck out any thing new in Philoſophy; and wrote nothing but verſes in an amorous ſtrain [*F*]. His pupils ſoon found out the cauſe, upon their enquiring into the reaſon of his remiſſneſs with reſpect to his Lectures.

[*D*] *Abelard immerſed himſelf ſo much in thoſe pleaſures, which Cupid diſpenſes.*] We muſt hear Abelard himſelf, in order not to loſe any thing of the ſtrength of his expreſſions. *Nullus à cupidis intermiſſus eſt gradus amoris, & ſi quid inſolitum amor excogitare potuit, eſt additum. Et quo minus illa fueramus experti gaudia ardentius illis inſiſtebamus, & minus in faſtidium vertebantur* (18). i. e. "So great was the exceſs of our "paſſion, that not one degree of love was left unattempted; and if love could invent any thing new "and unuſual, it was added. And the leſs we had "experienced thoſe joys, the more greedily we rioted "in them, and were the leſs cloyed." He compares himſelf to thoſe who have ſuffered hunger a long time, and who afterwards meet wherewithal to ſatiate their cravings in an ample manner. A man who has lived chaſtly is more apt to commit exceſs with his wife, than one who has been a rake.

(18) Pag. 11.

[*E*] . . . . . *without diſtinction of times and places.*] We muſt again hear Abelard himſelf, in a Letter which he wrote to Heloiſe, a long time after they had devoted themſelves to a monaſtic life. He glances at their paſt conduct, and in what manner he dallied with her in the corner of the refectory of the Nuns of Argenteuil; there being no other place convenient for that purpoſe, and having no veneration or regard for the bleſſed Virgin, to whom that place was dedicated. *Noſti poſt noſtri confœderationem conjugii, cum Argenteoli cum Sanctimonialibus in clauſtro converſabaris, me die quadam privatim ad te viſitandum veniſſe, & quid ibi tecum meæ libidinis egerit intemperantia in quadam etiam parte ipſius refectorii, cum quò alias diverteremus, non haberemus. Noſti, inquam, id impudentiſſime tunc actum eſſe, in tam reverendo loco & ſummæ Virgini conſecrato. . . . . Quid priſtinas fornicationes & impudentiſſimas referam pollutiones, quæ conjugium præceſſerunt* (19)? i. e. "You know, when after our marriage, you lived "with the Nuns at Argenteuil, that I one day came "to ſee you privately, and what my immoderate luſt "made me act with you, in a corner even of the re"fectory, having no opportunity to retire elſewhere. "You know, I ſay, that we acted moſt impudently, "in ſo awful a place, dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin. "." . . . . Why ſhould I relate the leudneſſes and moſt "impudent pollutions, which preceded our marriage?" He tells her a little after, that ſhe cannot but remember, that neither the moſt ſolemn feſtivals, nor even Good-Friday, could deter him from plunging into this ſlough, and that whenever ſhe made any ſcruples on that account, he would employ menaces, and even ſcourgings, to make her conſent to his wiſhes. *Noſti quantis turpitudinibus immoderata mea libido corpora noſtra addixerat, ut nulla honeſtatis vel Dei reverentia in ipſis etiam diebus Dominicæ paſſionis, vel quantarumcunque ſolemnitatum, ab hujus luti volutabro me revocaret. Sed & te nolentem & prout poteras reluctantem & diſſuadentem quæ natura infirmior eras, ſæpius minis ac flagellis ad conſenſum trahebam* (20). Here we have a man, who is perfectly free from the ſuperſtitions of thoſe, who obſerved days and feaſts, new moons and ſabbaths (21).

(19) Pag. 69.

(20) Ibid.

(21) See the *Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Coloſſ.* chap. ii. ver. 16.

[*F*] *Abelard now wrote nothing but verſes in an amorous ſtrain.*] He himſelf informs us of this particular: *Ita negligentem & tepidum lectio tunc habebat, ut jam nihil ex ingenio, ſed ex uſu cuncta proferrem, nec jam niſi recitator priſtinorum eſſem inventorum, & ſi qua invenire liceret, carmina eſſent amatoria, non philoſophiæ ſecreta* (22). i. e. "I at that time was ſo negligent "and remiſs in my lectures, that whatever I ſaid was "from rote and not from genius: I repeated nothing "but what I had formerly invented; and if I hap"pened to ſtrike out any thing new, it was amorous "verſes, and not the ſecrets of philoſophy." He adds, that theſe verſes were ſtill ſung in ſeveral provinces, and chiefly by perſons who made love. *Quorum etiam carminum pleraque adhuc in multis, ſicut & ipſa noſti, frequentantur & decantantur regionibus, ab his maxime quos vita ſimilis oblectat.* Heloiſe herſelf informs us of ſtill more particulars. She ſays, that her Abelard poſſeſſed two talents, which were not found in other Philoſophers, and by which he could quickly engage the heart of any woman; and this was, his being a fine writer, and having a charming voice. He made ſuch pretty love verſes, and ſuch agreeable ſongs, both with regard to the words and tunes, that they charmed univerſally, ſo that the author's name was in every one's mouth. The women were not ſatisfied at being charmed with Abelard's ſongs and verſes; but were likewiſe ſmit with his perſon, and at laſt fell diſtractedly in love with him. And as the ſubject of moſt of his Poems related only to his paſſion for Heloiſe, the name of this much loved miſtreſs ſoon flew into the Provinces, and made a numberleſs multitude of women envy her happineſs. I enervate very much Heloiſe's expreſſions, and do not think that they are to be taken literally. As ſhe loved Abelard even to madneſs ſhe fancied that no woman could ſee him, without falling paſſionately in love with him, and this made her ſay, that there was no wife nor maid, who, in Abelard's abſence, did not wiſh for him; and, in his preſence, was not quite fired with love; and that even Queens and Ladies of high diſtinction envied the pleaſures ſhe enjoyed with ſo charming a man. Here follows the Latin, which is much more ſignificant and expreſſive (23). *Quæ conjugata, quæ virgo non concupiſcebat abſentem, & non exardebat in præſentem? Quæ Regina vel præpotens fœmina gaudiis meis non invidebat vel thalamis? Duo autem, fateor, tibi ſpecialiter inerant, quibus feminarum quarumlibet animos ſtatim allicere poteras, dictandi videlicet & cantandi gratia, quæ ceteros minime, philoſophos affecutos eſſe novimus. Quibus quidem quaſi ludo quodam laborem exercitii recreans philoſophici pleraque amatorio metro vel rithmo compoſita reliquiſti carmina, quæ præ nimia ſuavitate tam dictaminis quam cantus ſæpius frequentata tuum in ore omnium nomen inceſſanter tenebant, ut etiam illiteratos melodiæ dulcedo tui non ſineret immemores eſſe. Atque hinc maxime in amorem tui feminæ ſuſpirabant. Et cum horum pars maxima carminum noſtros decantaret amores, multis me regionibus brevi tempore nunciavit* (24), *& multorum in me feminarum accendit invidiam.* i. e. "What wife, what maid &c. "." . . . With theſe (poetry and muſic,) as with ſome "ſport, you uſed to recreate your mind after your phi"loſophical toils; and compoſed many verſes in an "amorous ſtrain, which, both on account of the ex"ceſſive ſweetneſs of the words as well as muſic, were "in every one's mouth; and ſpread your fame ſo uni"verſally, that even ſuch as were unſkilled in harmo"ny reſounded your praiſes. By this means you "chiefly ingratiated yourſelf with the fair: and as "the greateſt part of thoſe Poems celebrated our fond "paſſion, they ſpread my name, in a ſhort time, to "many Nations; and raiſed the envy of many "women againſt me." Had Abelard been author of the Romance of the Roſe, and had he therein drawn the picture of his Heloiſe, under the name of beauty, ſhe would have been far from ſuppreſſing that circumſtance, and this was the proper place for taking notice of it; ſo that, tho' we did not know that this Romance was wrote a hundred years after Abelard, we yet might know, from Heloiſe's ſilence, that there is no reaſon for aſcribing that Romance to him, in the little Book ſo often cited (25); much leſs was there reaſon to make Heloiſe ſay this in the Tranſlation of her Letter. But to reſume

(22) Page 12.

(23) *Oper. Abælardi*, pag. 46.

(24) She ſays as follows, pag. 48. *Cum me ad temporales olim voluptates expeteres, crebris me epiſtolis viſitabas, frequenti carmine tuam in ore omnium Heloiſſam ponebas: me plateæ omnes, me domus ſingulæ reſonabant.* i. e. "When you formerly excited "me to worldly "pleaſures, I received many "letters from "you; and your "Heloiſe, by being ſo often celebrated in your "verſes, was in "every one's "mouth; and "my charms "were ſung in "every ſtreet and "houſe."

(25) *Hiſtoire d'Eloïſe & d'Abelard*, printed at the Hague in 1693.

tures. Slander ſpread her venom ſwiftly through all parts of the city, and at laſt reached the uncle's ear [*G*]; but made no impreſſion upon him at firſt, ſo ſtrongly was he prejudiced in favour of the prudent conduct of Abelard as well as of Heloiſe; but its repeated clamours at laſt diſpelled his incredulity, upon which the pretended Preceptor left the Canon's houſe. He carried off Heloiſe from it, as ſoon as he knew that ſhe was with child; and diſguiſing her in a Nun's habit (*b*), he ſent her into Britany to one of his ſiſters, and there ſhe was delivered of a boy. Fulbert was highly exaſperated againſt Abelard, who now kept upon his guard; but hoping at the ſame time that his enemy would not dare to kill him, or lop off any limb, ſo long as he ſhould be afraid of his making repriſals on Heloiſe. In order to ſet his mind at eaſe, he promiſed the uncle that he would marry his niece whom he had debauched, provided the marriage were kept ſecret. However, it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he prevailed with Heloiſe to conſent to this, who employed a multitude of reaſons, to prejudice him againſt the Conjugal State [*H*]. The paſſion with which ſhe was fired was ſo ſtrong and inordinate,

(*b*) *Noſti etiam quando te gravidam in meam tranſmiſi patriam, ſacro te habitu indutam Monialem te finxiſſe, & tali ſimulatione tuæ quam nunc habes religioni inreverenter illuſiſſe.* Abæl. *Epiſt. ad Hel.* pag. 70.

reſume our ſubject: a perſon would not believe unleſs experience had proved it to him, that verſes, letters, and ſongs had the vertue or power to advance ſo greatly the affairs of a lover (26); but here we have a witneſs, on that ſubject, worth a thouſand. The wits of this age complain, that their compoſitions have not the ſame effect, as in the days of our fore-fathers. I confeſs that the times are changed, but yet not entirely. Conſult the new Letters againſt Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm (27). By the way, as to what Heloiſe obſerves concerning the weakneſs of her own ſex with regard to Abelard, it is confirmed by a certain Prior named Foulques, whoſe article muſt be conſulted.

(26) *See* Ovid, *de Arte Amandi*, lib. 3. pag. 205.

(27) Pag. 590, *& ſeq.* and pag. 746, *& ſeq.*

[*G*] *Slander .... at laſt reached the uncle's ear.*] This *at laſt* ſeems a little ſtrange at firſt ſight; but they who are acquainted with mankind know, that, on theſe occaſions, ſuch perſons who are moſt concerned in a piece of news are the laſt who hear it. Abelard cites to this purpoſe a good paſſage from a Letter of St. Jerom to Sabinian (28). *Solemus mala domus noſtræ ſcire noviſſimi, ac liberorum ac conjugum vitia vicinis canentibus ignorare.* The irregularities of our wives and children are trumpeted all over the neighhourhood, whilſt we ourſelves are as yet ignorant of them; but they at laſt reach our ears; it not being poſſible for one ſingle perſon to be unacquainted with what is known to every one beſide: *Sed quod noviſſime ſcitur, utique ſciri* (29) *quandoque contingit, & quod omnes deprehendunt non eſt facile unum latere.* St. Jerom, in another place, has confirmed his maxim by two illuſtrious examples; the firſt being that of Sylla, the ſecond of Pompey. The intrigues of Metella, Sylla's wife, were become the town-talk in Athens, before the huſband knew any thing of her gallantries. The invectives of the Athenians, againſt whom he was making war, firſt thundered it in his ear. The adulterous practices of Mucia, wife to Pompey, were become ſo public, that every one imagined he was acquainted with them; but he yet was an entire ſtranger to thoſe intrigues, till a ſoldier in his army informed him of them. *L. Syllæ (felicius ſi non habuiſſet uxorem) Metella conjux palam erat impudica, & (quia noviſſimi mala noſtra diſcimus) id Athenis cantabatur & Sylla ignorabat, ſecretaque domus ſuæ primum hoſtium convicio didicit. Cn. Pompejo Muciam uxorem impudicam quam Pontici Spadones & Mithridaticæ ambiebant catervæ, cum eum putarent cæteri ſcientem pati, indicavit in expeditione commilito, & victorem totius orbis triſti nuncio conſternavit* (30). We might add, as a third example, the Emperor Claudius, who was wholly ignorant of the infamous conduct of Meſſalina (31), at the time when the whole world knew that ſhe had proſtituted herſelf in the public brothels; had carried many Ladies thither; and, to complete her impudent conduct, had married another man. The preſent age has furniſhed one of thoſe examples, in Marſhal de la ——— It is affirmed, but I can ſcarce believe it, that he did not know of the intrigue between his wife and Count de .... at the time when the ſon, whom that Count had by her, had been naturalized openly in the Parliament. Perſons in a lower condition of life are not exempt from this irregularity. How many people do we ſee, who are always acquainted with the whole news of the town, thoſe particulars excepted which are injurious to their own family? They are like the man whom Martial ridicules ſo pleaſantly (32); and they profit but little by the old proverb, *Ædibus in noſtris quæ prava aut recta gerantur* (33). Studious men, thoſe I mean who confine themſelves too much in their cloſets, where they are for ever meditating on ſome new compoſition, are ſometimes in the condition we are now ſpeaking of. Tho' they are perfectly well acquainted with the family misfortune of Sylla and Pompey who died ſo many ages ſince, they don't know that the ſame trick is played them not far from their cloſets. Such is the way of the world.

(28) *Ex* tom. 1. Epiſt. 48.

(29) Theſe words are cited in the editions of Abelard, as a ſequel of what I have already quoted of St. *Jerom's Letter to Sabinian*, but they are not in that *Letter*.

(30) D. Hieronym. *adverſ. Jovinian.*

(31) Dio Caſſius, lib. 60. Juvenal Satyr 10. ver. 342. ſays on this ſubject, *Dedecus ille domus ſciet ultimus.*

(32) Epig. 9. lib. 7.

(33) Ὁτοι τοῖ ἐν Μεγάροισι κακῶν τ' ἀγαθῶν τε τέτυκται. Homer. *Odyſſ.* lib. 4.

A Writer of the ſixteenth Century employs a famous example, to confirm the maxim he had laid down, viz. thoſe whom it moſt concerns to be informed of a domeſtic misfortune, are the laſt who know it; whereas, they are the firſt who hear news of ſuch things as ought to be indifferent to them. *Solet uſu venire*, ſays he (34), *ut domeſtica mala ultimi ſint qui norint, quorum maxime intereſt ea non ignorare, iidem principes norint aliena, & quorum nullus ad eos pertinet ſenſus.* After giving ſome reaſons for this odd circumſtance, he relates that, not many years before, a very great King put to death thoſe who had diſhonoured his nuptial bed; and that as their execution was ſo ſudden, that there was not an hour's interval between their impeachment and death, it was a proof that the Monarch in queſtion had not heard long before of that incident, tho' the news of it had been ſpread far and wide into other countries. *Accidit hoc quidem, me puero, in magna atque illuſtri Europæ regia, quo minus diu obſcura res eſſe poſſit, ut in regina, læſi pudoris fama prius apud exteras gentes longe lateque evagata emanaret, quàm is, cujus in eo erat læſa majeſtas maculam regio nomini impoſitam, eorum ſanguine, quorum erat ſcelere violata, eluerit. Satis quidem potuit indicio eſſe, poſtremum omnium reſciſſe, ita ſumptum de reis ſupplicium, ut inter id & delatum ſontium nomen, ne horæ quidem momentum intercedere ſit paſſus* (35).

(34) J. Michael Brutus, *in Præceptis conjugalibus*, pag. 798. edit. 1698.

(35) Idem, ibid.

[*H*] *She employed a multitude of reaſons, to prejudice him againſt the Conjugal ſtate.*] Theſe reaſons were reduced to two heads, viz. the danger and diſhonour to which marriage would render Abelard obnoxious. I know my uncle, would ſhe ſay to him: Nothing will be able to appeaſe his wrath; and then, what glory ſhall I have in being your wife, ſince I ſhall quite ruin your reputation? What execrations may I not juſtly fear, ſhould I deprive the world of ſo great a luminary as Abelard; and what injury ſhall I not do to the Church? What ſorrow ſhall I not give Philoſophers? What ſhame and injury will you do your ſelf, ſhould you, whom nature has created for the public good, devote your ſelf entirely to a woman? Reflect on the following words of St. Paul; *Art thou looſed from a wife, ſeek not a wife.* And if neither the counſels of this great Apoſtle, nor the exhortations of the holy Fathers, have the power to diſſuade you from taking up ſuch a burthen, conſider at leaſt what Philoſophers have ſaid of it. Hearken to Theophraſtus, who has proved by a great number of reaſons, that a wiſe man ought not to marry. Hear Cicero, who having divorced Terentia, anſwered Hirtius, who offered to give him his daughter in marriage, that he could not accept of his propoſal, becauſe he could not divide his cares between philoſophy and a wife. Beſides, what conformity is there between maid ſervants and male pupils; between inkhorns and cradles, books and diſtaffs, pens and ſpindles? How will it be poſſible for you to bear, in the midſt of theological and philoſophical meditations, the ſqualing of children, the ſongs of nurſes, and the buſtle of houſe-keeping?

nate, that it extinguiſhed all ſenſations of honour in her mind [*I*]; it took ſuch deep root, and diſtracted her to ſuch a degree, that ſhe could never eraze it [*K*]. It was to no

I ſay nothing of the filth and perpetual ill ſmells, which are inſeparable from young children. *Quis ſacris vel philoſophicis meditationibus intentus pueriles vagitus, nutricum quæ hos mitigant nænias, tumultuoſam familiæ tam in viris quam in fœminis turbam ſuſtinere poterit? Quis etiam inhoneſtas illas parvulorum ſordes aſſiduas tolerare valebit* (36)? Wealthy perſons can ſecure themſelves from theſe ſeveral inconveniencies, by the diverſity of apartments they have in their houſes; the expences and cares of each returning day cannot give them any uneaſineſs; but it is not ſo with Philoſophers; and whoſoever is deſirous of heaping up riches, and employs himſelf in worldly employments, makes himſelf incapable of diſcharging the duties of the Philoſopher and Divine. Obſerve the conduct of the ancient Sages, as well under the Pagan Syſtem, as among the Jews; and if Heathens and laymen have preferred a ſingle life to marriage, would it not be a great ſhame for a Clergyman and Canon as you are, to prefer ſenſual reaſons to divine offices? But tho' you ſhould have no great regard to the prerogative of the eccleſiaſtical character, at leaſt maintain the dignity and character of a Philoſopher. Heloiſe concluded her ſermon with ſaying, that it would reflect greater honour on him, and be more delightful to her, for Abelard to be her gallant rather than her huſband. That ſhe would be united to him, not by the neceſſity of the conjugal tie, but by the ſole affection of her heart; and that their pleaſures would be infinitely more exquiſite, ſhould they ſee one another but now and then. We ſhall expatiate on this laſt reaſon in the remark [*U*]. In the mean time here follows Paquier's reflection on Heloiſe's words, *I will not*, ſays he (37), *repreſent to you all the arguments ſhe employed to bring him over to her opinion; but this I can affirm, that I never read, in any Orator, ſo many elegant expreſſions and perſuaſive ſentences, in order to gain a point, as were employed by Heloiſe.* I muſt inform my readers, that I have very much curtailed the remonſtrance of our fair-one; and was ſurprized that ſhe did not employ ſome reaſon, from her lover's being in Orders (38). Does not this ſeem to prove, that it was not yet believed, that Eccleſiaſtics were bound to lead a ſingle life?

(36) *Oper. Abælardi*, pag. 14.

(37) *Recherch. de la France*, liv. 6. cap. 17.

(38) I mean, that ſhe did not alledge, that perſons in orders are forbid marrying.

[*I*] *The paſſion with which ſhe was fired, . . . extinguiſhed all ſenſations of honour in her mind.*] The paſſion of love will very often ſtifle or ſurmount the ſenſations of conſcience; but it is very rarely obſerved to ſuppreſs a ſenſe of honour; and, if we except a ſmall number of perſons of low-birth, who, for the moſt part, have not even had a common education beſtowed upon them; all young girls, who yield to Cupid, generally put one of the four ſtrings following to their bow: They hope, either that they ſhall not be got with child; or otherwiſe, to procure a miſcarriage by ſome medicament; to lie in unknown to every one; or to prevail with their ſpark to marry them; and this ſhews, that if love is ſometimes the ſtrongeſt tyrant in their hearts, it is yet ſuch a tyrant as leaves honour in poſſeſſion of its rights. See the famous Sonnet *de l'Averton* (on the untimely Birth) the author of which has ſo ſtrongly repreſented the power of honour and the power of love, alternately conquerors and conquered. Our Heloiſe's love raged to that exceſs, that ſhe no longer valued honour or reputation; for in the firſt place, ſhe was overjoyed to find herſelf with child; *Non multo autem poſt puella ſe concepiſſe comperit, & cum ſumma exultatione mihi ſuper hoc illico ſcripſit, conſulens quid de hoc ipſe faciendum deliberarem* (39); and ſecondly, ſhe did all that lay in her power, to prevent the marrying the man who had got her with child; two things, which are not only more rarely found than the moſt dreadful monſters, when they are joined together; but alſo, the firſt of them, ſingly, is never ſeen but in ſuch caſes in which love has little ſhare; and wherein a woman has no other view, but to make ſure of a very advantageous match, which ſhe deſpaired of obtaining, without the noiſe and buſtle of a big belly. How many young women had rather have a huſband forced upon them by an Arret of Parliament, than to live with an everlaſting ſtain of reputation? They are firmly perſuaded that their future huſband will revenge himſelf with a high intereſt; and that they will pay very dearly for the Arret; however they are reſolved not to value this, provided the title of huſband repairs the breach made in their honour. Our Heloiſe was far from entertaining any ſcruples of that kind. See the following remark, and eſpecially the remark [*U*].

(39) *Abælard*, pag. 13.

[*K*] . . . *Could never eraze it.*] Is it erazing the paſſion of love, or the being cured of it, for a woman to ſay, ſeveral years after ſhe had quitted the world, and embraced a cloyſtered life, *That ſhe would rather be Abelard's whore, than lawful wife to the Emperor of the whole earth?* Now this our Heloiſe, when ſhe was Abbeſs of the Paraclet, declared; and to this ſhe called God as witneſs. *Deum teſtem invoco, ſi me Auguſtus univerſo præſidens mundo matrimonii honore dignaretur, totumque mihi orbem confirmaret in perpetuo præſidendum, charius mihi & dignius mihi videretur* TUA DICI MERETRIX, *quàm illius Imperatrix* (40). How can it be ſaid, that Heloiſe's paſſion had quitted her in the Abbey of Paraclet, ſince ſhe there writes ſuch an ingenuous confeſſion of the ill ſtate of her ſoul, as ſhews that the fire of love pierced to her very bones? I dare not expreſs in French the ſeveral accuſations ſhe brings againſt herſelf. She confeſſes that the pleaſures ſhe had enjoyed in Abelard's arms, had inchanted her to ſuch a degree, that ſhe reflected on them day and night, ſleeping and waking, and even during the ſolemnization of maſs. She regretted the loſs of them perpetually; and, for want of a ſubſtantial way, repeated them in imagination. Thoſe who underſtand Latin, will perceive with what ſtrength of eloquence Heloiſe could expreſs the ſenſations of her ſoul. *In tantum verò illæ quas pariter exercuimus amantium voluptates, dulces mihi fuerunt, ut nec diſplicere mihi, nec vix à memoria labi poſſint. Quocunque loco me vertam ſemper ſe oculis meis cum ſuis ingerunt deſideriis. Nec etiam dormienti ſuis illuſionibus parcunt. Inter ipſa miſſarum ſolemnia, ubi purior eſſe debet oratio, obſcœna earum voluptatum fantaſmata ita ſibi penitus miſerrimam captivant animam, ut turpitudinibus illis magis quàm orationi vacem. Quæ cum ingemiſcere debeam de commiſſis, ſuſpiro potius de amiſſis. Nec ſolum quæ egimus, ſed loca pariter & tempora, in quibus hæc egimus, ita tecum noſtro infixa ſunt animo, ut in ipſis omnia tecum agam, nec dormiens etiam ab his quieſcam. Nonnunquam & ipſo motu corporis animi mei cogitationes deprehenduntur, nec à verbis temperant improviſis* (41). This forced her to cry out with St. Paul (42). *O wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from the body of this death?* Would to God, continued ſhe, that I could truly add, *the grace of God through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* That grace, ſays ſhe to her Abelard, has prevented you, my dear, in delivering you from all the incentives of luſt, by that ſingle ſtroke of a knife whereby you were made an eunuch. . . . But my youth, and the experience I have had of paſt pleaſures, light up in the ſtrongeſt manner thoſe fires in my ſoul; and the weaker I am by nature, the more I ſink under thoſe violent attacks. *Hæc te gratia, chariſſime, prævenit, & ab his tibi ſtimulis una corporis plaga medendo multas in anima ſanavit. . . . . hos autem in me ſtimulos carnis, hæc incentiva libidinis ipſe juvenilis fervor ætatis & jucundiſſimarum experientia voluptatum plurimum accendunt, & tanto amplius ſua me impugnatione opprimunt, quanto infirmior eſt natura quam oppugnant* (43). Laſtly, ſhe recommends herſelf to his prayers, with ſo much the more earneſtneſs, as that is the only remedy which her incontinence can find in him. *Time obſecro ſemper de me potius quam confidas, ut tua ſemper ſollicitudine adjuver. Nunc verò præcipuè timendum* (44). Thoſe who ſlandered Abelard for going ſo often to the Paraclet (45), were doubtleſs raſh in their judgment, ſince they did not know the internal diſpoſition of Heloiſe; but had they known it, they ought to have endeavoured to get thoſe viſits prohibited; they having reaſon to fear, that it would be impoſſible, but that this woman, humanly ſpeaking, muſt commit impure acts with Abelard. The Fathers of the Church never truſted to mutilations; they comparing an eunuch to an ox whoſe horns are cut off, notwithſtanding which he buts

(40) Pag. 15.

(41) Pag. 59.

(42) Epiſt. to the Romans, chap. 7.

(43) Pag. 60.

(44) Pag. 61.

(45) See the article ABELARD, remark [*T*].

no purpoſe that they emaſculated poor Abelard [*L*] ; that ſhe herſelf aſſumed a religious habit ; for ſhe ſtill retained ſome tincture of this frenzy [*M*] : and the *Lettres Portuguaiſes* did not firſt ſhew, that it belongs to Nuns only to talk of love-matters ; Heloiſe's Letters having long before proved the truth of this aſſertion. However this be, this fond creature employed, to no purpoſe, all her wit and all her eloquence, to diſſuade Abelard from this marriage. They were ſecretly married ; but Heloiſe always denied in the moſt ſolemn manner that ſhe was his wife (*c*). For this behaviour ſhe was ill uſed by her uncle, who, to throw a veil over the diſhonour which had been brought on his family, publiſhed the marriage in all places, though he had promiſed Abelard never to mention it. The ill treatment which Heloiſe met with at Fulbert's, made her huſband reſolve to remove her from his houſe, and to ſend her to the Nuns of Argenteuil, where ſhe had been brought up. This ſecond elopement put her relations out of all patience. They harboured a moſt odd kind of vengeance againſt him, and put it in execution by bribing Abelard's valet. This wretch opened the door in the dead of night to the villains, who were to perpetrate the horrid deed. They ſurprized him in his ſleep, and cut off certain parts which muſt be nameleſs (*d*). This action made a great noiſe [*N*] ; and the next morning people went, as in proceſſion, to Abelard's apartment. His pupils made ſtill greater moan than any. The women were diſtinguiſhed by the bitterneſs of their complaints [*O*]. Some very curious letters were wrote to Abelard, to conſole him for his misfortune [*P*]. The Magiſtrates puniſhed the wretches who had perpetrated this action with great ſeverity [*Q*] ; notwithſtanding which, Abelard was ſo much aſhamed, and ſeized with ſuch deſpair, that he went and immured himſelf in the convent of St. Denys, after ordering Heloiſe to take the veil in Argenteuil. We have taken notice elſewhere of his tranſaction after he had aſſumed a religious habit ; and of his being ſentenced to throw, with his own hands, a book he had written into the flames, &c. He was more grieved for the loſs of this book than for that of his virility [*R*] ; and yet, when one loſes a book, another may be recovered, but the loſs in the

(c) *Avunculus ipſius atque domeſtici ejus ignominiæ ſuæ ſolatium quærentes, initum matrimonium divulgare & fidem mihi ſuper hoc datam violare cœperunt. Illa autem è contra anathematizare & jurare, quia falſiſſimum eſſet.* Abælard. *Hiſtor. Calamitatum*, pag. 17.

(d) *Crudeliſſima & pudentiſſima ultione punierunt, & quam ſumma admiratione mundus excepit, eis videlicet corporis mei partibus amputatis, quibus id quod plangebant commiſeram.* Ibid.

buts with them. See a fine paſſage of St. Baſil on this ſubject, in our remarks on the article COMBABUS

(46) Citation (6). (46) But as appearances are ſometimes deceitful, I ſhould not approve that thoſe, who, know the true ſtate of Heloiſe's ſoul, ſhould imagine that ſhe tranſgreſſed the rules, when ſhe and her huſband met together, and that ſhe ſometimes had occaſion to write to him : *Si libidinoſa eſſem, quererer decepta ; nunc etiam languori tuo gratias ago : in umbra voluptatis diutius luſi* (47).

(47) Circe Polyæno, *apud* Petronium.

[*L*] *It was to no purpoſe that they emaſculated poor Abelard.*] This was a love-remedy, which was very capable of operating, if we may believe certain verſes of Cyrano Bergerac (48). They are addreſſed to a man, to whom he had ſpoke as follows :

(48) See the Play intitled, *Le Pedant joué.*

J'entens que le diminutif
Qu'on fit de vrai trop exceſſif
Sur vôtre flaſque genitif
Vous prohibe le conjonctif.

After which he adds

O viſage ! ô portrait naïf !
O ſouverain expeditif
Pour guerir tout ſexe laſcif
D'amour naiſſant, ou effectif !
Genre neutre, genre metif,
Qui n'êtes homme qu'abſtractif,
Grace à vôtre copulatif,
Qu'a rendu fort imperfectif
Le cruel tranchant d'un canif.

But as no rule is ſo general, as not to admit of ſome exception, Heloiſe's paſſion was proof againſt this violent remedy. This ſhe had in common with Queen Stratonice already mentioned (49).

(49) In the article COMBABUS.

[*M*] *She ſtill retained ſome tincture of this frenzy.*] This is plain from the paſſages I cited in the remark [*K*]. They prove, not only that poor Heloiſe was governed by a carnal appetite, but alſo that her brain was a little turned ; for a woman in her right ſenſes would never have ſpoke in the manner ſhe did. It is manifeſt that ſtudy had begun to diſtract her, and that love greatly increaſed her diſorder. A vaſt number of marks of a crazy imagination are ſeen in her writings ; ſomething ſo wild, incoherent and inconſiſtent, that Heloiſe is a part of Seneca's maxim, *Nullum magnum ingenium ſine mixtura dementiæ* (50). i. e. " All mighty wits have ſtill a daſh of madneſs."

(50) See the citation (78) of the article CARDAN.

[*N*] *This action made a great noiſe.*] Here follows what Abelard ſays of this matter (51) : *Mane autem facto tota ad me civitas congregata quanta ſtuperet admiratione, quanta ſe affligeret lamentatione, quanto me clamore vexarent, quanto planctu perturbarent, difficile imo impoſſibile eſt exprimi. Maximè verò Clerici, ac præcipuè Scholares noſtri, intolerabilius me lamentis & ejulatibus cruciabant.* See the article to which I refer in the following remark.

(51) *Operum*, pag. 17.

[*O*] *The women were diſtinguiſhed by the bitterneſs of their complaints.*] Abelard does not take notice of that circumſtance ; but we learn it from one of his friends who wrote a letter of conſolation to him. See the article FOULQUES (52).

(32) Remark [*I*].

[*P*] *Some very curious letters were wrote to Abelard, to conſole him for his misfortune.*] Foulques, Prior of Deuil, wrote one to him, which was inſerted in the edition of Abelard's works. We take notice of it in the article of this Prior ; and we tranſplant thither a great many particulars that belong to Heloiſe and her huſband ; and which would make their articles too long, were they not ſeparated, and tranſferred to another place. Thoſe who declare, that they had rather have all the particulars relating to a perſon in one place, have not duly weighed that matter.

[*Q*] *The Magiſtrates puniſhed the wretches who had perpetrated this action with great ſeverity.*] See the article FOULQUES (53), to which I refer for the two preceding remarks.

(53) Remark [*M*].

[*R*] *He was more grieved for the loſs of this book, than for that of his virility.*] Authors have been greatly rallied, on account of the exceſſive tenderneſs they entertain for their own compoſitions ; and, among other examples, that of Heliodorus the Biſhop has been cited ; a man who choſe to reſign his Biſhoprick, rather than condemn his romance of Theagines (54). What Sarraſin makes Voiture ſay has been alledged.

(54) See in the remark [*B*] of the article HELIODORUS, how far this ought to be credited.

Un autheur, qui dans ſon eſcrit,
Comme moi reçoit une offenſe,
Souffre plus que Job ne ſouffrit,
Bien qu'il eût d'extrêmes ſouffrances (55).

(55) *Poeſies*, pag. m. 87.

The ſenſe is,

" An author who, in his compoſitions, receives like " me an affront, ſuffers more than Job did, although " his ſufferings were extreme."

But I don't know that Abelard has been cited on this occaſion ; nevertheleſs, there is ſomething ſtill ſtronger in

the other caſe is irreparable [S]. With regard to Heloiſe, ſhe became Prioreſs of the Nuns of Argenteuil; but as the Nuns in this monaſtry led very ill lives [T], the Abbot of St. Denys, who pretended to be maſter of it, expelled the Nuns from it, whereby Heloiſe had great occaſion for her huſband. He had built an Oratory or Chapel near Troies, which he called Paraclet (e), and had afterwards accepted of an Abbey in Britany. Hearing that Heloiſe was in want of an habitation ever ſince her being expelled from Argenteuil, he gave her this Oratory with all its dependencies; which donation was confirmed by Pope Innocent II. Behold her therefore firſt Abbeſs of the Paraclet. Here ſhe gained ſuch univerſal eſteem, that numberleſs benefits were heaped upon her in a ſhort time. The Biſhops loved her as though ſhe had been their daughter, the Abbots as their ſiſter, and the Laity as their mother (f). Notwithſtanding this ſhe was greatly diſcontented at Providence (g); and murmured much more than Job. She carried on a correſpondence, by letter, with Abelard [U], and deſired him to ſend her ſome rules for

(e) See the article PARACLET.

(f) All this is extracted from Abelard's Letter intitled, *Hiſtoria Calamitatum*, a few particulars excepted, the proofs of which I cite ſeparately.

(g) See the article FOULQUES remark [K].

in his example, for Job was reſtored to his former flouriſhing condition, and begat ſons and daughters; and it is certain that Voiture would have choſe to be as Job for ſome time, rather than as Abelard to his grave; and that he would have thrown all his books and his muſes into the fire, had he been reduced to the neceſſity of burning them, or of loſing his virility. Where ſhould we find a Prelate, who would, not be prevailed upon to ſign the reſignation of his Biſhopric, in caſe a man, with an uplifted razor, ſhould threaten to. . . . in caſe he refuſed to ſign? Had Heliodorus been put to that ſad option, he doubtleſs would have conſented to the condemnation of his romance. But here we find a man declaring, that he conſiders the loſs of his pudenda as trifling, in compariſon of the loſs of a book, which he was forced to throw into the flames. But to judge impartially in this caſe, we muſt not aſcribe all Abelard's grief to the paternal affection, which he, as an author, muſt naturally have for his work. Another circumſtance gave him ſtill greater uneaſineſs, and this was, that by his being forced to burn his book, he thereby was branded with the ſtigma of hereſy, a puniſhment which anſwers to that of the hot iron. His murmurs againſt God's providence are another mark of his concern. Here follow his words, which it will be proper for me to cite, to prevent my being ſuſpected of amplifying matters, merely to divert my readers. *Deus, qui judicas æquitatem quanto tunc animi felle, quanta mentis amaritudine teipſum infamis arguebam, te furibundus accuſabam, ſæpiùs repetens illam beati Antonii* (56) *conqueſtionem*, Jeſu bone ubi eras? *Quanto autem dolore æſtuarem, quanta erubeſcentia confunderer, quanta deſperatione perturbarer ſentire tunc potui, proferre non poſſum. Conferebam cum his quæ in corpore paſſus olim fueram, quanta nunc ſuſtinerem, & omnium me æſtimabam miſerrimum.* PARVAM *illam ducebam proditionem in* COMPARATIONE *hujus injuriæ, & longè amplius famæ quam corporis detrimentum plangebam* (57). i. e. "O God who judgeſt righteouſly, with what "madneſs and bitterneſs of ſpirit did I, wretch that "I am, accuſe thee; frequently repeating the com- "plaint of St. Anthony, *Sweet Jeſus, where waſt "thou?* The grief with which I then was agitated, "the ſhame with which I was confounded, and the "deſpair with which I was tortured, I could "then feel, but cannot now deſcribe. I compared "with the evils which I formerly had ſuffered in my "body, thoſe I now ſuffered, and concluded my ſelf "to be the moſt miſerable of all men. I looked "upon that treachery I formerly met with to be tri- "fling in compariſon of this, and bewailed much "more the prejudice done to my fame and reputation, "than that done to my body."

(56) *Apud* S. Hieronym. *in ejus vita.*

(57) Abælardi Oper. pag. 25.

[S] *But the loſs in the other caſe is irreparable.*] Again ſee the article FOULQUES, remark [F].

[T] *The Nuns in this Monaſtry led very ill lives.*] Sugger, Abbot of St. Denys, took advantage of the diſorderly lives of the Nuns of Argenteuil, in order to re-inſtate himſelf in the poſſeſſion of that Monaſtry. He ſent his titles to Rome, and received a favourable anſwer from thence. Let us hear what he ſays of this matter, in the hiſtory of his own life, written under the year 1127. *Nuntios noſtros & chartas antiquas fundationis & donationis, & confirmationum privilegia bonæ memoriæ Papæ Honorio Romam delegavimus, poſtulantes ut juſtitiam noſtram canonico inveſtigaret & reſtitueret ſcrutinio. Qui, ut erat vir concilii & juſtitiæ tutor, tam pro noſtra juſtitia, quàm pro enormitate Monacharum ibidem malè viventium, eundem nobis locum cum appendiciis ſuis, ut reformaretur ibi religionis ordo, reſtituit.* i. e. "I ſent, to Rome, meſſengers with the "antient charters of foundation, donation, and con- "firmation of privileges, in order for them to be laid "before Pope Honorius of bleſſed memory; humbly "intreating him to ſearch into the juſtice of my claim, "and to reſtore what rightfully appertained to me. "Accordingly, as this Pope was a wiſe and juſt man, "he reſtored that place to me, with its ſeveral de- "pendencies and privileges; not only in juſtice to "me, but alſo becauſe of the diſorderly lives of the "Nuns who then reſided there, that a religious order "might be again eſtabliſhed in that place." He ſays the ſame in the Life of Lewis the Corpulent (58). Thoſe who are inclined to judge ill of their neighbour, will certainly, on the peruſal of this paſſage, entertain a ſtrong ſuſpicion of Heloiſe's conduct. She confeſſes that ſhe was ſtrongly enflamed by the fire of incontinence (59); and it is often found, that the Abbeſs of a Monaſtry does not conduct herſelf well, when lewdneſs is prevalent in it (60). From theſe two principles, thoſe who are prone to ſcandal, may eaſily draw the following conſequence, that the Prioreſs of Argenteuil was no better than her Nuns; but as I myſelf have not read, that ſhe was expreſly included in the ſcandal which her Monaſtry gave, I ſhall be far from cenſuring her on that account. We ought to imitate our Lord, and make uſe of his maxim (61). *Has no man condemned* or accuſed *thee? Neither do I condemn* or accuſe *thee.* And it is very certain that inferiors imitate the bad, and not the good life of their ſuperiors. The court of France was not more chaſte under Lewis XIII, than under Henry IV.

(58) *Papa Honorius vir gravis, & ſeverus, juſtitiam noſtram de Monaſterio Argentoulenſi puellarum miſerrima converſatione infamato, &c.*

(59) See above, remark [K], citations (41) and (43).

(60) People have to ſay on this occaſion, *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis; & Sequitur leviter filia matris iter.* i. e. "People imitate the "example which "their King ſets "them; *and* "a daughter is "apt to tread in "her mother's "ſteps."

(61) St. John chap. viii. ver. 10.

[U] *She carried on a correſpondence, by letter, with Abelard.*] This correſpondence began but late; and was occaſioned by a fortuitous circumſtance, which was as follows, Abelard had writ, to a friend, a long relation of his misfortunes, which relation happened to fall into the hands of Heloiſe, who was then Abbeſs of Paraclet. After peruſing it, Heloiſe wrote to him all the reflections ſhe had made on it; and moſt earneſtly beſought him to write to her, in order that ſhe might no longer be deprived of the conſolation, which his Letters could give her in his abſence. She repreſents to him the great diſintereſtedneſs of her love; and that ſhe had not ſought either the honour of marriage, the advantages of a dowry, nor her own pleaſure; but the ſingle ſatisfaction of poſſeſſing her dear Abelard. She tells him, that although the name of wife ſeems more holy and of greater dignity, ſhe yet was always better pleaſed with that of his miſtreſs, his concubine, and even ſtrumpet: *Etſi uxoris nomen ſanctius ac validius videtur, dulcius mihi ſemper extitit amicæ vocabulum, aut ſi non indigneris, concubinæ vel ſcorti* (62). She adds, that he had given but part of the reaſons ſhe had repreſented to him, in order to divert him from marriage; but that he had ſuppreſſed almoſt all thoſe which were taken from the preference which ſhe gave to love, before the conjugal knot; and to liberty before neceſſity or bonds. *Rationes nonnullas quibus te à conjugio noſtro infauſtis thalamis revocare conabar exponere non es dedignatus, ſed pleriſque tacitis quibus amorem conjugio, libertatem vinculo præferebam* (63). I know not what idea our Heloiſe formed to herſelf of this matter; but we here have one of the moſt myſterious refinements in love. It has been the notion for theſe many ages, that marriage deſtroys the chief poignancy of this ſpecies of ſalt; and that when a perſon does a thing

THE character of miſtreſs more agreeable to Heloiſe than that of wife.

(62) *Abælardi Opera*, pag. 45.

(63) Idem, ibid.

for the uſe of her Nuns, and alſo the ſolution of various problems. He anſwered all her demands. I do not find that her hopes of ſeeing him made a Biſhop occaſioned the reluctance ſhe had to be his wife [*X*]. When he died a Monk of Clugni Heloiſe beſought the Abbot to deliver her Abelard's body; and having obtained it ſhe buried it in the Paraclet, and deſired to be interred in the ſame grave (*b*). A very ſurprizing miracle is related, when the grave was opened, in order for depoſiting Heloiſe's body in it, viz. that Abelard ſtretched out his arms to receive her, and claſped her in a ſtrict embrace [*Y*]. He nevertheleſs had been dead above twenty years; but this is no great matter; it is pretended that there are examples of the like incidents [*Z*]. She died the 17th of May 1163. The Letters which ſhe wrote to her huſband are found in an edition of Abelard's works. But what Moreri aſſerts is not true, viz. that Andrew du Cheſne had wroteRemarks on thoſe Letters, and on Abelard's Anſwers. He made none

(*b*) See the remark [*Y*] of the article ABELARD.

thing by engagement, by duty and neceſſity, as a taſk and drudgery, he no longer finds the natural charms in it; ſo that, according to ſuch as ſet up for the moſt delicate and greateſt judges, a man takes a wife *ad honores*, and not *ad delicias*. "On the ſide "of marriage is profit, juſtice, honour and conſtancy; "an inſipid, but more univerſal pleaſure: But love is "founded wholly on pleaſure, which indeed is more "rapturous, ſprightly, and poignant; a pleaſure height-"ned by difficulty, there muſt be a reliſh and ſmart-"neſs in it: Love is no longer love, if it be with-"out arrows and fire. The fair are too liberal of "their ſweets in marriage, a circumſtance that blunts "the edge of affection and deſire (64)." *Patere me*, uſed a Roman Emperor (65) to ſay to his wife, *per alias exercere cupiditates meas, nam uxor nomen eſt dignitatis, non voluptatis* (66). i. e. "Permit me, to ſa-"tiate my warm deſires with others, for wife is a "title of dignity, not of pleaſure." A very ill turn might therefore be given to the reſolution which Heloiſe had formed, viz. never to be the wife of Abelard, but always his dear miſtreſs; ſhe might be ſuſpected of fearing, that marriage would be the grave of love; and prevent her taſting, as deliciouſly as before, the fond careſſes of her gallant. The author who has paraphraſed ſome paſſages in our Hiſtorical Letters (67), aſcribes, in the main, that genius and view, although the expreſſions are touched with delicacy. That author makes her ſay (68), "that ſhe found nothing but "what was vaſtly inſipid in thoſe public engagements, "which form ſuch ties as death can only diſſolve, "and make a ſad neceſſity of life and love; that it "cannot be called love (69) to ſearch for wealth and "dignities in the lukewarm embraces of an indolent "huſband; that ſhe will never believe, that perſons "can taſte in this manner the ſenſible pleaſures of an "agreeable union; nor that they feel thoſe ſecret and "charming emotions of two hearts, which have long "ſought for each other, in order to be united; and "that (70) ſhe is perſuaded, that if there be any ap-"pearance of happineſs here below, it is found only "in the aſſemblage of two perſons, who love with "liberty, whom a ſecret inclination has joined, and "a reciprocal merit has rendred contented." We ſhall now ſee, that another cauſe has been ſuppoſed, with regard to the deſign which Heloiſe had, not to marry Abelard.

(64) Montagne, *Eſſais*, liv. 3. chap. 5. pag. m. 120.

(65) *Ælius Verus apud* Spartian. *in ejus Vita*, pag. m. 235.

(66) See ſeveral remarks of this nature in the 9th Letter of the *Critique du Calviniſme de Maimbourg*; and in the Letters 21 and 22 of the Sequel of that *Critique*.

(67) See the book intitled, *Hiſtoire d'Eloiſe & d'Abelard*, Hague 1693.

(68) Pag. 51.

(69) Pag. 53.

(70) Pag. 54.

[*X*] *I do not find that her hopes of ſeeing him made a Biſhop, occaſioned the reluctance ſhe had to be his wife.*] The Sieur d'Amboiſe (71) mentions an antient French Poet, who, having exhorted men not to ſubject themſelves to the ſlavery of marriage, confirms his ſentiment by that of our Heloiſe, who, ſays he, begged and conjured her lover in the moſt ardent manner, never to marry her; ſhe found it more to her advantage to be the miſtreſs of a man, who would one day be poſſeſſed of a rich Biſhop's See. *Satis eſſe dictitans ſi illa intimo pectoris amorem mutuum ſervans, illum viderit mitra & infulis Pontificalibus quibus dignus erat ornatum.* i. e. "She ſaying often, that it would be "enough for her, whilſt ſhe cheriſhed their recipro-"cal flame in the inmoſt receſſes of her heart, to ſee "him adorned with the mitre and the pontifical veſt-"ments, of which he was ſo worthy." D'Amboiſe obſerves, I. That this poet gives another turn to it, viz. that Heloiſe intimated, that the embraces of married perſons are not heightned with ſo exquiſite and delicious a pleaſure, as thoſe embraces which are unlawful. *Sed poëta in alium ſenſum hoc detorquet, quaſi illa innuere voluerit ſuaviores eſſe amantium, quam legibus connubialibus nexorum amplexus* (72). II. That we must not think that Heloiſe preferred the licentiouſneſs of concubinage, before the quality or condition of a wife; but that the love and reſpect ſhe owed her gallant, prompted her to take the veil, rather than to prevent, by her marrying Abelard, his being rewarded ſuitably to his genius and erudition, as for inſtance, with a Cardinal's hat. *Potius quam obice & interventu ſuarum nuptiarum, impedimento eſſe ne Abelardus factus uxorius fruſtraretur præmio excellentis ingenii admirabiliſquæ doctrinæ, puta purpura & galero* (73). But I have not found the leaſt marks of this in Heloiſe's Letters, and for this reaſon made it the ſixth error committed by Moreri in the article of ABELARD. The circumſtance which gives riſe to this kind of falſhood is, the liberty which authors take, of putting into the mouths of people ſuch expreſſions as appear to him ſuitable to their preſent condition. It is frequently more advantageous for a woman, to ſuffer her young gallant to riſe in the church, than to ſtop his career by marrying him. But are we therefore to ſuppoſe, that Heloiſe had any ſuch views? Here follows a well-known tale. A man who enjoyed a prebend, quitted it purely for the ſake of marrying. The day after the wedding he ſpoke thus to his wife: *It is plain*, my dear, ſays he, *that I have the utmoſt affection for you, ſince I left my prebend, merely for the ſake of enjoying you. You acted very fooliſhly*, replied his bride, *for you might have kept your prebend, and poſſeſſed me too* (74).

(71) *Præfat. Apologet. ad* Oper. Abælardi.

(72) Ibid.

(73) Ibid.

(74) See the book intitled, *Le Moyen de Parvenir*, wrote by a Canon of Tours, as it is ſaid in the *Menagiana*, pag. 366. 2d Dutch edit.

[*Y*] *A very ſurprizing miracle is related, . . . viz. that Abelard ſtretched out his arms to receive her, and claſped her in a ſtrict embrace.*] This pretty miracle is related in a manuſcript Chronicle of Tours (75). *Hæc* (Heloiſſa) *ſicut dicitur in ægritudine ultima poſita præcepit, ut mortua intra mariti tumulum poneretur, & ſic eadem defuncta ad tumulum apertum deportata, maritus ejus qui multis diebus ante eam defunctus fuerat, elevatis brachiis illam recipit, & ita eam amplexatus brachia ſua ſtrinxit.* i. e. "Heloiſe, as it is related, "being upon her death-bed, gave orders for her being "buried in the ſame grave with her huſband; and ac-"cordingly, dying, and being carried to his grave, "her huſband, who died a long time before her, lift-"ing up his arms, received her, and folded her in a "ſtrict embrace." But why then are they not in the ſame ſepulchre? Francis d'Amboiſe who declares that he had ſeen, at the Paraclet, the ſepulchres of the founder and foundreſs ſtanding near one another; *contigua fundatoris & fundatricis ſepulchra*, ought to have ſolved this ſmall difficulty.

(75) *Apud* Andream Querceta-num, *Notis ad Hiſtor. Calamitat. Abæl.* & apud Franc. Amboſ. *Præfat. Apologet.*

[*Z*] *It is pretended that there are examples of the like incident.*] See what Gregory of Tours relates (76) concerning two married perſons, who lived ever in a ſtate of continence, with regard to one another; and were called by the inhabitants of the country (77) *the two Lovers*. The wife died firſt; and the huſband, as her corps was letting down into the grave, uſed the following prayer: *I thank thee, O my Lord and my God, in that I return thee this treaſure as pure and undefiled, as when thou firſt intruſtedſt me with it.* The wife ſmiling, cried, *Why do you ſpeak of a thing which no one aſks any queſtions about?* The huſband died a little after, and was buried over againſt his wife; but the next day both bodies were found together in the ſame grave. This blunt query might make ſome of the profane conclude, that the virgin-wife did not care the world ſhould know her huſband had been ſo cold. She confined herſelf barely to the merits of continence, and did not care to be expoſed to the opinions, which might be entertained to the prejudice of her charms. But the

(76) *Hiſt. des François*, liv. 1. chap. 42.

(77) *Clermont en Auvergne.*

none, except on that Letter in which Abelard communicates the hiſtory of his misfortunes to a friend. John de Meun had tranſlated into French the Letters which Abelard and Heloiſe had wrote to one another (*i*). There was publiſhed, not long ſince, a little book (*k*), intitled, *The Hiſtory of Eloiſe and Abelard, with the paſſionate letter which ſhe wrote to him, tranſlated from the Latin.* This pretended Tranſlation is only a few particulars extracted at pleaſure from Heloiſe's Letters, which the compiler has thrown into ſuch a dreſs as he thought proper, by expreſſing what did not ſuit, and adding ſuch particulars as he judged moſt ſuitable.

(*i*) See the Preſident Fauchet, chap. 126. of the *Old French Poets.*

(*k*) Printed at the Hague, for John Alberts, 1693.

Count de Buſſi Rabutin tranſlated ſome of Abelard and Heloiſe's Letters into French. This verſion has been inſerted in the ſecond volume of his Letters, publiſhed after his death. *I never*, ſays he (*l*), *read finer Latin, eſpecially that of the Nun, nor any pieces more amorous and ingenious than her's.* Had the Count been as well acquainted with the ſtyle of the Roman tongue as with that of the French, he would not have beſtowed ſuch an elogium on Heloiſe's Latin diction.

(*l*) Buſſi, *Lettres* 15. tom. 2. pag. 49. Dutch edit. 1697.

the truſt or *depoſitum* in queſtion ought not to be kept in this manner; it is not reſtoring it in a proper manner, to return it untouched, and exactly the ſame as when we received it; it is not for this that God inſtituted marriage, *non hos quæſitum munus in uſus.* A perſon may therefore not deſire that the world ſhould ſurmiſe, that he had not ſufficiently pleaſed the depoſitary. But the Hiſtorian will remedy this inconvenience, if we conſult chapter XXXII of the Glory of Confeſſors, where a ſomething better turn is given to the words of a dead wife. He relates, ten chapters after, that a Senator of Dijon, Hilarius by name (78), who had been buried a year, lifted up his arm in order to claſp his wife round the neck, as her corps was letting down into the ſame grave.

(78) *See* Abbot de Marolles's *Notes on Gregory of Tours*, tom. 2. pag. 283.

HELVICUS (CHRISTOPHER) Profeſſor of Divinity, Greek, and the Eaſtern Tongues, in the Univerſity of Gieſſen, was born the 26th of December 1581, at Sprendlingen (*a*), where his father was a Miniſter [*A*]. He was not one of thoſe tardy genius's, which do not diſplay themſelves till late; he being capable, before he was twenty years of age, to teach Greek, Hebrew, and even Philoſophy; and he had compoſed a prodigious number of Greek verſes at fifteen or ſixteen years of age. He went through his courſe of ſtudies in Marpurg, where he took his Maſter of Arts degree in 1599. He might have taken it ſooner, had he thought proper, he being received Bachelor at fourteen years of age (*b*). The Hebrew language became ſo extremely familiar to him, that he ſpoke it as fluently as his native language. He ſtudied thoroughly a numberleſs multitude of Greek authors; and even ſtudied Phyſic for ſome time, though he had devoted himſelf to the Miniſtry. In fine, he gave ſo many proofs of his capacity, that he was choſen, anno 1605, to teach Greek and Hebrew in the College which the Landgrave had lately eſtabliſhed in Gieſſen (*c*). The next year the Emperor made this College an Univerſity, inveſting it with the privileges belonging to it as ſuch. Helvicus having diſcharged, during five years, the ſeveral duties of his employment with great reputation, was appointed Divinity-Profeſſor in 1610. He married that year. I know not whether Helvicus continued a Bachelor till he was thus raiſed in the world, in order that he might have an opportunity of marrying a woman with a greater fortune; or whether other motives prompted him to lead a ſingle life till the abovementioned date, the author I ſhall quote ſaying nothing of that matter; but he obſerves that Helvicus, after his marriage, continued as aſſiduous as ever in the duties of his profeſſion (*d*). A church was offered him in Moravia anno 1611, and a Profeſſorſhip at Hamburg, with a conſiderable ſtipend; however, he refuſed both thoſe offers. He took his Doctor's degree of Divinity anno 1613. This the Landgrave obliged him to take, and would make him go to Frankfort, in order to view the Library of the Jews, who had been lately drove away by popular tumults. Helvicus, who was very fond of reading the Rabbins, bought ſeveral of their books on that occaſion. He died in the flower of his age, the 10th of September 1617, he having projected the writing a great number of books [*B*]; and

(*a*) A little town within half a league of Frankfort.

(*b*) *XIV ætatis anno, perraro exemplo Baccalaureatus gradum conſecutus.* Chriſtoph. Scheiblerus *in Programmate de funere Helvici.* The *Baccalaureat* in Germany muſt be different from what it is in other countries.

(*c*) Konig is miſtaken; he makes him Profeſſor at Marpurg.

(*d*) *Neque vero into matrimonio τὰ θεῖα χείρων fuit, & in officio remiſſior.* Jo. Wynckelmannus *ubi infrà.*

[*A*] *Where his father was Miniſter.*] His Chriſtian name was, like that of his ſon, CHRISTOPHER. In his younger days he had been, for two years, Director of the College in Geraw; after which he ſtudied Divinity in Tubingen, and was Miniſter of the Church of Griſheim; but Prince George, Landgrave of Heſſe, placed him a little afterwards at Spredlingen. Helvicus was Miniſter of that Church till his death, and met with a great many misfortunes. *Multa propter ſinceram confeſſionem perpeſſus, tandem ibidem vitam hanc terreſtrem cum cæleſti commutavit.* He was ſon to QUIRINUS HELVICUS, who ſignalized himſelf in the defence of Darmſtat during the war of Schmalcalde. The Reader will find in Sleidan and in Thuanus, the judgment which Count de Buren formed of him. Finding there was no likelihood of his being ſuccoured, he went upon the ramparts in order to capitulate; but being ſhot thro' the right arm, the city was taken by ſtorm. The enemy were for hanging him; and he perhaps would have been hanged, had he not been ſaved by the ranſom which was promiſed for him. He had attended upon the Landgrave Philip in moſt of his expeditions (1).

(1) *Ex Oratione funeb. Chriſtoph. Helvici* habita à *Joanne Wynckelmanno.*

[*B*] *He died in the flower of his age, . . . having projected the writing a great number of Books.*] He had publiſhed ſeveral Grammars, a Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac (2); but they were only abridgments. His Hebrew Lexicon, and his Latin Lexicon were only by way of eſſay, calculated for youth. He was deſirous of improving all thoſe Grammars, and to compile Lexicons for the uſe of the learned; and he beſought God to indulge him length of years ſufficient for him to complete thoſe works. He likewiſe begged for time enough to rank, in their proper order, the Church Hiſtories; and to criticize the Old and New Teſtament drawn up by Piſcator, and that Author's Commentaries on the Scriptures. He thought it would alſo be requiſite to make a new Edition of Luther's Bible, with a good Apology and the neceſſary Explications. The Edition of that Bible, which Paulus Toſſanus had lately procured, with marginal Notes containing the opinions of Calvin, had inſpired Hel-

(2) He firſt publiſhed a general Grammar: *Grammatica univerſalis, continens ea quæ omnibus Linguis ſunt communia.* Thoſe who have it by them will do well to compare it with that of Mr. Arnauld.

(e) Extracted from his *Funeral Oration* preached by John Wynckelmannus, Professor of Divinity in Giessen.

and being reputed to have the most skilful and methodical way of teaching languages (e) [C]. He was not only a good Grammarian, but also an able Chronologer. His chronological Tables [D] have been greatly esteemed, though not quite free from errors [E]. It is plain, by the books extant of his composing [F], that had he lived threescore

vicus with that thought; and, at the same time, an ardent desire to execute this project (3). *Cum ante biennium Paulus Tossanus, Heidelbergensis Doctor, versionem Biblicam B. Lutheri Germanicam in lucem edidisset, non solum variis notationibus marginalibus (quæ quales hinc inde sint, viri cordati judicabunt) consperſam, sed etiam erroribus, Calvinianorum contra ipsius Lutheri mentem & voluntatem proterva temeritate & impudentia contaminatam, judicabat operæ pretium esse, si opus illud Biblicum Lutheri, cum solida ubi opus esset apologia, necessariis explicationibus, & macularum quas Pontificii & Calviniani illi asperserunt, absterſione in lucem prodiret. Ubi animadverti in ipso singulare hoc ipsum præstandi desiderium, si Domino ita visum esset* (4). i. e. "Paul "Tossanus, a Doctor of Heidelberg, having two "years since published the German Translation of the "Bible made by Luther; not only with a great num- "ber of marginal Notes, of the goodness of which "let the sagacious and judicious judge, but also cor- "rupted it in the most rash and impudent manner, "contrary to the doctrine and design of Luther, with "several Calvinistical errors; Helvicus presumed it "would be doing the world a service, to publish that "Bible of Luther, with a solid apology wherever it "might be necessary, together with such explications "as may be requisite; and purged from all those er- "rors which Papists and Calvinists had foisted into it. "I took notice, that he had a strong desire, with God's "leave, to have executed this design."

(3) Wynckelm. *in Orat. fun. Helvici.*

(4) Ibid.

[C] . . . *being reputed to have the most skilful and methodical way of teaching languages.*] Helvicus sought after a shorter method than that commonly made use of in Schools, for the educating of youth. He was not disheartened, because of the obstacles which were raised against his new method, firmly persuaded that he should save Scholars a great deal of time and pains; and excited by the love which men have for their own inventions, he exerted himself to the utmost, in order to get his method introduced in Schools. He had put things in a fair way, when endeavours were used to make him an object of ridicule; he was wrangled with, and slander'd; and Helvicus was obliged to defend himself, and repulse those severe attacks (5). I fancy that, as Helvicus died before his inventions prevailed, this gave the partisans of the old method an opportunity to maintain, or re-establish themselves. However this be, it was declared in Helvicus's epitaph, that he had been the inventor of a new art of teaching, *novæ Didacticæ auctor & informator felicissimus.* It was worthy of being taken notice of on that occasion, *titulo res digna sepulchri*, and deserved to have been copied more exactly than it was by Freherus, who, instead of *Didacticæ* has wrote *Dialecticæ*. One would imagine that Helvicus had some notion of a project, in which we are told that a very learned man is employed, viz. to reduce languages to common principles, in order that they may be acquired, very easily, all together; one would, I say, imagine this, were we to trust to the following title of one of his books: *Libri didactici Grammaticæ universalis Latinæ, Græcæ, Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ* (6); but it is plain from his funeral Oration, that a comma must be placed there after *Universalis.* See the citation above (2).

(5) *See* Spizelius *in Templo Honoris reserato*, pag. 50.

(6) Spizelius, ibid. pag. 52. quotes the title in this manner.

[D] *His chronological Tables have been greatly esteemed.*] I speak of the work entitled by him, *Theatrum Historicum, sive Chronologiæ Systema novum.* He published it anno 1609. Sethus Calvisius, who had so consummate a knowledge in History and Chronology, approved very much of this work, and look'd upon it as quite new, with regard to the invention and method, since things were found in it at one glance; *Utpote in quibus exemplo antehac non viso omnia uno intuitu lectorum oculis subjiciantur.* Wynckelman observes, that this approbation is found in the Letter which Sethus Calvisius wrote to Helvicus, the 7th of September 1609. He adds, *the work, corrected and improved by the Author, is now reprinting. Jam secundum emendatius & ex ipsius αυτογράφῳ auctius editur.* We must therefore say, that the first edition of this work is of 1609, and the second of 1618. John Steuber, Professor at Giessen, had the direction of the latter; and dedicated it to a Danish Nobleman (7), a patron of men of letters, and who had honoured Helvicus with his affection. Twenty years after a new edition was made of this work, under the direction of John Balthazar Schuppius, son-in-law to the Author, and Professor of Eloquence in Marpurg. He observes in his Preface, that he will not take any notice of the edition printed in England. This chronological *Theatrum* has been reprinted several times since that time. Vossius has not justly expressed the date of the first edition; and declared that to be the second which was not so. *Anno* CIↃ IↃCXII, says he (8), *Christophorus Helvicus edidit Systema Chronologicum, æqualibus denariorum, quinquagenariorum, & centenariorum, intervallis. Id postea continuavit & recensuit Joannes Balthasar Scoppius. . . . . Emisit anno* CIↃ IↃC XXXVIII. i. e. "Anno 1612, Christopher "Helvicus published a System of Chronology, with "equal intervals of tens, fifteens, and hundreds. This "work was afterwards continued and revised by John "Balthasar Scoppius, who published it in 1638." It cannot be objected to me in favour of Vossius, that it is very certain that Helvicus composed a book of Chronology in 1612, which was augmented by Scoppius in 1638; for this work is not that, of which Vossius speaks. It is intitled, *Chronologia universalis ab origine mundi per quatuor summa imperia, quas Monarchias appellant, ad annum usque MDCXII deducta, cum præcipuis synchronismis virorum illustrium, eventorum, & politiarum cæterarum* (9). Every thing is suited there to the prophecy of the 2d and 7th chapter of Daniel. This is a characteristic, that does not agree with the *Theatrum Historicum.* On the other side, that title and characteristic by which Vossius denotes the book he has spoke of, suits perfectly the *Theatrum Historicum, sive Chronologiæ Systema novum*, where one sees nothing but divisions of tens, of fifties, and of hundreds, which do not exceed or pass one another. Lastly, John Justus Winckelmannus, son to him who pronounced the funeral Oration, remarks very expressly (10), that Schuppius published, with the Continuations till the year 1639, two works of Helvicus his father-in-law: the one is, *Theatrum Historicum*, in folio; the other *Chronologia universalis*, in 4to. I forbear observing, that Helvicus did not himself publish the Chronology which he had continued till anno 1612, it being Steuber, his collegue, who published it anno 1618.

(7) Oliger Rosecrantz. Steuber's *Dedication is dated the 18th of March* 1618.

(8) *De Scient. Mathemat.* pag. 404.

(9) *See* M. Eusebium Bohemum, *in Epitome Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Novi Testamenti*, pag. 72, & *seq. apud* Joh. Justum Wynckelmannum, *in Cippo memoriali Christophoro Helvico restaurato*, pag. 10.

(10) Wynckelm. ibid.

[E] *Tho' not quite free from errors.*] According to Tanaquil Faber, of Saumur, he is not exact, with respect to the periods in which the Poets, Philosophers, and other learned personages flourished. *Primum hoc mihi . . . . credas velim, Helvicum non satis locupletis esse fidei in hac chronologiæ parte, quæ virorum scriptis illustrium ætatem signat: dein hoc quoque habet Helvicus, quod fere plerumque recentiores scriptores sequatur, eclogarios, bibliothecarios, &c. quale aliquid quoque in Calvisio improbarat Scaliger, quemadmodum ex Epistolis ejus apparet; quamvis Calvisii opus, ex quo totus est Helvicus, mirifice laudaret. Sed quod dico, allatis infra exemplis plenius constabit* (11). i. e. "I must beg you, in "the first place, to take notice, that Helvicus is not "quite exact in that part of Chronology, which re- "lates to the several periods in which famous Authors "flourished. Farther, he generally follows modern "authors, as epitomizers, writers of Bibliotheques &c. "Scaliger censures much the same fault in Calvisius "also, as is plain from his Letters, tho' he highly "applauds that work of Calvisius, from which Hel- "vicus took his. But what I now advance, will be "more evident from the examples, which I shall de- "duce below." The examples he promises there, and gives afterwards, relate to errors which Helvicus has committed on Athenæus, Lucian, Justin, and Hermogenes.

(11) T. Faber. *Epist.* lib. 1. pag. 211.

[F] *The books extant of his composing.*] I have already

threeſcore years, his works might have made ſeveral volumes in folio. Helvicus was irreproachable as to his manners; he loved to live in peace with all men, and had never quarrelled, either with his collegues or any other perſons: *Concordiam colebat cum omnibus; nullo enim unquam tempore cum ullo ſive collega ſive extraneo in diſcordia vixit* (*f*). This was a very rare circumſtance: *Rara avis in terris.* He was greatly reſpected by ſeveral German Princes, who ſent him the kindeſt and moſt polite letters. Anna Dorothea, Ducheſs of Saxony, did Helvicus the honour to write pretty often to him. His loſs was bewailed after a very peculiar manner. All the German Poets of the Augſburg Confeſſion compoſed Elegies, to bewail his immature death. A collection was made of his Poems, which were printed with his funeral Sermon, and ſome other pieces, under the title of *Cippus Memorialis*, by the care and direction of Wynckelman, collegue to Helvicus. The ſon of this Wynckelman reprinted the *Cippus* in 1650.

(*f*) Wynckelm. *in Orat. fun. Helvici.*

ready taken notice of ſome, and here follow others. He publiſhed chronological Diſſertations on the four Monarchies, on the ſeventy Weeks of Daniel, on Cyrus, on the other Kings of Perſia, &c. He refuted, in ſo ſolid a manner, the opinions of Angelocrator, that no reply could be made to him. *Contra abſurdas Danielis Angleocratoris opinationes, ut eas inſignis Chronologus Sethus Calviſius in literis ad Helvicum datis indigitat, quem ita errorem convicit, ut ne contra quidem biſcere potuerit* (12). And yet Angleocrator pretended to inſpiration; he declaring, at the beginning of his work, that he had wrote it *Deo illuminante* (13). This ſubſtracts very much from the glory of thoſe who have refuted him; for it certainly cannot be a matter of difficulty, to point out a thouſand chimæras in the writings of thoſe pretended inſpired. Though they even ſhould not be actually fanaticks, and ſhould have no other view but to ſtir up the paſſions; they would ſhew, by their boaſting of ſuch a thing againſt their conſciences, ſuch a diſtraction of mind, as would not ſuffer them to eſcape the meaneſt Critic. Helvicus compoſed treatiſes *de Dialectis Græcis, de ratione Carmina Græca conſcribendi, de Paraphraſi Bibliorum Chaldaica*, an *Ars Poetica* in Latin; *Deſiderium Evæ, cum aliorum dictorum Biblicorum à depravationibus Judæorum, Calvinianorum, & Photinianorum erroribus annexa vindicatione*; *Synopſis Hiſtoriæ Univerſalis.* He had put to preſs an Hebrew Poetick, and had wrote the Dedication to it, but afterwards ſuppreſſed it for certain reaſons. *Quam tamen poſt certis de cauſis prælo ſubduxit* (14). See Witte in his *Diarium Biographicum*; but ſee eſpecially Paul Freherus's *Theatrum* (15), and Spigelius's *Templum Honoris*, where a pretty ample, and I believe exact, catalogue is found of Helvicus's works. The greateſt part are in Latin, and the reſt in German. Correct, in Freherus, at the epitaph XXXVI (16) and IX; and put XXXV and IIX. It is very ſtrange that thoſe who corrected this voluminous work, did not perceive that a man who was born the 26th of December 1581 (17), and died the 10th of September 1617 (18), did not live to the age of thirty ſix years, nine months and a half. It is XXXV years and IIX months in the epitaph produced by Wynckelman (19), who has alſo committed this error, in the funeral Oration, viz. in ſaying that Helvicus died in the thirty ſeventh year of his age, *anno ætatis ſuæ trigeſimo ſeptimo*; he expreſſing all this in words at length, and not in figures. He writes, after the ſame manner, the day of Helvicus's birth, and that of his death; the former, according to him, is the 26th of December 1581; and the latter, the 10th of September 1617: how then could Helvicus be thirty ſeven years old? As he might ſo eaſily have avoided theſe errors, he conſequently is the more to be blamed for committing them.

(12) Wynckelm. *in Orat. funebri.*

(13) *Apud* Voſſium, *de Scient. Mathem.* p. 402.

(14) Wynckelm. *in Orat. funebri.*

(15) Pag. 394.

(16) Magir. *in Eponymol.* puts alſo XXXVI.

(17) This is what P. Freherus aſſerts, pag. 393.

(18) It is ſo dated in the epitaph *apud* Freherum, pag. *eadem* & 394.

(19) In *Cippo memoriali*, pag. m. 16.

HEMELAR (JOHN) a Canon of Antwerp, and born in the Hague (*a*), was a very learned man. He applied himſelf much more to the ſtudy of polite literature and the ſcience of medals [*A*], than to Theological diſputes. He was a Poet and Orator. He wrote, in Rome, a Panegyric on Clement VIII, with ſuch great ſucceſs, that he was offered the poſt of Librarian to the Vatican, or a very good benefice (*b*); but he contented

(*a*) Valer. Andreas, *Bibliotb. Belgic.* pag. 514.

(*b*) Joh. Fridericus Gronov. *in Orat. fun. Jacobi Golii*, pag. 7.

[*A*] *He applied himſelf . . . . to the ſtudy of polite literature, and the ſcience of medals.*] He wrote a book on that ſcience, and gave it to be printed, but on condition that his name ſhould not be put to it. *Auctor eſt* Expoſitionis Numiſmatum Imperatorum Romanorum à Jul. Cæſare ad Heraclium, *quam operi ſuo* Jac. Biæus *adjecit, tacito, ut ſtipulatus erat, nomine, Antverp. apud Verduſ.* 1614. 4 (1). This is what we find in Valerius Andreas: but what follows is more circumſtantial. *In Numiſmata Regum & Impp. Romanorum à C. Julio Cæſare uſque ad Fl. Juſtinianum ex Caroli Arſchotani reguli & Nic. Rocoxii conſularis viri armariis deprompta, commentarios edidit bonæ frugis plenos, in quibus quicquid in auro, argento, ære, flato, percuſſo in urbe æterna, exquiſitum, elegans, hiſtoriæ temporum & genio principum conveniens, per notas, figuras, ambages breves & ſirpos verborum ſignificator, acutiſſime paucis & planiſſime explicat, penu quoddam nummariæ antiquitatis: & quo opere aliquis arrogantior ſuperis ſe miſceri poſſet arbitrari, in eo nomen ſuum diſſimulavit* (2). i. e. "He publiſhed "extremely uſeful commentaries upon the medals of "the Roman Emperors, from the time of Julius Cæ-"ſar down to Juſtinian, taken from the cabinets of "Charles Arſchot and Nicholas Rocoxius. Wherein "he conciſely and accurately explains, by marks, "figures, &c. whatſoever is exquiſite, elegant, and "ſuitable or agreeable to the hiſtory of thoſe times, "and the genius of Monarchs; whether the medals "in queſtion be of gold, ſilver, or braſs; whether "caſt or ſtruck in that immortal city. It is a kind of "ſtorehouſe of medals; and nevertheleſs in this work, "from which any other perſon would have expected "prodigious reputation, our author has been ſo modeſt "as to conceal his name." The words which precede theſe in Gronovius's oration, are ſo beautiful, that I cannot forbear quoting them. *Mater* (Golii) *omni ſexus laude prædita . . . . vel unica Johannis Hemelarii fratris imagine ſat nobilis eſt, viri & in veterum literarum tractatione cum primis exercitati, & poëtæ diſerti, & probitate ac tranquillitate vitæ fugaque honorum & negotiorum T. aliquem Pomponium Atticum referentis. Panegyricum dixit votis tertiorum quinquennalium Clementis VIII. tam illuſtri gratia exceptum, ut Vaticanæ bibliothecæ præfecturam, aut opimum ſacerdotium (Canonicatum vocant) optare juſſus ſit: ſacerdotio Antwerpiæ contentus fuit.* i. e. "His mother "(Golius's) adorned with all the virtues of her ſex . . "ſufficiently illuſtrious by her reſemblance to her ex-"cellent brother John Hemelar, a man perfectly well "ſkilled in ancient literature; a fine Poet; and com-"parable to the Roman Atticus for his probity, tran-"quillity of life, and abſolute diſregard of honours "and public employments. He made a panegyric on "Pope Clement VIII, which met with ſo gracious a "reception, that it being left to his opinion, either to "accept of the office of Librarian to the Vatican, or "a rich benefice (called a canonry) he was ſatisfied "with only a benefice in Antwerp." Colomeſius (3) declares, that Hemelar's work on Medals *is not eaſily met with*, and that it has borne three impreſſions (4). The other works of this Canon of Antwerp are, *Gratulatio in inaugurationem D. Chriſtiani Michaëlii, D. Michaëlis apud Antverpienſes Præmonſtratenſis Cœnobii Abbatis. Poëmata multa ſparſim edita. Oratio in funere Joannis Malderi V. Antverpienſis Epiſcopi habita.*

(1) Valer. And. *Bibliotb. Belg.* ag. 514.

(2) Gronov. *in Orat. funeb. Jac. Golii*, pag. 7, 8.

(3) *Melanges, Hiſt.* pag. 78.

(4) The 2d is of ann. 1627 in 4to, and the 3d of ann. 1654, in folio; and both printed in Antwerp. *See Father* Labbe, *Bibliotb. Nummar.* p. 262.

tented himſelf with being a Canon in the Cathedral at Antwerp (*c*). Juſtus Lipſius, his Profeſſor, had a great eſteem and friendſhip for him, as appears from the letters which Lipſius wrote to him (*d*), and by the teſtimonies he gave him in 1600 (*e*). Hemelar was then preparing for his journey to Italy. He ſpent ſix years at Rome, in the palace of Cardinal Ceſi (*f*). He was Grotius's friend, and publiſhed verſes to congratulate him on his delivery from his confinement. *Grotio arcam & angelum cuſtodem luculento carmine gratulatus eſt* (*g*). He was brother to the mother of James Golius, that learned Profeſſor at Leyden, who has gained ſo vaſt a reputation, by his profound knowledge in the Oriental Languages. He doubtleſs would willingly have won over this nephew of his to the Romiſh Communion, as he won Peter Golius brother to James; but it would not have been poſſible for him to ſucceed in that deſign. James Golius was a zealous Proteſtant, who entertained all his life-time a great deal of rancour againſt his uncle, becauſe of his brother's changing his Religion. *Unum in eo non ſine gemitu ſolebat accuſare noſter, quod fratrem Petrum revocaſſet ad religiones parentibus ejuratas* (*h*). Moreri who in GOLIUS's article, declares that he ſpeaks elſewhere of our John Hemelar, forgot himſelf on that occaſion. I will not imitate him with regard to the promiſe I made in the ſame article, viz. to make ſome mention of PETER GOLIUS [*B*].

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

(*d*) Idem, pag. 8.

(*e*) It is filled with Elogiums. You will find it in Swertius, *Ath. Belgic.* pag. 436.

(*f*) Idem, Swert. ibid.

(*g*) Gronov. *in Orat.*

(*h*) Idem, ibid.

[*B*] *I ſhall make ſome mention of Peter* GOLIUS.] He had the ſame inclination as his brother, to travel into the Levant, and to cultivate the oriental tongues. He entered among the bare-footed Carmelites, and aſſumed the name of Celeſtin de St. Leduine. He lived ſeveral years on Mount Libanus, and was Profeſſor of the Oriental Tongues in Rome. He tranſlated Thomas à Kempis into Arabic; and undertook, at the age of ſeventy four years, a voyage on the coaſt of Malabar, there to labour at the converſion of the Infidels. Notwithſtanding the different way of life, as well as of religion, of the two brothers, they yet had a tender affection for each other. Peter told James by writing, that he was obliged to him for the kind treatment he had met with in Aſia. *Frater Aſcetes è familia diſcalceatorum cum per veſtigia fratris in Oriente decurreret, ſcripſit ad noſtrum diu jam reducem omnia ſibi evenire præter expectationem: paraſſe ſe ad vincula, carceres, verbera, cruces, invenire amplexus, gratulationes, ſtudia, gratias potentium ob nomen Golium: eam memoriam, id deſiderium ſui reliquerat: ita gratiam abſenti referebant* (5). i. e. "When his brother the Friar "was travelling into thoſe countries in the eaſt where "James had been; he informed him by letter, that "all things had happened to him beyond his expecta- "tions; that he had been prepared for chains, im- "priſonment, ſtripes, and croſſes, but inſtead of theſe "had met with embraces, civilities, and favours from "perſons of diſtinction, for the ſake of his name, "Golius: ſo grateful a remembrance had he left of "himſelf in thoſe countries, and ſo much affection "did they diſcover for him, though abſent." Thus we find that the name of Golius was in ſuch eſteem ſince the voyages of James, that a great deal of honour was done it in the perſon of Peter. By the way, we are not to ſuppoſe, that Hemelar had need of much genius and induſtry, in order to win over his nephew to the Romiſh communion, for he made a convert of him when a child; Peter Golius having been brought up at his houſe from eight years of age. I ſhall quote the words of Gronovius, on which the preſent aſſertion is founded; whereby the reader will ſee that this child was extremely forward for his years. *Unum in eo* (Hemelario) *non ſine gemitu ſolebat accuſare noſter, quod fratrem Petrum revocaſſet ad religiones parentibus ejuratas; virum alioquin egregium, & fraterno ſecum animo, nec minus gnarum rerum & linguarum Orientis, diuque in partibus iiſdem verſatum, & Arabicæ linguæ Romæ Profeſſorem: qui quam præcoqui fuerit indole, teſtis eſt Oratio, quam Chriſtiano Michaëlio Abbati Præmonſtratenſi ab Hemelario ſcriptam gratulandi cauſa, puer octo annorum conſtanter, & quaſi feciſſet, memoriter pronuntiavit.* i. e. "Our Golius uſed to charge He- "melar, not without ſighing, with one thing, viz. "with drawing his brother Peter over to the Romiſh "religion; a man, in all other reſpects, very extra- "ordinary, and for whom he ever retained a frater- "nal affection, who was no leſs verſed in the affairs "and languages of the eaſt, where he had reſided "for many years, and was profeſſor of the Arabic "language in Rome. That Peter Golius had an "early genius, is manifeſt from a gratulatory oration "written by Hemelar to Chriſtian Michaelius, Abbot "of the Præmonſtrants, which Golius, when but a "boy of eight years old, ſpoke with as much eaſe as "if it had been a compoſition of his own."

(5) Gronov. *in Orat. funebri.* Golii, pag. 19.

HEMMINGIUS (NICHOLAS) Profeſſor of Divinity in Copenhagen, was born anno 1513, in the iſle of Laland (*a*). He could not reap great benefit from the firſt part of his education, ſince it was directed by a Blackſmith, his father's brother. He nevertheleſs made ſome progreſs in literature, and afterwards went to Wittemberg, where during five years, he was one of Melanchthon's moſt aſſiduous auditors. As he was obliged to labour for his ſubſiſtence, either by teaching, or by writing for his pupils, it is more ſurpriſing that he ſhould attain ſo much knowledge. He returned to Denmark; and, by Melanchthon's recommendation, was received in a Gentleman's family, to teach his daughters. He afterwards was appointed Miniſter of the Church of the Holy Ghoſt in Copenhagen, and then Hebrew Profeſſor. He took his Doctor's degree of Divinity anno 1557, and immediately obtained a Profeſſorſhip in that Faculty at Copenhagen. He diſcharged the functions of it admirably well, till the year 1579, when he was declared *Emeritus*, and made Canon in the Church of Roſchild. He enjoyed this benefice very happily till his death, that is, till the 25th of May 1600. He was blind during the latter part of his life (*b*); a circumſtance that is no ways ſurpriſing, ſince he was always extremely ſtudious, and lived fourſcore and ſeven years. I am to obſerve, that Hemmingius was not only very far from being a very rigid Lutheran [*A*], but it is probable that had he been let alone, he would have ſhewn himſelf a zealous Calviniſt. His

(*a*) It belongs to the King of Denmark.

(*b*) *Extracted from* Paul. Freher. *Theatr. Viror. Illuſtr.* pag. 312, 313.

[*A*] *Hemmingius . . . . was not a very rigid Lutheran.*] I need but alledge the following proof of this. The formulary of Concord, which the divines of Saxony and their partizans endeavoured to eſtabliſh in every part of the Lutheran world, was rejected in Denmark, with the utmoſt indignation. King Frederick II forbid all his ſubjects to ſign it; and threatned to baniſh all thoſe who ſhould infringe this prohibition, or ſhould bring copies of it into his dominions (1). See the remark [*E*]. Now Hemmingius was the chief promoter of this affair (2), as Hoſpinian obſerves, who, on that article, has not been contradicted by Hutter.

(1) *Extracted from* Hoſpinian, *de Origin. & progreſſu Libri Concordiæ*, cap. 35. pag. 307.

(2) *Promoventibus cauſam hanc D. Hemmingio, & aulico concionatore, &c.* Idem, ibid.

His inclination for the opinions of Geneva was taken notice of, upon which he was obliged to explain, and even retract his tenets [*B*]. He wrote a Lutheran Confeſſion of Faith; and nevertheleſs a Divine has lately endeavoured to ſhew, that it agrees with that of the Reformed [*C*]. Hemmingius publiſhed a great number of books. Simon Goulart was ſo well pleaſed with his Tracts on Divinity, that he reprinted them at Geneva in 1586 [*D*].

I am

[*B*] *He was obliged . . . . . to retract his tenets.*] Hoſpinian (3) relates that Hemmingius, in his *Syntagma Inſtitutionum Chriſtianarum*, publiſhed anno 1574, explained himſelf, with regard to the real preſence, as a Calviniſt would have done. Maſius does not deny this; but adds that Hemmingius, being admoniſhed of his error, retracted it ſolemnly (4). "Non diſſimulandum eſſe *ait* (*Maiſius*) Calvini ſententiæ de S. Cœna aliquandiu indulſiſſe (*Hemmingium*) "ſed monitum à cæteris Theologis ad meliorem mentem reverſum depoſito errore palinodiam ceciniſſe. "*Quam in rem* ejus confeſſionem, ipſius manu ſcriptam (5), *ſibique à Viro Illuſtri* D. Engberg *Conciliario Regis & Judice Provinciali Seelandiæ dono datam, ſubjungit.*" The author from whom I borrow theſe words, ſhews, from ſome paſſages of the *Syntagma*, that Hemmingius combatted the Principles of the Ubiquarians; and applauded Calvin for impeaching Servetus, and praiſed the magiſtrates of Geneva for putting Servetus to death. *Cum his hæreſiarchis damnamus etiam impium nebulonem Michaelem Servetum, qui rabioſè contemptis ſanctorum Patrum Conciliis, Arii & aliorum fanaticorum hominum damnatas hæreſes revocare conatus eſt, quem juſtò accuſatum à D. Johanne Calvino, meritò Genevates affecere ſupplicio* (6). i. e. "We alſo condemn, with theſe hereſiarchs, that impious wretch Michael Servetus, who madly deſpiſing "the Councils of the holy Fathers, endeavoured to revive the Hereſies already condemned, of Arius "and other Fanatics; whom John Calvin juſtly impeaching, was juſtly put to death by the Magiſtrates "of Geneva."

(3) Idem, *Hiſt. Sacrament.* Part. 2. pag. 595.

(4) Samuel Andreas, *in Epiſt. ad Antonium Horneck qua Daniæ Orthodoxiæ fidelis & pacificæ Autori reſpondetur*, pag. 62. edit. Marpurg. 1690.

(5) Ap. 6, 1576.

(6) Hemmingius, *in Syntagm. Inſtitutionum Chriſtianarum*, Loco de Deo, num. 38. *apud* Samuelem Andr. *ubi ſupra*, pag. 63.

[*C*] *A Divine has lately endeavoured to ſhew, that* Hemmingius's Confeſſion *agrees with that of the Reformed.*] Maſius, Profeſſor of Divinity at Copenhagen, has communicated to the public the confeſſion which was required from Hemmingius. It declares, that he firmly believes, that Chriſt Jeſus, entire God and Man, is ſubſtantially preſent in the Lord's Supper, in all parts where it is ſolemnized according to its inſtitution; and that Chriſt Jeſus brings and delivers to all communicants, as well unworthy as worthy, his real body, and the true blood which he ſhed for us, for the remiſſion of ſins; and that this body and this blood are truly and really taken with the bread and wine by the communicants; ſo that it is a true meat and a true drink, with which man is fed, refreſhed, and vivified to life eternal. *Se ſtatuere & firmiter credere totum Chriſtum Deum & hominem ſubſtantialiter adeſſe præſentem in Cœna ſua, ubicunque celebratur juxta ipſius ordinationem, ipſumque adferre & exhibere omnibus communicantibus dignis & indignis ſuum verum corpus & verum ſanguinem, quem effudit pro nobis in remiſſionem peccatorum, & hoc corpus & hunc ſanguinem vere & realiter cum pane & vino à communicantibus ſumi, ita ut verus ſit cibus & potus, quo homo paſcitur, reficitur & vivificatur ad vitam æternam* (7). By the way, Hemmingius acknowleges, that his confeſſion agrees with that of Auſburg, with Luther's ſhort Catechiſm, and with the ſyſtem of the doctrine of the Saxon Churches; and he declares, that he retracts all he has ſaid in his *Syntagma*, which may have offended the churches, and which is conformable to the opinion of Calvin with regard to the laſt ſupper, or does not agree with the preſent confeſſion. *Cum jam aliter in Syntagmate ſuo ſcripſerit juxta ſententiam Calvini de re ſacramentaria quo Eccleſiæ offenſæ ſint, & quod cum hac ſua præſenti Confeſſione pugnet, id quicquid ſit in univerſum revocare, & hoc ſuo ſcripto revocatum velle* (8). He begs pardon of the King and of all thoſe whom his *Syntagma* had offended (9). It is manifeſt that there is Lutheraniſm in his confeſſion; and we may be perſuaded that thoſe Doctors, who obliged Hemmingius to retract, dictated to him ſuch expreſſions as they imagined would be beſt adapted to take off all equivocation; and to denote, in the moſt expreſs and exact manner, his orthodoxy and the abjuration of his error. Nevertheleſs, the reader would never imagine what efforts the Divine, quoted by me, made, in order to prove that Hemmingius did not make a recantation. The parentheſes and *Nota Benes*, with which he divides or interrupts the words of the confeſſion, in order to elude Maſius's conſequences and pretenſions, appear, to him, ſo ſolid, that he is not afraid to aſſert, that Hemmingius retracted but very few things; and that good Calviniſts ought, agreeably to the dictates of their conſciences, to ſign this confeſſion explained and underſtood according to its true ſenſe. *Videt itaque rurſum vir clariſſimus, quantillum id ſit quod hac confeſſione ſua* Hemmingius *revocavit, cui & nos dummodo dextre intelligantur & recte explicentur poſſumus adſtipulari; & quam procul ille adhuc abfuerit tum cum collegis à fide γνησίως Lutherana* (10). From hence let us conclude, that it is difficult to draw up ſuch a formulary, as may take away all occaſion for diſputation. A perſon may imagine that he has anticipated or prevented every thing that has the air of equivocation; but he afterwards ſhall find that an adverſary invents a thouſand evaſions; and would perſuade him that his thoughts and ideas were very different from what he knew them to be. In certain caſes this is attempting, what Pericles attempted, and in which he ſucceeded. Whenever he received a fall in wreſtling, he would perſuade the ſpectators that he did not fall (11). The reader will perhaps here call to mind a malicious obſervation he may have read in the Hiſtory of the Variations (12). "Luther-"rans aſſert, in their Book *de Concordia*, that Luther "was prompted to employ that expreſſion (13) by the "ſubtilties of the Sacramentarians, who found means "to adapt to their preſent moral preſence, what Luther "ſaid ſtrongeſt and cleareſt, in favour of the real and "ſubſtantial preſence; whereby, by the way, we "once again ſee, that we are not to wonder if the de-"fenders of the figurative ſenſe find means to draw "over the fathers to their ſide; ſince Luther himſelf, "living and ſpeaking, he who knew their ſubtilties, "and who attempted to combat them, could ſcarce "find out any terms but they would bring them to "their ſenſe by the manner in which they interpreted "them; tired out with their ſubtleties, he wanted to "ſearch out ſome expreſſion, which it would be im-"poſſible for them to change, and he drew up the "article of Smalcalde in the form we have ſeen." The Biſhop of Meaux might have found a ſtrong example of all this in the Church of Rome. The Bull of Innocent X againſt the tenets of Janſenius, did not hinder the Janſeniſts from finding means to diſpute. They intrenched themſelves within a great number of ſubtilties, and a thouſand diſtinctions. To force them thence, Alexander VII was made to ſpeak in a clearer manner; and every thing was inſerted in this Bull, that appeared adapted to deſtroy the diſtinctions and ſubterfuges of Port-Royal. But all this was to no purpoſe; for the Janſeniſts continued to aſſert, that the doctrine of Janſenius had not been condemned: Arnauld diſplayed an hundred obſervations, borrowed from the moſt ſubtle Logic (14). The Pope would have been greatly aſtoniſhed at the peruſal of ſuch a writing; he would have ſeen the vanity of his precautions; have perceived, that it would have been proved to him, that he did not mean what he knew very well he really meant. I find, he might have ſaid, that you know my own thoughts better than I myſelf do. What a fine thing was the *Connotatum* of Cardinal Laurea (15)! And when we reflect on the endleſs Diſtinctions that muſt be made, in order to diſtinguiſh clearly, between what the Bulls do, and do not ordain (16); we plainly perceive that the infallibility of St. Peter's Chair is of no uſe, unleſs we ſuppoſe, either that every particular man is thoroughly acquainted with the ſubtleſt rules of Logic, or that every Pariſh Prieſt is infallible.

(7) *See* Samuel Andreas, pag. 65, 66.

(8) *Apud* Sam. Andream. ibid. pag. 67.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Sam. And. *Epiſt. ad Anton. Horneck*, pag. 67.

(11) See the article PERICLES remark [*D*], before the firſt break.

(12) Mr. de Meaux, *Hiſt. des Variations*, liv. 4. num. 37. pag. m. 181.

(13) Viz. that the bread was the true body.

(14) See the Writings which have been publiſhed, pag. 240, *& ſeq.* of tom. 4. of *Tradition de l'Egliſe Romaine ſur la Grace*, printed at Liege, 1696.

(15) See tom. 4. of *Tradition de l'Egliſe Romaine ſur la Grace*, pag. 131, *& ſeq.*

(16) See what is cited of Melchior Canus, in the ſame tom. 4. of *Tradition*, pag. 120, *& ſeq.*

[*D*] *Simon Goulart was ſo well pleaſed with his Tracts on Diviniiy, that he reprinted them at Geneva in* 1586.] See the epiſtle dedicatory to the edition he procured

I am to add, that when he was ſeventy years old, he wrote a book intitled, *Immanuel*, which ſeems calculated chiefly to oppoſe James Andreas, the grand fautor of Ubiquitiſm (*c*). This work, which is greatly applauded (*d*), was not printed till after the author's death. It was publiſhed at Frankfort anno 1615 (*e*), with a preface, which will furniſh us with a ſupplement, on what we ſaid concerning the vigour with which the book of *Concord* was rejected by the King of Denmark [*E*].

(*c*) Lud. Gerard. à Reneſſe, *Not. in Apoleg. Belg. Eccleſ.* pag. 114.

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

(*e*) Idem, ibid. pag. 111.

procured of them. By the way, he informs the readers, that he has illuſtrated certain things which Hermingius had not ſufficiently explained, and which offended many perſons.

[*E*] Here follows .... *a ſupplement, on what we ſaid* (17) *concerning the vigour with which the* ..... Liber Concordiæ *was rejected by the King of Denmark.*] An Engliſhman (18), who drew up the preface to this poſthumous work of Hemmingius, informs us (19), that Queen Elizabeth uſed her utmoſt endeavours, in order to make the King of Denmark reject it. He relates a great many particulars concerning the indignation with which this Prince was fired; and, among others, the following, viz. that the *Liber Concordiæ*, which had been ſent to him, covered with ſilk and adorned with jewels, was nevertheleſs thrown into the fire; *imo, quod memorabile imprimis eſt, à pientiſſimo Danorum Rege Frederico 2. ab aula Electorali Saxoniâ, ut ut miſſus, holoſerice obductus, auro, gemmiſque pretioſis affabre ornatus magno & pio Zelo Vulcano traditus eſt, annexâ graviſſimâ pœnâ & inſpectione ejus rei univerſi Regni Epiſcopis demandata ſub confiſcatione, in regnum ne importaretur, ibidemve diſtraheretur, neve ſub exilio certiſſimo ab ullo poſſideretur, eo quod in illo nova, & in iſtis regionibus antè inaudita, ac (prout habet ipſum diploma Regium in librum Concordiæ vibratum, à doctis viris mihi non ſemel in Dania explicatum) inuſitata comprehenderentur dogmata: recepta verò ibi ex adverſo ſunt cum Lutheri, Philippi quoque ſcripta, inter hæc cum primis* CORPUS DOCTRINÆ, *tribunitiæque illæ, ac declamatoriæ conciones S. Cathedris pulſæ* (20). i. e. "Nay, the moſt remarkable circumſtance is, that it was caſt into the "flames, with a holy zeal, by that moſt pious Monarch, Frederic II King of Denmark, notwithſtanding that it had been ſent him from the Elector of "Saxony's court; it being covered entirely with ſilk, "and very richly and ſkilfully adorned with gold and "precious ſtones. He alſo prohibited, under a very "ſevere penalty, the importing or diſtributing it in "his dominions; and the inſpection of that affair was "committed to all the Biſhops of the Kingdom, upon "the penalty of confiſcation; and that no perſon ſhould "pretend to keep it by them, upon pain of certain "baniſhment: becauſe it contained many new and "ſtrange doctrines, and ſuch as were unheard of in "thoſe parts (theſe are the expreſs words of the royal "edict, enacted againſt the book of Concord, as frequently explained to me by a learned man in Denmark.) On the contrary, the books of Luther and "Philip Melanchthon are received here, and particularly the CORPUS DOCTRINÆ; whilſt moſt ſeditious and declamatory ſermons are drove from the "pulpit." He obſerves that Hutterus has greatly condemned this conduct of his Daniſh Majeſty: *Heroicum iſtud Regis* Frederici *factum vocat* (Hutterus in libro quem appellat CONCORDIA CONCORS) *durum nimis & Rhadamantheum plane, Regemque & quidem Chriſtianum haud decens, ſed cum enormi, tantoque Rege indignâ prorſus animi impotentiâ, & nimiâ affectuum vehementiâ conjunctum, quod tanti Regis dignitatem, prudentiam, & exiſtimationes haud leviter, omnibus, qui ſaltem aliquid judicare poſſunt, ſuſpectas reddit.* i. e. "Hutterus, "in the book entitled by him CONCORDIA CONCORS, "calls this heroic action of King Frederic, too ſevere, "and altogether Rhadamanthean; no ways becoming a Monarch and a Chriſtian; that it was attended with ſuch a weakneſs and heat of paſſion, as "was quite unworthy ſo great a Prince: and that it "gives perſons of any judgment reaſon to call in queſtion his dignity, prudence, and reputation." But that it has been exceedingly applauded by Chriſtopher Knobius, in the Funeral Oration of this Monarch. I ſhall cite the paſſage. It will ſhew the ardent zeal of this Prince, who uſed often to ſay, that this diſpute of the Lutherans had given riſe to more evils, than the Turks had occaſioned by the plunder of the provinces in which it had taken birth. *Chriſtophorus Knobius Aulicus illius* (Regis) *Concionator in Concione funebri in exequiis Regiis habita* anno 1588. 5 Junii *ſic de illo loquitur:* Sollicitus erat ne ſui quoque Doctores in abyſſum hujus periculoſæ & nocentiſſimæ diſputationis abriperentur, ideoque noluit iſti negocio immiſceri: etiam querebatur, damnum quod Chriſtiana Eccleſia ex hac diſputatione ſentiebat, non poſſe tali Concordiæ Bergenſis formula ſanari: & ſciunt complures honeſtiſſimi viri, quanto cum affectu id factum doleret, quinimo illum ſæpius dixiſſe, ſi Turca illas regiones, in quibus hæc certamina nata ſunt, & adoleverunt, depopulatus fuiſſet, non tantum damni potuiſſe inferri, quantum hæc diſputatio intulit, nec finem poſſe videri hujus certaminis (21). Q. Elizabeth employed the ſame compariſon in her letter to that Prince (22), Your country, ſays ſhe, has ſuffered more havock by this pretended concord, than if the Turks had laid all waſte with fire and ſword. The author (23) who relates this particular, obſerves that the Miniſters of Holland prevailed with this Queen, to uſe her endeavours to engage Frederic II, King of Denmark, to reject the *Liber Concordiæ*. It appears by the preface to Hemmingius's work, that the ſucceſſor to this King of Denmark continued to reject the book in queſtion, for which the author of the preface applauds him greatly. *Robinſonus pag.* 10. *ejuſdem ad Lectorem præfationis ſic concludit. Deus qui nunquam deeſt Eccleſiæ ſuæ, irrequietorum talium hominum conatus, ut olim per pios Magiſtratus, in Daniâ præſertim, mirè impedivit; ita etiam nunc per optimi patris optimum filium, re & nomine verè Chriſtianum, paternis veſtigiis ſeverè inſiſtentem, pietate, & juſtitiâ regna ſua firmantem, Pontificiorum, Ubiquitariorum, & aliorum ſchiſmaticorum ac turbulentorum hominum ſtudia maturè, & prudenter in ipſâ herbâ reprimentem, benignè retardavit* (24). i. e. "Robinſon, in page 10 of his preface, concludes as "follows. As God, who never abandons his church, "checked, in a wonderful manner, the attempts of "thoſe reſtleſs ſpirits, as formerly, by pious magiſtrates, particularly in Denmark; ſo likewiſe has "he, in our days, graciouſly curbed them, by the "excellent ſon of a moſt excellent father; a Chriſtian "not leſs in reality than in name; a Prince who "treads exactly in his father's ſteps; eſtabliſhing his "Kingdom in piety and juſtice, and wiſely reſtraining, in their infancy, the deſigns of Papiſts, Ubiquitarians, and other ſchiſmatical and factious perſons."

I will be ſo frank as to own here, that I do not draw from the fountain-head, and that I have no other original but the notes of Lewis Gerard à Reneſſe, on a letter which he cauſed to be reprinted at Breda in 1651 (25); and which had been firſt publiſhed, anno 1579, in Latin, in Flemiſh, and in German. It is entitled *Apologetica Reformatarum in Belgio Eccleſiarum Epiſtola, ad, & contra Auctores Libri Bergenſis, dicti, Concordiæ.* Gerard à Reneſſe does not know the author of it; but I know that it has been aſcribed to Peter de Villiers (26), a French Miniſter, and preacher to the Prince of Orange. *Anno* 1579, *Petrus Villerius Gallus concionator aulicus Principis Auriaci, Polyprag monicus, ſub miniſtrorum Belgicorum nomine Epiſtolam criminatoriam contra Autores libri Concordiæ publicavit* (27). i. e. "In the year 1579, Peter Villiers, a native of "France, Chaplain to the Prince of Orange, and a "very pragmatic man, publiſhed an epiſtle, in the "reproachful ſtrain, under the names of the Dutch "Miniſters, againſt the authors of the book of Con"cord."

(17) In the remark [*A*].

(18) He is called, at firſt, *Robert Alenſon*, in the Notes which I ſhall cite below; but he afterwards is called always *Robinſon*.

(19) *Præfatio Libri* Hemmingii, *cui titulus* Immanuel, *apud* Ludovicum Gerardum à Reneſſe, *Not. in Apologeticam Reformatarum in Belgio Eccleſiarum Epiſtolam, ad, & contra Auctores Libri Bergenſis, dicti, Concordiæ*, pag. 111.

(20) *Præfat. eadem*, ex L. G. à Reneſſe, pag. 111.

(21) Lud. Gerardus à Reneſſe, *Not. in Epiſt. Apoleg Eccleſ. Reform. in Belgio*, pag. 113.

(22) *Scribens ad* Auguſtum Electorem *ſic inter alia*, ſi Turca totam tuam ditionem, ferro flammaque vaſtaſſet, tanta non dediſſet damna quanta ex concordiæ diſcordiis negocio accepit. *Idem, ibid.* pag. 114. *ex* Joh. Lampadii *Epiſt. Dedic.* Cenſuræ Ubiquitatis.

(23) Joh. Lampad. *ibid.*

(24) Lud. Gerard. à Reneſſe, *ibid.*

(25) He was a Miniſter, and Profeſſor of Divinity.

(26) See in the remark [*S*] of the article CHARLES V, the paſſage of *Grotius's Annals*, in which *the Apology of the Prince of Orange* is aſcribed to this *Peter de Villiers*.

(27) Schyffelberg, lib. 2. *Theol. Calvinianæ*, cap. 7. *apud* Schulting. *Biblioth. Cathol.* tom. 1. pag. 23.

HENAULT (N.), a French Poet of the ſeventeenth Century, "author of the Son-
"net

" net on Mademoiſelle de Guerchi [*A*] ; and Madam des Houliere's maſter, had a con-
" ſiderable reputation at Paris during his life-time, and it ſtill ſubſiſts, though he has
(a) i. e. in 1682. " been dead fourteen years (*a*). Indeed, as his merit was not printed [*B*], to ſpeak
" after Menage, his reputation could not be ſpread like that of many others, who never
" enjoyed, in Paris, ſo great a reputation as Henault did. He was a man of genius
" and erudition ; loving to refine on pleaſures, and to debauch with art and delicacy.
" But he was moſt ſtrangely wrong-headed in one reſpect, he profeſſing Atheiſm,
" and priding himſelf in his opinion with a moſt deteſtable affectation and fury. He
" had drawn up three different ſyſtems with regard to the mortality of the ſoul [*C*], and
" went

[*A*] *Author of the ſonnet on Mademoiſelle de Guerchi.*] Before I publiſhed, in the remark [*G*] of the article SPINOZA, the extract of the letter which contains theſe particulars, I had already obſerved (1), that he was taught that the ſonnet *de l'Averton* (of the immature child) had been compoſed by Henault, and wrote on occaſion of Mademoiſelle de Guerchi. But the inſtant my Dictionary had reached London, a learned Engliſh Gentleman did me the honour to inform me by letter, I. That he knew from the firſt hand, that this ſonnet had been publiſhed two or three years before Mademoiſelle de Guerchi's death. II. That perſons *who pretend to be perfectly well acquainted with this affair*, declared that it was wrote by Subligni, author of the *Falſe Clelia*. I ſhewed this to the learned Gentleman, who had favoured me with the letter, an extract whereof I inſerted in the article of Spinoza. He anſwered, " that Mr. Lucas had declared to him, " that the ſonnet on the immature birth, was wrote " twenty years before the accident which befell Made- " moiſelle de Guerchi ; but that all the other Poets " whom he had conſulted, declared, that it was made " on a miſcarriage of that beautiful Lady, but diffe- " rent from that which coſt her life. Twenty of " my friends, added he, who have lived with Henault, " aſſured me, that this ſonnet was certainly wrote by " him, and that he owned himſelf to be the author " of it. Subligni (*) was but a ſchool-boy when that " piece appeared ; his widow and daughter confirmed " to me, *that it was not written by him.*" We may lay it down as an undoubted fact, viz. that the ſonnet in queſtion was compoſed by our Henault ; for we ſhall find below, that it was inſerted in the collection of that Poet's works : but we have ſtrong reaſon to doubt, whether it was made one Mademoiſelle de Guerchi. It is looked upon, though not written according to the rules (2), to be a maſter-piece, and though there is a barbariſm in it (3).

(1) In the article PATIN, pag. 744. Letter (*d*). I have ſuppreſſed that in this 2d edition.

(*) He was eſteemed in the Law-Courts. He wrote ſome Plays, and the *Critique of Andromaque*.

(2) See *Amitiez Amours & Amourettes de Mr. le Puys*, liv. 3. Letter 4.

[*B*] *His merit was not printed.*] This has been found a falſe aſſertion : " Mr. d'Henault himſelf, in " his life-time, printed a ſmall collection of his works " at Paris, which was ſold by Barbin, anno 1670, " in 12mo, and intitled, *Oeuvres diverſes . . . par le " Sieur D. H.* (Miſcellanies . . . by Mr. D. H.) It " is dedicated to Monſieur Doort without any other " title. It contains proſe and verſe, with Letters in " proſe and verſe a Sapho, which very probably was " Madam des Houlieres. The Sonnet on the imma- " ture birth (*l'Averton*) is inſerted in it. . . . I muſt " not omit taking notice of the firſt piece in this " work, intitled, *De la Conſolation, à Olympe*. It " will furniſh me with two critical Obſervati- " ons ; firſt, that the compilers of St. Evremont's " works, miſled perhaps by ſome perſon, or by " a ſuppoſed conformity in the ſtyle ; have in- " ſerted that whole letter, which is a very long " one, among the works of St. Evremont ; and ma- " ny people who look upon themſelves as judges, " ſuppoſed that he was really author of this piece. " This is an example you may add to thoſe you " have collected, concerning the errors, into which " critics are daily led by this conformity of ſtyle. " The ſecond obſervation falls directly on a new Cen- " ſor . . . who has attempted a judgment on Mr. de " St. Evremont's works (†) . . . This writer has, " throughout, fallen into the ſnare laid by the com- " pilers beforementioned. He attacks the conſolatory " letter *à Olympe*, with regard to the ſtyle, the " thoughts, and ſentiments, and employs a quarter " of his book in this fine ſort of criticiſm." This I have found in a collection of remarks, with which a young Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris was pleaſed to favour me, anno 1698 ; remarks that prove the author of them is a man of incomparable ſenſe, and is thoroughly acquainted with a vaſt number of curious particulars which are perfectly well ſuited to this Dictionary (4) (*a*).

(3) *See* Father Bouhours, *Maniere de bien penſer*, pag. 373. Dutch edit.

(†) *Diſſertation ſur les Oeuvrages de St. Evremont*, 1698, in 12mo, Paris, by the Sieur Dumonti This is a mask. It is aſcribed to Mr. Cotolendi, author of the *Arlequiniana* ; ſome imagine that Mr. Erard, a famous Counſellor, had a conſiderable ſhare in it.

(4) See the end of the remark [*Q*] of the article of the third Duke of GUISE.

§ (*a*) Mr. Bayle does not mention in this remark the following verſes, which are inſerted in his *Oeuvres diverſes &c.*

E Senecæ Thieſte, Actus II. Chorus.

Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur ſibi.

Imitation of the Latin lines above.

Heureux eſt l'inconnu, qui s'eſt bien sû connoître ;
Il ne voit pas de mal à mourir plus qu'à naître ;
Il s'en va comme il eſt venu :
Mais helas ! que la Mort fait une horreur extrême
A qui meurt de tous trop connu,
Et trop peu connu de ſoy-même !

REM. CRIT.

The ſenſe is,

" Happy is the obſcure man, who has well known " himſelf. To him dying appears no more fatal than " the being born : He leaves the world in the ſame " manner as he came into it. But alas ! how dread- " ful muſt death appear to that man, who dies too " much known to the world, and too little to " himſelf !"

[*C*] *He had drawn up three different ſyſtems with regard to the mortality of the ſoul.*] I ſhall give another paſſage from the Collection of Remarks juſt mentioned. " Henault ſays in his dedication, *You " know that I am a man wholly internal ; that I do " not place any felicity in the opinion of others ; and that " my maxims and errors differ pretty much from thoſe " of the reſt of the world.* He here begins to diſcover " what he was. Several of his verſes are imitations " of Seneca's Chorus's, and among others of Act II " of the Troades, where the mortality of the ſoul is " laid down as a principle ; this was a ſubject that hit " his taſte.

" *Comme ſe perd en un moment*
" *Cette portion d'air dans les corps enfermée,*
" *Que le plus actif element*
" *Developpe & pouſſe en fumée ;*
" *Comme au ſouffle des aquilons*
" *On voit bien-tôt evanoüie*
" *Une groſſe nuée ou de grêle ou de pluie,*
" *Qui d'un deluge afreux menace les valons ;*
" *Ainſi s' épand cette ame vaine*
" *Qui meut tous les reſſorts de la machine humaine.*
" *Tout meurt en nous quand nous mourons ;*
" *La mort ne laiſſe rien, & n'eſt rien elle-même,*
" *Du peu de tems que nous durons*
" *Ce n'eſt que le moment extrême, &c.*

The ſenſe is,

" As is loſt, in an inſtant, that portion of air, pent " up in bodies, which the moſt active element cauſes " to evaporate in ſmoak ; as, by the blaſt of furious " winds, we ſee ſoon diſperſed a thick cloud of hail " or rain, which threatned the vallies with a dreadful " deluge : In like manner that vain ſoul, which " moves the ſeveral ſprings of the human machine is " evaporated * * * Death does not leave any thing, " and is nothing itſelf. Of the ſhort ſpace that we " live, it is but the laſt moment &c."

" I am ſurprized that this ſhould be printed with the

" went to Holland, purpoſely to viſit Spinoſa, who nevertheleſs did not much eſteem " his erudition. But things wore a quite different face at his death; he being a convert, " and was then for carrying matters to the other extreme; for his Confeſſor was forced " to prevent his receiving the Viaticum or Sacrament with a halter about his neck, in " the middle of his bed-chamber. D'Henault was not well deſcended, his father being " a baker; and he himſelf had been at firſt Receiver of the Taxes at Forès, but was " not ſucceſsful in that employment. He inſtructed Madam des Houlieres in all he " knew, or imagined to know; and it is pretended that this is evident from the works " of that Lady [*D*]." Here follows the extract of a letter which a learned man did me the honour to write to me, the 27th of April 1696. He wrote me another letter dated the 19th of July 1697, by which he informed me, that d'Henault *drew up a caſe or plea for Mr. de Clodoré, Governor of Martinico, againſt Mr. de la Barre, Governor of the American Iſlands; and a manifeſto of Mr. de Gadagne, with regard to the affair of Gigeri.* An elegy (*b*) and an eclogue (*c*) of this author are publiſhed in the *Furetieriana*. To this elegy this encomium is prefixed, *Monſieur d'Henault was univerſally eſteemed ... he was a man of the higheſt civility, and of an amorous complexion.* He wrote a Sonnet, which gave Mr. Colbert an opportunity to perform a fine action [*E*]. He was married, and

(*b*) Pag. 77. of the Dutch edit.

(*c*) Pag. 238.

" King's privilege. Henault's heart was of a tender " caſt, he uſing to ſay to his miſtreſs;

" *Sappho fit des vers comme vous,*
" *Faites l'amour comme elle?*

The ſenſe is,

" Sappho, like you, was a Poeteſs: Do you make love " as ſhe did?"

" He will have her renounce all thoughts of fame and " glory.

" *Pour moi je ne ſuis point le dupe de la gloire;*
" *Je vous quitte ma place au Temple de memoire,*
" *Et je ne conçoi point que la loi du trepas*
" *Doive épargner mon nom & ne m'épargner pas.*
" *Je me mets au deſſus de cette erreur commune,*
" *On meurt, & ſans reſſource & ſans reſerve aucune.*
" *S'il eſt apres ma mort quelque reſte de moi,*
" *Ce reſte un peu plus tard ſuivra la méme loi,*
" *Fera place à ſon tour à de nouvelles choſes,*
" *Et ſe replongera dans le ſein de ſes cauſes.*

(†) *Mais les gens de delà les Monts Aurent bientôt pleuré cet homme, Car il deffend les Jannetons, Choſe très-neceſſaire à Rome.* i. e. " But " the Italians " will ſoon have " bewailed that " man; for he " will not ſuffer " any whores, " which are ſo " very neceſſary " in Rome."
La Fontaine, *Oeuv. Poſth.* ſpeaking of Innocent XI.

Quand l'objet en mon cœur a place, Et qu'à mes yeux il eſt joli, Dono nomen quod libet illi (β).
Idem, ibid.

(2) This Latin ought to form a verſe of the ſame meaſure with the two preceding, which conſiſt but of ſix ſyllables. Read therefore *Do nomen* in La Fontaine's *Oeuvres poſthumes.* REM. CRIT.

" With regard to my ſelf, I am not the dupe of glory; " I reſign to you my ſeat in the Temple of Fame; " and I cannot conceive that the law of death ſhould " exempt my name and not ſpare me. I ſoar above " that vulgar error *** If, after my death, any part " of me ſhould ſurvive, that part will, not long after, " follow the ſame law; will make way, in its turn, " for new things, and plunge again into the abyſs of " its cauſes.

" This is not a tranſlation, but an original; and in " this manner Henault ſcattered the ſeeds of his er- " rors up and down his works. In the two pieces " inſerted in the *Furetieriana*, are found the ſame " tenets, which he endeavoured to introduce on all " occaſions. His Compoſitions are filled, not only " with impious ideas, but likewiſe with images of " an obſcene kind. Some are found in a piece inti- " tled, *Le Bail d'un cœur à Cloris*, inſerted in this " collection; and this Cloris might certainly be one " of the Jeannetons mentioned by la Fontaine (†). " Theſe verſes are more obſcene than all the tales, " and deſerve more to be condemned by the civil " Magiſtrate."

[*D*] *It is pretended that this is evident from the works of that Lady.*] The reader may have ſeen, in pag. 1088, vol. 2. of the firſt edition of this Dictionary, that the Gentleman to whom the words of this text belong, adds immediately, *I have ſeen people among other verſes, remark the following in the Idyllium of the Rivulet* (*).

(*) It is in page 164 of tom. 1. of *Poeſies de Madame des Houlieres* It is inſerted alſo in the *Courier Galant* for May 1693, pag. 532.

" *Courez, ruiſſeau, courez, fuyez & reportez*
" *Vos ondes dans le ſein des mers dont vous ſortez:*
" *Tandis que pour remplir la dure deſtinée*
" *Où nous ſommes aſſujettis*
" *Nous irons reporter la vie infortunée*
" *Dans le ſein du neans d'où nous ſommes ſortis.*"

The ſenſe is,

" Glide on, ſtream, fly, and convey back your wa- " ters into the boſom of the ſea whence you ariſe: " whilſt, to complete the ſevere fate to which we " are ſubjected, we ſhall go and carry back ill-fated " life, into the abyſs of Non-entity whence we ſprung."

It is certain that a perſon who ſhould expreſs himſelf after this manner dogmatically, would deny the immortality of the ſoul; but let us, for the honour of Madam des Houlieres, conclude that ſhe only followed ſome poetical ideas whence no conſequence is to be drawn. Thus, in imitation of the antient Poets, ſhe has ſaid in another place (5), that our ſouls, after death, wander on the ſhores of hell. But this, had Henault inſtilled his impious tenets into her, would not have been her belief. We muſt not form a judgment of her from her poetical phraſes; not but that a Poet may conceal the moſt licentious ideas, by means of the privileges of verſification. The Counſellor already mentioned has made a note on that paſſage. " You quoted, *ſays he to me in his letter*, ſome verſes " of Madame des Houlieres, which are ſuſpected of " being too licentious; but you have been made to " omit others (‡), that are equally licentious, and " which are publiſhed in her volume of Poems. But " we muſt be impartial and ſpeak the truth: there " are a great number of other moral, and even Chri- " ſtian and holy pieces, ſcattered up and down her " works, which correct this ſingle one. However " endeavours were uſed to make her paſs for a Liber- " tine; ſhe complaining of this in her epiſtle to " Father de la Chaiſe on falſe devotees or hypocrites. " Madam des Houlieres was a woman of wonderful " fine genius, the honour of her ſex, and the ſhame " of ours.

(5) See the article PLOTINUS, remark [*A*].

(‡) *Nous irons reporter la vie infortunée,* QUE LE HAZARD NOUS A DONNEE, *Dans le ſein du neant d'où nous ſommes ſortis.*

I am to obſerve that no one could aſſert that Madam des Houlieres, upon pretence of her advancing that we ſprung from *Nothing*, believed the creation; for Henault ſhews pretty evidently (6), that by the word *neant* (nothing or non entity) he does not mean the privation of exiſtence, but a privation (ſimply) of life, in which ſenſe he did not admit of the creation.

(6) See the Sonnet *de l'Avorton.*

[*E*] *He wrote a Sonnet, which gave Mr. Colbert an opportunity of doing a fine action.*] The collection of remarks above cited, furniſhes me with another good Commentary. " To return to d'Henault, it is of him " that Boileau ſpeaks in two places in Satyr 9,

Je le declare donc Haynault (*) *eſt un Virgile* (α).

(*) He ſpelt his name in that manner purpoſely to diſguiſe him.

" I here declare that Haynault is a Virgil."

" But Mr.... (†) himſelf told me, that he thought " him a pretty good Poet; and that his beſt piece, " not with reſpect to the ſubject, but the manner in " which he had treated it, was a Sonnet levelled at " Mr. Colbert, and which began thus,

(†) Boileau is here underſtood.

" *Miniſtre avare & laſcie, eſclave malheureux.*

" Baſe, griping Miniſter, deteſted ſlave."

" Mr. Colbert did a very noble action on this occa- " ſion. Being told of this Sonnet which made a vaſt " noiſe at that time, he aſked whether there were no " ſatyrical

and left a daughter who is Boarder in a monaſtery at Paris. The notes on this article include a great number of particulars that have been communicated to me. The reader may have recourſe to them.

" ſatyrical ſtrokes in it againſt the King; being told " that there were none,' he then declared that he would " not mind it, nor ſhew the leaſt reſentment againſt " the author. Is not this ſtill finer than the Sonnet?"

§ (*u*) In the Amſterdam edit. of 1695 it is *Quinault*, both in this place, and above, in the ſame Satyr; and *Hainault* is not mentioned in any part of it. REM. CRIT.

Que vous ont fait Perrin, Bardin, Pradon, Hainaut?

" What ill have you received from Perrin, Bardin, " Pradon and Hainault?"

But with regard to the verſe abovementioned, cited from Boileau, our Hainault is not there named, but only Quinaut, in manner following;

Je le déclare donc; Quinaut eſt un Virgil.

" I here declare, that Quinaut is a Virgil."] *Rem. by the Tranſlator.*

[In the Amſterdam edition of 1717, with the excellent Notes of Mr. Broſſette, our Hainault (whoſe name is there ſpelt Hainaut) is thus mentioned in verſe 97. of Satyr 9.

. . .

HENICHIUS (JOHN) Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Rinthel, in the country of Heſſe, was ſon to a Miniſter of Winhuſen, and was born in January 1616. He went through the School-Claſſics at Zell and Lunenburg, and then was ſent to Helmſtad anno 1634, and after having ſtudied there four years, was received Doctor in Philoſophy in that place. Having afterwards read ſome Lectures, and preſided in public diſputations, he gained the friendſhip in an eſpecial manner of Doctor Calixtus and Doctor Horneius, two famous Divines. He went to Hildeſheim near the cloſe of the year 1639, and lived about three years there, in the houſe of a Gentleman of merit (*a*). He afterwards went and travelled towards the Rhine, and then reſided ſome time with James Lampadius in Hanover. He was appointed Profeſſor of Metaphyſics and of Hebrew, in the Univerſity of Rinthel, anno 1643; and a year and a half after this, he was invited to Bardewik, to be Superintendant. He diſcharged the duties of that employment during five years, and with ſo much care and diligence, that Duke Auguſtus of Brunſwick would have appointed him ſole inſpector of the dioceſe of Wolfenbuttel, but he did not accept of it. He even quitted his employment, becauſe the fatigues it had brought upon him, had thrown him into a long fit of ſickneſs. He returned to Rinthel in 1651, in order to be Profeſſor of Divinity in that city. He received, in a ſolemn manner, the honours of a Doctor's degree in the ſame Faculty; and it was not long before a ſeat was given him in the Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory; and he was alſo made Inſpector of the Churches in the Earldom of Schauemburg (*b*). He gave a proof of his erudition, by the conſiderable number of books which he publiſhed [*A*]. He was a man of great candor and moderation, and ardently wiſhed that there might be an union between the Lutherans and Calviniſts [*B*]; and

(*a*) *Ad nobiliſſ. atque præſtrenuum Virum D. Fredericum Wilhelmum* GANSIUM *je contulit, apud quem triennium fere ſatis commode exegit.* *Apud* Witte, *Memor. Theologor.* Decad. 13. pag. 1716.

(*b*) The city of Rinthel is in that Earldom.

[*A*] *The conſiderable number of books which he publiſhed.*] Here follows the catalogue of them as given by de Witte (1). *Diſſertatio de Majeſtate civili:* Rintel. 1653, in 4to, *De Cultu creaturarum & imaginum Diſſert.* ibid. 1653, in 4to. *De libertate Arbitrii, imprimis de concurſu cauſæ ſecundæ cum primis:* ibid. 1645, in 4to. *De Officio boni Principis piique Subditi:* ibid. 1661, in 12mo. *Diſſertatio de Pœnitentia lapſorum:* ibid. 1659, in 4to. *De Gratia & Prædeſtinatione Diſſertatio:* ibid. 1663, in 4to. *Compendium S. Theologiæ:* ibid. 1657, 1671, in 8vo. *De Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ:* ibid. 1667, in 12mo. *Inſtitutiones Theologicæ:* Brunſvigæ, 1665, in 4to. *Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ & Civilis Pars I,* Rintel. 1669, *Pars II,* 1670, *Pars III,* 1674, in 4to. *Diſputationes aliquot emiſit publiceque habuit, ex quibus eſt; de Myſterio S. S. Trinitatis: De Confeſſione Auguſtini, de Fide & operibus, &c.*

(1) Witte, *Memoriar. Theolog.* Dec. 13. pag. 1720.

I have ſome little obſervations to make with regard to the work *de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ*, in the catalogue above. It is an excellent ſupplement to that which Grotius has wrote on the ſame ſubject; for Henichius lays open, clears up, and proves in a more ample manner, the reaſons which Grotius had employed. This he obſerves in his title, which is as follows: *quo ea, quæ vir illuſtris* HUGO GROTIUS *de hac materia commentatus eſt aliquanto uberius exponuntur.* I am to obſerve by the way, that Grotius has been accuſed of being a plagiary; and I will inſert an addition that was publiſhed at the end of the firſt volume of the firſt edition of this Dictionary, and which the Printer did not put in its proper place in the ſecond edition. The words are as follow. " In my " opinion nothing was ever more falſe, than what " was told Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Spon, viz. that *Gro-* " *tius had ſtole all the chief arguments for his book entitled* " Of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion *from an* " *Arabic author; and particularly from the works of* " *an excellent man whom the Latins conſidered as an* " *arch-heretic, but whom the Copts hold for a ſaint;* " *who has wrote an excellent book againſt the Turks* " *and againſt the Jews, for the truth of the Chriſtian* " *Religion* (2)."

(2) Wheeler's *Voyage into Dalmatia, &c.* lib. 2. pag. 163. Dutch edit. of 1689.

Note, that the three Volumes of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of our John Henichius, extend but to the end of the Vth Century; and that notwithſtanding the title premiſes the civil, as well as church hiſtory, yet the author has the latter chiefly in view. The firſt volume comprehends the three firſt centuries; the ſecond, the fourth century, and the third, the fifth century. Boſius who had ſaid in his *Schediaſma de comparanda Notitia Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum*, that Henichius's work contained the ſix firſt centuries, was anſwered too roughly on that account. He acknowledged his error, and corrected it, with his own hand, in his copy of that work. It is very juſt to point out ſuch errors; but then this ought to be done without bitterneſs or an inſulting air, remembring that ſuch errors may be very eaſily committed. *Aberrationem agnovit, ac manu ſua in exemplari privato correxit: ut adeo acrem illam Clariſſimi* Sluteri *cenſuram* (*) *non videatur meruiſſe. Et quam facilis in his talibus ſit lapſus, unuſquiſque intelligit* (3). The author, who writes thus, obſerves, that Henichius, after giving the ſubſtance of the teſtimonies of antient authors, then ſets down the paſſages from them at full length. It was very juſtly obſerved, that this would be a recommendation of the work. *Ceterum Henichianum opus vel eo etiam nomine meretur commendari, quod integra Auctorum veterum teſtimonia adſcribat, quorum ſummam prius attulerat* (4).

(*) In *Propylæo Hiſtoriæ Chriſtianæ*, pag. 26.

(3) Caſpar Sagit. *Introduct. in Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 340.

(4) Idem, Sagit. ibid.

[*B*] *He . . . . ardently wiſhed that there might be an union between the Lutherans and Calviniſts.*] He is applauded for this in his funeral programma (5): *Pacis & concordiæ perpetuus ſtudioſus, nihilque magis in votis habebat, quàm ut ſchiſma inter Evangelicos funditùs tolleretur, & togata prælia in ſuggeſtibus & Cathedris cum ſalutiferâ, DEO & hominibus gratâ pace, fauſto*

(5) Witte, *Mem. Theolog.* Dec. 13. pag. 1718.

and this perhaps was the cauſe of the many invectives that were vented againſt him. He married, in 1645, a very virtuous maiden, who was far from being barren, ſhe bringing him thirteen children. He died at Rinthel the 27th of June 1671 (*c*). Gerhard Wolter Molan made a very beautiful epitaph in his honour. It is inſerted in page 338 and 339 of a work of Gaſpar Sagittarius (*d*).

(*c*) Extracted from his *Funeral Programma* inſerted by Mr. Witte in the 13th Decad *Memor. Theolog. noſtri ſæculi*, pag. 1716, & *ſeq.*

(*d*) Intitled, *Introductio in Hiſtoriam Eccleſiaſticam*, and printed anno 1694.

fauſto omine, commutarentur : qua de cauſa immortalem nominis gloriam apud omnes bonos adeptus eſt. i. e. " For " ever deſirous of peace and concord, there was no- " thing he more earneſtly wiſhed, than to have the " ſchiſms which were found among Proteſtants entire- " ly taken away : and that inſtead of thoſe debates " and quarrels which break out among Divines, in " their pulpits as well as chairs, we might be made " happy in peace, which is ſo grateful both to God " and man ; and for that reaſon his name will be for " ever remembered with honour by all perſons of vir- " tue and goodneſs." The author of the Programma ſays a little after (6) : *Equidem invidia & malignitas, ut ſunt virtutis fata, non unum in eum jaculata fuit fulmen ; ſed & illa, quæ viventi gravis fuit, mortui famæ, credo, favebit, ſuamque vel imperitiam vel livorem tandem profitebitur*. i. e. " Envy and malice, as " is the fate of virtuous men, throw indeed their " darts at him ; but thoſe, who grieved him while " living, will, I am perſuaded, increaſe his reputa- " tion now he is dead ; and at laſt confeſs their igno- " rance or malice." He does not ſpecify the cauſes of that malicious envy which perſecuted Henichius ; but I am of opinion, that the pacific diſpoſition of this Profeſſor furniſhed people with a pretence for ſlandering him.

(6) Idem, ibid. pag. 1719.

HENRY VI, Emperor of Germany, and ſon of Frederic Barbaroſſa, was crowned by Pope Celeſtin III [*A*], the 15th of April 1191. He was marching, at the head of a powerful army, to poſſeſs the inheritance of Naples and Sicily, which belonged to the Empreſs Conſtantia his wife, after the death of young William King of Sicily (*a*). He was ſo much oppoſed in his endeavours to inveſt himſelf with the two Kingdoms abovementioned, that we may almoſt ſay, he obtained them by conqueſt. He was ſo much dreaded, that the Emperor Alexis, ſirnamed the Angel, could not obtain a peace but upon condition of paying him a tribute (*b*). Had Henry done this only, his valour would be applauded ; but all the encomiums he may have deſerved on that account are overbalanced by the perfidy and cruelty he ſhewed, in his extirpating, on falſe pretences, all ſuch as ſurvived of the poſterity of thoſe brave Normans, who had conquered that part of Italy which the Empreſs his conſort, who was heireſs to their dominions, gave him a right to poſſeſs (*c*). It is related that this Princeſs, to puniſh him for the guilt abovementioned, made him ſwallow the poiſon of which he died at Meſſina, anno 1198, at thirty two years of age (*d*). He left a ſon, who was afterwards the Emperor Frederic II. Conſtantia was ſo far advanced in years when ſhe was delivered of this ſon, that, in order to avoid all ſuſpicion of his being ſuppoſititious, ſhe was delivered in public [*B*] : however, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, it was yet ſaid this was a ſpurious child [*C*]. Some authors aſſert, that Conſtantia was neither a Nun, nor very far advanced in years, when ſhe married Henry VI [*D*].

(*a*) *See* Maimbourg, *Décad. de l'Empire*, liv. 5. pag. m. 476.

(*b*) Maimbourg, ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 477.

(*d*) Maimbourg, *Décad. de l'Empir.* liv. 5. pag. 477. citing the Abbot of Urſperg.

HENRY

[*A*] *He was . . . . . crowned by Pope Celeſtin III.*] The following circumſtance is related of his coronation. As the Emperor " was at his feet, Celeſtin, who ſet " the crown on his head, lifted up his foot, and kick- " ed the crown down, to ſhew that he could beſtow, " and take it away. Baronius applauds this action ; " but things, in my opinion, have changed their aſ- " pect ſince ; and not a ſingle Prince would ſubſcribe " very ſincerely to this Cardinal's opinion (1)." I cite the author who delivers himſelf in this manner.

(1) Chevreau, *Hiſt. du Monde*, liv. 5. ch. 2. pag. 75. of tom. 3. Dutch edit. of 1687.

[*B*] *To avoid all ſuſpicion of* the child's *being ſuppoſititious, ſhe was delivered in public.*] Here follows a paſſage from Brantome, that deſerves our peruſal. " Conſtantia, Queen of Sicily, who, from her youth, " and during her whole life, had never ſtirred from " a cloyſter, but there led a veſtal life ; quite for- " forſaking the convent at fifty years of age, tho' " not handſome and very decrepit, yet would " taſte the ſweets of the fleſh ; and marrying, had a " child when fifty two years old, of which ſhe re- " ſolved to lie-in publickly in the plains and meads " of Palermo ; ſhe having cauſed a tent and pavilion " to be erected there for that purpoſe, in order that the " world might not ſuſpect that her child was ſuppo- " ſititious ; and this was one of the greateſt miracles " that had been ſeen ſince the time of St. Elizabeth. " It is nevertheleſs ſaid in the Hiſtory of Naples, " that the child was looked upon as ſpurious ; how- " ever, he became a great man ; but moſt baſtards " are valiant, as a great man told me one day (2).

(2) Brantôme, *Dames galantes*, tom. 2. p. 207.

[*C*] *However, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, it was yet ſaid that this was a ſpurious child.*] Brantome has juſt now informed us of this ; but here follows an author who will point out the proofs of it better. " It has been found, *ſays he* (3), that women " of fifty years old and upwards, had been delivered " of children. Of this we have an example in that " renowned Nun, Conſtantia by name, mother to " Frederic II, who being taken out of a convent, was " the only heireſs and Queen of Sicily. This Princeſs " being with child at fifty two years of age complete, " to remove all ſuſpicion, cauſed a pavilion to be " ſet up, in a public place of a certain city of Sicily, " and, in preſence of the greateſt Ladies of the Coun- " try would lie-in publicly. However, many diſputed " the reality of this incident, and among others the " Marquis of Ancona, Marquardus by name, who " offered to prove, that the child in queſtion was not " the iſſue of Henry and Conſtantia, but was ſuppo- " ſititious, as is aſſerted by Pandolfo Collenuccio (*)." If it can be ſaid, that the moſt ſubtile precautions are of no uſe againſt love, it may be ſaid that they are ſo againſt ambition. Do whatever lies in your power to convince the world, that ſuch and ſuch a delivery was not imaginary and chimerical, but very real, ſtill people will have always anſwers ready to make. The expedient which cured St. Thomas's incredulity, is almoſt the only one that can be proof againſt thoſe cavils ; *unleſs I put my finger*, &c. will it be objected, as that Apoſtle did, *I will not believe* (4). Nay, I know not whether, after feeling, ſuch perſons will not ſay, *I indeed have ſeen and felt how the child came out, but not how it got in. Had your huſband abilities ſufficient to beget it ?*

(3) Camerar. *Meditat. Hiſtor.* vol. 2. liv. 4. ch. 7. pag. 296.

(*) Liv. 4. *de l'Hiſt. de Naples.*

(4) St. John chap. xx. ver. 25.

[*D*] *Some authors aſſert that Conſtantia was neither a Nun, nor very far advanced in years when ſhe married Henry VI.*] It is generally thought that ſhe was taken out of a convent, and that a diſpenſation was granted her, in order that ſhe might marry the Emperor Henry VI ; and that ſhe was with child at about fifty five years of age. But ſome Hiſtorians deny this. Here follows the ſequel of the abovecited paſſage of Camerarius (5) : " Perhaps John Michael Brutus

(5) Camerar. *Meditat. Hiſt.* vol. 2. liv. 4. pag. 296.

HENRY II King of France ſucceeded Francis I his father, the laſt day of March 1547. One of the firſt things he did was, to act in direct oppoſition to the order which his father gave him in his expiring moments; I mean that, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, he recalled the Conſtable of Mommorenci [*A*], whom Francis I had baniſhed, for very good reaſons (*a*). He paid dear for this his diſobedience [*B*]; for it may be affirmed, that the moſt unhappy events which brought an odium on his reign, are owing to this Conſtable. To the ill conduct of this laſt mentioned, was owing the loſs of the famous battle of St. Quentin (*b*); after which this Conſtable occaſioned the concluding a treaty of peace (*c*), that reflected much greater ignominy on the French monarchy [*C*], than the loſs of the abovementioned battle. He perhaps would not have prevailed

(*a*) See the remark [*B*].

(*b*) The 10th of Aug. 1557.

(*c*) That of Cateau in Cambreſis, concluded in 1559.

(6) *Lib.* 2. de *Inſtauratione Ital.* Thus Camerarius quotes him in the Latin edit. of Frankfort 1658, pag. 276.

" Brutus (6) took occaſion from this ſtory, flatly to " deny that Conſtantia had ever been a Nun or Ab- " beſs; or that Pope Celeſtine had diſpenſed with " her marriage; foraſmuch as, according to his cal- " culation, ſhe muſt then have been threeſcore. On " the contrary, he quotes Hugo Falcandus the Hiſ- " torian, who ſays, that ſhe was then in the flower " of her age; and married to Henry, in the reign " of William ſirnamed the Good, when Frederic " Barbaroſſa was ſtill living; but that this miſtake " was owing to the confuſion of times. I am of " opinion, ſays he, that ſhe was brought from the " royal palace to a convent of Nuns, when that the " people mutinying, impriſoned King William ſir- " named the Bad; and that no place could be found " more convenient to ſecure her, during thoſe ſtorms. " When they were entirely abated, that Princeſs, " who was at liberty, and had neither made the vows " nor taken the veil, continued among the Nuns till " ſuch time as ſhe married Henry."

[*A*] *He recalled the Conſtable of Mommorenci.*] " His " father had ſeriouſly adviſed him, to make uſe of " Annebaut as his chief miniſter, he having found " him a perſon of great experience, wiſdom, and " zeal, and free from the leaſt ſtain of avarice or am- " bition; but that he ſhould particularly take care, if " he had the happineſs of his country at heart, not " to recall the Conſtable of Montmorency . . . . . " Nevertheleſs, although he had ſhewn his royal fa- " ther the moſt reſpectful obedience during his life- " time, yet he did not pay the leaſt deference to his " commands after his death. He diveſted Annebaut " and Cardinal de Tournon of the adminiſtration of " all affairs, to put Montmorency at the head of " them (1)." We ſhall now ſee that this *moſt reſpectful obedience* had ſuch exceptions, as will not permit us to think, that Mezerai had reaſon to give it ſo good a character as he has done. " The precaution of " King Francis was ſo great, that he expreſly forbid " the Dauphin his eldeſt ſon, afterwards Henry II, " to have the leaſt correſpondence with the Conſtable. " . . . . But all he obtained of his ſon was, for him to " conceal, for ſeven years together, the friendſhip he " had for the Conſtable. However, he did not con- " ceal it with ſo much artifice, but that the whole " Court knew, that a day did not paſs without their re- " ceiving letters one from the other. But Francis I " did not take the pains to break off this correſpon- " dence; whether it were that the Dauphin and Con- " ſtable had been equally ſucceſsful in concealing it " from him; or that, having no other ſon but the " Dauphin, he was afraid of diſguſting him (2)." Theſe are Varillas's words, and they may very juſtly be criticized, for I. had the Dauphin concealed his friendſhip ſeven years, he would not *have been ſo often urgent with* his father *to recall the Conſtable*; and yet Varillas aſſerts this laſt circumſtance (3). II. How ſhall we reconcile this author's alternative, with what Mezerai relates (4), that the King was greatly diſpleaſed, *becauſe the Dauphin, notwithſtanding his orders to the contrary, held a correſpondence with the Conſtable of Montmorency?*

(1) Mezerai, in the beginning of the *Hiſtory of Henry II*, pag. 1057. of vol. 2. of the *Hiſtory of France*.

(2) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Henry II.* liv. 1. pag. 6.

(3) *Hiſt. de François I*, liv. 12. pag. 295.

(4) *Abrége Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 635.

[*B*] *He paid dear for his diſobedience.*] Varillas will furniſh me with a Commentary on this text. I will not cite him barely with regard to the reign of Henry II, but ſhall take his words ſomething higher. " The diſgraces, *ſays he* (5), of the Conſtable of " Montmorency, of Admiral Chabot, and of Chan- " cellor Poyet, are told in ſuch a manner in the " ninth book, as will not ſurprize thoſe who ſhall " have read in Bodin's Republic, that Francis I, " grew more peeviſh and ſour-tempered in proportion " as he advanced in years: That he had been con- " vinced, by his own experience, that he could " not have made choice of two men, leſs proper for " the intrigues of the Cabinet, than Montmorency " and Chabot; and that, tho' he would not charge " Poyet with the ſame defect, yet this Chancellor " had one equally great, viz. his carrying things too " far: That to theſe things were owing all the miſ- " fortunes which had befallen his Majeſty; and that, " ſhould he continue to make uſe of the ſame Mi- " niſters, he muſt not expect to be more ſucceſsful. " The event proved, that the three Miniſters who " ſucceeded thoſe that had been diſgraced, were " better qualified; and that if Henry II had not after- " wards reſtored the Conſtable of Montmorency, he " would not have been conſtrained, in order to re- " cover him, to give up one hundred and ninety eight " towns or ſtrong holds; and a country almoſt as " large as the third part of France."

(5) Preface to the *Hiſt. of Francis I.*

[*C*] *The Conſtable occaſioned the concluding a treaty of peace, that reflected much greater ignominy on the French Monarchy.*] Mezerai, though, of all the French Hiſtorians, he moſt openly favours the ſubjects againſt the Court, nevertheleſs blames the people for diſcovering ſo much joy at that peace. " The people, *ſays* " *he* (6), who always deſire peace at any rate, rejoiced " greatly at this. . . . . But the party of the Guiſes, " the wiſe politicians, and all the nobility, cenſured " it openly, as a palpable fraud, which loſt France " 198 ſtrong-holds; for three only which were re- " ſtored to her, viz. Ham, Catelet, and St. Quentin." He expreſſes himſelf in ſtill ſtronger terms in his larger Hiſtory (7); for in deducing the articles of that peace, he afterwards inſerts theſe words, *that to unite more ſtrongly the hearts of Princes*, the following parentheſis (but rather to cover, with ſome honourable pretence, the ſhame and loſs which France ſuſtained by this unfortunate treaty); and towards the cloſe of the ſame page he ſays as follows. " Theſe articles being brought " to the King, and communicated by his Majeſty to " the Princes and greateſt men of his realm, there " were few people but judged them entirely diſadvan- " tageous and ſhameful to France; and indeed all " the French condemned them univerſally by their " murmurs. Briſſac having had advice of this, al- " though the articles had been diſguiſed to him, diſ- " patched Boyvin-Villars, who has left us Me- " moirs concerning the wars of Piedmont, to Court, " with inſtructions to lay before the King his moſt " humble remonſtrances, and divert him from conclud- " ing ſo diſadvantageous a peace. Concluding, that " if his Majeſty was reſolved to give up what he poſ- " ſeſſed in Italy, which was worth the beſt Province " in his Kingdom, and might bring in, clear, a re- " venue of 300000 crowns into his Exchequer, the " only reward he deſired, for all his good ſervices, " was, that his Majeſty would pleaſe to baniſh him, " together with all the forces which were in Italy, " as rebels; and that he would be able to preſerve the " ſtrong-holds which he held at the expence of the " Milaneſe, and the Republic of Genoa; or at leaſt " that he ſhould die glorioufly in a country, where " the forces of all Europe had not been able to make " him loſe an inch of ground, during the ten years " that the defence of it had been committed to him. " . . . . The King declared that he was highly pleaſed " with his zeal; however, as his mind was wholly " bent upon peace, he anſwered, that *although he ſhould conclude it upon the conditions which were propoſed to him, he ſhould retain the poſſeſſion of ſtrong-holds, &c. ſufficient, to make himſelf be dreaded* (8). " Upon this Guiſe, prompted by his own intereſt, or " by

(6) Mezerai, *Abrége Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 715.

(7) *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1132.

(8) This recalls to my memory the following words of Trebellius Pollio; *Putet numerare inter hæc tempora quum iſta gererentur, quæ ſæpe Gallienus malo generis humani quaſi per jocum dixerit. Nam quum ei nuntiatum eſſet, Ægyptum deſciviſſe, dixiſſe fertur*, Quid? ſine lino Ægyptio eſſe non poſſumus? *Quum autem vaſtatam Aſiam & elementorum concurſionibus & Scytharum incurſionibus comperiſſet*, Quid, *inquit*, ſine aphronitris eſſe non poſſumus? *Perdita Gallia arriſiſſe ac dixiſſe perhibetur*. Non ſine Atreba- ticis ſagis tuta Reſp. eſt? *Sic denique de omnibus partibus nuntiabatur, quum eas amitteret, quaſi detrimentis vilium miniſteriorum videretur affici, jocabatur.* Trebell. Pollio, *in Gallienis duobus*, cap. 6. pag. m. 200.

prevailed ſo eaſily with Henry II to conſent to this diſadvantageous peace, had that Prince not been fired with a ſpirit of perſecution [*D*]. The Conſtable alſo merits great cenſure, for not giving his Sovereign good counſel, with reſpect to the Ducheſs of Valentinois, who, though of an age diſproportionate to that of Henry II, did nevertheleſs keep

" by the impulſes of honour and conſcience, interrupting him boldly, ſaid, Your Majeſty will pardon me if I tell you, that this is not the right way to effect it; and that though fortune ſhould be as much your enemy, during twenty five years, as ſhe was laſt year, you yet could not loſe as much during that time, as what you are required to give up in one ſingle day. It did not coſt the late King, when overthrown and a priſoner, &c." I omit all the arguments employed by the Duke of Guiſe, but not what follows them in the Hiſtorian. " He ſaid a great many other things in ſo vehement a tone of voice, that he often made the King change colour, but could not alter his reſolution: the dye was caſt, and whoſoever was the cauſe of it, whether his favourites or his natural diſpoſition, his courage was ſo greatly damped, that he was not able to continue the war any longer. He therefore ratified the treaty, and peace was proclaimed the 10th of April. . . . . All the French authors who have written concerning that period, call that peace the unfortunate and accurſed. Briſſac being told that it was concluded, cried out ſeveral times, *Wretched France, how many calamities!* . . . . He continued Governor of the five cities, and of the eight caſtles which the King retained, with 8000 foot, and 450 horſe, and reſtored the other places; but he firſt demoliſhed the greateſt part of them, and ſold the ammunition according to the King's order; not without much difficulty to procure the money, and the neceſſary orders from the Court; becauſe that the Conſtable, favouring the Duke of Savoy, did all that lay in his power to put the ſtrongholds entire into his hands, and even thoſe which the King had reſerved to himſelf (9)."

(9) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1134.

We ſhall ſee below (10), that the Court of France was ſo weak, as to be prevailed upon to evacuate, under Charles IX and Henry III, the few ſtrong holds it had reſerved; and there is no doubt but that the Conſtable, under Charles IX, had a great ſhare in that miſmanagement. When we reflect on the immenſe poſſeſſions he amaſſed, we muſt not ſay of him, as of ſo many others, that at the ſame time he managed the affairs of his Sovereign well, he managed his own extremely well; but we muſt ſay, that in managing his own affairs extremely well, he managed thoſe of his Sovereign extremely ill. Did not he, under Charles IX, enter into a league with the Guiſes; and was not he the cauſe of the prodigious power they roſe to; a power that was ſo fatal to the monarchy, and which had like to have given to France, a fourth race of Kings? When Francis I diſgraced the Conſtable, *he charged him with ignorance in the two principal duties of his employment, viz. war and politics* (11). See the character which the adherents of the Guiſes give of him in Mezerai (12).

(10) In the remarks [*G*] and [*H*], in which more murmurings will be ſeen againſt the peace of 1559.

(11) Varillas, *Hiſt. de François I.* liv. 9. p. 397. Dutch edit. of 1690, *ad ann.* 1540.

Some critics will perhaps ſay, that Mezerai extenuates too much the advantages which were granted Henry II by the treaty of Cateau. Why does he content himſelf with mentioning the three cities which were reſtored to France? Why does he ſuppreſs the conqueſt of Calais, Mets, Toul and Verdun? But this would be a very falſe criticiſm; for theſe four ſtrong holds were not given up to Henry II by the treaty of Cateau. It left the Empire at full liberty to demand back the reſtitution of the three laſt; and bound France, by the moſt ſolemn engagement, to reſtore Calais to England in eight years. This circumſtance was not obſerved by the anonymous Hiſtorian who ſpoke as follows (13). " The King of France reſtored to the Spaniſh Monarch, whatever he had diſpoſſeſſed him of, on both ſides the Alps. Item, to the Prince of Piedmont, la Breſſe, Savoy, Piedmont, four cities excepted: to the Genoeſe, the iſland of Corſica; Sienna to the Duke of Florence; and reſerved nothing but Calais, without gaining even a foot of any other land, during that long and pernicious war, which had laid waſte ſo many Provinces; ſacked, burnt, and ruined ſo many cities, towns, villages, and country ſeats; and had occaſioned the death of ſo many Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, Captains, Soldiers, Citizens and Peaſants; cauſed ſo many rapes of wives and maidens; in a word, which had thrown all Europe topſy turvy. The King reſtored upwards of two hundred, others ſay almoſt twice that number, towns or ſtrong holds, in conquering of which an ocean of his ſubjects blood had been ſpilt, the treaſures of the Kingdom exhauſted, his own demeſnes mortgaged, and himſelf indebted to every one." This Hiſtorian ſuppoſes, that Henry II ſaw his dominions enlarged, at leaſt, by the giving up of Calais; but this is a falſity. All the reſt of his aſſertions are ſolid; and as it is certain that one might have repreſented to the King of Spain, what Hannibal repreſented to the Roman General (14), what thunder muſt not be darted, by the aſſertions above, on the head of Henry II? The King of Spain might have been told, that the countries, of which he diveſted France by that treaty of peace, were not worth the immenſe ſums which the war had coſt him, nor the great number of ſoldiers and officers he had loſt. If this was capable of diminiſhing the joy, which the advantageous peace he had obtained, muſt naturally make him feel, how greatly muſt it afflict the Monarch to whom it was diſadvantageous? To return empty-handed from a long war, is ſhameful and ignominious, ſays Homer (15); but he would have expreſſed himſelf in much ſtronger terms in an affair like that in queſtion.

(12) *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1135.

(13) *Hiſtoire des choſes mémorables avenues en France depuis l'an* 1547 *juſques au commencement de l'an* 1597, pag. 61.

(14) See *Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes*, num. 113. pag. 658.

(15) Αἰσχρὸν τοι δήρον τε μένειν, κενεὸν τε νέεσθαι. Iliad, lib. 2. ver. 298.

[*D*] *That Prince . . . was fired . . . with a ſpirit of perſecution.*] Henry II treated the French Proteſtants with very great ſeverity; and put them to death without mercy, notwithſtanding which they increaſed greatly under his reign. If they were not grieved at the extreme conſternation, with which the Court of France, as well as the City of Paris, was ſeized, after the battle of St. Quentin, they therein acted but agreeably to the inſpirations and ſuggeſtions of Nature. Every ſect that meets with ſevere treatment, and which cannot expect any ceſſation from it, except the Court ſhould be perplexed, will rejoice at the progreſs of the enemy, and be very glad to ſee its perſecutors ſo much employed in foreign affairs, as to be ſcarce able to know how to turn themſelves. Among all the ſects of Chriſtians, none is more inclined to behave after that manner, than the Romaniſts. People therefore ſhould not be ſurprized, if what Maimbourg aſſerts (16) ſhould be found true, viz. that the Proteſtants took advantage *of the public affliction which had overſpread the Kingdom after the battle of St. Quentin . . . and venture to hold* their aſſemblies *in open daylight, in the moſt public ſtreets of Paris; and to appear even in public; and meet in the day time in great bodies, in the* Pré-aux-Cheres, there to ſing *aloud the Pſalms of Clement Marot.* This ought to inform Princes, that proclamations enacting perſecution render them obnoxious to great inconveniencies; thence it is, that their bonfires grieve one part of their ſubjects, and the victories of their enemies fill them with conſolation. If they complain, that ſome of their ſubjects are wicked, this anſwer ought to be made them, *it is you who make them ſuch* (17); for to require that a perſecuted party ſhall grieve for thoſe public calamities to which their tranquillity is owing, and the foundation of a very plauſible hope of proſperity, is to require a return of the primitive ages of Chriſtianity now thoſe times do not return twice. It is to expect men reſembling thoſe of the Millennium, if it ſhould ever come. But to return to Henry II; the inſtant he ſaw that the Proteſtants *were meditating how to take advantage of the loſs which had been ſuſtained in the battle of St. Quentin, he publiſhed a new proclamation, forbidding all the Judges to mitigate the ſentence of death, and confiſcation of goods and chattels, againſt all thoſe who ſhould be not only found guilty of hereſy, but likewiſe of having brought into France books printed in Geneva, contrary to the doctrine of the Catholic Church. Thus the Calviniſts were treated more rigorouſly than before* (18). But as this did not prevent their increaſing, nor even ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality from engaging

(16) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, liv. 2. pag. 96.

(17) Apply here the following ſaying of Seneca, againſt thoſe who complain of ungrateful people, *Multos experimur ingratos, plures facimus.* i. e. " We meet here " with many ingrates, but " make more ſo " our ſelves. Seneca, *de Benef.* lib. 1. cap. 1.

(18) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, liv. 2. pag. 100.

keep him in her chains, and make a moſt unjuſt abuſe of the ſlavery in which ſhe held him. But the Conſtable, ſo far from fortifying the mind of this Prince againſt the ſnares of that woman, engaged in intrigues for her, and devoted himſelf to her faction (*d*). It is pity that the reign of Henry II ſhould have been ſo much ſullied; for, in other reſpects, it was conſpicuous for glorious actions, and moſt ſhining ſucceſſes, which were the greateſt mortification to the Emperor Charles V. It cannot be denied but that Henry II was a courageous Prince; and it is related that Elizabeth Queen of England admired him greatly on that account [*E*]. But after all, what follows will be an everlaſting proof of his weakneſs, and of the aſcendant which his favourites had over him, viz. his ſigning, in oppoſition to the opinion of the moſt ſage perſons in his Kingdom, the treaty of peace of Cateau in Cambreſis; *a peace, no leſs inglorious to France, than that which the Emperor Jovinian concluded with the King of Perſia, againſt which all antiquity has ſo loudly inveighed* (*e*); a peace which, by a ſingle daſh of the pen, loſt, in an inſtant, the toils and conqueſts of many years, and an extent of country equal to a third part of the Kingdom (*f*). No power reaped ſo much benefit by this ignominy of France, as the Duke of Savoy; for, beſides his being reſtored to his dominions, he married the ſiſter of Henry II, a Princeſs of exalted merit [*F*], and who impoſed very artfully on the Court of France, in order to promote her huſband's intereſt [*G*]. That Lady

(*d*) See the article POITIERS.

(*e*) Paſquier's *Letters*, liv. 15. tom. 2. pag. 221. *See alſo* liv. 4. tom. 1. pag. 471.

(*f*) Meluc, *Mem.* liv. 4. pag. m. 789.

engaging in their party; the King found that, in order to extirpate them, he muſt be forced to conclude a peace with the Houſe of Auſtria; and this doubtleſs was one of the chief motives which prompted him to overlook the happy condition to which he had reſtored his affairs (19). He had checked the career of his enemies, and had even diſpoſſeſſed them of ſeveral very ſtrong towns. But all this was nothing; he choſe rather to acquieſce with all their demands, than not to have his arms at liberty, in order to extirpate the Proteſtants out of his Kingdom. Thus we have ſeen the ſame Court loſe the moſt favourable opportunities of aggrandizing itſelf in 1684, in order to devote itſelf wholly to the ſuppreſſion of the edict of Nantz. Thoſe who ſuffer themſelves to be poſſeſſed with this ſpirit, muſt renounce the title of Conqueror. Had Henry II lived long after the ignominious peace which he accepted, he would have ſpent the remainder of his reign in tournaments and perſecutions; but he died a little after the ſigning of it. Maimbourg is an exceptionable witneſs, with regard to the joy which, he ſays, the heretics felt on that account. Here follow his words (20). "Accordingly he was bewailed "with very ſincere tears, and infinitely regretted by "all his ſubjects, except the Proteſtants alone, who "fancying themſelves delivered, by his death, from "what they uſed to call the perſecution of the Church; "expreſſed, in a moſt ſhameful manner, by their "words, their actions, and ſcandalous writings, the "prodigious joy which it gave them."

The ſame remark which was made with regard to Francis I (21), may be made with reſpect to Henry II. He attacked the party, weakly, on one ſide, and made it ſtronger on the other. He put to death, in France, ſome private perſons; and at the ſame time concluded an alliance with the Proteſtants of Germany, againſt Charles V, &c. (22); and was pleaſed with the title of *Protector of the Germanic Liberties*; i. e. at that time, the protector of the Proteſtants (23). The other Romiſh Princes conducted themſelves after the ſame manner (24). The following words of Le Laboureur appear to me remarkable. "To pluck away the "tares from among the wheat, *ſays he* (25), God "will chooſe ſuch Princes only as are innocent and "of a good life; and will not make uſe of politic "hands, ſuch as were thoſe of the Counſellors of all "the Catholic Crowns of that age, who weeded their "own fields, with no other deſign but to caſt the "darnel into thoſe of their neighbours; and who per"ſecuted Hereſy only as a faction repugnant or con"trary to authority." Charles V, and the Kings of Spain his ſucceſſors, favoured the Proteſtants both of Germany and France on ſeveral occaſions. See the proofs of this in Tom. I. (26) of Mr. Arnauld's Apology for the Roman Catholics. The Spaniſh Embaſſador was ſolliciting ſuccours in England for the Duke of Rohan. What Grotius wrote on this ſubject is remarkable. *Validus eſt rumor, Gonthomerum, & qui in aula Anglica Hiſpanicæ ſunt factionis, apertè profiteri, non debere à Rege Britanniarum deſeri religionis conſortes in Gallia, ne ſi quando vetera jura repetere ipſi ſit animus, deſint, qui partes Anglicas ſequantur* (27).

(19) See the words of Cardinal de Lorrain, in the remark [*M*].

(20) *Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, liv. 2. pag. 114.

(21) See the remark [*P*] of the article FRANCIS I.

(22) The King reſolved to devote himſelf to the utmoſt of his power, to the great affair of Religion, for which he was extremely zealous, and from which he never departed during the whole courſe of his reign; not even when he formed alliances for intereſts purely political, with the Proteſtant Princes of Germany, againſt the Emperor Charles V. Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, liv. 2. pag. 110.

(23) See the remark [*AA*].

(24) See the article of Queen ELIZABETH, remarks [*G*] and [*R*].

(25) *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 577.

(26) Pag. 78, & *ſeq.*

(27) Grot. Epiſt. 157. Part. 1. pag. 60.

i. e. "There is a ſtrong report, that Gundamor, "and ſuch as are of the Spaniſh faction in the Engliſh "Court, publickly declare, that the Britiſh King "ought not to abandon thoſe of his own religion in "France; in order that, if ever he ſhould think "proper to aſſert his antient claim to that Crown, "he might not fail of their aſſiſtance." See in the *Political Teſtament* of Marquis de Louvois (28), ſome reflections on the violences exerciſed in Hungary againſt the Proteſtants, by order of that very Court which, a little after, did ſuch great ſervices to the Proteſtants both of Great Britain and Holland, whom Lewis XIV and James II reſolved, as we are told, to oppreſs.

(28) Pag. 367. Cologne edit. of 1695.

[*E*] *It is related that Elizabeth Queen of England admired him greatly for his bravery.*] Brantome gives us ſome particulars on this head. "I have heard, "*ſays he* (29), the preſent Queen of England ſay, that "there was no King ſhe ſo much deſired to ſee, on "account of the great character ſhe had heard of him, "and becauſe of his exalted fame which was ſpread "into all countries. . . . . Sitting at table, and diſ"courſing familiarly with thoſe Noblemen, ſhe ſaid "as follows, after having highly applauded the King, "there was no Prince in the world I ever deſired ſo "much to ſee; and I had already ſent him word "that I would ſoon make him a viſit, for which "purpoſe I had ordered my gallies to be ſplendidly "equipped, (theſe were her very words), to croſs into "France, purpoſely to ſee him." See the ſame relation in the *Memoires des Dames Galantes*, where it is expreſly declared, that this Queen was deſirous of ſeeing Henry II, becauſe he was *brave, valiant, generous, and extremely martial* (30).

(29) Brantôme, *Diſc. de Henri II*, to tom. 2. of his *Memoirs*, pag. 60, 61.

(30) *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 261.

[*F*] *The Duke of Savoy . . . . married the ſiſter of Henry II, a Princeſs of exalted merit.*] Her name, as that of her aunt the Queen of Navarre, was Margaret; and, like that Princeſs, ſhe was very fond of ſtudy, and a great Patroneſs of the learned. She was ſuſpected to have imbibed the new opinions, thoſe of the Proteſtants, and to have inſtilled them, in ſome meaſure, into Catherine de Medicis (31). See her elogium in Brantome (32), and in Le Laboureur, the latter of whom informs us of a particular that deſerves to be known. "Margaret of France, *ſays he* (33), "was married at forty ſix years old (34); and as ſhe "was thought too old to bear children, it was be"lieved that the report of her pregnancy was merely "an artifice, to oblige the King to reſtore to her, the "more willingly, the ſtrong-holds he detained. It "was on this account that the Sieur Huraut of Bois"Taille, Embaſſador of Venice, wrote a letter dated "the 27th of July, 1561, to Bernardin Bochetel, Bi"ſhop of Rennes, Embaſſador of France in Germany, "in which were the following words; *It is ſaid that "the Ducheſs of Savoy is big with child, but I am of "opinion, that this is reported* ad aliquid. But that "report was verified by the birth of Charles Emanuel, "grandfather to the preſent Duke of Savoy (55)."

(31) *See* Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 750.

(32) *Mem. des Dames illuſt.*

(33) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 752.

(34) He is miſtaken; ſhe was born the 5th of June 1523, and married in 1559.

(35) Le Laboureur publiſhed his book in 1659.

[*G*] *. . . and who impoſed very artfully on the Court of France, in order to promote her huſband's intereſt.*] It was ſtipulated by the treaty of Cateau, that the rights

Lady was not young when ſhe married; and thence it was that the murmurs againſt the peace extended even to her [*H*]. A modern author had no reaſon to attempt a juſtification of the conduct of Henry III [*I*], who ſo dearly paid for the favour which that Princeſs ſhewed him. There are other monuments of the great weakneſs and ſimplicity of Henry

which the King claimed to the territories of the Duke of Savoy, ſhould be examined and ſetled by commiſſions on both ſides (36). King Francis II and the Duke had nominated Deputies for that purpoſe in 1560. The King's Deputies made ſix very conſiderable demands; but, inſtead of being gratified in any of them, the Court of France gave up all the towns it had reſerved. It enacted, by Letters Patents dated the 8th of Auguſt, 1561, that there ſhould be reſtored to the Duke *Turin, Chivas, Quiers, and Ville Neuve d'Aſte, the artillery and ammunition excepted, in exchange for Pignerol, Savillan, and Peruſſa, with their dependencies. Imbert de la Platiere Bourdillon, the King's Lieutenant in Italy, raiſed a great many difficulties; ſent ſtrong remonſtrances to the Council, to prevent the execution of this order; and would not obey till orders had been thrice ſent him, and he was diſcharged in the moſt ſolemn manner.* The Ducheſs played her part well in this negotiation; *her prudence was applauded, in having conquered, by her art, and ſkill, thoſe ſtrong-holds which ſtill remained undelivered; and which the King's Commiſſioners could not defend againſt the ſoft method ſhe had, viz. to win the hearts of men, and force ſuch places as were almoſt impregnable.* Theſe are Le Laboureur's words (37). Brantome relates this whole affair very circumſtantially; the various ſentiments of the Miniſters, the oppoſitions raiſed by Bourdillon, and the manner in which he ſuffered himſelf to be wrought upon. This coſt the Duke and Ducheſs of Savoy a great number of preſents (38). The French were ſtill poſſeſſed of three towns in Piedmont, viz. Pignerol, Savillan, and Peruſſa. The Ducheſs ſeconded her huſband admirably well, in the recovering of them, at the time that Henry III paſſed by Turin in his return from Poland. I will employ the words of Varillas. "The "Duke and Ducheſs of Savoy, who propoſed to effect "what Spain had not been able to bring about when "in its moſt flouriſhing condition, that is, to ſend "the French back, over the Alps, into their own "country; employed for this purpoſe a new artifice, "viz. that of diverſions, and feaſtings, which accordingly came ſo faſt one upon the other, that there "was ſcarce time for ſleep. Some very authentic relations ſpeak of a grand collation which coſt an hundred thouſand crowns. The Duke and Ducheſs "had put themſelves to this expence; and to reimburſe themſelves, they were urgent with Henry III "to reſtore to them Pignerol, Savillan, and Peruſſa (39)." Henry III promiſed that they ſhould have ſatisfaction, and was as good as his word; for holding a Council on that affair in Lyons, to evacuate thoſe three towns, it was reſolved, in ſpite of the ſtrong reaſons of the Gentleman who commanded there. This was the Duke of Nevers (*a*). "He was allowed "the liberty to ſpeak whatever he thought fit; and "this ſatisfaction, viz. that the Memorial which he "preſented, to enforce his ſpeech, though very long, "was nevertheleſs read in preſence of Henry III; "but the giving up of the three towns in queſtion "was yet no leſs reſolved upon; and his Majeſty "gave him orders, by word of mouth, to evacuate "them. The Duke ſhould have ſtopped here, ſince "every one did him the juſtice to believe, that he "had ſatisfied his conſcience and his honour; but he "employed other precautions which made him obnoxious to the Court, and hindered him a long "time from being reſtored to his ſeat in the Council of "State. He obſtinately inſiſted, that the order which "he then received from the King's mouth, ſhould "alſo be wrote with the King's own hand; that "it ſhould be ſigned by the Queen-Mother, and "the Princes of the blood, and the Crown-officers; "that it ſhould be regiſtred in the Parliaments, after "the memorial he had drawn up, in order to get "himſelf diſpenſed from doing it; and that it ſhould "be inſerted in the archives of the chief cities of the "Kingdom. Moſt of theſe things were granted him, "but he at the ſame time was reproached, viz. with "affecting to ſignalize himſelf at his Sovereign's expence; and that he ought to imitate the conduct "of Marſhal de Briſſac, who, on a like occaſion, "was contented to repeat his moſt humble remonſtrances, and to deſire that a ſucceſſor ſhould be "ſent him (40)."

(36) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 5. pag. 41.

(37) *Addit. à Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 751.

(38) See in the *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 847, *& ſeq*; what Brantome ſays on all this matter, in the Elogium of Imbert de la Platiere, Lord of Bourdillon.

(39) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Henry III*, liv. 1. pag. 74.

(40) Ibid. pag. 84.

§ (*a*) See the Memoirs, Tom. I. to page 68. REM. CRIT.]

[*H*] . . . . *the murmurs againſt the peace extended even to her.*] Brantome, who lived at that time, informs us very bluntly of ſome circumſtances of theſe murmurings. "This marriage . . . . . coſt France "very dear, as being obliged to give up in an "hour, all that had been conquered and perſerved "in Piedmont and Savoy during thirty years: for "King Henry was ſo ardently deſirous of peace, and "had ſo ſtrong an affection for his ſiſter, that he "would not ſpare any thing in the world to marry "her advantageouſly; nevertheleſs, the greateſt part "of France and Piedmont murmured at it, and ſaid "it was a little too much. Others thought it very "odd, and others again altogether incredible, till "ſuch time as they had ſeen it with their own eyes; "and even foreigners laughed at us; and thoſe who "bore the greateſt love to France, and were moſt "ſollicitous for its proſperity, moan'd and wept on "that account, and particularly the people of Piedmont, who would not return to their firſt maſter. "Can the Dukes of Savoy juſtly ſtile themſelves ſovereigns and Lords of Piedmont, ſince the Kings "of France were formerly, and are ſtill, rightful "Lords, titulars and maſters of it, as juſtly appertaining to them? As Soldiers, &c. who had been "ſo long uſed to garriſons; to the eaſe and delicate "ſuſtenance of that country; there will be no need "to aſk what they ſaid of it; in what manner they "inveighed againſt, and lamented on that account; "and what fine ſpeeches they made on this occaſion, "not only Gaſcoons but others. Hey-day, ſaid theſe "people, muſt ſo many fine and ſpacious tracts of land "be given up, for a little bit of fleſh lying between "that woman's thighs? Others cried, ſhe had done "mighty well to keep her fine maidenhead forty five "years (41), to loſe it at laſt for the ruin of France. "Had the people, in that age, been as diſorderly, "rebellious, and ſeditious as we have ſince ſeen them "during our civil wars; be aſſured that every one "would have joined in it, and have ſeized on towns "and ſtrong holds, whence it had been very difficult "to diſlodge them (42)." Is it not very ſtrange that Le Laboureur, who had read thoſe words but a little before, ſhould nevertheleſs obſerve, "That only cer"tain Politicians found fault with her being married "at ſo dear a rate; but that ALL THE REST were "very glad that ſhe carried with herſelf a recompence "ſuitable to her merit; and that ſhe had got for "her dowry, the territories of which her huſband "had been diſpoſſeſſed (43)." This is exactly in the ſtile and language of a Panegyriſt; ſuch a man, without being inveſted with the leaſt authority, undertakes notwithſtanding, in the name of the public, to make all the ſteps neceſſary to a Panegyric; not once enquiring whether the incident be refuted by authors of the greateſt credit. Mezerai who wrote an Hiſtory and not a Panegyric, conforms much better to the teſtimony of Brantome than Le Laboureur (44).

(41) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 722, ſays, that ſhe was in her 37th year. He is in the right, for ſhe was born the 5th of June 1523. See the citation (34) above.

(42) Brantôme, *Mem. des Femmes illuſtres*, pag. m. 325.

(43) *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 751.

(44) Remark [C] citation (7) above.

I cannot read the following words, "and even "foreigners laugh'd at us (45)," without crying out, *what a fine time was this for the writers of the Low-Countries, and, for any others who bore no good will to France? What inſults had they not a fair opportunity of throwing out upon it? and what rhodomontades had they not room to publiſh?* I imagine that their humours differed very little from the people of the preſent age.

(45) Brantome, *Mem. des Femmes illuſtres*, tom. 1. pag. 315.

[*I*] *A modern author had no reaſon to attempt a juſtification of the conduct of Henry III.*] This modern is Coſtar's antagoniſt. The latter was offended (46) that Voiture

(46) *Suite de la Defenſe de Voiture*, pag. 172.

Henry II, beſides the peace of Cateau. Another monument is, his ſuffering his favourites to go unpuniſhed after their having amaſſed prodigious eſtates by the moſt unjuſt methods [*K*]. He died of the wound he had received in a tournament (*g*), a ſtrange accident, and ſtill more extraordinary than fatal; for I believe that no other Monarch ever loſt his life on ſuch an occaſion. It would have been infinitely more glorious for him to have loſt it in battle, than in thoſe mock-fights, or peaceful combats, wherein he, beſides, behaved in a manner no ways ſuitable to his dignity; and more like a private young Gentleman, than agreeable to kingly majeſty [*L*]. His unhappy end occaſioned many reflections [*M*]. He

(*g*) He was wounded the 30th of June 1559, and died the 10th of July of that year.

Voiture was cenſured for having ſaid ſomewhere, by way of raillery, *that he valued a good ſoop, more than Pliny's Panegyric, and the longeſt Oration of Iſocrates.* Mr. de Girac, continues he, *imagines that* Mr. de Voiture *is as ſtupid as that wretch, who ſold his birth-right for a meſs of pottage, and that Prince of ours, who gave up Pignerol for a good meal.* To what lengths will not people go, when they are heated by a quarrel? The ſlighteſt faults which eſcape an antagoniſt are made crimes. Girac, who, with regard to another man, would very probably have contented himſelf with repreſenting, that the word *fool* was too ſtrong to be employed to expreſs the fault of a Prince, charges Coſtar, his enemy, as guilty of high treaſon. Let us duly weigh all his words (47). "He has preſumed, by an "attempt that deſerves the ſevereſt puniſhment, to "dart his venom and malice againſt the ſacred perſon "of our Kings. Does not he compare (†) the libe-"rality of Henry III to Eſau's *folly*, who gave up his "birth-right for a meſs of pottage? Does not he call "that great Prince a *fool*, for yielding up Pignerol "to the Duke of Savoy, who had the honour to be "his uncle; and from whom he expected great ſuc-"cours, in the urgent neceſſity of his affairs? Was "Lewis XII ever taken for a *fool*, he who preſented "the King of Navarre with the Principality of Bearn, "and who curtailed his dominions of ſo important "a territory? Did any one accuſe the Romans (‡) of "folly, though they often made donations of whole "Provinces and Kingdoms to various Kings their "friends? And if Alexander, as Plutarch tells us, "would willingly have given up the iſland of Cy-"prus, by way of reward for ſome verſes which had "been wrote in his praiſe; ſhall a King of France "be looked upon as a madman by perſons who have "the leaſt glimmering of ſenſe, for having given up "a town to a relation of his, who had given him a "coſtly and moſt magnificent reception in his domini-"ons?" A little after he aſks, *if Coſtar is not afraid of being puniſhed, in the reign of a Prince, ſo nearly related to Henry, who had not been dead ſo great a number of years?* and he cites what Guicciardine and Paulus Jovius obſerves, concerning the prodigious veneration which the French have for their Monarch. He often repeats the ſame accuſation (48); but this we muſt aſcribe to the ſymptoms of a kind of fever, which ſeizes writers when they are on replies or rejoynders.

(47) *Replique à Coſtar*, Sect. 1. pag. 8.

(†) Pag. 173.

(‡) *See* Valer. Maxim. lib. 4. cap. 8. Livy, lib. 30, &c. Plut. *of the Fortune of Alexand.* Diſc. 2.

(48) See pag. 91. where he inſinuates that Coſtar deſerved to have been impriſoned in the Baſtile, for calling Henry III fool. See alſo pag. 190.

Though he had given us a catalogue of all the Monarchs, who, from the beginning of the world, have given away Cities, Provinces, or even Kingdoms; he never would have been able to perſuade men of ſenſe and experienced Politicians, that ſuch preſents were ever made, in circumſtances, like to thoſe of Henry III, without the donor's being guilty of folly. The laſt mentioned King gave up Pignerol in favour of a Prince who owed his glorious re-eſtabliſhment to the Spaniards; and who, in his heart, was a Spaniard to all intents and purpoſes (49); that is, was always ready to favour the moſt formidable enemy which France had at that time. It was to ſuch a Duke of Savoy that a town was delivered up, which opened a way into the Kingdom, to the enemy; and which kept the ſaid Duke in awe, and prevented his joining in alliance with Spain. But, will it be ſaid, the Duke had been ſo extremely courteous to Henry III, and ſpent ſuch vaſt ſums in regaling him at Turin; therefore ought he not to have been looked upon as a good and conſtant friend? I anſwer that he ought not. None but ignorant people would rely on the conſtancy of friendſhip between Sovereigns. To ſee the preſents which they beſtow on one another, and their intercourſe of letters in time of peace, one would ſwear that they are moſt ſincere friends, and will love one another as long as they live; but it is very often true, that they are negotiating at the ſame time a treaty in order to a rupture; and intend to ſerve one another no longer, till they ſhall have an opportunity of taking advantage of ſome hoſtility. This was never verified ſo much, as in the time that Henry III was ſo prodigiouſly careſſed at the Duke of Savoy's court. The Duke was entirely diſpoſed to take advantage of the confuſions which he ſaw in France, and to call in the aid of the Spaniard for that purpoſe; and he left a ſon who inherited this paſſion, and who not only poſſeſſed himſelf of the Marquiſate of Saluces; but alſo projected conſpiracies, the deſign of which was to diſmember France, and totally ruin the Monarchy (50). Can we therefore enough blame this blunder of Henry III? See the remark [*F*] of this article.

(49) So long as ſhe lived, ſhe always perſuaded, and prevailed with the Duke of Savoy her huſband, to continue in peace; and that he, who was a Spaniard, ſhould not engage in any manner againſt France, as he did after her death. Brantôme, *Femmes illuſtres*, pag. 328.

(50) See the article of GONTAUT (Charles) remark [*D*].

[*K*] *His favourites . . . amaſſed prodigious eſtates by the moſt unjuſt methods.*] For fear leſt I ſhould be accuſed of exaggerating matters, I ſhall employ Mezerai's words. "The expences which thoſe who diſ-"poſed of his favour and affairs put him to, and a "conſiderable part whereof they turned to their own "profit, were ſo prodigious, that he oppreſſed the "Kingdom with grievous taxes, and run above forty "millions of livres in debt. Farther, they alſo ru-"ined a great number of families by their accurſed "avarice. The invention of farmings and monopo-"lies not being at that time ſo common, they made "uſe of another method which was no leſs pernicious, "viz. their impeaching the moſt wealthy perſons up-"on pretence of their being guilty of hereſy and o-"ther crimes; and to ſearch out for, or make de-"linquents, in order to have the fleecing of them, "or to ſearch out for, or obtain their pardon by their "interceſſion (51)," This Hiſtorian had juſt before obſerved, *that Henry II is not accuſed of any other fault, than of being too eaſy, and more liable to be governed than to govern himſelf.* This is one of the greateſt imperfections a King can have, becauſe generally thoſe who govern him, when he is in the condition in queſtion, do more miſchief than he himſelf would commit, were he to govern them.

(51) *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1138.

[*L*] *He behaved in a manner no ways ſuitable to his dignity; and more like a private young Gentleman, than agreeable to kingly majeſty.*] This was the judgment of prudent and ſagacious perſons, as we are told by a contemporary author (52). "A tournament was been "ordered to be ſolemnized in St. Anthony's Street "before the Tournelles, with all imaginable pomp "and magnificence; and this becauſe the King was "to be one of the combatants, followed by the Dukes "of Ferrara, Guiſe and Nemours; a circumſtance "which appeared ſtrange to ſeveral perſons of good "ſenſe, ſaying, that it became the majeſty of Kings "to be the judge of combats, and not to enter the "liſts. Even, in old romances, Kings, on ſuch oc-"caſions, never attempted acts of common Knights; "but, either diſguiſed themſelves, in caſe they were "deſirous of entring the liſts; or kept away entirely "from thoſe divertiſements: however, ſuch was the "King's ill fate, that he was determined to have the "honour of running firſt in the tournament; and I "believe the motive which prompted him to this, "was, to ſhew foreigners how dexterous he was in the "handling of arms, and the management of a horſe; "ſo that thoſe who were near him did not dare to "divert him from that enterprize; a circumſtance "which afterwards exhibited a wretched ſpectacle to "the French Nation.

(52) Paſquier, *Lettres*, liv. 4. tom. 1. pag. 172, 173.

[*M*] *His unhappy end occaſioned many reflections.*] I will not produce the teſtimony of Proteſtant writers; it is plain that that of Paſquier will be more efficacious (53). "In this manner our good King Henry "came to his end; and as the common people natu-"rally keep their eyes fixed on the actions of their "King; ſo King Henry's death was not ſuffered to "paſs

(53) Ibid. pag. 174, 175.

He never ſpoke after his wound [*N*]; ſo that all the ſayings, which have been aſcribed to him, are mere fictions. The ſincerity and frankneſs with which the French Hiſtorians have owned the errors of that Monarch, and the ignominy he brought upon the Nation, in preferring the counſels of the Conſtable, to the remonſtrances of the Duke of Guiſe [*O*], is not much found in other Hiſtorians. The Proteſtants imagined that his death would be of great advantage to them; but they were treated with ſtill greater ſeverity under Francis II; and, humanly ſpeaking, had Francis II lived two years longer, they would have been extirpated from France [*P*]. They are accuſed of diſcovering too inſolent a joy, when news was brought of Henry's tragical end [*Q*]; but

" paſs without the commentaries and interpretations of " ſome people; for to inform you, in an ample man- " ner, of the ſeveral tranſactions which happened in " France; as ſoon as the peace was concluded, the " Cardinal of Lorrain, who had been one of the chief " mediators of it, declared in open Parliament, that " it was the King's opinion it ſhould be made on any " terms, in order that he might from that time be " more at liberty, to attend to the baniſhment and " extirpation of Calvin's hereſy. And indeed, he " came in perſon, the 10th of June, into Parliament, " there to take the opinion of every Counſellor or " Member, with reſpect to the puniſhment of here- " tics. Many gave theirs with pretty great freedom; " ſome thinking that he ſhould ſuſpend the puniſh- " ment of them, till the deciſion ſhould be made in " a general Council, which they ſaid was neceſſary. " Upon this the King, being fired with a great and " juſt paſſion, immediately commanded Montgom- " mery to ſeize ſome of the Aſſembly, who had de- " livered their opinions more freely than was agree- " able to him, and theſe were immediately carried " priſoners to the Baſtile: wherefore, ſaid theſe new " Commentators, this evil befel the King, by a juſt " judgment of God, as a vengeance upon him for " unjuſtly impriſoning the perſons abovementioned: " that opinions ought to be free, and not founded by " a King, in order, after he has heard them, to com- " mit the Counſellors or Members cloſe priſoners: " that God had chaſtiſed him by the hand of that Mi- " niſter, whom he had employed to impriſon the " Counſellors in queſtion. Likewiſe, that in the ſame " manner as, on the 10th of June, he had brought " that ignominy on the Parliament; ſo, on the 10th of " July following, day for day, he loſt his life. Thus " did ſome of the people diſcourſe concerning his " death, accordingly as they were prompted by their ſe- " veral paſſions; not knowing that the myſteries of God " are entirely concealed from us; and ſuch as, by reaſon " of the weakneſs of our ſenſes, we oftner refer to " our own opinions than to truth." Anne du Bourg was one of thoſe whom the King cauſed to be impri- ſoned in the Baſtile, and againſt whom he was moſt exaſperated; " for he declared, among other ex- " preſſions, that both his eyes ſhould ſee him burnt " (54)." " *Fra-Paolo obſerves*, that the Queen-mother " *was* furiouſly enraged at the Lutherans, for publiſh- " ing in their manifeſtos, that the wound which the " King her huſband had received in the eye, was a " puniſhment ſent from God, for his threatning *Anne* " *du Bourg, that he would ſee him burnt* (55)."

(54) La Place, *Comment. de l'eſtat de la Religion & Republique*, folio m. 19.

(55) Fra-Paolo, *Hiſt. du Concile de Trente*, liv. 5.

[*N*] *He never ſpoke after his wound.*] Moſt Hiſ- torians ſay, that a ſplinter of Montgommery's lance flew into King Henry's eye, and wounded him mor- tally; but what Mezerai ſays on that ſubject is more probable. " It happened, *ſays he* (56), that Mont- " gommery having broke his lance in the breaſt-plate, " could not keep back his arm; ſo that he gave him " a thruſt in the right eye, with the ſtump of it which " was left in his hand, with ſo much violence, that a " ſplinter of it forced itſelf quite to the back part of " his head." In this manner Montgommery might appear infinitely more criminal, although he had not, in reality, perpetrated this action voluntarily. The Hiſtorian adds: " It was not certainly known, even " at that time, whether the King ſpoke or not, after " he had received the wound; the truth being diſ- " guiſed by the perſons who were about him, or ren- " dered doubtful by the different reports which were " ſpread concerning it, by thoſe who had different " intereſts. Some relate certain fine remonſtrances he " made to his ſon; others even add, that when he " was carried out of the Liſts, he looked towards the " Baſtile, where the priſoners of Parliament were con- " fined; and ſaid, with a deep ſigh, that he was a- " fraid he had wrongfully puniſhed innocent men; " but that Cardinal de Lorrain correcting him im- " mediately, exhorted him to reject that thought, as " being ſuggeſted by the tempter. Others aſſert, " that he loſt his ſpeech and all his ſenſes the inſtant " he was ſtruck (57), a circumſtance that is confirm- " ed by the arguments of many Phyſicians, who de- " clare, that a man muſt neceſſarily be ſtruck dumb, " when his brain is wounded or very violently ſhaken." After this, what man would credit the ſtories which are ſpread, concerning the laſt words of dying per- ſons (58)?

(56) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. p. 1138.

(57) Mezerai, in his *Abregé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 721. is fixed in this opinion. The blow, ſays he, was ſo violent, that it threw him on the ground, and deprived him of his ſenſes and ſpeech, which he never recovered after. This proves the falſity of the different ſpeeches which men, ac- cording to their ſeveral intereſts and paſſions, put into his mouth.

[*O*] *He preferred the counſels of the Conſtable, to the remonſtrances of the Duke of Guiſe.*] The Conſtable, who had been priſoner ever ſince the battle of St. Quentin, reſolved to recover his liberty at any rate. The Guiſes made too much advantage of his abſence; and thence it was that he negotiated a treaty of peace, in which he granted all the demands required by the Spaniards; and he knew ſo well the foible of the King his maſter, that he eaſily prevailed with him to conſent to this treaty. It was to no purpoſe that the Duke of Guiſe employed a thouſand demonſtrative reaſons (59), to make the King reject a peace which ſacrificed the glory of the French name to the Spani- ards; and more ſtrong-holds in one day, than they could have conquered in one century; for the King was deaf to all this. I muſt introduce a remark of Brantome (60). He pretends that Henry II, wearied out, and diſguſted at the inſolence of the Guiſes, re- ſolved to ſend them home; but that, in order to ef- fect this, he wanted to get back his Conſtable and put an end to the war; he therefore wrote to him, and to Marſhal de St. Andre (61), *to negotiate a peace, which they did to our diſadvantage.* We muſt not omit the other artifice: theſe two priſoners and the Ducheſs of Valentinois enriched themſelves with the confiſcated eſtates of the heretics; who doubts that, in order to obtain peace, they obliged the King to accept of any conditions, in order to have an opportunity of carrying on, at full eaſe, the affairs of the inquiſition? It is certain (62) that the intrigues and cabals of the Ducheſs in queſtion, ſeconded by the artifices of the Conſtable, dragged the King to that precipice.

(58) See the re- mark [*F*] of FRANCIS Duke of Guiſe.

(59) Mezerai re- lates them at large. See above, the remark [*C*] between the cita- tions (8) and (9).

(60) *Eloge de Henri II*, tom. 2. pag. 52.

(61) He was a priſoner as well as the Conſtable.

(62) *See* Belcari- us, lib. 28. num. 17. *& ſeq.*

[*P*] *Had Francis II lived two years longer, the Proteſtants would have been extirpated from France.*] This is the opinion of Beza; for having diſplayed all the reaſons which promiſed them more happy times after King Henry's death, he adds (63): " But God " had ordered it quite otherwiſe, being reſolved to " have the honour which belongs to him, of re-eſta- " bliſhing his church by his ſingle arm and ſtrength " alone, which is ſo much the more wonderful, as " the reſiſtance of the greateſt men had been moſt " furious and frantic againſt it. It was therefore un- " der the reign of Francis II, ſucceſſor to Henry, that " Satan's rage roſe to an extreme height; ſo that one " might ſay of this reign, which laſted but ſeventeen " months, what Jeſus Chriſt ſays in St. Matthew, " viz. that unleſs thoſe days had been ſhortened, no " man could be ſaved; but that for the elects ſake " they were ſhortened." A particular account of the meaſures which had been taken to ruin the party en- tirely, is ſeen in a few pages in Maimbourg (64). Take particular notice of the words which he prefixes to this detail (65).

(63) *Hiſt. Eccleſ. des Egliſes Ré- formées*, liv. 3. pag. 212.

(64) *Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, liv. 2. pag. 157, 158, 159.

(65) All things were then (i. e. when Francis II died) ſo diſpoſed for the entire ruin of Calviniſm in France, that it ſeemed quite in- evitable. Ibid. pag. 157.

(66) In the re- mark [*D*].

[*Q*] *They are accuſed of diſcovering too inſolent a joy, when news was brought of Henry's tragical end.*] I have already cited (66) Maimbourg upon this; and here follow Mezerai's words (67). " As he was a " very

(67) *Hiſt. of France*, tom. 2. pag. 1139.

but no one could have expreſſed himſelf with greater modeſty on this ſubject, than Beza (*b*). I forgot to obſerve that this Prince, when but Dauphin of France, lived in ſuch a miſunderſtanding with the Duke of Orleans his brother, as coſt France dear [*R*], and would have proved much more fatal to it, had not this Duke died. Who knows whether he would not have diſputed the Crown with him [*S*]? The Ladies had been ſo bold, as to ſpread about ſuch horoſcopes, as could not but foment the jealouſy of theſe two brothers. They had ſhewn theſe pretended aſtrological predictions to Francis I. They were refuted by Caſtellan [*T*], but were refuted ſtill better by the event. It is related by ſeveral authors, that an Aſtrologer, famous for calculating nativities, had foretold that Henry II ſhould be killed in a duel [*U*]. This prediction is told ſo variouſly, that

(*b*) See the remark [*Q*] towards the cloſe.

" very good Prince, he was bewailed by all his peo-
" ple, thoſe of the new ſect excepted, who imagined
" that his death would be their liberty and advance-
" ment. They rejoiced ſo much at this, that they
" made ſongs upon it, and thankſgivings to God;
" or rather blaſphemies, they preſuming to ſay, that
" the Almighty had ſtricken him under the walls of
" the Baſtile, where he kept the innocent impriſon-
" ed." It muſt not be thought ſtrange, that a few indiſcreet people ſhould be found, among a great number of people; but the Hiſtorian of the reformed Churches deſerves great applauſe, for obſerving the moderation which is ſeen in the following words. *There remained nothing, in all probability, but a moſt horrid ſpectacle of extreme deſolation, when the Lord prevented it: for King Henry, in the midſt of his peaceful triumphs, joined with marriage, ... tilting in the Liſts, ... was ſtruck with the counter-ſtroke of a lance ... and died the 10th of July following. Strange things were obſerved in the ſo-much-unexpected death of this Prince, who was naturally gracious and kind, but neither ſaw or heard, but by the eyes and ears of thoſe, who engroſſed and governed him at pleaſure* (68).

(68) Theod. de Beze, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. des Egliſes reformées*, liv. 2. pag. 195.

[*R*] *He lived in ſuch a miſunderſtanding with the Duke of Orleans his brother, as coſt France dear.*] The Dauphin's faction was headed by Diana of Poitiers, miſtreſs to that Prince. This was the reaſon why the Ducheſs d'Etampes ſided with the Duke of Orleans. I have ſpoke elſewhere (69) of the prejudice, which the intrigues of that Ducheſs did to the affairs of Francis I.

(69) In the remark [*R*] of the article FRANCIS I *See alſo* the remark [*E*] of the article ETAMPES.

[*S*] *Who knows whether the Duke of Orleans would not have diſputed the Crown with him?*] Tavanes, who was in his ſervice, and had an inſatiable deſire to raiſe himſelf in the world, conceived great hopes from the ambition of this Prince, " who hoped to
" make himſelf Sovereign in the life-time of the
" Dauphin his elder brother. Indeed the Emperor
" Charles V had flattered him with ſuch ſtrong hopes
" of this, as greatly raiſed his courage: and there-
" fore being near expiring at Farenmonſtier, where
" he had raſhly defied death, in a houſe infected with
" the plague, whither he went purpoſely on that ac-
" count; Tavanes, his confident, coming to tell him
" of the exploit he had performed on the garriſon
" of Calais, whereof he had killed eight hundred
" men, and taken four hundred priſoners, he ſpoke
" as follows to him, Friend, I am a dead man; all our
" deſigns are defeated; my great ſorrow is, that it is
" not in my power to reward your deſert (70)."

(70) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 572.

[*T*] *The Ladies ... had ſhewn theſe pretended Aſtrological predictions to Francis I. They were refuted by Caſtellan.*] About two years before this Prince died, certain ladies, who had a great ſhare in his friendſhip, told him that the ſtars promiſed the Duke of Orleans great conqueſts; and foretold, that the Dauphin would not perform any action worthy a King of France. They talked in this manner, becauſe they knew Francis I had a particular affection for this Duke, and they flattered themſelves with the hopes of enriching themſelves, by the intereſt and credit of this young Prince. They uſed to applaud him; praiſe him to the ſkies, and exclaim againſt the Dauphin as having a dull, heavy genius, and born under the moſt ill-fated planet poſſible. *Animo lento & ſopito, infelici quodam ſyderum poſitu natum* (71). But Caſtellan could not bear either their flatteries or their calumnies; he turned to thoſe Ladies, when frowning upon them, he told them, that it was difficult to learn Aſtrology, and more ſo, to adapt it to human events. He added, that the vanity and impudence of Aſtrologers rendered them unworthy of all belief; that he himſelf had formerly ſtudied thoſe things under Turreau (72), and had made as much progreſs in them as any other perſon; that by way of amuſement, and to ſatisfy the curious, he had calculated, with the utmoſt accuracy, the nativity of the Dauphin, and that of the Duke of Orleans; and that, according to the rules of that Science of the Stars, he had found that the Duke would have a good, a great, and martial ſoul; would be ſupported by the ſtrength and friendſhip of the Great; and attain to a very exalted pitch of power (73): That the Dauphin would not be inferior to him, either in military virtue, or any other of the virtues worthy of a Prince; that he would enjoy a very happy reign, and triumph over all his enemies (74): but that as all theſe ways of foretelling things were vain and doubtful, the ſureſt way would be to ground one's conjectures, with regard to the future fortune of both thoſe Princes, on their genius and morals. The King gave a favourable attention to all this; but the flatterers of both ſexes were exaſperated at it. The Dauphin being informed what Caſtellan had ſaid, was extremely well pleaſed; not at his having been applauded, but becauſe his innocence had been ſpoke in favour of, before Francis I, to whom he was afraid of being made odious (75), *apud quem ne in ſuſpicionem aut odium traheretur metuebat* (76). Ye curſed peſts of courts! who can deteſt you ſufficiently! How malicious was it to cheriſh and foment, by ſo many artifices, the jealouſy of two brothers! I muſt not omit, that Caſtellan's Aſtrology proved falſe with regard to the Duke of Orleans. He died a little after; and yet it had preſaged his riſing to very exalted power, which Caſtellan had conſidered as a thing to come; and he could not conſider it otherwiſe at that time; for this Prince died nineteen months or thereabouts before his father, and was not then twenty four years of age.

(71) Gallandius, *in Vita Caſtellani*, pag. 73.

(72) See the remark [*C*] of the article CASTELLAN.

(73) *Valde potentem futurum.* Galland. *in Vita Caſtellani*, pag. 73.

(74) *Suorum boſtium late victorem feliciſſimum regnaturum comperiſſe.* Idem, ibid.

(75) Extracted from the *Life of Peter Caſtelnau*, written by Gallandius, chap. 44. pag. 72, & *ſeq.*

(76) Idem, ibid. pag. 74.

[*U*] *It is related by ſeveral authors, that an Aſtrologer famous for calculating nativities, had foretold that Henry II ſhould be killed in a duel.*] Let us ſee what Brantome ſays of this matter (77). " I have heard,
" and know it from good hands, that ſome years be-
" fore he died, ſome ſay certain days, a Sooth-
" ſayer calculated his nativity, and preſented him
" with it, and that it informed him, he would die in
" a duel and ſingle combat. The Conſtable was there
" preſent, to whom the King ſaid; ſee, friend,
" what death it is propheſied I ſhall come to. Sir!
" replied the Conſtable, can you credit theſe ſcoundrels,
" who are only liars and braggadochios? Throw that
" prediction into the fire. Friend, replied the King,
" for what reaſon? they ſometimes tell the truth;
" I do not care whether I die that death or another;
" nay I ſhould rather chooſe it, and to die by the
" hand of any man ſoever, provided he be true and
" valiant, and glory may thereby accrue to me; and
" therefore, without regarding what the Conſtable had
" ſaid, he gave the prediction in queſtion to Mr. de
" l'Aubeſpine, ordering him to lay it by, till ſuch
" time as he ſhould ask for it .... (78). Now the
" King was no ſooner wounded, dreſſed and carried
" to his chamber, but the Conſtable calling to mind
" this prophecy, called Mr. de l'Aubeſpine, and or-
" dered him to fetch it, which he did; and the in-
" ſtant he ſaw and read it, the tears ſtarted from his
" eyes. Alas! ſaid he, this is the duel and ſingle
" combat by which he was to die; it is done, and he
" is dead. The Soothſayer could not poſſibly have
" ſpoke better and clearer than he has done; although
" ſuch men, either from their natural diſpoſition, or
" by the inſpiration of their familiar ſpirit, are al-
" ways ambiguous and dubious; and thus they al-

(77) Brant. *Diſc. du Henry II*, in tom. 2. of his *Memoirs*, pag. 50.

(78) Idem, pag. 52.

that this circumſtance alone would make one doubt whether it was made by Aſtrologers [*X*]. He had ten legitimate, and two natural children. Some pretty remarkable particulars

" ways ſpeak ambiguouſly; but the Soothſayer ſpoke " very plainly in the prophecy. Curſed be the Sooth- " ſayer who propheſied ſo truly and fatally." Thuanus does not, like Brantome, omit the Soothſayer's name: He calls him Luke Gauric; and adds, that the nativity in queſtion was calculated at the requeſt of Catherine of Medicis; and that it was laughed at, till the King had been wounded in the manner above deſcribed. Thuanus mentions this prophecy as a certain truth (79); *Genus ac tempus mortis à Luca Gaurico Mathematico Pauli Tertii perfamiliari prædictum* CONSTAT, *cum Catharina uxor futuri anxia fœmina eum ſuper viri ac filiorum fata conſuleret, fore nimirum ut in duello caderet, vulnere in oculo accepto: quod irriſum à multis ac pro tempore neglectum fuit, quaſi regis conditio ſupra duellum poſita eſſet* (79); but thoſe who cite Luke Gauric's own words, taken from the horoſcope of Henry II, deſerve more credit. Now it is certain, by theſe words, that the Soothſayer promiſed this Monarch a long life, and did not threaten him with a fatal duel. Gaſſendi did not fail to cite this great example; and adds, that Cardan was no leſs miſtaken in the horoſcope of the Prince in queſtion, than Gauric (80). *Conſtat ex Hiſtoriis Henricum II Galliæ noſtræ Regem obiiſſe anno ætatis quadrageſimo completo, ex oculari vulnere. En autem de eo Gaurici Vaticinium in Prognoſtico anni MDLVI.* Quoniam in ſui natalis penè divini ſchemate habuit Solem ſub gradibus ſuæ altitudinis Veneri ferè partiliter alligatum; quin & Lunam atque Venerem ſub Arietis Aſteriſmo, per Horoſcopum progredienteis; vivet fœliciſſimus annos LXX, deductis duobus menſibus; ſi nutu divino ſuperaverit annos inſalubreis LXIII, LXIV, & ſemper vivet in terris pientiſſimus. *Paria ſunt quæ idem Gauricus anteà ederat, quæque à Sixto* (81) *referuntur. En & vaticinium Cardani, cùm de eodem Henrico loquens,* Erit certe, *inquit,* ſenecta tanto felicior quanto etiam plura ſuerit expertus, *&c.* i. e. " It is manifeſt from Hiſtory, that " Henry II, King of France, died of a wound he " had received in his eye, when he was juſt turned of " forty: Now here follows Gauric's prophecy con- " cerning him, in his prognoſtic for the year 1556. " *Becauſe, in the ſcheme of his almoſt divine nativity,* " *he had the ſun very near in partile aſpect with Venus,* " *and the Moon and Venus in the conſtellation of Aries,* " *proceeding through his Horoſcope, he ſhall live ſeventy* " *years, wanting two months, in a moſt happy manner,* " *provided that, by the divine favour, he lives beyond* " *the critical years* 63 *and* 64, *and ſhall be conſpicuous* " *for his ſanctity.* Gauric had publiſhed the ſame things " before, as they are related by Sixtus ab Heminga. " Here follows likewiſe a prediction of Cardan, ſpeak- " ing of Henry II in queſtion. *His old age,* ſays he, " *ſhall be ſo much the more happy, as he ſhall have ex-* " *perienced,* &c." This is a matter of ſo much importance, that it deſerves a ſecond teſtimony: The perſon I mean is not one who depends upon hearſay, he relating what he has read in the very writings of Gauric, where he ſaw the moſt happy predictions that could be to Henry II. *Et memini in Italia quaſdam Ephemerides annuas Lucæ Gaurici vidiſſe, in quibus cùm pro libertate ſcribendi quæ tunc vigebat, ſingulis Principibus Europæis maximas felicitates, aut graviſſima damna minaretur, nihil poſtea perinde cecidit, ac ipſe futurum prædixerat. Atque utinam Henricus ſecundus, quem ille extrema tantum ſenectute, & morbo placidiſſimo fatis conceſſurum dixerat, non ætate potius florenti, & tam acerbo, præcipitique fato nobis ereptus fuiſſet* (82). i. e. " I remember to have ſeen, in Italy, certain annual " Ephemerides of Luke Gauric, wherein, according to " the great liberty which writers took in thoſe times, " he had propheſied, to all the Princes of Europe, " either very great happineſs or grievous calamities, " but nothing came to paſs of what he had foretold. " And would to heavens that Henry II, who, ac- " cording to this Diviner, was to live to an extreme " old age, and to die of a very eaſy and moſt gentle " diſtemper, had not on the contrary been ſnatched " away in the flower of his age, and by ſo ſudden and " cruel a death."

[*X*] *This prediction is told ſo variouſly, that this circumſtance alone would make one doubt whether it was made by Aſtrologers.*] Let us ſee Stephen Paſquier's relation; we there do not find ſo much as Gauric's name, the whole relating to other perſons and circumſtances. " And indeed one would imagine that long " before . . . . . this diſaſter had been privately prog- " noſticated, to the King, by Jerom Cardan, who, " in a ſcheme which he erected of his nativity, de- " clared, that all things would be ſmooth and eaſy in " the beginning of his reign; but aſſured him that, " in the decline of his life, he would come to a fatal " end; and ſuch as, for the grandeur of a King, he " thought himſelf obliged to conceal. A report was " likewiſe ſpread at Court, that at the return of " the Cardinal of Lorrain from his laſt journey to Ita- " ly, a letter was preſented him, ſent from a Jew in " Rome, greatly ſkilled and practiſed in thoſe fan- " taſtical predictions and divinations, which ſtrenuouſly " exhorted him to beware of a ſingle combat. The " King having heard theſe letters read, diſregarded " them as fictitious; never imagining that, conſidering " his exalted ſtation, it would be poſſible for him to " be ever engaged in a duel. Theſe letters, as we are " told, were then laid up by Mr. de l'Aubeſpine, who, " after the King's death, ſhewed them to ſeveral " Lords, as it is related. Beſides it is added (but I will " not aſſert it as fact) that the Queen remembring theſe " Letters, and the time which had been prognoſticated, " beſought him ſeveral times, that ſince the two pre- " ceding days had been paſt to his honour and ſa- " tisfaction, he would be pleaſed, the third day, not " to enter the liſts, in order to avoid any inconvenience " that might happen, and appoint ſome other perſon " in his ſtead. The King however would not con- " ſent to this; and on the very day he was " wounded, the Queen having ſent a Gentleman from " her ſeat purpoſely to intreat him, in her name, to " be ſatisfied with what he had already performed; " he ſent word, that he would run but once more, " in which, as ill fortune would have it, he was " wounded (83)." It muſt be particularly obſerved, that Paſquier relates theſe particulars only upon a very random hearſay, of the truth whereof he himſelf was not perſuaded. But obſerve ſtill further, that it is not ſaid that Cardan publiſhed this pretended horoſcope after the death of Henry II. He nevertheleſs was vain enough, and ſufficiently bigotted to Aſtrology (84), to have taken to himſelf the glory of ſo ſurprizing a diſcovery. Nothing could have ennobled his art ſo much as this. He could have called upon the teſtimony of the Conſtable of Mommorenci, Catherine of Medicis, l'Aubeſpine, and ſome other perſons of the higheſt rank. Whence could it be, that he ſhould have neglected the intereſts of his glory and thoſe of his purſe (85) to ſo great a degree? The reader has ſeen in the preceding remark, what Gauric promiſed Henry II in 1556; let us now ſee what he had foretold him for four years before: *Inclitiſſimus Gallorum Rex,* (this is what he has put at the foot of the ſcheme of that King's nativity, in the Venice edition of 1552, printed by Curtius Trojanus Navo,) *Henricus Chriſtianiſſimus, erit Regum quorundam Imperator, ante ſupremos cineres ad rerum culmina perveniet, fœliciſſimamque ac viridem ſenectam, uti colligitur ex Sole, Venere & Luna horoſcopantibus, & potiſſimum Sole in ſuo trono partiliter ſupputato. In civitatibus Arieti ſubjectis maximum ſortietur dominium, ſi forte ſuperaverit ſuæ ætatis annos* 56, 63, 64, *ad annos* 69 *Menſes* 10 *dies* 12 *facili ac fœlici tramite perducetur* (86). i. e. " The moſt renowned King of " France, the moſt Chriſtian King Henry, ſhall be " Monarch over certain Kings; ſhall attain the " higheſt pitch of power; and live to a vigorous old " age, as is manifeſt from the Sun, Venus, and the " Moon ariſing at his nativity, and eſpecially from " the Sun being in his exaltation, in a partile aſ- " pect. He ſhall obtain very great dominion in the " cities ſubject to Aries, if he does but live beyond " the 56th, 63, 64th year, he ſhall attain to the 69th " year, 10 months, and 12 days of his age, and ſhall " enjoy very great happineſs."

(79) Thuan. lib. 22. *ſub fin.*

(80) Gaſſend. Sect. 2. *Phyſicæ,* lib. 6. pag. 745. tom. 1. *Oper.*

(81) He ſpeaks of *Sixtus ab Heminga*, who has ſhewn, from the example of thirty famous horoſcopes that the event belied them.

(82) Naudæus, in *Judicio de Cardano.*

(83) Paſquier's *Letters*, lib. 4. tom. 1. pag. 175.

(84) *Confer quæ ſupra,* remark [*E*] of the article CARDAN.

(85) He would have been paid much more largely for his predictions, had it been known that he had found out by Aſtrology, that a King of France ſhould be killed in a duel.

(86) Lucas Gauricus, in *Tractatus Aſtrologico in quo agitur de præteritis multorum hominum accidentibus per propriàs eorum genituras ad unguem examinatis*, fol. 42 *verſo.*

particulars are told concerning the mothers of the latter [*Y*]. Henry II was born at St. Germains en Laie, the 31ſt of March 1519. He was Duke of Orleans when he married, at Marſeilles, Catherine de Medicis, the 28th of October 1533. He was then but fourteen years and a few months old; a circumſtance which made Pope Clement VII, Catherine's uncle, fear that the marriage was not conſummated on the wedding night; and authors pretend, that being curious to enquire into that affair himſelf, he found ſuch proofs as ſet his mind at eaſe in this particular [*Z*]. This young huſband's elder brother dying, he became Dauphin the 10th of Auguſt 1536. We have related in another place (*i*), that his conſort was barren many years, and afterwards brought him ſeveral children. He perſecuted ſuch of his ſubjects as were of the Proteſtant Religion with the utmoſt rigour; and nevertheleſs he himſelf forged thoſe weapons, which enabled the Proteſtants moſt eſpecially to maintain their cauſe [*AA*]; for, by his means, the Proteſtants of Germany

(*i*) In the article FERNEL, remark [*K*].

[*Y*] *Some pretty remarkable particulars are told concerning the mothers of the* two natural children.] Read what follows, which is copied from Brantome (87). Henry II, "who was of a pretty amorous complexion, "whenever he went to viſit any Lady, went in the "moſt private manner he could, in order to prevent their virtue from being ſuſpected; and if any "of them happened to be diſcovered, it was not his "fault, nor by his conſent, but was rather owing to "the Lady; as I have been told of a Lady of a "good family, Madam Flamin by name, a Scots woman, who being with child by the King, was far "from mincing the matter, but ſaid boldly in her Scots-"French, I have exerted myſelf ſo well, that I at "laſt am ſo happy as to be with child by the King, "which I think a very great honour and felicity. "Methinks there is ſomething ſweeter and more delicate in the royal blood than in any other, ſo well "I find myſelf after what I have done; not to mention the fine preſents that are always got on thoſe "occaſions. The ſon ſhe then had by the King was "the late Grand Prior of France, who was killed "not long ſince in Marſeilles (88), which was a very "great pity, for he was a moſt courteous, brave and "valiant nobleman." What I have to ſay concerning the other miſtreſs is a ſingularity of another kind. "The Dauphin (afterwards King Henry II) being "ſmit *with a young Lady of Cony in Piedmont* (89), in "the journey he made thither with the Conſtable of "Montmorency, his ſervants ſet fire to her houſe in "the night, and the danger it was in of being burnt "down, giving every one acceſs to it, people flocked "to it in crouds, crying *ſalva la Donna* (ſave the "Lady) and having ſeized her, carried her to the "Dauphin (90)." He had a Daughter by her named Diana, who was firſt married to Horazio Farneze Duke of Caſtro, and afterwards to Francis Duke of Montmorency, eldeſt ſon to the Conſtable. The ſecond marriage was ſolemnized the 5th of May, 1557 (91), and ended by the death of the firſt huſband the 6th of May 1579 (92). The only ſon which ſprung from it died before his father. The widow lived till the 3d of January 1619, and was then above fourſcore. She brought about a reconciliation between Henry III and Henry IV; and had a tender friendſhip for Charles de Valois her Nephew, natural ſon of Charles IX. She ſaved his life, when Henry IV would have involved him in the affair of the Duke of Biron; ſhe repreſented to that Prince, that it was greatly his intereſt, to render ſacred and inviolable the heads of the illegitimate children of Kings, and carefully to avoid eſtabliſhing a fatal example againſt them. She married this nephew to Charlotte de Montmorenci, her huſband's niece, *and left his children heirs of all her poſſeſſions, and of the palace of Engouléme* (93) *belonging to her in Paris* (94).

(87) *Mem. des Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 372.

(88) Father Anſelme, *Hiſt. Généalog. de la Maiſon de France*, pag. 144. ſays, that he was ſon to N... de Leviſton, a Scotch Lady; and was killed at Aix in Provence by Philip Altoviti, Baron of Caſtellanes, the 2d June 1586.

(89) Father Anſelme, ibid. ſays, that her name was Philippa des Ducs; that ſhe was living the 1ſt of July 1572, and did not aſſume a religious habit, as Peter Matthew thought

(90) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mém. de Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 447.

(91) Anſelme, *Hiſt. Geneal. de la Maiſon de France*, pag. 144.

(92) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſteln.* tom. 2. pag. 418.

(93) Henry III gave her the Dukedoms of Engoulême and of Chatelleraut, the Earldom of Ponthieu, and the Government of Limoſin. Le Laboureur, ibid.

(94) Extracted from the *Addit. de Monſ. Le Laboureur*, ibid.

[*Z*] *Some authors pretend, that Pope* Clement VII *being curious to enquire into that affair himſelf, found ſuch proofs as ſet his mind at eaſe in that particular.*] I have read this no where but in Varillas. *The interview between his Holineſs*, ſays he (95), *and his Majeſty, was at Marſeilles, and the nuptials of the Duke of Orleans and Catherine were ſolemnized there with great magnificence. As the Bridegroom was but ſixteen years of age, and the bride thirteen, the King, who would not hazard his ſon's health, would have the conſummation of the marriage ſuſpended for two or three years. But this did not ſuit the Pope in any manner, who was afraid, in caſe he ſhould happen to die before the marriage with his niece was conſummated, ſhe ſhould be ſent back into Italy; and indeed,* ſays Paul Jovius, *he was not ſatisfied till after he had ſeen certain marks that the marriage had been conſummated.* If Paul Jovius has mentioned ſuch a circumſtance, it is not in that part of his hiſtory where he ſpeaks of that interview between the Pope and Francis I. This nevertheleſs was the moſt proper place, and the moſt natural occaſion of touching on that particular, eſpecially as the author did not omit to take notice of the tender age of the Duke of Orleans, to make ſeveral other obſervations, and even to ſay that the marriage was conſummated the firſt night. *Augebant ſuſpicionem maturatæ nuptiæ, quæ impares regio ſanguini viderentur. Siquidem nobiliſſimus adoleſcens Henricus, quanquam ætate tenerior, Catharinam celebratis inſigni ceremonia nuptiis, ex virgine mulierem prima nocte reddiderat* (96). i. e. "A circumſtance that increaſed "the ſuſpicion was, the haſtning of the marriage, "which did not ſeem ſuitable to the royal blood. "For the moſt noble Henry, though of a tender age, "after his nuptials had been ſolemnized with great "magnificence, made Catherine a woman the very "firſt night." I confeſs then, that Varillas might be ſuſpected of falſly citing the teſtimony of Paulus Jovius, His ſaying that the *bridegroom* was *ſixteen years of age, and the bride thirteen*, is not juſt; for it is certain that Henry II, was born the 31ſt of March 1519, and married Catherine of Medicis the 28th of October 1533 (97). Father Anſelme, who fixes his birth to the 31ſt of March 1518, adds, that it was *before Eaſter*; and conſequently that year is 1519, *according to the new ſtyle*. He alſo ſays that Catherine was born the 13th of April, 1519. Gauric ſets down the ſame day and year in the ſcheme of that nativity. There therefore was but the ſpace of a fortnight between the age of the Bridegroom and Bride. Spondanus is very near as much miſtaken as Varillas, ſince he aſſerts that Catherine was but thirteen, and Henry but fifteen years and ſeven months (98).

(95) Varillas, Preface of tom. 5. *de l'Hiſtoire de l'Hereſie*, fol. ** 3, Dutch edit.

(96) Jov. *Hiſt.* lib. 31. fol. 230, edit. Baſil. 1555.

(97) See the *Faſtes* of Father du Londel, pag. 23 and 345; and Father Anſelme, *Hiſt. Gen.* pag. 137 and 139.

(98) Spondan. *ad ann.* 1533, num. 7.

[*AA*] *He himſelf forged thoſe weapons, which enabled the Proteſtants moſt effectually to maintain their cauſe.*] See what I have ſaid on this matter, in the remark [*D*], and add to it the following paſſage from Stephen Paſquier (99). "We ſaw the Emperor Charles V "make war upon the Germans, his vaſſals, for im-"bibing and profeſſing hereſy .... His affairs went "on ſucceſsfully, which obliged them to implore our "aſſiſtance. Could any thing be more plauſible, in "point of State-affairs, as courtiers judge of them, "than to take their cauſe in hand, in order to prevent a mighty Prince from increaſing his power ſtill "more at our gates, by the ruin of all the Princes of "Germany? But, on the other hand, what would "be more unjuſt than to aſſiſt a ſubject againſt his "lawful Sovereign? and eſpecially to join with a "heretic, againſt a Catholic Emperor, who fought "only for the honour of God and his Church? Our "Prince was a Catholic, as were likewiſe the No-"blemen who had the greateſt ſhare in his favour; "but notwithſtanding this, we take upon our ſelves "to protect the German heretics; and the King, in "open Parliament, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed "by the moſt pompous title of *Protector of the German Liberty*, that is to ſay, of the German hereſy; and as ſuch cauſed money to be coined, bearing that inſcription. Under that ſpecious title he "undertook that expedition at the head of a power-

(99) Paſquier, *Lettres*, liv. 15. pag. 218. of tom. 2.

many put their affairs in ſo happy a poſture, that it was eaſy for them to ſend great ſuccours to the Calviniſts of France. The compariſon which has been made between his reign, and the latter part of that of Francis I, ſhews, that a Monarch who is too much inclined to liberality, does more prejudice to a State than a Monarch who is too niggardly [*BB*]. Henry the IId's fault was, the ill management of his revenues, whereby he perverted the adminiſtration of them, and got prodigiouſly in debt [*CC*]. The evil which

" ful army. This gave ſuch ſucceſs to our enter-
" prize, that, at the bare news of it, as we were going
" to croſs the Rhine, the Emperor was forced to ad-
" juſt matters amicably with his ſubjects, and grant
" them many privileges, againſt the honour of God
" and of his conſcience, which he otherwiſe would
" not have tolerated. As to my ſelf, my opinion is,
" that God was reſolved afterwards to chaſtize us
" with the ſame rods, which we had made uſe of
" againſt the Emperor, having permitted, after
" Henry's death, his children (minors) to be warred
" upon by their ſubjects, for the ſupport of an opi-
" nion more violent than that of Luther; and that
" they ſhould be aided, by the German Princes,
" againſt them. And when God was determined to
" exerciſe his vengeance upon us, it was impoſſible
" for any human methods to ward it off, ſo that all
" the remedies which we thought to apply to it, turn-
" ed to our deſtruction." Paſquier makes another remark which I don't take to be a good one. *At our return*, ſays he (100), *from that fine expedition into Germany, Calvin began to ſollicite, on all ſides, by letters; and the perſons thus addreſſed were eaſily overreached, thinking, as we may ſuppoſe, that ſince the King and his Council had taken the Lutherans under their protection, they themſelves were, in their hearts, of the ſame Religion. Thus did the ſeeds of the new Religion, by inſenſible degrees, ſpread in France, which reached, at laſt, the noble or vital parts, I mean the Princes and great Lords.* The author here commits two errors; he ſuppoſing that Calvin did not begin *to ſollicit* the French by letters till towards the cloſe of the year 1552. Now this is falſe, for he had never ceaſed to do it ſince the year 1536; and beſides, it is not true, that the French could believe that Henry II and his Council were Lutherans *in their hearts*. The contrary could not be doubted, ſince this Prince was ſeen to perſecute, with fire and ſword, thoſe who profeſſed the new Religion, throughout all parts of his Kingdom. The protection which he granted, and the good offices he did the Proteſtants of Germany, were of no ſervice to elude this proof of his averſion for their ſect; the only thing hereby ſhewn was, that he ſacrificed the intereſt of his Religion, to the political intereſt of his Government. In this manner Kings generally act: though they ſometimes take another courſe, in order to ſacrifice, to a ſpirit of perſecution, not only the conqueſts they might atchieve, but alſo thoſe they have gained, and the moſt ſolid advantages of their Government. Henry II was an inſtance of this, when he accepted the peace of Cateau.

(100) Paſquier's *Letters*, liv. 15. pag. 219.

[*BB*] *A Prince, who is too much inclined to liberality, does more prejudice to a State than a Prince who is too niggardly.*] A French Civilian (101) has aſſerted that " thoſe are in a great error, who applaud and " adore univerſally the goodneſs of a gentle, gracious, " courteous and ſimple Prince; for ſuch a ſimplicity, " unaccompanied with prudence, is very dangerous " and pernicious in a King; and productive of much " worſe conſequences than the cruelty of a ſevere, " peeviſh, rough, covetous and inacceſſible Prince. And " in my opinion our forefathers have not uſed the fol- " lowing proverb without a cauſe, *a bad* (102) *man* " *makes a good King*; a ſentence that may ſeem " ſtrange to delicate ears, and which have not " been accuſtomed to weigh the reaſons on both " ſides. By the indulgence and ſilly ſimplicity of " too good natured a Prince, it comes to paſs that " flatterers, paraſites, and the moſt wicked men, ob- " tain all offices, employments, benefices and grants, " exhauſting the treaſures of a Kingdom: and by this " means the miſerable people are preyed upon to their " very bones, and cruelly enſlaved by the Great; ſo " that, for one tyrant, there are ten thouſand &c." Deſirous afterwards to confirm this poſition by examples, he goes on as follows (103): this Kingdom " has been ſeen as great, rich and flouriſhing in Arms " as in Laws, towards the cloſe of the reign of Fran- " cis I, when he grew peeviſh and inacceſſible, and " no one dared to approach him, to ſue for the leaſt " favour and honour; and penſions were ſo re- " trenched, that there was found in his treaſury, at " his death, a million of gold, and ſeven hundred " thouſand crowns, and the March-quarter to receive; " and nothing owing, except a very ſmall matter to " the Lords of the Griſons, and to the Bank of Ly- " ons, which it was judged not proper to pay, in or- " der to keep them to their duty: Peace was ſettled " with all the Potentates in the world; the frontiers " extended as far as the gates of Milan; the King- " dom abounding with great captains and the moſt " learned men in the world. It was afterwards ſeen, " during the twelve years reign of Henry II, whoſe " goodneſs was ſo great, as not to be parallel'd by any " Prince of his age, that the Government was very near " changed; for being gentle, gracious and good-na- " tured, he could not deny any perſon; by which " means his father's treaſures, being exhauſted in a " few months, places of truſt are more expoſed to " ſale than ever; benefices beſtowed without the leaſt " regard had to merit; civil offices ſold to the beſt " bidder, and conſequently to the moſt unworthy. " Taxes were higher than ever they had been before; " and yet, when he died, his Exchequer was found " indebted forty two millions, after having loſt Pied- " mont, Savoy, the iſland of Corſica, and the frontiers " of the Netherlands: although theſe loſſes were in- " conſiderable, in compariſon of fame and honour. Had " the gentleneſs of this great King been accompani- " ed with ſeverity, his goodneſs mixed with rigour, " his eaſineſs with auſterity; all things would not have " been ſo eaſily extorted from him." This learned man's opinion ſeems a paradox at firſt ſight; but when it is cloſely examined, we find it to be juſtly grounded.

(101) Bodin *of a Republic*, lib. 2. cap. 4. towards the end, pag. m. 295. *See alſo* liv. 6. chap. 2. pag. 895.

(102) It is to be obſerved that he does not take this word in its whole extent; he taking it only in the ſignification of *auſtere and rigorous*. See the end of that chapter of Bodin's ſecond book.

(103) Ibid. pag. 296.

[*CC*] *He perverted the adminiſtration of his* treaſures, *and got prodigiouſly in debt.*] " There was an " ordinance of Francis I, confirmed by his ſucceſſor, " importing that there ſhould be four keys to the Ex- " chequer cheſt, one of which the King ſhould keep, " and the other three be in the hands of Commiſſioners " appointed by him; and monies were to be diſburſed " by the King's command, in preſence of the Trea- " ſurer and Comptroller of the Exchequer. But King " Henry II, by an (*) Edict granted ſome time after, " indulged the Commiſſioners and Officers of the " Treaſury ſo far, as not to allow any perſon to call " them to account hereafter; nay, one of the Com- " miſſioners had at one time, as a free gift, an hundred " thouſand crowns, a great ſum at that time, if the " report then ſpread of it was true (104)." It is Bodin makes this remark, who adds a little after (105), " that Francis I did not beſtow ſo many benefactions " during a reign of thirty two years, as his ſucceſſor " did in two years. *Francis I had ſcarce cloſed his* " *eyes, but the* tilletage, *or money given for the renew-* " *ing of Commiſſions, which at that time was an im-* " *menſe ſum, was given to a ſingle perſon* (106)." Let us ſee how this has been expreſſed in the Latin tranſlation. *Nondum juſta parenti fecerat* (Henricus ſecundus) *cum hirudo quædam Palatina pecuniæ vim infinitam, quam officiarii accepta confirmatione regibus initiatis fiſco dependere ſolent, uno abſorbuit & eodem hauſtu* (107). This Prince's profuſeneſs and prodigality doubtleſs made him lay new taxes on his ſubjects; not remembring the promiſes he made, when he gave orders for thoſe taxations. Weigh well the following words of Bodin (108). " When the *taillon* or tax was laid on the " ſubjects in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty " nine, the King promiſed not to appropriate or em- " ploy the monies to any other uſe but the payment " of his Gendarmerie, without confounding or blend- " ing them with the monies ariſing from the other revenues;

(*) In 1556.

(104) Bodin, *Of a Republic*, lib. 6. cap. 2. pag. 904.

(105) Ibid. pag. 1055. of the Latin edit. of 1601, in 8vo.

(106) Ibid. pag. 905. of the French edit. of 1608, 8vo.

(107) Ibid. pag. 1055.

(108) Ibid. pag. 898.

which the Poets cauſed (*k*) has been ranked among the diſorders of his reign. Polygamy, in the preceding reigns, was not a capital crime; it was Henry II who firſt made it ſuch [*DD*]. The reader will ſee in other parts of this Dictionary, what he enacted againſt clandeſtine marriages (*l*), and againſt mothers who deſtroy their children (*m*).

(*k*) See the remark (*l*) of the article GARASSE, at the firſt break.

(*l*) See the remark [*H*] of the article PIENE.

(*m*) See the remark [*C*] of the article PATIN.

I ſhall add a particular which I found in a letter of Bodin. Pope Julius III cited this Prince *to appear in the preſence of God, to anſwer for the injury he did him in keeping Mirandula. The King anſwered, that he would appear; but was ſure that the Pope could not* (*n*).

(*n*) Bodin, in a letter dated from Laon, the 27th of March 1593, and quoted by Menage, *Remarques ſur la Vie d'Ayrault*, pag. 258.

" revenues; which was likewiſe promiſed, when the " tax for payment of fifty thouſand foot was laid or " impoſed in the time of Francis I, which tax was to " be raiſed only in ſuch walled towns and ſuburbs, " as did not ſuffer by the numerouſneſs of the ſoldiers: " Nevertheleſs it was ſince extended to cities, towns, " villages great or ſmall, in one thouſand five hun- " dred and fifty five, by which the poor peaſants " have been doubly aggrieved, they paying and being " plundred on all ſides." The bad œconomy of the King in queſtion, occaſioned another diſorder, viz. the borrowing many great ſums at a high intereſt. " When King Henry was in want of money, he " would borrow at ten, twelve, or ſixteen per Cent. " as he did in 1554, of the Caponi, the Albici, and " the partners in Germany: and the intereſt was " paid on that occaſion at the four fairs, or added to " the principal. The Emperor did the like; but he " gave indeed but ten or twelve per Cent. at moſt; " and the ſame year the King of England borrowed " of the German Merchants an hundred thouſand " crowns at twelve per Cent. And whereas King " Henry thought, by giving greater intereſt than the " Emperor and the King of England, to command " greater ſums, he began to loſe his credit by it; for " the moſt prudent œconomiſts concluded, that he at " laſt would not be able to pay either intereſt or " principal; inaſmuch as the intereſt of ſixteen per " Cent. amounted, at leaſt, to eighteen per Cent. " by means of his not being able to pay the inte- " reſt (109)." I am to obſerve that he was not the inventor of this practice, it having begun under the King his father. " This was likewiſe a project " brought into France anno 1543 by Cardinal de " Tournon, when he was in favour with King " Francis I, whom he perſuaded, by the advice of " ſome Italians, that there was no other way of " drawing monies into France from all parts, and " making a fund for the time to come, to fruſtrate " the enemies of it, but by ſetting up a Bank at " Lyons, and taking in money from all hands, pay- " ing eight per Cent. intereſt; but the truth was, " the Cardinal wanted to ſecure an hundred thouſand " crowns which he had in his coffers, and get as " high an intereſt as he could for that ſum. The " Letters Patent having paſt the ſeals, and the Bank " opened in the manner above related, every one " ſtrove who ſhould firſt get thither from France, Ger- " many, and Italy; ſo that Francis I, when he died, " was indebted, to the Bank at Lyons, five hundred " thouſand crowns, which he had in his coffers, and " four times that ſum; and he had ſettled a peace " with all the Potentates of the earth (110)." Bodin (111) condemns this invention ſuggeſted to Francis I. He is of opinion that it deſtroys the very foundation of the Finances, and proved the ſource of a thouſand calamities. I ſhall cite him once more (112). *And with regard to the Treaſury or Finances, they were ſo ill managed, that in leſs than twelve years that Henry II reigned, he owed* (113) *more intereſt than all his predeceſſors, during forty years before, had levied for all their expences.*

(109) Ibid. pag. 893, 894.

(110) Ibid. pag. 893.

(111) Ibid. pag. 896.

(112) Ibid. pag. 895.

(113) See the preceding remark of citation (103).

I am perſuaded that theſe citations of Bodin, will not be diſpleaſing to thoſe who deſire the æras of impoſts or taxes, and the origin of cuſtoms in general.

[*DD*] *Henry II... firſt made... Polygamy... a capital crime.*] This I have read in Bodin. *Imperatores*, ſays he (114), *perpetua lege πολυγαμίαν infamiæ pœna ſubjecta vetuerunt* (†): *noſtris vero legib. pœna capitalis Henrici II principatu irrogari cœpit.* i. e. " The Emperors, by a perpetual Law, forbid Poly- " gamy, upon pain of being rendered infamous; but " it was firſt made a capital crime, by our Laws, " under Henry II." The author of *Mêlanges l'Hiſtoire & de Literature* was, in all probability, ignorant of this particular, he expreſſing himſelf as follows. " But now we are talking of marriage and the Laws " of the Kingdom, ſome Parliaments in France, ſen- " tence to death all ſuch as are found guilty of Po- " lygamy, becauſe it is ſuppoſed to be a Law of the " Kingdom. It is aſked where that Law is found? " It is the buſineſs of our French Civilians to inform " us of that particular. It is of ſuch conſequence as " well to deſerve the trouble. As to my ſelf, it is " my opinion that thoſe men are not ſent to the gal- " lows for Polygamy, but for the knaviſh artifices " they employ, in order to over-reach ſuch women as " they marry in this deceitful manner (115).

(114) Bodin, *de Republic.* lib. 5. cap. 1. pag. m. 793.

(†) *L. neminem de inceſtis, Cod.*

(115) Vigneul Marville, *Melang. d'Hiſt. de Literat.* pag. 175.

HENRY III, King of France, ſon to Henry II and Catherine of Medicis, had gained ſo much renown before he was raiſed to the throne, and before he was twenty, that the Poles judged him worthy of their Crown, but they ſoon had cauſe to repent their having elected him. The manner of his flight from Cracow was ignominious to the laſt degree. The motive of his ſtealing from Poland was, to ſucceed Charles IX in the throne of France. He accordingly reigned after that Prince, and in ſuch a manner, that the Poles had no reaſon to regret him. The ſame may be ſaid of him as of Galba, viz. that he would have ſeemed worthy of the Crown had he never wore it [*A*]. His life was ſo much divided between debauchery and devotion, that never was a more ſtrange mixture ſeen. He ſuffered himſelf to be ſo completely governed by his favou-

rites,

[*A*] *The ſame may be ſaid of him, as of Galba, viz. that he would have ſeemed worthy of the Crown had he never worn it.*] Every one has taken notice of the following ſaying of Tacitus: *Major privato viſus* (Galba) *dum privatus fuit, & omnium conſenſu capax imperii, niſi imperaſſet* (1). i. e. " Galba was thought " to be more than a private man or ſubject whilſt he " was one; and, would have been judged, by uni- " verſal conſent, capable of governing the Empire, " had he never been raiſed to it." Suetonius ſays the ſame thing in other words. *Majore adeò & favore & auctoritate adeptus eſt quam geſſit imperium* (2). i. e. " He got the Empire with more good will and autho- " rity than he governed it." The like judgment was formed of the Emperor Jovian (3): but the reverſe was ſaid of Marius. *Marius in poteſtatibus eo modo agitavit, ut ampliore quam gerebat, dignus haberetur* (4). i. e. " Marius behaved ſo well in all em- " ployments, that he was ever judged worthy of an " higher ſtation than that which he poſſeſſed." Henry III verified, to his coſt, the judicious maxim following, *Magiſtratus virum prodit* (5): he ſhewed by wearing a Crown, that thoſe were miſtaken who judged him worthy of it. The following words of Caſſiodorus cannot be juſtly applied to him. *Hic eſt probatæ conſcientiæ gratiſſimus fructus, ut quamvis ſumma potuerit adipiſci, judicetur tamen ab omnibus plus mereri* (6). Much leſs could it be ſaid of him; *magna eum præceſſerat fama, qua major inventus eſt* (7).

(1) Tacit. *Hiſt.* lib. 1. cap. 49.

(2) Sueton. in *Galba*, cap. 14.

(3) *Deceſſit ſuſcepto clarior apice quam geſto.* Jo. Cluverus, *Epit. Hiſtor. Mundi*, pag. m. 308.

(4) Saluſt. *in Bello Jugurth.*

(5) *See* Ariſtot. *de Morib.* lib. 5. cap. 3. pag. m. 44, [*G*].

(6) Caſſiodor. *Variar. Lect.* lib. 1. Epiſt. 4.

(7) Plin. Epiſt. 3. lib. 2.

rites, that the whole Kingdom was offended at it; eſpecially as the prodigious expences which he put himſelf to on their account [*B*], was burthenſome and grievous to the poor people. He incurred the hatred of the Ladies, a circumſtance that was greatly prejudicial to him [*C*]. The Ducheſs of Montpenſier took a dreadful revenge, on account of ſome things he had ſpoke to her diſadvantage [*D*]. The Duke of Guiſe, by this concurrence of circumſtances, and the troubles occaſioned about Religion, growing much bolder than he would otherwiſe have been, to pave his way to the throne, found, by experience, that the weakeſt Princes can at laſt form a vigorous reſolution. He was murthered by the command of Henry III. I have taken notice elſewhere (*a*) of the conſequences

(*a*) In the article of GUISE (Henry).

[*B*] *The prodigious expences he put himſelf to on account of his favourites* (8).] "As the chief employ-
" ment, and the greateſt pleaſure this King took
" was to pleaſe two favourites (9), he declared that he
" ſhould not be eaſy and ſatisfied, till he had made
" them as great as himſelf; and raiſed them to ſo
" exalted a pitch of power, that neither envy nor for-
" tune ſhould be able to deſtroy them. He was de-
" termined therefore, as he himſelf had no daughters,
" to marry them with, to give them in marriage to
" his wife's ſiſters, viz. Margaret and Chriſtierne,
" though they were already betrothed to two other
" heireſſes.. but in order to honour them with ſome title
" which might qualify them for ſo exalted an alliance
" for his, he reſolved to create them both Duke and
" Peer ... In the mean time the Duke of Lorrain
" brought his nieces with as great a train, and in as
" magnificent a manner, as if they had been to be
" eſpouſed to Kings. As to Chriſtierne, being as yet
" too young, ſhe was only betrothed to Duke d'E-
" pernon; however, ſhe did not marry him, and
" choſe rather to take the veil. As to Margaret, be-
" ing betrothed at the Louvre, in the Queen's cham-
" ber, the nuptials were ſolemnized a week after in
" the church of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois. It would
" be needleſs to deſcribe to you the maſquerades, balls,
" tournaments, feſtivals, concerts, and other pomps,
" which luxury invented for the ſetting off of this wed-
" ding; in a word, it laſted near ſix weeks; and Paris,
" the Theatre of Wonders, had never ſeen any thing
" like it. The King, dreſſed in the ſame manner as
" his favourite, led the bride to Church... After the
" ſolemnization of the marriage, he ordered ſe-
" venteen entertainments, which were made, accord-
" ing to rank, by the Princes and Lords who were
" related to the bride; the leaſt of them coſt above an
" hundred thouſand crowns; at all which the gueſts
" had ſuch rich and ſumptuous changes of dreſſes,
" that gold and ſilver could make no figure there.
" Some ſuits coſt ten thouſand crowns only for the
" making. To conclude, the expence was ſo prodi-
" gious, that the King, barely for his part, ſpent no
" leſs than four millions of livres, beſides four hun-
" dred thouſand crowns which he promiſed to pay to
" the bridegroom in two years, as his wife's portion;
" and when it was remonſtrated to him, that his ex-
" ceſſive profuſions would ruin him, he anſwered, that
" he would grow prudent and wiſe after he ſhould
" have married his two children, by whom he meant
" Joyeuſe and d'Epernon." The Swiſs Embaſſadors *being come to Paris, to aſk for monies that were owing them; and the Treaſurers having anſwered, that the King had none, and therefore that they muſt be patient and wait; they replied, agreeably to the uſual liberty of their Nation, that it was not probable ſo wiſe and diſcreet a Prince, ſhould have ſpent twelve hundred thouſand crowns, merely for his pleaſure, at a Gentleman's wedding, unleſs he had much more in his coffers, for the neceſſary affairs of his Kingdom* (10).

(8) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, vol. 3. pag. 499.

(9) The Dukes of Joyeuſe and Epernon.

(10) Mezerai, tom. 3. pag. 500.

See in the ſame Hiſtorian (11) the extravagant fondneſs, which this Prince diſcovered for Maugiron and Quelus, when they had fought a duel (12).

(11) Ibid. pag. 451. *ad ann.* 1578.

(12) Maugiron was killed on the ſpot; and Quelus, who received 19 wounds, lived 33 days after.

[*C*] *He incurred the hatred of the Ladies, a circumſtance that was greatly prejudicial to him.*] "The
" Ladies, to whom the minions revealed every thing,
" diſcovered to the Duke of Guiſe all the ſecrets of
" the cabinet, out of revenge to the King, whom
" they hated for certain reaſons which are not told (13)."
Theſe words are borrowed from Maimbourg; who ſhews manifeſtly enough, that the Ladies greatly prejudiced the King's affairs; however, the motives of their hatred are explained intelligibly enough by ſeveral Hiſtorians. See Mezerai's words in the margin (14).

(13) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. de la Ligue.*

(14) Henry III, ſince the Princeſs of Conde's death, entertained little affection for women; his adventure at Venice having turned his paſſion another way. Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 5. pag. 251, *ad ann.* 1581.

The reflection mentioned by the author of *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* is a mere cavil. "Some
" Cenſors, *ſays he* (15), have found fault with Maim-
" bourg for ſaying, *that the Ladies to whom the Mi-*
" *nions uſed to reveal every thing &c.* They ſay that
" theſe words are highly unpolite with regard to the
" fair-ſex, becauſe it is thereby inſinuated, that wo-
" men contract an averſion to ſuch men, as are deter-
" mined to diſregard for ever their charms. Now,
" ſay they, in caſe they are chaſte, what do they value
" their being neglected by the men? if it is not indif-
" ferent to them, it is a manifeſt ſign that they are
" reſolved not to live chaſtly. But I think it incum-
" bent on me to take Mr. Maimbourg's part a-
" gainſt ſuch unjuſt Cenſors. I ſay therefore that
" he ſpeaks only of thoſe Ladies who ſhared in the
" Duke of Guiſe's intrigues (16); and that we are
" not to doubt, but that women of that character en-
" tertain a ſtrong hatred, when they are prompted by
" the reaſons which are underſtood here. People
" may infer as much as they pleaſe, that this would
" be indifferent to them if they were chaſte: ſuch
" perſons may, if they pleaſe, infer that this infer-
" ence is unpolite: Maimbourg has guarded, in his
" preface, againſt ſuch ſubtilties; he there declaring,
" that he ſearches after truth, and not for ſuch things
" as may pleaſe and oblige people; and that if any
" one finds fault with this, they muſt blame thoſe
" that firſt laid down the laws of hiſtory, which re-
" quire incidents to be related as they are, and not as
" they ought to be."

(15) For April 1684, Art. 3. pag. 135.

(16) It is certain that he means the Ladies in general.

There is too much ſubtilty in this reflection: it is natural for all perſons to wiſh, that ſuch talents as ingratiate them with the world, may not be deſpiſed; this, I ſay, is natural, though they don't intend to make an ill uſe of ſuch qualities. The authors of the *Journey of Meſs. de la Chapelle and Bachaumont*, have carried the raillery a little too far, with regard to the anger with which the women of Montpellier are there ſaid to be fired againſt the unhappy Daſſoucy.

[*D*] *The Ducheſs of Montpenſier* (17) *took a dreadful revenge, on account of ſome things he had ſpoke to her diſadvantage.*] "It was told the King, that the
" League deſigned him no leſs miſchief than the
" making him a Monk; and that the Ducheſs of
" Montpenſier uſed to ſhew the ſciſſars with which
" ſhe intended to clip off his hair. The reaſon of
" the indignation of this widow was, he had offended
" her, by holding ſome diſcourſes wherein were diſ-
" covered certain ſecret defects of her's; an inſult
" which women will much leſs excuſe, than an affront
" that is put upon their honour (18)." That affront muſt have made a very deep impreſſion on this Ducheſs's heart, if we judge of it from the great endeavours ſhe employed to ruin Henry III. "She brought
" a conſiderable part of the materials, of the inven-
" tion of her happy wit, and of the labour of her
" body, to build the ſaid League; ſo that after it
" was ſtrongly built, playing one day at cards at
" Primero, (for ſhe was very fond of play,) and one
" ſaying to her, that ſhe ſhould ſhuffle the cards well,
" ſhe replied before a great number of people; I
" have ſhuffled them ſo well, that it is impoſſible for
" them to be better ſhuffled or unſhuffled. This
" would have been well, had not her relations been
" killed, the death of whom, without being in the
" leaſt dejected, ſhe endeavoured to revenge; and as
" ſoon as ſhe heard the news of this in Paris, ſhe,
" without immuring her ſelf in her chamber, and
" bemoaning on that account like other women,
" came out of her palace, leading her brother's chil-
" dren, when ſhe carries them up and down the city;
" breaks into lamentations before the people; exhorts
" them

(17) She was ſiſter to the Duke of Guiſe, killed at Blois.]

(18) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* pag. 315. *ad ann.* 1588. See the *Critique Générale du Calviniſme de Maimbourg*, Letter 3. pag. 44.

conſequences of this affair ; but I did not obſerve that this Monarch, had he not been aſſiſted by the Proteſtants, would have been overpowered at Tours, where he was attacked by thoſe of the League (*b*), ſome months after he had cauſed the Duke and Cardinal of Guiſe to be killed. Having extricated himſelf there, he marched and beſieged Paris ; and in all probability would have ſoon made himſelf maſter of that ſeditious city, had he not been aſſaſſinated by James Clement a Dominican Friar. He died *the 2d of Auguſt* 1589, *the day after he was wounded* (*c*). I have obſerved in another article (*d*), that this King is juſtly blamed for giving up ſome cities to the Duke of Savoy, who had accompanied him to Beauvoiſin Bridge, in September 1574 [*E*]. He had cauſe to repent his yielding thoſe cities ; it encouraging that Duke's ſon to form ſeveral enterprizes againſt France [*F*].

(*b*) In May 1589.

(*c*) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 5. pag. 355.

(*d*) In the article HENRY II, remark [*G*].

Few Princes have been governed by a more capricious ſtar than Henry III. Fortune was ſo fantaſtical to him, that his fate reſembled very much that of thoſe children, who are firſt brought up by a very tender mother, and afterwards by a cruel ſtep-mother. His youth was very glorious, and his fame procured him the Kingdom of Poland in the moſt conſpicuous and honourable manner ; but this ſtrong and ſhining light was ſoon eclipſed. He abdicated, not long after, that crown in a more ignominious manner, than his election had been glorious ; for can any thing be ſtranger or more ſhameful, than for a King to fly in the night, and withdraw with the utmoſt ſpeed out of his dominions, like a criminal, who ſees the officers of juſtice in purſuit of him ? In that manner did Henry III leave Poland (*e*). If we could excuſe this elopement, on the ſtrong reaſons he had to make the utmoſt diſpatch, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of a crown which was much more valuable than that he wore ; we yet might ſay that he was born under an unhappy planet, and *Diis iratis*, ſince he was reduced to ſuch extremities, that he could not ſucceed the King his brother on any other condition : it would be always

(*e*) *See* Thuanus, Book 58, *init.*

" them all with tears, cries, and moving words, to " take up arms ; to riſe up in a furious manner ; to " fall upon the King's palace and inſult the King's " picture, as has been ſeen, and as I hope to relate " in his life ; to renounce their allegiance, and enter " into rebellion againſt him, which was followed " ſoon after by his murther ; from whence we may " gueſs who are thoſe, of both ſexes, who adviſed, " and perpetrated it (19)." It was ſhe who chiefly excited James Clement to kill the King ; ſhe not ſcrupling any thing, as we are told, not even the laſt favour to effect it (20).

(19) Brantome, *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 316.

(20) *See* Thuan. cited by the author of the *Critique generale*, Letter 3. pag. 43.

[*E*] *In September* 1574.] The King arrived the fifth of September 1574 at Beauvoiſin Bridge, and not the 21ſt of September 1575, as is aſſerted by two or three Hiſtorians (21), whom John Aymes de Chavigny cenſures in pag. 224. of the firſt face of his French *Janus*, for thus he entitles his explication of *Noſtradamus*.

(21) Milles Piguerre, John le Frere, and the author of the appendix to the *Annales de France*.

[*F*] *To form ſeveral enterprizes againſt France.*] The author of the firſt *Savoiſienne* (22) relates (23), that Henry III returning from Poland, and paſſing Savoy, was aſked, *in return for a collation which had been given him*, for the cities of Pignerol and Savillan ; and that *this Prince, whoſe only defect was an exceſs of good nature*, gave them up : that the Duke of Savoy, ſon to him who had received ſo noble a preſent (24), took advantage of the confuſions of France anno 1588 ; for obſerving that Henry III was *out of his capital*, he invaded the Marquiſate of Saluces : that after having ſent an Embaſſador to the King, *with a promiſe to give up all things into his hands*, he on a ſudden removed *all the officers of his Majeſty, and eſtabliſhed others by his ducal authority . . . and at the ſame time, to diſplay in all places the trophies of his victory, he cauſed a pompous medal to be ſtruck, wherein was the figure of a centaur, trampling upon a crown reverſed, with the following motto*, Oportunè, alluding to his having taken a proper opportunity (25). We ſee by the ſecond *Savoiſienne*, that after Henry the III's murther, the Duke took ſeveral towns in Provence ; and that Henry IV was obliged, before he could bring him to reaſon, to poſſeſs himſelf of Savoy. It is to be obſerved that, *in return for the abovementioned medal* (26), the King *cauſed another* to be ſtruck, *whereon was a Hercules armed after the antique manner, trampling a centaur under foot, over whom he lifts a club with his right hand, and with his left a crown which he ſeems to have taken up ; and the motto* Oportunius ; *to ſhew that he knew better than the Duke to take his opportunity, and that in a more honourable way, ſince he (the French King) had employed force of arms inſtead of artifices and ſtratagems, which the Duke had put in practice very ungratefully* (27). This compenſated for the evil, which the giving up of Pignerol had occaſioned ; but yet this did not in any manner extenuate the fault of Henry III.

(22) A piece publiſhed at the time that Henry IV obliged the Duke of Savoy to do him juſtice with regard to the Marquiſate of Saluces.

(23) The firſt *Savoiſienne*, pag. m. 16.

(24) Ibid. pag. 17, *& ſeq.*

(25) See the ſecond *Savoiſienne*, pag. 109.

(26) Ibid. pag. 132.

(27) See, with relation to the two inſcriptions, *Oportunè*, *Opportunius*, Paſquier's *Letters*, liv. 19. tom. 2. pag. 450, *& ſeq.*

The author of a piece that is highly injurious to the preſent (28) Duke of Savoy, has ſpoke of this affair, but not without ſome errors. *Henry III*, ſays he (29), *being engaged in war againſt a powerful League*, Charles Emanuel, grandfather (30) to his Royal Highneſs, *acted much the ſame part that has been now acted. That Duke flattered himſelf that he ſhould gain prodigiouſly, in caſe he embraced that opportunity of declaring war againſt France, and accordingly he, in* 1588, *joined his arms to thoſe of Henry the IIId's enemies : and after forming a powerful party of which he declared himſelf the chief, he marched into Provence ; took the cities of Marſeille and Arles by ſtratagem ; and grew ſo haughty by theſe conqueſts, that he cauſed a medal to be ſtruck, which was to ſerve as a medal to immortalize his memory. He had cauſed himſelf to be repreſented, under the figure of a centaur &c.* The author adds, that Henry IV *having carried the war into Italy in* 1600, *poſſeſſed himſelf of almoſt all Savoy and Piedmont, and cauſed a medal to be ſtruck in his turn &c.* This relation is not accurate. The Duke of Savoy did not join his arms to thoſe of the enemies of Henry III in 1588 : nor was it that year, but in 1590, that he marched into Provence. He did not cauſe the medal of the centaur to be ſtruck, after he had taken Marſeilles, but after he had invaded the Marquiſate of Saluces. Henry IV did not carry his arms into Italy anno 1600, nor make any conqueſts in Piedmont. The author is perhaps more judicious in his political reflections, than accurate in relating facts. *Henry IV*, ſays he (31), *after the conqueſt of Savoy and Piedmont, ſuffered himſelf to be at laſt wrought upon by the intreaties of Pope Clement VIII, who endeavoured to reconcile the poor Duke with the Monarch in queſtion ; although it was the opinion of all the politicians of that age, that Henry IV ought to keep Savoy and Piedmont, to chaſtiſe the raſhneſs of that imprudent Prince ; and by that means preſerve a free paſſage into Italy, whenever he ſhould have a mind to enter it. This was the advice of Cardinal d'Oſſat, one of the greateſt Politicians of his age : but Henry, on this occaſion, diſcovered more generoſity than policy, and reſtored Charles Emanuel to all his poſſeſſions.* What would Cardinal d'Oſſat have ſaid of the imprudent conduct of Henry III, in diveſting himſelf of Pignerol, ſince he blames Henry IV for giving back Savoy, at a time when he was an hundred times abler to reſiſt his neighbours, than his predeceſſor was ? France would have been very unhappy, had it not been poſſeſſed of Pignerol, when the Duke of Savoy made a league with the Houſe of Auſtria, England, and Holland in 1690. France was obliged to give it up ſix years after, which is no inconſiderable loſs.

(28) I write this in October 1697.

(29) *Memoirs of Mr. D. F. L. with regard to what paſſed in Italy, between Victor Amadeus II Duke of Savoy, and the moſt Chriſtian King*, pag. 146. This book was publiſhed anno 1696.

(30) It ſhould be great grandfather.

(31) *Memoirs of Mr. D. F. L. &c.* pag. 148, 149.

ways a mark, that fortune had led him maliciouſly through toilſome and perplexing roads. After his return to France he was ſought for, as it were, in himſelf, but could not be found; that Duke of Anjou, who had acquired ſo exalted a reputation (*f*), no longer appeared in the perſon of Henry III. He at firſt diſcovered only the churliſh temper of a man-hater [*G*]. Here follow ſome other inſtances of the capriciouſneſs of this Monarch's fortune. He had a brother who was a great burthen to him: death freed Henry from him, and he was overjoyed at this deliverance, which very circumſtance ought to be looked upon as a misfortune; for what can be more odd, than for a perſon to be forced to rejoice at the death of an only brother? However, it would be a kind of benefit, if a ſeries of laſting advantages would accrue from it; but it did not prove ſuch to Henry III; he finding very ſoon that the Duke of Alençon's death, how advantageous ſoever it might be to him, was yet more prejudicial than beneficial [*H*], ſince it furniſhed a handle for caballing; and fomented that dangerous faction, which mortified the King to ſuch a degree, and at laſt cruſhed him. The joy he felt at getting rid of the Duke of Guiſe was of the ſame kind, it being of ſhort duration; he experienced, during the firſt days, that this great party blow, which he had thought abſolutely neceſſary to his repoſe and ſafety, plunged him into new perplexities, and deadly diſquietudes [*I*]. It muſt be confeſſed that this King ſurpaſſed himſelf, in executing the project

(*f*) See the article MARIANA remark [*O*].

[*G*] *He at firſt diſcovered only the churliſh temper of a man-hater.*] "At his return from Poland he was "almoſt inacceſſible, except to three or four; and "would always eat in private, contrary to the cuſtom "of our Kings: but this not being approved of, re-"monſtrances were made to him on that ſubject; "wherefore being forced, as it were, by cuſtom, to "eat in public, he cauſed great rails to be fixed "round his table, which are ſtill in the Hall of the "Louvre at Paris; and the following verſes were "written on that occaſion, and fixed up in different "parts of the Louvre.

"*Puis qu'Henry Roy des François*
"*N'en ayme que quatre ou trois,*
"*Il faut que ces trois ou quatre,*
"*Allent ſes ennemis combatre.*

The ſenſe is,

"Since Henry King of France loves but three or four "of his ſubjects, thoſe three or four muſt advance, "in order to fight his enemies.

"He commanded that no perſon ſhould come into "his bed-chamber without having a cap or bonnet "on (32)." I imagine that the reaſon of his making that order was, becauſe he himſelf wore *a certain little bonnet like that of a child, having a roll cut with ſlaſhes acroſs, and upon it a plume of feathers before, with a fine ſtone crotchet, and a large peruke; and he never uncovered himſelf, though he were at Church, becauſe his head was ſhaved* (33). There was ſomething fantaſtical in all this. The words above will make the reader underſtand the following paſſage. *Even his turbant repreſented ſufficiently his infidelity, he being always covered after the Turkiſh faſhion; and he never took off that turbant to do honour to Jeſus Chriſt* (34). In this manner is Henry III reproached, by the author of the book intitled, *The Martyrdom of the two brothers.*

(32) Du Verdier, *Proſopographie*, tom. 3. p. 2558.

(33) Ibid. tom. 3. pag. 2560.

(34) *Martyre des deux Freres*, folio G ij *verſo.*

[*H*] *The Duke of Alençon's death, how advantageous ſoever it might be to him, was yet more prejudicial than beneficial.*] I ſtudy, not only to ſay nothing but what I can bring proofs for, but always to bring, whenever I have an opportunity for it, the teſtimony of contemporary authors; the reader therefore may be perſuaded, that it is with pleaſure I here make uſe of Stephen Paſquier's words (35). "He ſtill had (36) a "thorn in his foot, which in the midſt of that "peace (37), ſeemed to check the career of his ſa-"tisfaction. For although, in outward appearance, "he was not in any miſunderſtanding with the Duke "his brother; he yet was ſecond King, having his "court and his favourites apart, ſometimes in the "city of Tours, or elſe in other cities dependent on "him, or of his appennage. That Duke's way of "thinking and opinions were ſo oppoſite to thoſe of "the King, that he never would ſuffer himſelf, or "any belonging to him, to be honoured with the "Order of the Holy Ghoſt. Beſides, his appennage "was ſo great, that it ſwallowed up a conſiderable "part of France. He had his Chamber of Account "in Tours, and his Exchequer at Alençon, which "judged, without appeal, of the cauſes of that "Dukedom both civil and criminal. Farther, this "Prince preferred to the Biſhopricks and Abbeys of "his Appennage whomſoever he pleaſed, in order "for their being nominated to the Pope by the King, "according to the Concordate: all theſe were gran-"deurs like thoſe of a King, which might inſpire "his ſoul with jealouſy, but he prudently diſſembled "it. Now it happened, in 1583, that the Duke "died; and by his death his Appennage was united to "the Crown. Thoſe who governed the King re-"joiced exceedingly in their hearts; and he himſelf "diſcovered ſufficiently, how much he imagined his "grandeur was thereby increaſed, when he wrote with "his own hand the regulations of it; ordaining that "his Chancellor, ſitting in Council, ſhould be cloathed "in a gown and long robe of crimſon velvet; his "Counſellor of State in purple ſattin; and that his "Gentlemen Uſhers and Valets de Chambre ſhould "have velvet doublets, and upon them a maſſy chain "of gold hanging at their necks; then, a long range "of rooms for people to paſs through before he could "be come at; and a long train of Lords who were "to walk before him, whenever he went to Church. "Indeed the abovemention'd Duke's death, at firſt ſight, "promiſed him a long tranquillity; and nevertheleſs, "it proved the completion of his miſery, and that "of all France; for had the Duke lived, the con-"trivers of the League would not have been favoured "with a ſingle pretence . . . But the inſtant he was "dead, in 1584, the Princes of the League were "not afraid to diſplay the diſguſts they had been "hatching, covered with the cloak of the Catholic, "Apoſtolic and Romiſh Religion." It is to be obſerved, that love intrigues had ſowed the ſeeds of diſcord between theſe two brothers. *They happened to be rivals in love: one of their hearts would diſlodge or ſupplant the other; and not being able to bear partners in love, any more than in authority, they changed a fraternal affection, into implacable hatred and ſpite* (38). I now leave the reader to judge whether this double jealouſy, the one of love and the other of ambition, between two brothers (39), the one a King and the other preſumptive heir to the Crown, and whoſe turn of mind and inclinations were depraved, would not be apt to inſpire them with a prodigious antipathy (40).

(35) Paſquier's *Letters*, lib. 14. tom. 2. p. 140, & *ſeq.*

(36) i. e. Henry III.

(37) That which was concluded anno 1577.

(38) Matthieu, cited by Marcel, *Hiſt. of France*, tom. 4. pag. 602.

(39) See in the remark [*B*] of the article DRUSILLA, what is there ſaid concerning the hatred of brothers. See alſo citation (29) of the article DRUSUS, ſon of Germanicus.

[*I*] *He finding . . . . that the death of the Duke of Guiſe, . . . plunged him into new perplexities and deadly diſquietudes.*] Paſquier ſhall again be the Commentator on this occaſion. "Immediately, *ſays he* (41), after "the Duke of Guiſe's death, no King was ever ſo "highly ſatisfied as ours; he crying aloud and plainly "to every one, that he now had got rid of a com-"panion, and conſequently of a maſter; and the "next day, the death of the Cardinal compleated all "his wiſhes. He enjoyed for ſome days this tran-"quillity of mind; diſpatching letters on all ſides, "to ſhew the motives of his conduct, but with little "advantage to himſelf. About eight or ten days "after, as he received no news from Paris, he began "to reflect, and think of his conſcience, which leſſened

(40) It was ſo great, that Henry III one day ordered the King of Navarre to kill the Duke of Alençon. *See* Perefixe in the *Hiſtory of Henry the Great*, pag. m. 42, *ad ann.* 1575.

(41) Paſquier, *Lettres*, liv. 13. tom. 2. pag. 61, & *ſeq.*

project relating to the putting to death the Duke of Guiſe [*K*]. He diſcovered a great deal of prudence, and much more reſolution than on other occaſions, when he had behaved in ſuch a manner as made the Pope deſpiſe him [*L*]. One of the oddeſt circumſtances of his fate was, that he was equally hated by Papiſts and Proteſtants. Theſe two parties, though quite oppoſites and counterparts in all things, as well ſpiritual as temporal, agreed in entertaining an averſion for this Prince. This was a center for perſons to join or unite, who, on all other occaſions, were divided. Humanly ſpeaking, the Proteſtants in France had great reaſon to hate him; for he perſecuted them with the utmoſt ſeverity and virulence, and was looked upon as one of the great promoters of the maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's day, and even boaſted his having been ſuch (*g*); this circumſtance, added to his love and attachment to the moſt monaſtic devotions, ſhould naturally have gained him the eſteem of the Popiſh Eccleſiaſtics, and the greateſt bigots among the Roman Catholics; and nevertheleſs he was more hated by them than one would imagine. This was a very ſtrange caprice in his ruling planet, and here follows another; whatever he had been fondeſt of, proved at laſt pernicious to him. *Ei fatale erat, ut quicquid ardentius dilexerat, id illi poſtremo perniciem adferret* (*h*). What I obſerved (*i*), with regard to the irregularities and diſorders which the prodigality of Henry II occaſioned, may be applied with ſtill greater propriety to the reign of Henry III, a Prince infinitely more profuſe than his father. Accordingly, there were ſeen in his reign,

(*g*) Thuan. lib. 96. pag. 301.

(*h*) Idem, lib. 90, *ſub fin.* pag. m. 193.

(*i*) Remark [*BB*] of the article HENRY II.

" the exceſs of his joy: and afterwards hearing of " that general revolt, he earneſtly wiſhed, that what " he had done were ſtill to do... The King grew " inſenſibly to be diſpleaſed at every thing, even " with himſelf: this I can affirm and write to you, " as having been an eye-witneſs of it. He now " grew more diſtruſtful than ever, as you ſhall ſoon " hear." Paſquier then gives four or five examples, which plainly ſhew the dreadful perplexity this Prince was in. He wanted to convey, to d'Amboiſe Caſtle, ſome perſons he had cauſed to be ſeized after the death of Meſſieurs de Guiſe, " and found no body he could " truſt but himſelf. I will tell you frankly, *adds* " *Paſquier*, that moſt of us who were in Blois, al- " moſt burſt with indignation, to ſee the King's af- " fairs reduced to ſo low an ebb, that he himſelf was " forced to ſuperintend and guard his own priſoners. " Scarce was he gone, but advice was brought us, " that Marſhal d'Aumont having abandoned the ci- " tadel, and raiſed the ſiege of Orleans, upon the march " of the Sieur de Mayenne, was retired with his " forces to Baugency. Many of his ſoldiers came " wounded to Blois. Upon this we all believed, that " the conducting of theſe priſoners was a refined pre- " tence ſtudiouſly ſought for by the King, in order " that he might quit the city with leſs diſhonour. " And this I can aſſure you, that had the Sieur de " Mayenne then fallen upon us, the terror was ſo " great and ſo general, that he would not have met with " the leaſt reſiſtance; and being once maſter of Blois, " all the river Loire had been his; eſpecially as all " the towns were wavering; and the King would " have been prodigiouſly at a loſs, to find a " place whither he might retire. God was pleaſed " to deliver us from that evil (42)." The author adds (43), that Lognac, who " firſt prompted the " King to give orders for the perpetrating of that " murther, which had proved ſo unſucceſsful," quite loſt his favour. Some Hiſtorians relate that this brave Gentleman, not thinking himſelf ſafe at Court, ſued to the King for ſome place whither he might retire to, in order to ſecure himſelf from the reſentment of thoſe of the League (44). This was intimating to the King the bad ſtate to which it was believed his affairs were reduced; and the anſwer which we are told he made to Lognac, is not unworthy of a great King. I mention this elſewhere (45).

(42) Ibid. pag. 64.

(43) Ibid. pag. 65.

(44) See the article LOGNAC, remark [*F*].

(45) In the ſame article.

[*K*] *This King ſurpaſſed himſelf, in executing the project relating to the putting to death the Duke of Guiſe.*] His heart had failed him at the battle of the Barricades; he had given up the day to his rival; had fled from Paris, and there left the Duke of Guiſe all the glory of a triumph: but his courage revived in Blois, and he there humbled that proud enemy. The following words from the Æneid may be applied on this occaſion.

Quondam etiam victis redit in præcordia virtus,
Victoreſque cadunt (46).

That is,

" The vanquiſh'd triumph in their turn, and the
" victor's mourn. *Dryden.*

(46) Virgil. Æn. lib. 2. ver. 367.

Then was verified the truth of a ſentence in Homer, I mean of the remonſtrance which Calchas made to Achilles, viz. that a King who is angry with an inferior, gets the better of him one time or other,

Κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρηϊ,
Εἴπερ γάς τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ κατακρύψῃ,
Ἀλλά γε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον ὄφρα τελέσσῃ,
Ἐν στήθεσσιν ἑοῖσι (47).

(47) Homer, *Iliad.* lib. 1. ver. 10. *See alſo* Neſtor's *Remonſtrance to Achilles*, ibid. ver. 275.

" Bold is the taſk, when ſubjects grown too wiſe,
" Inſtruct a Monarch where his error lies:
" For tho' we deem the ſhort-liv'd fury paſt,
" 'Tis ſure, the mighty will revenge at laſt.

Pope.

I have read the account of this exploit of Henry III in ſeveral authors; but I have not ſeen any relation where the particulars are better connected and proſecuted, than in that which Marcel has inſerted in the 4th tome (48) of his *Hiſtory of France*. There the reader may ſee all the exactneſs of the meaſures which were taken to give ſucceſs to that mighty blow. The King there diſcovers the greateſt vigilance and reſolution, and a ſoul that is ſo far maſter of itſelf, as carefully to take notice of the moſt inconſiderable things that might be prejudicial (49). Conſider well how greatly he encouraged the Secretary of State, who was to inform the Duke of Guiſe that the King wanted him. " Upon this the King hearing that the Duke " of Guiſe was in the Council, ſaid to Monſieur de " Revol the Secretary of State; *Revol, go and tell* " *the Duke of Guiſe, that he muſt come and ſpeak with* " *me in my old cloſet.* The Sieur de Nambu having " refuſed to admit him, he returned to the cloſet with " a frighted countenance. He was a great, but fear- " ful man. *Good God*, ſaid the King, *Revol, what* " *ails you? what's the matter? How pale you are?* " *You'll ſpoil all! rub your cheeks, Revol... There's* " *no harm, Sir, ſaid he; only Mr. de Nambu will not* " *open the door, unleſs your Majeſty ſhould command it.* " The King orders him from the door of his cloſet, " to let him come in again, and the Duke of Guiſe " alſo (50)." I will take notice, on this occaſion, of a particular which I have read in the *Journal des Savans*. *What happened* at Blois with regard to *the propoſal made to the States, not to ſuffer any other Religion in France, except the Catholic... ſhews ſufficiently that Henry III was more politic than the generality of the world imagines* (51).

(48) Pag. 626, & *ſeq.*

(49) What the author of the relation ſays of the diſquietudes with which the King was ſeized, does not diſagree with this; for they did not hinder either his application or vigilance.

(50) Marcel, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 4. pag. 631.

(51) *Journ. des Savans*, of the 25th of January 1666, p. 83, 84. In the Extract of *Memoires du Duc de Nevers.*

[*L*] *He behaved in ſuch a manner, as had made the Pope deſpiſe him.*] See the *Critique generale* of Maimbourg's Calviniſm, and you will there meet with (52) two exclamatious of Sixtus V; the one relating to the raſhneſs which he aſcribed to the Duke of Guiſe, and the other to the ſimplicity, which he aſcribed to Henry III. He ſpoke with great freedom and bluntneſs on that occaſion. Some authors (53) relate of this Pope, that, reflecting on the conduct of that Monarch, he ſaid, *I have done all that lies in my power to extricate myſelf from the Monkiſh condition, and he does whatever he can to get into it.*

(52) Letter 3. num. 2. pag. 38. of the 3d edit.

(53) *See* Naudé, chap. 1. of his *Coups d'Etat*, pag. m. 22.

reign, more taxes; a greater number of edicts were publiſhed for levying of money, and the public treaſure was more profuſely ſquandred, than ever had been known in the Kingdom. The evil would have been ſtill greater, could that Prince have obtained leave to alienate the royal demeſnes; but this the States General of France would never conſent to [*M*]. It is to be obſerved that Henry III, who with regard to his favourites, was not jealous of authority, and did not aſpire to independence, had a paſſionate deſire to increaſe the regal power [*N*]. I ſhall take ſome notice of his devotions [*O*]; will not

[*M*] *The States General of France would never conſent to . . . alienate the royal demeſnes.*] Beſides what I have ſaid upon this in the article of BODIN (54), I will here quote a paſſage from Mezerai (55). "With regard to the alienation of the crown-lands... "Emar (56), by order of the aſſembly, anſwered "Bellievre, whom the King had ſent thither; that "ſuch an alienation was abſolutely forbid, by the "common and fundamental Law of the State; that "the King's demeſnes or crown-lands were like a "woman's jointure, which cannot be ſold or appro- "priated to any other uſe by her huſband: that they "were ſtill more ſacred than thoſe of the Church, "becauſe they cannot be alienated for any cauſe what- "ſoever, even with ſolemnity; and indeed it was never "known that recourſe had been had to this expedi- "ent, even when France was in the greateſt neceſ- "ſity, and had been in greater danger than it was "at that time, as in the reign of King John, for "whoſe deliverance the French were obliged to give "ſo much money, ſo many cities and provinces; "that in a word, they were one of the ſtrongeſt pil- "lars of the throne, and on which the portions, "dowries, and appennages were founded; and there- "fore, that the royal demeſnes ought to be ſtrength- "ened rather than weakned, and raiſed higher ra- "ther than lowered: and that, the reaſon why the "third eſtate ſo ſtrongly remonſtrated the conſequences "of that alienation, was, becauſe whatever ſhould "be taken from the crown-lands, muſt be made good "at their expence; and that the whole loſs would "fall on them alone, and not on the other two "eſtates, which, on that very account, conſented "more eaſily to it." If the reader is deſirous of ſee- ing the limitations of the royal authority in that re- ſpect, let him read what follows. "By the edict "enacted anno 1565 at Moulins, where all the "Princes and great Lords were aſſembled, with a "numberleſs multitude of Preſidents and Counſellors "of the ſupreme Courts, it is expreſly decreed, that "all alienations made, or to be made, of the crown- "lands, ſhould be void except in two caſes, viz. for "making a proviſion for the younger children of our "Kings; and for mortgages neceſſary to raiſe ſums "ſufficient for the exigencies of the war; and that "in theſe two caſes, letters patents ſhould be paſſed "and publiſhed in the Courts of Parliament; it be- "ing very expreſly forbid them, to pay any regard "to ſuch letters, for any other cauſe or time what- "ſoever, although it ſhould be but for one "year (57)."

(54) Remark [*I*].

(55) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 433.

(56) Preſident of Bourdeaux, one of the Deputies to the States of Blois, in 1576.

(57) Paſquier, *Lettres*, liv. 6. tom. 1. pag. 341.

[*N*] *Henry III, who, with regard to his favourites . . . . did not aſpire to independence, had a paſſionate deſire to increaſe the regal power.*] Theſe are two points. The firſt I prove by a remark that was made on the great credit and intereſt of Duke d'Epernon; and on a *Fortune*, made of ſilver gilt, which the city of Roan preſented him with (58). That Goddeſs held him in a ſtrict embrace, *and below was the following Italian words*; E per non laſciarti. *i. e.* "Will not abandon "thee." *A motto taken from the ambiguous and equivo- cal turn in his name; to ſhow that his grandeur could never be deſtroyed; as indeed the King having an ex- ceſſive favour for him, had before proteſted to him, that he would make him ſo great in the midſt of his friends, that it ſhould not be in his power to leſſen him, though he ſhould afterwards deſire to do it. This is a circumſtance we have ſince learnt from Duke d'Eper- non, by a fine letter which he wrote, during his diſ- grace, to the King* (59). Thoſe perſons who ſay that Kings never love any body, and who look upon that as a great fault, are in a double error; for moſt Mo- narchs are apt to give into ſuch an exceſs of friend- ſhip, as occaſions more diſorders than could ariſe from an indifferent and inſenſible heart. See, above, the compariſon which Bodin has made between the laſt years of the reign of Francis I, and Henry IId's reign. See likewiſe the remark [*B*] of this article. It were perhaps to be wiſhed, that Kings reſembled the wiſe men of the Stoics, viz. were without love or hatred. It is at leaſt very certain, that the too kind, too tender, too beneficent, and too profuſe diſpoſition of our Henry, gave riſe to a multitude of Calamities. I now proceed to the ſecond point.

(58) When he made his entry into Roan, as Governor of Normandy.

(59) Paſquier, *Lettres*, liv. 13. tom. 2. pag. 72.

The States of the Kingdom in 1576, had reſolved to nominate twelve Deputies to aſſiſt in the King's council, when the papers which the three Eſtates were to preſent to his Majeſty, ſhould be examined there. This reſolution did not pleaſe Henry III, he fear- ing that thoſe State-Deputies would prevent his diſ- poſing of his affairs in ſuch a manner as to increaſe his power; but when he was made ſenſible, that his authority would thereby be very much increaſed, he was greatly pleaſed that the States had taken ſuch meaſures; was angry that they had changed their minds, and was very much diſguſted at Bodin, who had cauſed that change (60). It will be very proper to hear Thuanus. *Cum Bodinus tertium ordinem, ſi ulterius pergerent, interceſſurum diceret, ſacer ordo, ac mox nobilitas acquieviſſet, ac commune ſuffragiorum votum fuit, ne ulli delegati, qui cum regiis conſiliariis de poſtu- latis decernerent, ab Ordinib. eligerentur. contrarium cum initio placuiſſet, eaque re non mediocriter Rex a- nimo commotus eſſet, ut ſupra oſtendimus, poſtea muta- verat, à Lugdunenſi Archiepiſcopo, ut putatur, inductus, qui principi* POTENTIÆ SUÆ AMPLIFI- CANDÆ SUPRA MODUM CUPIDO, *ex quo Majeſtati regiæ decrementum metuebat, ex eo incrementum acceſſurum artificioſe perſuaſerat* (61). i. e. "Bodin having declared, that the third Eſtate would "oppoſe that affair, if it ſhould be carried any far- "ther; the Clergy, and preſently after the Nobility, "acquieſced; and it was unanimouſly voted, that no "Deputies ſhould be elected by the Eſtates, to debate "with his Majeſty's Council, with relation to peti- "tions, though the very reverſe had formerly been "reſolved upon by them, whereby they had greatly "diſguſted the King, as was ſhewn above. But his "Majeſty afterwards changed his opinion with regard "to this affair; induced, as it is thought, by the "Archbiſhop of Lyons, who artfully ſuggeſted to this "King, WHO HAD A PRODIGIOUS DESIRE TO IN- "CREASE THE ROYAL POWER, *that inſtead of de- "creaſing it, as he imagined, this would increaſe it.*" The Archbiſhop of Lyons acted the ſubtle Politician on this occaſion.

(60) See above, the remark [*I*] of the article BODIN.

(61) Thuan. lib. 63. pag. 187.

[*O*] *I ſhall take ſome notice of his devotions.*] I ſhall borrow the words of Verdier Vau Privas: "He per- "formed ſeveral extraordinary devotions, going ſome- "times at ten o'clock at night to the Carthuſian Mo- "naſtry, to hear mattins. He inſtituted the brother- "hood of the White Penitents, and the Annunciation "of our Lady at the Auguſtins in Paris; and uſed "to go in proceſſion like others, with his ſackcloth "and whip at his girdle. . . . . He would likewiſe "inſtitute ſeveral other companions or ſocieties, as "that of St. Jerom, called the Blue Penitents in "Marmoutier College; that of the Crucifix and of "Black Penitents, in St. Michael's College; and that "of the Grey Penitents of St. Francis, at St. Eloy. "He brought Feuillants, who are certain reformed "Monks of the order of Ciſtertians, from the Abbey "of Feuillance near Thouloufe, and fixed them in the "ſuburb called Saint Honoré, whither he uſed often "to go and perform his devotions. He had built "a houſe near the Monaſtry of the Capuchins, where "people likewiſe uſed to go on certain days, and "perform ſpiritual exerciſes. Every one was door- "keeper, and performed the other offices in his turn, "and he there went by the name of brother Henry; "and

not omit that he was eloquent; had a love for the Sciences; and took a great delight in hearing the converſation of learned men; but he was charged with doing this unſeaſonably, as alſo with regard to the pains he took to ſtudy the Latin tongue [*P*]. Two very curious Memoirs have been ſent me, the one relating to the propoſal which this King had been prevailed upon to approve, viz. to recognize the Duke of Lorrain's eldeſt ſon for

" and if any perſon wanted to ſpeak with him, he was " obliged to aſk for brother Henry, as when any Cou- " rier arrived there, or any other affair happened, whilſt " he was in that conclave. He founded another fra- " ternity or brotherhood of Hieronymitans in Vincen- " nes, and at St. Mary de vie ſaine. He cauſed a " great and noble houſe to be built in the Horſe- " Market, after a fantaſtical manner, with certain " ſmall cells, in order to go and ſpend ſome days there " in a Monkiſh way. . . . . (62). He uſed to wear " . . . . . at his girdle a pair of beads containing ten " Ave Maria's (63)." This Author had great reaſon to ſay, *that many people uſed to look upon all this as grimace* (64); for the writers of the League, and others alſo, have ſlandered him very much on that account. I ſhall content myſelf with citing a paſſage which I met with in a libel of the Leaguers. " The cells " built by that hypocrite, were only to ſerve as a " cover to his impurities, and wicked, filthy, and Sodo- " mitical practices: John d'Eſpernon knows ſome- " thing of this, and cannot give me the lie on that oc- " caſion. Men of the greateſt wiſdom have juſtly " obſerved, that this was only to amuſe fools, and " that they were cages deſigned for other ſorts of " birds; and not a religious ſimplicity, which has " ever been the real motive for all Princes and men of " honour to ſequeſter themſelves, who were not, (like " that ſpecious Hermit) ſtruck intimately with a " ſpirit of hypocriſy (65)." Du Verdier obſerves, that *the Preachers*, and among others Maurice Poncet, *cried aloud againſt* theſe brotherhoods and proceſſions made by the King. This Poncet ſeems to have been the moſt furious of them all. I here quote what Pierre Matthieu ſays on this ſubject, whereby the reader will find, that all theſe acts of outward devotion were more outward grimace, without any inward amendment. " On Sunday the 24th of March 1583, the " King impriſoned Poncet the Friar, who preached " in Lent at Notre Dame, for having preached " with too much freedom, the foregoing Saturday, " againſt that new brotherhood (66), calling it the " brotherhood of Hypocrites and Atheiſts; and to " prove this (I repeat his very words) I was informed " from very good hands, that yeſterday evening, " which was the Friday of their proceſſion, the ſpit " was turning for the ſupper of thoſe corpulent Peni- " tents; and that, after having devoured the fat ca- " pon, they had, for their night-collations, young " girls, that were got ready for them. . . . . Ye " wretched hypocrites, you there mock God under " a maſk, and carry a whip at your girdle merely " out of ſhew. But heaven knows you ought not to " carry it there; but it ought to be laid on your " backs and ſhoulders, till ſuch times as you have " been very heartily threſhed with it; for there is " not one among you but richly deſerves it. For " theſe words the King, without deſiring otherwiſe " to ſpeak to him, ſaying that he was an old fool, " cauſed him to be conducted in his coach, by the " Captain of the watch, to his Abbey of St. Pere at " Melun, without doing him any other harm, than " the fear he was under had put him in, as he was " going away, viz. that they would throw him into " the river (67)."

[*P*] *He was eloquent, had a love for the ſciences, ... but he was charged with doing this unſeaſonably, as alſo with regard to the pains he took in learning the Latin tongue.*] Mezerai gives the ſubſtance of the ſpeech which that Prince made to the States of Blois, in 1576, and adds (68), " This beautiful ſpeech de- " livered by the mouth of a King, with a truly royal " action, and a wonderful grace, was unanimouſly " applauded by the aſſembly. However, the wiſeſt " in it grieved, that that Prince, who was admired " for the great number of outward qualities he " poſſeſſed, ſhould not have had an education ſuitable " to his birth; and they could not forbear, at the " ſame time that they applauded the natural beauty " of his genius, deteſting thoſe who had ſo wickedly " corrupted him." He alſo gives the ſubſtance of the harangue which the Prince in queſtion ſpoke at the opening of the States of Blois in 1576, and he prepares the reader for it by the following words (69): " He made a fine ſpeech to them, wherein he obſerv- " ed ſo much moderation, as to declare, that he was " willing to aſſure them, that he had forgot all paſt " injuries; but it was upon condition that, all facti- " ons being ſuppreſſed, his authority ſhould be re- " ſtored in all its force. He expatiated on this with " ſo much art and politeneſs, that had the only queſ- " tion been, whether he was a good Orator, he would " have gained his point." I ſhall confirm this elogium by a letter, which one of the Deputies (70) wrote to the States of Blois. " It was the moſt beau- " tiful and moſt learned ſpeech ever heard, not only " from a King, but from one of the beſt Orators in the " world. He delivered it with ſuch grace, ſuch aſſur- " ance, ſuch gravity and ſweetneſs, that he drew tears " from many, from which number I cannot exempt " myſelf: for I felt ſuch an emotion in my ſoul, as " that Prince ſpake, that I was forced, in ſpite of my- " ſelf, to diſcover it by my tears. He repreſented in " ſo compaſſionate a light, the miſeries of this King- " dom; ſet forth, in ſuch ſtrong colours, the ſorrow " this filled him with, compared the felicity, &c. (71)." It would be to no purpoſe to object, that his ſpeeches were made for him; for this would not hinder his being conſidered as very eloquent, conſidering the manner in which he ſpoke. Thoſe who fill the firſt ſeats in the Parliaments, merit ſometimes the title of good Orators, tho' they get others to compoſe the ſpeeches which they deliver at the opening of the ſeſſions; and how many excellent Preachers are not Authors of the ſermons which they deliver? I will not ſtop here, but will quote another paſſage from Mezerai, to ſhew that this Monarch ſpoke exceedingly well off-hand (72). " He became ſo eloquent, by the natural diſpoſition " he had for it, that if it were poſſible for there to be " any exceſs in ſo charming an accompliſhment, " we might have reaſon to ſay that he was too " great a maſter of it. And indeed, he was greatly " delighted with numerous aſſemblies, and ſuch things " wherein outward ſplendor was concerned, where it " was found, that his ſpeech was always the fineſt; " and that even the extempore anſwers which he uſed " to make to the Deputies and Embaſſadors, were bet- " ter than the ſpeeches which they had prepared with " great art and pains (73)." I know not whether this great Hiſtorian ever inſinuated, that the ſpeeches of this Monarch had been wrote by another. I know Thuanus relates, that it was thought Morvillier was Author of that which the King ſpoke to the States of Blois in 1576 (74); but I am certain that if this Prince did not compoſe theſe ſpeeches, he at leaſt examined and corrected them. This I am perſuaded of from what I am going to ſay.

He was paſſionately deſirous of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the French tongue, and of ſpeaking it politely and correctly. The pains he took for this purpoſe, was crowned with the utmoſt ſucceſs. *Noſter Galliæ Rex Henricus III, elegantiæ ſermonis ſui ſtudioſus (aliquot præſertim ante obitum annis, quo tempore plura regia quam multi credunt, habebat) haud infelici & inutili ſtudio, fuit. In eo enim tandem excelluit: & ita quidem ut non minus caſtigatum quàm ornatum eſſe cuperet* (75). i. e. " Our Henry III, King of " France, was vaſtly curious with regard to the ele- " gance of his diction (particularly ſome years before " his death, at which time he poſſeſſed more royal " qualities than is generally imagined) and was no " ways unſucceſsful in that ſtudy; for at laſt he ex- " celled in it, and endeavoured as much to be ac- " curate, as he did to be elegant." He would gueſs the Author of a book by the ſtile in which it was wrote. Hence it was that he ſuppoſed Henry Stephens had wrote a certain anonymous book (76), and he was not miſtaken in his conjectures. He was vaſtly zealous for the improvement of his native tongue; and having

(62) Du Verdier, *Proſopogr.* tom. 3. pag. 2559.

(63) Ibid. pag. 2560.

(64) Ibid. pag. 2559.

(65) *Martyre des deux Freres*, fol. 5. edit. of 1589, 8vo.

(66) That of the Penitents.

(67) Pierre Matthieu, *Hiſt. des derniers Troubles*, pag. m. 15.

(68) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 422. See alſo pag. 481.

(69) Idem, ibid. pag. 714.

(70) In 1588.

(71) Marcel, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 4. pag. 602.

(72) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 799.

(73) *See* Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, pag. 481.

(74) Thuan. lib. 63. pag. 179.

(75) Henri. Stephan. *Epiſt. Dedicat. Tractatus de Lipſii Latinitate*, pag. 11.

(76) Idem, ibid.

for his ſucceſſor [Q]; and the other relates to what the Deputy of the League was ordered to repreſent to the Pope, after James Clement the Dominican had aſſaſſinated this King [R]. This execrable murther was perpetrated in the town of St. Clou. Some Proteſtant

having commanded Henry Stephens to ſhow the advantages and excellency of it, he was ſo very urgent with him to draw up ſuch a work, that he was forced to bring him a printed copy of it very ſoon. *Ita ergo diœtes fuerit, ut intra breve temporis ſpatium non ſolum compoſitum ſed excuſum etiam afferre ad illum oportuerit* (77). I have obſerved in another place (78), that he wanted that learned man to make a parallel between the Ciceronians of Italy and thoſe of France. I alſo ſaid (79), that he had an affection for Bodin, becauſe of the learned diſcourſes he heard him pronounce. He was very fond of the converſation of a great many other learned men. I am to obſerve that, in 1579, he gave 3000 livres to Henry Stephens, together with a yearly penſion of 300 livres (80).

(77) Idem, ibid.

(78) Citation (3) above of the article BUNEL (Peter.)

(79) Citat. (27) of the article BODIN.

(80) La Caille, *Hiſt. de l'Imprimerie*, pag. 135.

It remains for me to prove, that it was thought he ſpent, in thoſe things, a part of his time which he ought to have devoted to more urgent affairs. " If " our Prince had reaſon to fear, it was at that " time (81); nevertheleſs this new King, as though " he had enjoyed a profound peace, inſtead of arming himſelf for the field, applied himſelf to learn, " on one ſide, Grammar and the Latin tongue under " Doron, (who he afterwards created Counſellor of " the great Council) and on the other hand formed a " kind of Academy with Pibrac, Ronſard, and other " wits, on certain days, whereon every one diſcourſed " on ſome ſubject, as had before been agreed upon. " This was a truly noble and laudable exerciſe, but " no ways proper, conſidering the affairs that King " then had upon his hands. The grammatical leſſons he uſed to take in this manner, made me " diſplay my anger in the ſix Latin verſes following:

(81) That is, at the time of the civil war, which the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre cauſed in the beginning of his reign.

" *Gallia dum paſſim civilibus occidit armis,*
" *Et cinere obruitur ſemiſepulta ſuo,*
" *Grammaticam exercet media Rex noſter in aula,*
" *Dicere jamque poteſt vir generoſus, Amo.*
" *Declinare cupit, verè declinat & ille,*
" *Rex bis qui fuerat, fit modo Grammaticus* (82).

(82) Paſquier's *Lettres*, liv. 19. tom. 2. pag. 482.

" Whilſt France is ſtill laid waſte with civil wars,
" And lies half buried deep beneath its aſhes,
" Our Pedant-Monarch ſtudies Grammar rules,
" And now he conjugates, and now declines.
" Decline! yet that he does, who twice a King,
" Is now, a what? a mere Grammaticaſter.

Pibrac having ſaid once to Paſquier (83), that he had *heard* that Marillac (84) was Author of that epigram, added, *that if he was ſure of it, he would make him atone for what he had done; for it does not become a ſubject to ridicule in that manner the manners and behaviour of his King* (85). This would be juſt, replied Paſquier (86), " in any perſon's mouth but " yours, who ought to think, that if a King, who " is expoſed to the view of all his ſubjects, does not " put ſome reſtraint upon his actions, it will be extremely difficult for him to prevent the diſcontent " of thoſe who revere him. He added, that ſuch " kind of verſes were wrote, not by one who was " an enemy to his Majeſty, but who rather idoliſed " him; and therefore was ſorry to ſee him, on that " account, become the contempt of all his people; " and that we ought all to wiſh, as the caſe then " ſtood, that this epigram might fall into the King's " hands, to be a leſſon to him, not of Latin Grammar, but of the manner in which he ought to " conduct himſelf."

(83) Idem, ibid. pag. 483.

(84) A young, and very promiſing Counſellor. Paſquier's *Letters*, tom. 2. pag. 483.

(85) Ibid. pag. 484.

(86) Idem, ibid.

(87) It was communicated to me by Mr. Marais, who was mentioned at the end of the remark [Q] of the 3d Duke of GUISE, Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris; to which he has added the following note: *In an inſtruction which Henry III gave the Sieur de la Clyette at his ſetting out for Florence, Mr. de Schomberg is called Counſellor to his Majeſty in his Council of State, and Marſhal of his German Soldiery.*

[Q] *The propoſal this King had been prevailed upon to approve, viz. to recognize the Duke of Lorrain's eldeſt ſon for his ſucceſſor.*] Monſieur de Schomberg prevented this. I am poſſeſſed of the copy (87) of the memorial he drew up on this ſubject, and which I thought very worthy of being inſerted here at length.

" " *Memoir of the Sieur du Schomberg.*

" Sometime after the death of Meſſieurs de Guiſe, " which happened at Blois, Cardinal de.... propoſed, in his Holineſs's name, that in caſe his " Majeſty would declare the Marquis du Pont, his " nephew, heir to the crown, and get him recognized as ſuch with the uſual ſolemnities; his Holineſs was certain, that the King of Spain would " give the Infanta in marriage to the ſaid Marquis, " which would put an end to all the troubles in " France. The King going to agree to this, at the " ſollicitation of ſome perſons about him, Mr. de " Schomberg diverted this deſign by employing the " following reaſons: that this would be inverting the " order eſtabliſhed in France; aboliſhing the fundamental Laws; and tranſmitting to poſterity a certain monument of its meanneſs and cowardice, for " which his Majeſty would be juſtly blamed by Hiſtorians; and his ſervants and ſubjects branded with " perfidy and diſloyalty, with which vice he himſelf was reſolved not to be infected. That this war " was between Frenchmen againſt Frenchmen, who, " at firſt, diſcover great heat and vigour; but afterwards return, of themſelves, to a rational way of " thinking. That his Majeſty ſhould be ſollicitous " only of living, of gaining time, and ſtanding upon " his guard againſt any reſolute villain, who, in his " firſt fury, might attack his perſon; and that his " Majeſty would give order for a waiſtcoat of mail " to be made, for his uſual wear. This was juſtly " reſolved upon, but not put in execution. The Sieur " Schomberg having prevailed with the King to " change his reſolution, by the remonſtrance above-" mentioned, his Majeſty commanded that Gentleman to tell him, by what methods he thought it " would be poſſible for him to quell thoſe tumults. " The Sieur de Schomberg having immediately com-" plied with the King's command, he requeſted his " Majeſty not to follow the maxims he had hitherto " made uſe of; and not to imagine that this affair " could be terminated by his uſual lenity and forbearance; and therefore, that he muſt reſolve with " himſelf to have recourſe to arms, and appear with " the greateſt number of troops in the field. That " for this purpoſe he ſhould countermand Mr. de Nevers who was then before Garrache; and give a " pledge to the King of Navarre, to march with all " his forces to his aſſiſtance; ſend into Germany, " Italy, England, Denmark, and to all other Potentates, to acquaint them with the juſtice of his cauſe, " and the conſequences of it; and deſire them to enable him to raiſe a great army of foreign forces. " This propoſal was violently conteſted, and chiefly " by Mr. de Nevers, who went ſuch lengths as to ſay " it was heretical; that neither the Pope nor any of " the Catholics would be pleaſed to ſee the ſaid King " of Navarre ſo near his Majeſty's perſon. On the " contrary, Mr. de Schomberg continuing firm in his " opinion, declared that this war did not relate to " Religion, in any manner, but to the State; and " that his Majeſty could not ſo ſafely make uſe of " any perſon as of the ſaid King, as it was his intereſt to endeavour at the preſervation of the King-" dom; which he inforced with a great many other " ſtrong reaſons, and theſe proved ſo effectual, that " from this inſtant the treaty with the ſaid King began at Blois, and was afterwards executed at Tours, " where the two Kings had their firſt interview. " With great reaſon therefore the ſervice, which the " Sieur de Schomberg did then to France, in the two " points in queſtion, eſpecially to the Houſe of Bourbon, was greatly celebrated. The King then adviſed, that the ſaid Sieur de Schomberg ſhould write " to the Preſident Jeannin, to keep the Duke of " Mayenne to his allegiance. But his Majeſty having heard of the departure of the ſaid Sieur de " Mayenne from Lyons, and his coming this way, " the ſaid letter was never ſent, and it is ſtill among " my papers in Germany, full of excellent reaſons " and perſuaſions, which have ſince contributed to the " reduction of the ſaid Duke of Mayenne."

[R] *What the Deputy of the League was ordered to repreſent to the Pope, after James Clement, the Dominican, had aſſaſſinated the King.*] Thoſe pieces can-

Proteſtant authors have taken notice of this circumſtance, and have found ſome myſteries in it. The incident they alledge will be looked upon as very doubtful till ſuch times

not be preſerved with too much care, which are ſo many authentic proofs of the fury which ſeized the greateſt part of the French under Henry III, and ſome years after his death. Many people will endeavour to darken the truth of theſe incidents; but we muſt anticipate their pernicious attempts, for the farther men are from an age in which things have been tranſacted, the greater opportunity they have to wrangle. Henry III had not been dead an hundred years when an anonymous writer dared to publiſh a treatiſe (88), to ſhew that James Clement did not kill that Monarch. This is ſwearing that it is night at noon day. The reader will find ſuch circumſtances as clearly convict that Monk, in a piece, a copy whereof has been ſent to me (89), and which I ſhall inſert here at length.

(88) Intitled, *La Fatalité de St. Clou*. It was printed in 1672. Maimbourg the Jeſuit ſpeaks of it, and refutes it in a few words, in *L'Hiſtoire de la Ligue*, liv. 3. pag. m. 353.

(89) The ſame Mr. Marais communicated it to me.

" *Extract of what was repreſented to the Pope by the* " *Commandeur de Diou, Embaſſador for the union* " *of Catholics at Rome.*

" It was then (90), moſt holy Father, that the " evil appeared moſt violent; and that the prayers of " both Clergy and People were continued with greater " fervency than ever; and we ought truly to believe, " that they have forced pity from the divine Majeſty, " who would not ſuffer ſo many good people, and ſo " zealous for the holy cauſe, longer to doubt his " goodneſs and mercy; but rather to free them from " their languiſhing ſtate, by ſo great, ſo wonderful an " effect or event, that the more it is conſidered, the " more it raiſes our thoughts to contemplate and ad- " mire his incomprehenſible judgments. What I " mean is the King's death, which came to paſs in " ſo ſtrange a manner, that the truth of it, and the " impoſſibility which was objected to it, were long " contending for the priority! At laſt the news was " confirmed by ſeveral concurrent advices; and tho' " your Holineſs has had particular advice of it from " other hands, I yet flatter myſelf that you will not " be tired with the relation I ſhall give you of it. " A Friar of the Order of St. Dominic, of the Con- " vent of Paris, named brother James Clement, " twenty three or twenty four years of age, born in " the village of Sorbonne in the dioceſe of Sens, and " the laſt of three or four hundred who are in the " ſaid Convent, yet divinely elected and choſen " for ſo generous an exploit as that which God has " atchieved by his hands, had often boaſted (91) to " his brethren, even after the defeat at Senlis, that " he ſaw the affairs of the enemies proſper; that the " King ſhould never die but by his hands; at which " the reſt of the fraternity uſed to laugh, and call " him, out of ſcorn, Captain Clement. However, " this did not make him relinquiſh this thought, and " the reſolution he had formed; on the contrary, he " confirmed himſelf ſo ſtrongly in the deſire he had " of coming to the execution, as made him conſtant " in his deſign; he now thinking of nothing but " the manner by which he might moſt eaſily accom- " pliſh it. In making this attempt he muſt reſolve " upon death; but what kind of death, he could not " pitch upon: but he was willing to ſuffer the moſt " cruel that could be inflicted on him; a conſtancy " ſo wonderful in a Monk, that the like is not found in " this age. To come to the point: he found means " to procure, very ſecretly, the letters of ſome Poli- " ticians; and concerted with them to give the King " ample advice of what was tranſacting in the city, to " the advantage of his affairs. He got ſome words, " by way of credentials, from them; and obtained " from Count de Brienne, priſoner in the Caſtle of the " Louvre, a paſſport, in order that he might get a more " favourable acceſs to the enemy's army. Being now " furniſhed with all things neceſſary for waiting upon " the King, he ſet out from Paris the laſt day of July " in order to go to St. Cloud, and took leave of the reſt " of the Friars (92), exhorting them to pray for him; " ſaying, that he was going, for the ſervice of God, " to deliver the people from miſery, without any " hopes of returning back; and that he did not value " whether he did or not, provided that God would be " ſo gracious as not to let him fail in his deſign, of " the event which they ſhould hear in twenty four " hours. Arriving the ſaid day at St. Cloud, he " could not get an opportunity of ſpeaking to the " King; ſo paſſed the night there, which might " have given him other counſel. The next day be- " ing the firſt of Auguſt, he waited upon the Sieur " de la Gueſle, the King's Attorney General in the " Parliament of Paris, which he had left; and in- " forming him that he had been intruſted with let- " ters, and ſent by ſome of the King's truſty ſer- " vants, and had ſome credentials relating to matters " of great importance to his Majeſty; he therefore " deſired to be introduced by him, in diſcharge of " his duty. The King being informed of this gave " orders for the Monk to be brought in, when he " withdrew into his cloſet, and there talked above a " quarter of an hour with him; during which he " gave him letters, one by one, till his Majeſty had " received the laſt; and the King aſking him whe- " ther thoſe were all, the Friar replied, I believe " not, Sir, but think there muſt be ſome more. " Upon this, putting his hand farther up into his " ſleeve, he drew forth the knife he had hid there; " ſtabbing, in the ventricle or ſtomach, the King, " who finding himſelf wounded, cried out, and ſeized " the hand of the Jacobin, who ſtill kept the knife " in the wound, whereby he hurt himſelf very much, " and with it ſtabbed the Friar in the face, who, " that inſtant, received numberleſs ſtabs from thoſe " who came running in to the King; and whilſt he " was ſlaughtering in this manner, it is ſaid that he " ſpoke as follows: *I thank God that I die ſo eaſy a* " *death; for I did not think to have quitted life in this* " *manner, and to come off at ſo cheap a rate*; upon " which his dead body was caſt into the ſtreet, and af- " terwards burnt, as was told to Mr. de Mayenne. Thus " the King died at two a clock, the next morning " after he had been ſtabbed. Your Holineſs will " pleaſe to take notice of ſome of the moſt remark- " able circumſtances in this incident; for it happen- " ed, on the day that the Church celebrates the feaſt " of St. Peter *in Vinculis*, whom God delivered, mi- " raculouſly, by his angel, out of Herod's hand, " and thoſe of the Jews to whom he was to be given " up; and the Catholics may declare, that on the " ſame day God delivered them out of the hands of " the Heretics, and from the yoke of a Prince, who " had a ſtrong deſire, in his heart, to fill all Chriſt- " endom with deſolation. On what day, moſt holy " Father, could the monitory of your Holineſs a- " gainſt an impenitent King, and a contemner of the " holy apoſtolical See, be better authorized by the " power of God? When twenty four hours after the aſ- " ſaſſination of the Duke of Guiſe, the ſaid King " cauſed to be inhumanly butchered, in cold blood, " the late Cardinal his brother; it is obſerved that the " watch-word given to the murtherer was *St. Cle-* " *ment*. Whilſt this execrable crime was committing, " he was in his cloſet, making merry with his favou- " rites and the accomplices of the ſaid murther; and " God ſuffered a Friar, named Clement (93), to kill him " in his cloſet, in the midſt of a great army, which " was not able to ſecure his deteſtable life. He was " ſo much poſſeſſed by impiety, ever ſince hypocriſy " had made way for it, that he abhorred thoſe preach- " ers who had publickly inveighed againſt his vices; " and, for that reaſon, he thought of nothing but " their ruin, and to take a cruel revenge on them, " which he uſed often to declare and proteſt in his " moſt private diſcourſes, where every one had liberty " to give his opinion, with reſpect to the puniſhment " that ſhould be inflicted on them; but his barbarous " deſigns have been prevented by a Monk, of the " Order of preaching Friars, who has inflicted on " him the divine puniſhment which others had fore- " told him. Theſe things, moſt holy Father, are in " my opinion of ſo much conſequence, that your Ho- " lineſs will judge them worthy of conſideration. Far- " ther, it is manifeſt that this action is not the work " of men. It is a very great remedy to our evils, " which God has applied to them by the miniſtry of

(90) He had juſt before given an account of the murther of the Guiſes, and the revolutions with which it was attended.

(91) NOTA BENE.

(92) NOTA BENE.

(93) NOTA BENE.

times as they ſhall anſwer the obſervations of Peter Victor Cayet [S].

HENRY

" your Holineſs; and it muſt be hoped that, by your " kind interpoſition, he will add a perfect cure to " it; to effect which I ſhall make my moſt humble " requeſts and ſupplications, as I am commanded to " do both by the Duke de Mayenne, and the ſaid " Lords of the general Council, whom I hope your " Holineſs will honour ſo far as to accept of them."

This inſtrument furniſhes us not only with infallible proofs againſt all thoſe who ſhould deny that James Clement had perpetrated the murther, but likewiſe againſt all ſuch as endeavour to juſtify his brethren the Jacobins of Paris. Varillas has expreſly given the reaſons or arguments of thoſe poor apologiſts (94), but has ſaid nothing to refute them. He firſt lays down what is alledged in vindication of the *Jacobins in general, after which he ſpeaks as follows* (95): *but one of them, named Father Bernard Guyart, printed a book, but did not dare to prefix his name to it. He therein pretends to juſtify the Order of St. Dominic, with regard to the murther of Henry III.* The particle *but* at the beginning of the period, prepares all readers for the particular apology of James Clement; no one can imagine that Bernard Guyet intended any thing elſe, and yet Varillas ſpeaks only of the general juſtification of St. Dominic's Order. Let the Grammarians cenſure the Hiſtorian for ſo ill placing the particles called by them *adverſatives*; I leave that office to them, and ſhall content myſelf with animadverting on him upon another point. The treatiſe intitled, *Fatalité de St. Cloud*, is doubtleſs the ſame work which, according to Varillas, was publiſhed by Bernard Guyart; now the chief deſign of this treatiſe is, to ſhew that James Clement did not kill Henry III. Varillas does therefore very wrong, not to conſider this work under that idea, but under that of a general apology for the Dominicans. This fault appears to me more excuſable, than that of omitting to ſay, that the book intitled, *Fatalité de St. Clou*, ſhould not hinder any perſon from adhering to the general opinion. Maimbourg has writ as he ought to have done, in ſaying, that notwithſtanding the book in queſtion, it yet muſt be owned that James Clement was guilty of the murther; *and that it is the beſt way to agree ſincerely with the public voice, of what profeſſion ſoever a man may be* (96). What he adds to this is not ſo juſt. *Eſpecially*, ſays he, *as the Dominicans do not ſuffer any manner thereby in their honour. For, in fine, faults are perſonal; and no man of good ſenſe would ever take it into his head to reproach ſo holy an Order as that of St. Dominic, with the crime of a particular perſon.* Now there is not the leaſt ſolidity in thoſe words. The crime perpetrated by James Clement is not a perſonal crime; it is that of the monaſtery of the Dominicans or Jacobin Friars in Paris. Theſe knew his deſign (97), did not divert him from, but approved the execution of it. His Prior, after having been duly convicted by ſeveral witneſſes of making the elogium of this aſſaſſin, in the pulpit, was put to death (98); and as the city of Paris, and eſpecially the preachers, beſtowed numberleſs bleſſings and applauſes on the Friar who had killed the King; and as all the other cities of the Kingdom which ſided with the League and the Pope himſelf (99) applauded that infamous action; it may be affirmed that the crime committed by James Clement was that of the whole League and of the Court of Rome; for the authors, the adviſers, and approvers of an action, are all thought to be under the ſame predicament, as I ſhall ſhew in ſome other place (100).

(94) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Henri III*, liv. 11. p. 252. Dutch edit.

(95) Idem, pag. 253.

(96) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, liv. 3. pag. m. 354.

(97) See, above, the *Memoir* of the Deputy of the League, to the Court of Rome.

(98) Thuan. lib. 98. pag. 346.

(99) Idem, lib. 95. pag. 302.

(100) In the article PROLUS.

[S] *Till ſuch time as they ſhall anſwer the obſervations of Peter Victor Cayet.*] Weigh well the following words (101): " Huguenots ſay, *Death has carried this* " *King from our world into the other; but, which is* " *a remarkable circumſtance, in that very room, where,* " *it is thought the counſel was taken, relating to* " *the furious maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's day* " *in the year* 1572. Theſe words are found in " the additions to the *Inventaire de l'Hiſtoire de* " *France*, by Montliard. The book intitled, *Recueil* " *des* 5 *Roys*, printed at Geneva, makes the ſame aſ- " ſertion in very near the ſame words; and in the " work called *de l'Eſtat de l'Egliſe*, wrote by John " Taffin, a Proteſtant Miniſter, are the following " words: *It has been obſerved, that, by the providence* " *of God, this happened in that very room wherein,* " *anno* 1573, *the reſolution had been taken, with re-* " *gard to the furious maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's* " *day.* Here we have *remarkable circumſtances, and* " *obſervations with reſpect to the providence of God,* " lightly; and I will preſume to ſay, falſely publiſh- " ed. For at the time that the maſſacre on St. Bar- " tholomew's day was perpetrated, the place where " the King was wounded belonged to one Chapellier, " a citizen of Paris; and he poſſeſſed it two years " after that, and his Majeſty had never entered it " when Duke of Anjou, nor did he come into it till a " long time after his return from Poland. The " Queen his mother did not purchaſe it till after the " death of the late King Charles, with an intention " to build there; but finding there would not be room " enough, ſhe gave it, anno 1557, to the Sieur Jerom " de Gondy's Lady, who pulled down the houſe, and " quite new modelled it; having adorned it with " grottos and fountains, and ſo finely embelliſhed it, " that it has been ſince reſorted to by Princes and No- " blemen of high diſtinction, which it had never " been before. Now the compiler of the aforeſaid " *Recueil des cinq Rois*, from which the ſaid Montli- " ard and Taffin have extracted what they had inſert- " ed in their ſeveral books, for he wrote before them, " has the following words; *It is ſaid that the conſul-* " *tation for the maſſacres was held in that room &c.* " Behold a *Hearſay*, invented by the author of the " ſaid *Recueil* or Collection, which hearſay was taken " into the *Memoires & petits Diſcours*, printed at Ge- " neva in 79, with regard to what happened at the " maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's day, in which it is " ſaid, that the reſolutions of it was formed at St. " Clou and in the Tuilleries. . . . Now, to give " ſome colour to this ſlander, the author of the ſaid " *Recueil*, from the King's being killed in Gondy " palace, draws the following conjecture; and art- " fully foiſts in the following words . . . *It is ſaid* " *that . . . in the very room &c.* Montliard who wrote " after him, goes ſtill farther, and ſays, *It is believed* " *&c*; yet this is not a *hearſay*, ſome perſons, ac- " cording to him, believing it. But Taffin the Pro- " teſtant Miniſter who wrote after them all, is ſtill " more confident, aſſerts this, and ſays that it was " *by the providence of God.* Now what a falſhood is " this! And indeed the Attorney General having " complained, in court, againſt Montliard on that " account, theſe words, with many others, were e- " razed from his book; and he himſelf was greatly " troubled, ſaying for his excuſe, that it was only a " hearſay; but his book being afterwards reprinted " at Geneva, all this was inſerted again, and is looked " upon as a matter of fact, among perſons of that " party (102)." If the incidents which Cayet relates concerning the houſe where Henry III was aſſaſſinated, are true, we can no longer doubt but that the Proteſtant authors whom he refutes are greatly in the wrong; and that the myſterious circumſtances which they have taken the pains to point out, are meer illuſions, and the vain chimeras of credulous minds. But if they could have proved that Cayet is miſtaken; it had been a commendable thing in them, to reprint in the Geneva edition, thoſe particulars which Montliard had been forced to ſuppreſs. It is certain that, according to the maxims of order and regularity, the public ought to have been told, in the Geneva edition, why that paſſage was reſtored; or in other words it ought to have been proved, in the moſt authentic manner, that the council relating to the maſſacre, had been held at St. Cloud, in the very room where the Jacobin killed Henry III. I have the Roan edition in 1612 (103) of the *Inventaire of John de Serres*, which contains the paſſage which the Attorney General cauſed to be ſuppreſſed. Mr. Mezerai ſuppoſes that the reflections made by the Huguenots, deſcended to a mere myſterious detail. *They wrote*, ſays he (104), *that the King was wounded at the ſame hour, on the ſame day, in the ſame place, and in the very room, where he had concluded the maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's day.*

(101) Cayet, *Chronol. Noven. ad ann.* 1589, folio 224 *verſo.*

(102) Cayet, *Chronol. Noven. ad ann.* 1589, folio 225.

(103) It is in the title, *ſe vendent à Rouen chez Eſtienne Vereul, dans la Court du Palais.*

(104) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. m. 799.

HENRY IV, King of France, was one of the greateſt Princes, mentioned by the Hiſtorians of theſe latter ages: and it may be affirmed, that had the love he bore to the fair-ſex ſuffered him to exert all his noble qualities [*A*] in all their ſtrength and beauty, he would have ſurpaſſed or equalled ſuch heroes as are moſt admired. Had this Monarch, the firſt time he debauched his neighbour's wife or daughter, met with the ſame puniſhment as was inflicted on Abelard, he would have been able to conquer all Europe [*B*], and would, perhaps, have eclipſed the

day. He ſays nothing againſt it, he does not cite any author, and does not imitate Peter Cayet in any reſpect. This myſterious remark is urged ſtill more ſtrongly in a book intitled, *Journal des choſes memorables advenues durant tout le Regne de Henry III Roy de France & de Pologne*; and which has perhaps been printed above twenty times in Holland, with three or four ſatyrical pieces (105). The laſt edition is of 1699. The *Journal* is here inſerted more at large than in the edition of 1693: now the words following are found at the end of the additions (106): *The more we ſeek for obſervations and particulars in ſo aſtoniſhing an accident* (107), *the more wonders we find in it; ſo that poſterity will look upon this King's death, as a wonder compoſed of numberleſs wonders, among which this has been obſerved, as very worthy of remark, and yet very true, viz. that in the returning from his affairs, as he did when he was killed, the maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's day was concluded on; the late King, who then was called Monſieur, preſided in the Council, viz. in the town of St. Cloud in Gondy-Houſe, the firſt of Auguſt 1572, in the ſame room, and at the ſame hour, which was eight in the morning; the breakfaſt, conſiſting of three ſpits of partridges, being ready, below, for the contrivers of that execrable action.* It is to be obſerved that this addition was ſuperfluous; for every thing conſiderable in it is found, in the very ſame words, in the *Journal of Henry III*, printed in 1693 (108), and 1699 (109); and I believe it is likewiſe in the preceding editions.

If one could be ſure that the *Journal* in queſtion as publiſhed by the Dutch Bookſellers, was wrote by a Catholic; it would then be certain, that the reflections made by the Proteſtants on the circumſtances of Henry IIId's death, are weaker than thoſe of a writer of the other party. The three Proteſtant authors whom Victor Cayet refutes have improvidence on the other. The firſt contents himſelf with a *'Tis ſaid:* the ſecond was not ſatisfied with ſo faint a word, he ſaying, *'tis believed*; whilſt the third expreſſes himſelf in a ſtill more poſitive manner. This is generally the caſe in publiſhing of news; the laſt relation is generally the moſt deciſive, and contains the greateſt number of circumſtances. It ſeems a kind of auction, where people are to bid higher than one another; becauſe the goods are decreed to him who offers moſt. But however this be, the Journaliſt of Henry III outbids the three Proteſtant bidders. He relates the incident, not only as *very worthy of remark*, but alſo as *very true*. Father Anſelme (110) aſcribes this Journal to Mr. Servin; which agrees well enough with the initial letters that have been put in the editions of the book (111). But Peliſſon aſſerts (112) that Mr. de l'Eſtoille, a member of the French Academy, was ſon to an *Audiencier* or Uſher in the Chancery at Paris, who "had collected a great number of "particulars relating to his own times, from which "one of his friends, to whom he had lent them, "drew up the piece intitled, *Journal de ce qui s'eſt "paſſé ſous Henry III.*" The queſtion is to know, whether thoſe who were poſſeſſed of the manuſcript before it was firſt publiſhed, have not added, retrenched, or altered any thing in it. However, it is the buſineſs of thoſe who rely on this part of the Journal, to anſwer the reaſons urged by Peter Cayet.

[*A*] *Had the love he bore to the fair ſex, ſuffered him to exert all his noble qualities.*] It cannot be ſaid of this Henry, as of ſome great Commanders, who were very fond of pleaſures (1), that he quitted the purſuit of them, when they interfered with his affairs; for he loſt all the advantages which might have accrued to him by the victory of Coutras, merely to fly to a miſtreſs. Hear Mezerai on that occaſion (2). "The King of Navarre ſignalized himſelf, in that "battle, much more by his valour, than by his conduct in reaping advantages from it; for, ſo far "was he from marching directly towards the Queen's "army, as the Prince of Conde would have done, "promiſing, if troops ſhould be given him, to go "and ſeize on the paſſes of Saumur, that he ſuffered "his victorious army to ſeparate, being contented "with taking an oath from the Captains, for them "to come, on the 20th of November, to the confines "of Angoumois and Perigord, in order to march to-"wards the Reiſtres or German Horſe. He kept but "500 horſe; and taking Count de Soiſſons with him, "made his way into Gaſcony, whither he was drawn, "in a forcible manner, as it were, by the ſtrong paſ-"ſion he had for the beautiful Counteſs of Guiche (3)." One of the moſt troubleſome affairs in which Henry IV was ever involved, was doubtleſs the ſiege of Amiens; and nevertheleſs he took the fair Gabrielle with him thither, and lodged her not far from him; and, could he have followed his own impulſe, he would have kept her there during all that dangerous expedition: "But he was ſoon after forced to remove this "ſcandal from the ſight of his ſoldiers; not only "becauſe of their murmurings which reached his ears, "but alſo by reaſon of the reproaches of Marſhal de "Biron (4)."

The reflection I made at the beginning of this remark, viz. that there have been great Commanders, who were very fond of pleaſures, and yet could quit the purſuit of them upon occaſion, is not unknown to thoſe who are acquainted with the character of Alcibiades and Sylla. See what Saluſt ſays of the latter. *Sullæ .... animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, ſed gloriæ cupidior: otio luxurioſo eſſe, tamen ab negotiis nunquam voluptas remorata* (5). i. e. "Sylla .... poſſeſſed a "mighty ſoul; he was fond of pleaſures, but ſtill "more ſo of glory: he paſſed his leiſure hours luxu-"rioufly, and yet never ſuffered his pleaſures to in-"terrupt buſineſs." Here follows what is ſaid of Alcibiades. *Quum tempus poſceret, laborioſus* (Alcibiades) *patiens, liberalis, ſplendidus non minus in vita, quam victu; affabilis, blandus, temporibus callidiſſime inſerviens. Idem ſimul ac ſe remiſerat, nec cauſa ſuberat, quare animi laborem perferret, luxurioſus, diſſolutus, libidinoſus, intemperans reperiebatur, ut omnes admirarentur in uno homine tantam ineſſe diſſimilitudinem, tamque diverſam naturam* (6). i. e. "Alcibiades, upon occa-"ſion, was laborious, patient, generous; no leſs "ſplendid in his equipage than in his table; affable, "kind; and could ſuit himſelf, very artfully, to all "circumſtances. But whenever he had a mind to re-"lax, and had no buſineſs upon his hands, he was "luxurious, diſſolute, lewd, and intemperate; ſo that "every one was ſurprized to find, in the ſame man, "ſuch oppoſite manners and contrary characters." The reader will meet with other examples in the remark [*A*] of the article SURENA.

[*B*] *Had this Monarch ..... met with the ſame puniſhment as was inflicted on Abelard, he would have been able to conquer all Europe.*] On the contrary, will it be ſaid, he would have grown ſluggiſh and cowardly; for the ſame ſpirits which prompted him to the love of women, made him valiant; and moſt great Captains were leud. I anſwer, that though it is certain many great Commanders have been of a very amorous complexion, it yet does not follow that their courage and their luſt reſulted from the ſame principle in their conſtitution. Theſe two qualities had their ſeveral cauſes; and all that can be ſaid is, theſe two cauſes conſpired to form the conſtitution of thoſe perſons: but one may eaſily prove, that there is no manner of affinity or relation between thoſe two qualities. How many cowardly people and more fearful than hares (7), are prodigiouſly vigorous in affairs wherein Venus is concerned? What man was ever more brave, more intrepid, than Marſhal de Gaſſion, who bore a mortal hatred to the fair ſex (8)? Was not

(105) *Le Divorce Satirique*; les *Amours du grand Alcandre*; la *Confeſſion Catholique de Sanci*; *Diſcours merveilleux de la Vie de Catherine de Medicis.*

(106) *Journal de Henri III*, pag. 316, 317. edit. of 1699.

(107) i. e. the death of Henry III.

(108) Pag. 129.

(109) Ibid.

(110) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, pag. 375.

(111) On the backſide of the title is the following words. *Journal du Regne de Henry III*, wrote by M. S. A. G. A. P. D. P. Now theſe initial letters are exactly filled up with the following words, by Mr. Servin, *Avocat General au Parlement de Paris.*

(112) Peliſſon, *Hiſt. de l'Academie Franc.* pag. m. 330.

(1) See the end of this remark.

(2) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 5. pag. 308. *ad ann.* 1587.

(3) See the notes on *Amours du grand Alcandre*, num. 3. where book 101. of Thuanus is cited.

(4) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronolog.* tom. 6. pag. 170. *ad ann.* 1595.

(5) Salluſt. *in Bello Jugurth.* pag. m. 362.

(6) Cornel. Nepos, in *Alcibiade.*

(7) This compariſon makes me recollect, that no animals are more fearful and more laſcivious than hares.

(8) See his Life, in tom. 4. pag. 329, *& ſeq.*

the glory of Alexander and Cæſar. It would be to no purpoſe to object, that ſuch a puniſhment would have quite enervated his courage [C]. It was his prodigious

Count Tilli, who never knew woman in all his lifetime (9), one of the greateſt Captains of the XVIIth Century? Did not Viſcount de Turenne, though no debauchee in any manner, equal thoſe thunderbolts of war, thoſe famous Generals who were his contemporaries; and who were almoſt as remarkable for their leudneſs as for their triumphs? And to give ſtill ſtronger proof, was not the brave Sigiſmond Battori, Prince of Tranſilvania, ſirnamed the *Invincible* (10), becauſe of his mighty exploits, *as impotent in the wars of Venus, as he was brave in thoſe of Mars*; and *having confeſſed his impotence* (11), his marriage with Maria Chriſtina, daughter of Charles Archduke of Grets, *was declared void?* Some Eunuchs have been extremely brave Generals; for not to go ſo far back as the renowned Narſes, who lived under the Emperor Juſtin II, in the VIth Century; is it not known that one of the moſt valiant Generals of Soliman was an Eunuch? *Erat Halis Eunuchus, ſed corporis defectum animo penſabat: de cetero ſtatura brevi, ſufflato corpore, colore buxeo, ſubtriſti vultu, torvis oculis, & inter latos & eminenteis humeros depreſſo capite, ac prominentibus ex ore duobus veluti aprugnis dentibus deformis* (12). i. e. "Hali was an Eunuch, but the greatneſs of his mind "compenſated for his bodily defect. He was low in "ſtature, corpulent, of an olive complexion, had a "gloomy countenance and a ſtern aſpect; his head "bending between his prominent and broad ſhoulders; "and two teeth projecting out of his mouth like two "wild boars tuſks." I own that he was not ſucceſsful in the expedition into Hungary, in 1556; and he even died with grief, becauſe he had not been able to maintain his reputation, nor anſwer the expectation of the public; but he nevertheleſs had a great ſoul, of which his deadly ſorrow is a proof. *Fractus ac inglorius Budam ſe contulit, ubi dux, qui tantam de ſe initio expectationem excitaverat, dolore atque ignominia expeditionis inauſpicatæ inviſam vitam cum morte commutavit* (13). See Thuanus, who relates a pleaſant joke of this Eunuch, upon his receiving ſome very bad news, viz. the taking of Strigonia. A mere trifle, replied he to the meſſenger: my great loſs, continued he, is here, ſhewing the lower part of his body. *Ejus rei cum trepidus nuncius ad eum veniſſet, ipſa vultus conſternatione magnum aliquod malum profeſſus, purpuratus non ſine circumſtantium riſu conſternationi nuntii illudens, & Strigonii, quod nullo negotio recuperari poſſet, amiſſionem elevans, his verbis eum excepiſſe dicitur. Quam tu mihi cladem ingentem, fatue, quod tantum incommodum narras? ea demum mihi clades deploranda contigit, cum hinc (genitalium ſedem oſtentans) ea membra adempta ſunt, quibus vir eram* (14) (a). From all this we may conclude, that if Henry IV had met with the ſame Treatment as Abelard, he would not have been in any manner a loſer, either with reſpect to his courage, his prudence or genius. Origen, Photius and Abelard, are a manifeſt proof, that the loſs of the male organs, do not in any manner prejudice the natural talents of the ſoul.

§ (a) Extracted from Buſbequius, Legatio Turcica. Epiſt, III, pag. 196. Edit. of 1633. REM. CRIT.

[C] *It would be to no purpoſe to object, that ſuch a puniſhment would have quite enervated his courage.*] The Commentary or Proof which this may require, is found in the preceding remark; nevertheleſs I will add, by way of *Appendix*, the obſervations following. Was not Hannibal, who was one of the greateſt Commanders of antiquity, chaſte? *Conſtat Annibalem, ... pudicitiam tantam inter tot captivas habuiſſe, ut in Africa natum quivis negaret* (15). i. e. "It is certain "Hannibal behaved ſo modeſtly with regard to his "great number of female captives, that no one would "have thought him a native of Africa." We do not find that Scipio Africanus was of a very amorous complection; and he gave a noble exemple of his chaſtity, during his expedition in Spain, for which he is greatly applauded by the Hiſtorian (16). Druſus, brother to the Emperor Tiberius, and one of the greateſt Generals among the antients, was extremely reſerved with regard to the fair ſex (17). The Emperor Aurelian was wonderfully brave, and at the ſame time perfectly chaſte. It would be doing him the greateſt injury for any perſon to make the leaſt compariſon between his valour and that of the luſtful Proculus, who turned tyrant; a Latin letter of whom Flavius Vopiſcus has preſerved, which I would not offer to tranſlate. *Tacendum non eſt, quod & ipſe gloriatur in quadam ſua Epiſtola, quam ipſam melius eſt ponere quam de ea plurimum dicere.* Proculus Metiano affini s. D. Centum ex Sarmatia virgines cepi. Ex his una nocte decem inivi: omnes tamen quod in me erat, mulieres intra dies XV reddidi. *Gloriatur (ut vides) rem ineptam, & ſatis libidinoſam: atque inter fortes ſe haberi credit, ſi criminum denſitate coaleſcat. Hic tamen quum etiam poſt honores militares ſe improbe & libidinoſe, tamen fortiter ageret, ... in imperium vocitatus eſt* (18). We find that it is ſaid in the paſſage above, that Proculus was a good ſoldier, but ſtill his valour was not to be compared to that of Aurelian. What ſhall we ſay of Alexander the Great, who was fired by ſo extraordinary a courage? His chaſtity has been much more applauded than it deſerved; but yet it muſt be owned, that by his natural diſpoſition or conſtitution he had more indifference, in proportion, than inclination for the fair-ſex; and this is ſufficient to refute thoſe, who ſuppoſe I know not what mechanical connection between luſt and valour. To the modern examples before quoted (19), I ſhall add that of an intrepid Knight who lived in the XVIth Century, and who merited the title of the *fearleſs and blameleſs Knight*. The reader will find by theſe characteriſtics that I mean Bayard. Love was never his maſter; and he proved, on ſeveral dangerous occaſions, that he was maſter over it. See his life. What a long liſt I ſhould give, were I to ſet down all thoſe who have reſembled Sardanapalus; creatures that were brave in no other place except in bed; but, in every other place, ſluggiſh and cowardly. Were Caligula, Nero, and Heliogabalus, warriors? Did they not plunge, with the moſt infamous exceſs, into leud debaucheries? Was Domitian, who invented a new term (20) for thoſe abominable exerciſes in which he ſignalized his ſtrength, ever looked upon as a good ſoldier or a good Commander? Thoſe ſparks who were formerly called *mignons de couchette*, would ſometimes make a campaign, in order to get rid of the contempt, to which the ſuſpicion of their being cowards expoſed them among brave men; but they behaved ſo ill on theſe occaſions, that one might juſtly apply to them what Jupiter anſwered Venus, when ſhe complained to him, upon her being wounded in her attempting to ſuccour Æneas in a battle: Do not you concern yourſelf with war: it is not your province, which is that only of making love.

Οὔ τοι τέκνον ἐμὸν δύδοΐ πολεμήϊα ἔργα·
Ἀλλὰ σύγ' ἱμερόεντα μετίεχτο ἔργα γάμοιο (21).

"Not thoſe, O daughter, are thy proper cares,
"Thee milder arts befit, and ſofter wars;
"Sweet ſmiles are thine, and kind endearing
"charms, &c.

POPE.

Helen gave Paris the like advice, as is ſeen in a remark where I refute Mezerai (22). This Hiſtorian imagines, that Ladies love brave men, from a ſuppoſition that they are as active and vigorous in love-exerciſes, as in combats. But he does not form a right judgment of their motives; glory or vanity are the great ſprings of their prepoſſeſſion in favour of brave men. Monluc obſerves that women would chooſe to be widows, rather than to ſee their huſbands return from the field in health, but loaded with ſhame and diſhonour. It is plain that luſt has nothing to do in this; and ſince it furniſhes a firſt proof againſt Mezerai, I will here quote Monluc's own words. He directs himſelf to the Governors of a town, and ſhews the prejudice they will do themſelves in caſe they don't defend it bravely. "Not only your Sovereign, *con-*
"*tinues he* (23), the Princes and Lords will behold
"you, with an evil eye, but likewiſe women and
"children. But to go farther, your own wives,
"though they pretend to love you, will yet hate you,
"and

(9) *Veneris vinique expertem tota ætate ſe fuiſſe jactaverat.* Puffendorf, *Rer. Suecicar.* lib. 4. pag. 64. col. 2. *See alſo* Blanc, *Hiſt. de Baviere*, tom. 4. pag. 381.

(10) *Diſcours Hiſtorique & Politique ſur les cauſes de la Guerre de Hongrie*, printed at Colen 1666, pag. 264.

(11) Idem, ibid. pag. 166.

(12) Thuan. lib. 17. pag. 361.

(13) Idem, ibid.

(14) Idem, ibid.

(15) Juſtin. lib. 36, *ſub finem.*

(16) Livius, lib. 26, *ſub fin.* Val. Maxim. lib. 4. cap. 3. num. 1.

(17) See remark [B] of the article of the firſt ANTONIA.

(18) Flavius Vopiſcus, *in Proculo*, pag. m. 735. tom. 2.

(19) In the preceding remark.

(20) *Libidinis nimiæ aſſiduitatem concubitus velut exercitationis genus clinopalen vocabat.* Suet. *in Domit.* cap. 22.

(21) Hom. Iliad. lib. 5. ver. 428.

(22) Rem. [O] citation (47) of the article of the 3d Duke of GUISE.

(23) Monluc, *Comment.* liv. 3. pag. m. 500, 501.

digious incontinence [D], that prevented his riſing to ſo great a height as he otherwiſe might have done; but notwithſtanding that powerful obſtacle, he nevertheleſs deſerves very juſtly the ſirname he bears (a). To prove this, we need but conſider the aſtoniſhing difficulties he ſurmounted, before he was ſettled on the throne; and the flouriſhing ſtate he brought his Kingdom to, which, at his aſcending the throne, was in a moſt calamitous condition. He inherited this crown in a very diſtant degree of conſanguinity [E]. We in all probability ſhould know, and ſhould admire much more, the vaſt extent of his merit, had he lived five or ſix years longer; for he was juſt going to begin the execution of a mighty deſign (b), when he was murthered in his coach the 14th of May 1610, by one Ravaillac. Some Hiſtorians relate, that this had been foretold him the day before [F]; but thoſe who have examined this matter thoroughly, find it

(a) He is called *Henry the Great*. See citation (47) of the article BARCLAY (John).

(b) See at the year 1610 his Hiſtory written by Hardouin de Perefixe.

" and eſteem you leſs in their hearts. For ſuch is " the nature of all women, that they bear a mortal " hatred to cowards and poltroons, though ever ſo " ſpruce; and love the bold and courageous, though " ever ſo ugly and deformed. They partake in your " grace. And though they are folded in your arms, " in bed, pretending to be overjoyed at your return; " they yet wiſh you had been ſtrangled, or that a " bullet had taken your head off. For in the ſame " manner as we conclude, that the greateſt diſgrace " that can accrue to a man, is to have his wife a " whore; the women think on the other ſide, that " the greateſt ſhame they can meet with, is to have " a cowardly huſband. Thus, Governor, you ſee " what a wretched chance you will ſtand, ſhould " you loſe your town, ſince you will be curſed by your " own wife."

[D] *His prodigious incontinence.*] I need not ſcruple to give it that name, after the ſtories which Daubigné has publiſhed on that ſubject, eſpecially after the following words of a very grave Hiſtorian. " If it was " the buſineſs of hiſtory to make apologies, it might " clear him from the greateſt part of thoſe re" proaches, but not however from the frantic paſſion " he had for gaming. . . . Much leſs could it excuſe " him, for his abandoning himſelf ſo immoderately " to women, which had been ſo public and general " from his youth to his death, that it cannot even be " called love and gallantry (24)." The following particulars related by Mr. de Perefixe are very ſtrange. " It were to be wiſhed, for the honour of his me" mory, that gaming had been his only fault. But " the perpetual frailty which he had, with regard to " beautiful women, was another fault, much more " blameable in a Chriſtian Prince, in a man of his " years who was married, to whom God had been ſo " gracious, and who revolved ſo many mighty en" terprizes in his mind. He ſometimes was fired with " only tranſient deſires, and which captivated him " but one night; but when he met with beauties who " ſtruck his heart, he loved to diſtraction; and, in " theſe wild tranſports, he no ways ſeemed to be " Henry the Great. It is related, in fabulous anti" quity, that Hercules took up a diſtaff, and ſpun " for love of the beautiful Omphale: now Henry did " ſomething more groveling for his miſtreſſes. He " one day aſſumed a peaſant's diſguiſe, and took a " truſs of ſtraw on his back, to get acceſs to Madam " Gabrielle; and it is ſaid that the Marchioneſs de " Verneuil has ſeen him more than once at her feet, " ſuffering her diſdain and inſults (25)." It muſt be a piercing ſorrow to all good Huguenots, to ſee their chief lead ſo ſcandalous a life, even in Rochelle. He there debauched the daughter of a Gentleman of the long robe, and had a ſon by her. *The Church had frequently told him of his crime, which he would confeſs ingenuouſly enough*; but he could not be *prevailed upon to acknowledge it publickly*, till a little before the battle of Coutras (26). The detail of that is found in the Life of du Pleſſis Mornai (27).

(24) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 6. pag. 392.

(25) Perefixe, *Hiſt. de Henry le Grand*, pag. m. 461, 462, *ad ann.* 1609.

(26) *Vie du Pleſſis Mornai*, pag. 108.

(27) Pag. 108.

[E] *He inherited the crown in a very diſtant degree of conſanguinity.*] " It was doubtleſs by an uncommon " good fortune that the crown of France fell to him, " there never being a more remote ſucceſſion than that, " in any hereditary Government; for there were a" bout ten or eleven degrees of conſanguinity between " him and Henry III; and at his birth there were " nine Princes of the blood before him, viz. Henry II " and his five ſons; Anthony King of Navarre, his " father, and two ſons of that Anthony, elder bro" thers of our Henry. All theſe Princes died, to " make way for him to the crown (28)."

(28) Perefixe, *Hiſt. de Henri le Grand*, pag. m. 514.

[F] *Some Hiſtorians relate, that his death had been foretold him the day before.*] We will begin this remark by the words of Peter Matthieu (29). " Upon " this la Broſſe, a learned Phyſician and Mathemati" cian, ſaid to the Duke of Vendoſme, by way of " ſequel to a longer diſcourſe, that provided the King " could but avoid the accident with which he was " menaced, he would live thirty years longer. No " one cares to inform Kings of what may give them " uneaſineſs; and therefore the Duke de Vendoſme, " thinking it more proper that la Broſſe ſhould be the " meſſenger of his own news, beſought the King to " hear him, upon which the King aſked what la " Broſſe wanted. Here the Duke of Vendoſme ſaid " nothing; but his ſilence making the King ſtill more " deſirous of knowing the motive of it, he preſſes " him; the Duke excuſes himſelf; but at laſt as the " King laid his abſolute commands upon him, he in" forms him of what la Broſſe had ſaid to him. You " are quite a ſimpleton, ſays the King to the Duke, " to give credit to this. Sir, anſwered Vendôme, in " theſe things credulity is a fault but not fear; the " ſafety of your Majeſty's perſon obliges every indi" vidual, and me above any other perſon, not to de" ſpiſe the leaſt information that may be given; and " therefore I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to " hear him. However, the King would not conſent " to this, and even forbid his ſpeaking about it. I " can do no leſs, ſays the Duke, than inform the " Queen of it. The King declared twice, that ſhould " he ever break it to her, he would never love him; " and ſo la Broſſe was ſent away. I heard all this, " word for word, from the Duke de Vendôme's own " mouth." This is related in a very poſitive ſtrain; but what follows, is no leſs ſo, though it quite overthrows Peter Matthieu's relation: "So true it is, *it is* " *a Philoſopher who ſpeaks* (30), that moſt Hiſtorians " are credulous and liars; and that they thereby al" ways confirm the credulity and falſhood of prog" noſtications, when they relate thoſe ſtories without " refuting them. But without going farther; why " ſhould not the antients have done it, ſince we often " ſee it practiſed in our own time? Has not one of " our Hiſtorians, ſpeaking of the death of our great " Henry IV, affirmed; that having been informed of " it by a Prince ſtill living, whom it is not neceſſary " to name, the evening before the unfortunate ſtroke " was given; his Majeſty deſpiſing this advice, " had anſwered, that la Broſſe was an old fool of an " Aſtrologer &c. I being deſirous of hearing this " from the mouth of the Prince in queſtion (†), above " thirty years ſince, in preſence of a Princeſs (‡), of " great worth, he did her the honour to ſay that it " was all a falſity. And but two days ſince only, " in order to be better informed of it, and that I " might not publiſh any thing in writing of that con" ſequence, without being firſt well aſſured of it; I " had the honour to ſpeak again to him about it be" fore ſeveral perſons of his family, and he confirmed " the ſame thing to me; adding farther, that the " Hiſtorian (‡) had confounded times and things; and " that la Broſſe had indeed told him, after this un" happy accident, that he had foreſeen it by calcu" lating his Majeſty's horoſcope, (as Aſtrologers al" ways do, after things are come to paſs) but not " that he had given him notice of it the evening be" fore, in order that he might inform his Majeſty of " it. Nevertheleſs this is related by a French author, " who lived in that age. Who then, in times to " come, will not give credit to him? Will it be " thought that a man, appointed and paid to write " Hiſtory, durſt ſay a thing of that importance, and

(29) *Relation de la Mort de Henri IV*, pag. m. 24.

(30) Peter Petit, Surveyor of the Fortifications, *Diſſertation ſur les Cometes*, pag. 89.

(†) Mr. de Vendoſme.

(‡) Madam de Chevreuſe.

(‡) Matthieu.

it to be falſe. He was of ſo generous a diſpoſition, that it was no way probable he ever adviſed the Duke of Alençon to make away with Catherine de Medicis [G]; nevertheleſs, we find this aſſerted in ſome memoirs. He met with the fate common to great men, I mean that he was unhappy in his family. The two wives he married one after another, in the life time of both, brought a thouſand vexations upon him [H]. But this he deſerved, ſince he diſregarded ſo much the ſacred laws of marriage. His ſecond wife was one of thoſe Princeſſes againſt whom he had raiſed ſome objections, in examining with Roni what kind of wife would ſuit him (c). His notions with regard to marriage are very curious [I]; and few converſations are more ſolid and agreeable, than thoſe this

(c) See the remark [I].

" even cite a living Prince who could witneſs it, in " caſe it were not true? It is nevertheleſs as I ſay; " and if any one doubts of this, he may inform him- " ſelf about it, and I am not ſorry that I have an " opportunity to mention it in this place; as " well to undeceive poſterity, as to ſhew that a great " many particulars are written of this kind, which " do not deſerve the leaſt credit."

It is to be obſerved that Mr. Petit does not relate this altogether as faithfully as he ought to have done. He ſuppoſes that the Hiſtorian ſaid, that the King made the following anſwer, *la Broſſe is an old fool of an Aſtrologer*; but the Hiſtorian does not ſay this; for, according to him, it was to the Duke of Vendome that the King ſaid, *you are a madman.*

We will exhibit a ſecond teſtimony, with the refutation of it. " The evening of the ſame coronation, " la Broſſe, an excellent Phyſician and Mathematician, " ſaid to the Duke of Vendoſme, that if the King " could but eſcape a dangerous accident, which " threatned him immediately, he ſhould live thirty " years longer; and begged that he would introduce " him to his Majeſty: But the King being told the " ſubject he intended to ſpeak to him about, would " not hear la Broſſe (31)." Now this is refuted in the following words of Marſhal de Baſſompiere (32); *It is falſe to aſſert that la Broſſe deſired to be introduced to the King; but had he deſired it, the anſwer invented by him* (33) *would have been true, viz. that he* (34) *would have ſcorned to ſpeak to him, for he looked upon him as a madman.* It is related in a diſcourſe on the death of Henry IV, annexed to the Duke de Nevers's Memoirs, that the Duke of Vendome declared to ſeveral perſons, that la Broſſe never ſpoke to him about it.

(31) Du Pleix, *Hiſt. Henry IV*, pag. 411.

(32) *Remarques ſur Du Pleix*, pag. 172.

(33) i. e. Du Pleix.

(34) i. e. Henry IV.

[G] *It is no way probable he ever adviſed the Duke of Alençon to make away with Catherine de Medicis.*] Le Laboureur relates that this Queen, ſeeing Charles IX draw near his end, was afraid " that the Duke of " Alençon would be adviſed to claim the regency, " and even the crown, in prejudice of the King of " Poland his brother. This made her form the deſign " of a conſpiracy, which might give her an oppor- " tunity of ſeizing upon his perſon, and that of the " King of Navarre. She confined them, under a " ſtrong guard in the Bois de Vincennes, till the King's " death, but without declaring them Priſoners. In " the mean time ſhe ſpread a report, in all places, " of this conſpiracy, for which ſhe cauſed the Mar- " ſhals of Montmorency and Coſſé to be arreſted; " and, to remove all occaſion of doubting this, ſhe " ſacrificed la Molle and Coconnaz, two favourites " of that Duke, to this ſtate-intrigue.... The Duke " of Alençon (ſo great was his fear) himſelf betrayed his " cauſe, and his domeſticks; and he who beſt ſuſtained " the character of an oppreſſed Monarch, who was " yet incapable of acting unſuitable to his dignity, " was Henry IV, then King of Navarre. Not but " that he was afraid he was ruined; and it was in " this view that he was accuſed, as ſome memoirs " inform me, of having adviſed Monſieur, the King " of France's brother, to pretend to be ſick, in order " to oblige the Queen to come and viſit him; and " then, upon pretence of deſiring to reveal ſomething " to her in private, to cauſe her retinue to with- " draw, and then ſtrangle her. His motives or pre- " tences for it were, their ſafety, the opportunity of " the King's death who was in his expiring mo- " ments, the credit and authority which time would " give their friends; and that the ſame policy which " made her renounce the laws or ties of blood and " nature, diſpenſed them, out of a ſtronger conſidera- " tion than that of reigning, from abhorring an action " which would ſave to the ſtate, two Princes, who " were neceſſary to it, by the death of a woman who " diſturbed the tranquillity, and cauſed the ruin of " it. He had not the courage to attempt it, nor " the diſcretion to hold his tongue ſome time after; " and this is the cauſe of that deadly and implacable " hatred which Catherine of Medicis bore to the " King of Navarre; and therefore ſhe did not ſcru- " ple to engage in the conſpiracy againſt her own " ſon, Henry III; and to diſturb the government " when ſhe had no children, to prevent Henry IV " from ſucceeding him; and to ſubſtitute, in his " room, Henry Duke of Lorrain, her grandſon by " her daughter (35)." According to theſe memoirs, Henry IV intended to be one of the murtherers of the Queen-Mother.

(35) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 381.

[H] *His two wives brought a thouſand vexations upon him.*] It is not neceſſary to prove this with reſpect to Margaret de Valois; we will therefore alledge that proof which relates to Mary of Medicis. " The high eſteem and affection, which the French " had for him (36), would not ſuffer them to be ſo " much offended at his ſcandalous way of living; but " the Queen his wife was greatly vexed at it; ſo that " it occaſioned perpetual diſputes betwixt them, and " made the Queen diſdainful and ill-tempered. The " diſcontent of theſe domeſtic quarrels, doubtleſs re- " tarded the execution of the mighty deſign he had " projected, for the happineſs and perpetual repoſe of " Chriſtendom; and for the deſtruction, afterwards, " of the Ottoman Power (37)."

(36) i. e. for Henry IV.

(37) Perefixe, *Hiſt. de Henry le Grand*, pag. m. 463, *ad ann.* 1609.

[I] *His notions with regard to marriage are very curious.*] I am going to cite a very long paſſage; nevertheleſs I am certain that it will appear ſhort to curious Readers, it containing a kind of critique on a conſiderable number of Princeſſes; and a very ſolid argumentation of Henry IV, with reſpect to the choice of a wife. Here follows what he ſaid to Mr. de Roni his favourite (38). " So that nothing more ſeems " wanting, for the accompliſhment of this deſign, " but to ſee whether I can get another wife whoſe " qualifications may be ſo excellent, that I may not " plunge into the greateſt misfortune of this life, " which, in my opinion, is to have an ugly ill-na- " tured and worthleſs wife, inſtead of the eaſe, repoſe " and ſatisfaction which I propoſed to find in the " marriage-ſtate: that if wives could be got by wiſh- " ing, in order that I might not repent of ſo ha- " zardous a ſtep, mine ſhould be endowed, among " other good qualities, with the ſeven following prin- " cipal ones, viz. beauty in her perſon, chaſtity in " her life, complaiſance in her temper, ingenuity and " ſkilfulneſs in her mind, fruitful with regard to iſſue, " eminent with reſpect to extraction, and rich as to " her poſſeſſions. But I fancy, my friend, that this " woman is dead, or rather that ſhe perhaps is not yet " born, nor ready to come into the world; and never- " theleſs let us conſider a little, what maidens or wo- " men, whom we have heard of, within or without " the Kingdom, would be a fit wife for me. And " foraſmuch as I have, in my opinion, thought of it " more than you have done; I will tell you briefly, " that the Infanta of Spain, how old and ugly ſoever " ſhe may be, would do well enough for me, provided " I could marry the Low-Countries with her, tho' it " were upon condition of reſtoring to you the Earldom " of Bethune. Neither could I refuſe Princeſs Rei- " belle (39) of England, in caſe, as it is ſaid publicly, " that the Crown is juſtly hers, ſhe had only been " declared preſumptive heireſs of the Kingdom: but " I will not expect either the one or the other, the " King of Spain, and the Queen of Enland being far " from entertaining any ſuch thoughts. I have ſome- " times been ſpoke to about certain Princeſſes of Ger- " many,

(38) *Mem. de Sulli*, tom. 2. pag. 112. edit. de Hollande, 12mo.

What the King deſired in a wife.

(39) I copy this word as I find it in my edition.

this King had on that ſubject. It was very plainly ſeen, that Religion was nothing but a falſe pretence, both of the League and the King of Spain: it was known, I ſay, by the endeavours that were employed, to prevent the Pope from giving him abſolution. I have taken notice in another place (*d*) of the facetious remarks made by d'Aubigné, on the ſtrokes of the ſwitch, which the proxies of this Prince received when he was abſolved at Rome. I ſhall take ſome farther notice of it here [*K*].

(*d*) In the article BOTERO, remark [C].

Henry IV was born at Pau in Bearn the 13th of December 1553 (*e*). Anthony of Bourbon his father, and Joan d'Albret his mother, carried him to the Court of France when he was but five years old; *but he ſtaid there only a few months, and returned to Bearn* (*f*). Anthony returned to Court, after the death of Henry II, and was *appointed Lieutenant General of the Kingdom*, after the death of Francis II. He ſent for the Queen his wife, and the Prince his ſon, to him, and died of a wound which he had received at the ſiege of Roan in the year 1562; after which his wife, whom he had treated injuriouſly [*L*], *returned to Bearn, where ſhe openly embraced the principles of Calvin* (*g*). She left her ſon at the Court of France, *under the direction of la Gaucherie, a prudent Preceptor.*

(*e*) Perefixe, *Hiſt. de Henri le grand*, p. m. 15.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 20.

(*g*) Ibid. pag. 22.

" many, whoſe names I have forgot, but I don't like " in any manner the women of that country, and " fancy that had I married one of them, I muſt al- " ways have a hogſhead of wine by my bed ſide; " not to mention that it has been told me, that there " was a Queen of France of that country, who al- " moſt ruined the French; which ſeveral conſidera- " ons have given me a diſtaſte to German women. " One of Prince Maurice's ſiſters has alſo been pro- " poſed to me, but beſides their being all Huguenots, " and that ſuch an alliance might make me ſuſpected " at Rome, and among the zealous Catholics, that " their mother was a Nun, and ſomething elſe which " I will tell you another time, make me averſe to it. " The Duke of Florence has likewiſe a niece who " is ſaid to be handſome enough; but he being one " of the moſt inconſiderable families in Chriſtendom " that bears the title of Prince, it not being above " threeſcore or fourſcore years, that his predeceſſors " were only ranked among the moſt illuſtrious citi- " zens of Florence; and of the ſame family with the " Queen-mother, Catherine, who brought ſo many " evils upon France, and particularly to my ſelf, I " am afraid of marrying into that Houſe, leſt it " ſhould prove prejudicial to myſelf, my friends and " my kingdom. Theſe, I believe, are all the fo- " reign Ladies I am to ſpeak of. As to thoſe within " my own realm, my niece of Guiſe is one of thoſe " that would pleaſe me beſt, notwithſtanding the ru- " mour which ſome malicious people have ſpread, " viz. that ſhe is a little wantonly inclined; for with " regard to myſelf, beſides that I believe it very " falſe, I ſhould chooſe rather to have a woman that " was a little amorous, than one who ſhould prove " ill-tempered, which ſhe is no ways ſuſpected to be, " but on the contrary, of a very ſoft, pleaſant humour, " and complaiſant in her converſation; ſhe alſo is of " a good family, handſome, tall, and likely to have " fine children ſoon. The only circumſtance I fear, is, " the too ſtrong affection ſhe diſcovers for her own " family, and eſpecially for her brothers, which might " inſpire her with a deſire to aggrandize them to my " prejudice, and ſtill more to that of my children, in " caſe ſhe ſhould ever enjoy the regency. There like- " wiſe are two daughters of the houſe of Maine, " the eldeſt whereof, though ſo ſwarthy, would not " diſpleaſe me, ſhe being prudent and well educated; " but then they are too young. There are two in " the Houſe of Aumalle, and three in that of Lon- " gueville, whoſe perſons are far from contemptible; " but other reaſons will not ſuffer me to apply " my thoughts that way. So much for Princeſſes. " You, beſides, have one daughter in the houſe of " Luxemburg, one in that of Guimené, my couſin " Catherine of Rohan; but the laſt is a Huguenot, " and I don't like the others: and next, the daughter " of my couſin the Princeſs of Conti, of the houſe " of Luce, who is a very beautiful, well-educated " Princeſs; and indeed ſhe would pleaſe me beſt, " were ſhe older. But though I ſhould like them all, " ſo far as I know them, who can aſſure me that I " ſhall find in them, the three principal qualities united, " which I require in a wife, and without which I " would not marry? viz. that I ſhould have iſſue by " them, that they ſhould be of a ſweet and complai- " ſant humour, and ſufficiently qualified to aſſiſt me " in affairs of a ſedentary kind; and to govern my " kingdom and my children well, in caſe I ſhould die, " before they were of age, ſenſe, and judgment, to " endeavour to imitate me; as very probably will be " the caſe, ſhould I marry in ſo advanced an age. " But pray, Sir, anſwered you, what do you mean " by ſo many affirmatives and negatives, from which " I can infer nothing except this, viz. that you are " very deſirous to be married; but that no woman " upon earth is fit or qualified to be your wife? So " that, at this rate, we ſhould implore the aſſiſtance " of heaven, to reſtore the Queen of England to her " bloom of life; and raiſe from the dead Margaret " of Flanders, Mademoiſelle of Burgundy, Jane la " Loca, Anne of Britany, Mary Stuart, all rich " heireſſes, in order for you to take your choice from " among them; for, according to the temper you " have diſcovered, ſpeaking of Clara Eugenia, you " would like ſome of thoſe Ladies who were poſſeſſed " of ſuch extenſive territories. But omitting all theſe " impoſſibilities and idle notions, let us conſider a " little what is to be done &c.

[*K*] *I ſhall take ſome farther notice on the ſtrokes of the ſwitch.*] I ſhall borrow the words of a Walloon Miniſter (40). " The pſalm *Miſerere* was ſung when " Henry the Great was reconciled to the See of " Rome, on which occaſion du Perron and d'Oſſat, " proſtrate, and their faces turned to the earth, re- " preſenting the King of France, in preſence of the " Roman Pontiff and the Conſiſtory, received, in " that King's name, his penance decreed by the holy " See, which was, to adjuſt to every verſe a ſtroke " of a ſwitch over his head, ſhoulders and back, " down to the feet, from the beginning of that pſalm " to the end. Du Perron in his Letters, folio 172, " gives us the verbal proceſs of that King's abſoluti- " on, by Pope Clement VIII, . . . D'Oſſat, his ſharer " or companion in the royal penance, ſhews how " gentle it was." In the inſtruction of the Inquiſition was the following hyperbolical expreſſion (41). When the choriſters ſung *Miſerere mei*, the Pope, at every verſe, *verberabat & percutiebat humeros Procuratorum cujuſlibet ipſorum virga quam in manibus tenebat.* i. e. " He beat the ſhouldiers of each of the proxies with " a rod which he held in his hand." The blows were felt no more on that occaſion, than if a fly had crept on their clothes.

(40) Jeremie de Pours, *Divine Melodie du St. Pſalmiſte*, pag. 686.

(41) D'Oſſat's *Letters*, fol. 172.

[*L*] *Joan d'Albret . . . who had been . . . treated injuriouſly . . . by her huſband.*] The lure employed to draw him off from the Proteſtant Religion, was, to promiſe him the Kingdom of Sardinia. He was ſo weak as to believe theſe promiſes; " and he began to " withdraw, by inſenſible degrees, from the Prote- " ſtants; and to vex the Queen, his wife, all kinds " of ſnares being ſpread for him, by which a man " addicted, as he was, to women, could be over- " reached; thus forgetting every other thing by in- " ſenſible degrees, he now thought of nothing but the " Kingdom of Sardinia and women, among whom " a certain maid of honour belonging to the Queen " began to have a conſiderable ſhare of his affection. " In the mean time the Queen of Navarre, like a " very prudent and virtuous Princeſs, endeavoured to " reclaim him; enduring all things poſſible, and re- " monſtrating to him what he owed both to God and " his ſubjects. But ſo greatly was he bewitched, that

Preceptor. She ſent for him to Pau in 1566; and appointed Florent Chretien to be his Preceptor, *in the room of la Gaucherie, who was dead* (*b*). This Preceptor who was a zealous Proteſtant, educated that Prince in his own Religion. Joan d'Albret declared herſelf their protectreſs in 1569, and came for that purpoſe *to Rochelle with her ſon, whom ſhe devoted from that time to the defence of this new Religion. In this quality he was declared leader or head of the party; and his uncle the Prince of Conde his Lieutenant, with Admiral de Coligny* (*i*). He was in the army when the battle of Moncontour was fought, *and had a moſt ardent deſire to engage in the combat; but this he was not allowed to do, for fear of hazarding his perſon too much* (*k*). From that time he followed the army, till the peace was concluded, viz. the eleventh of Auguſt 1570, and then returned to Bearn. His marriage with Princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to Charles IX, was ſolemnized at Paris in Auguſt 1572. His mother was come to Paris ſome months before, to prepare his nuptials, and died there whilſt her ſon was upon the road. He began to aſſume the quality of King, when news was brought him, in Poictou, of her death (*l*). It is univerſally known that the maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's day was perpetrated a few days after the marriage of this new King; and that he being reduced to the neceſſity of going to maſs, or loſing his life, choſe the former. The anſwers which certain authors put into his mouth, are mere chimeras of their brain [*M*], and only ſhew the deſire they had to employ their reading. Henry was obliged, againſt his will, to ſpend ſome years in the Court of France. He there diſſembled very artfully all his uneaſineſſes: he even repulſed, and frequently ſuppreſſed them, by ſome love-intrigue, to which he was ſtrongly prompted by nature, and this was not a little heightened by the depravity and luſtfulneſs of the Ladies. One of his principal miſtreſſes (*m*) was the Lady de Sauves, wife to a Secretary of State. However, love did not ſo far engroſs all his time,

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 22.

(*i*) Ibid. pag. 24.

(*k*) Ibid. pag. 25.

(*l*) Ibid. pag. 29.

(*m*) Pereſixe, *Hiſt. de Henri le Grand*, pag. 39.

" all this was to no purpoſe, which the Queen ob-
" ſerving, ſhe had recourſe only to tears and entrea-
" ties, which melted every one to compaſſion, ex-
" cept the ſaid King her huſband. During theſe
" tranſactions the Queen-mother endeavoured to per-
" ſuade her to bear with the King her huſband, to
" which ſhe at laſt made the following anſwer, that
" rather than ever go to maſs, if ſhe had the King-
" dom and her ſon in her hands, ſhe would throw
" them both to the bottom of the ſea, that they
" might be no obſtacle to her; for which reaſon they
" troubled her no more on that ſubject (42).

(42) Beze, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* liv. 4. pag. 688. *ad ann.* 1561.

[*M*] *The anſwers, which certain authors put into his mouth, are mere chimeras of their brain.*] During the maſſacre, Charles IX ſent for, into his cloſet, the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde; and declared to them, that if they did not immediately renounce their heretical tenets, they ſhould meet with the ſame fate as the Admiral. *The King of Navarre, prodigiouſly ſurprized at theſe words which were uttered with a menacing tone of voice, and at the dreadful ſpectacle he had ſeen before his eyes, anſwered with great humility, and trembling at the ſame time; that he beſought his Majeſty to leave them free and undiſturbed with regard to their lives and conſciences, and that they were ready to pay obedience to him in all other reſpects* (43). Though I make uſe of Mezerai's words, the reader may be aſſured that it is the ſame thing as if I employed the very words of a Calviniſt Hiſtorian; for d'Aubigné (44) relates the anſwer made by the King of Navarre, in the very ſame terms; and it is as follows in the *Inventaire* of John de Serres. " The
" King of Navarre beſeeches his Majeſty to call to
" mind his promiſe, the conſanguinity he had ſo
" lately contracted, and not to do him any violence
" in the Religion he had imbibed from his infan-
" cy (45)." The author of the Hiſtory *des choſes memorables* does not ſay more; and the author of the Commentaries *de ſtatu Religionis & Reipublicæ in regno Galliæ* is not more full with regard to the ſenſe, though he employs more words (46); and it is to be obſerved that he ſays expreſly, that the anſwer was made with a trembling tone of voice (47). Thus we ſee four Proteſtant writers agree with Mezerai, and conſequently we cannot ſuſpect the latter's veracity. This being the caſe, may we not juſtly laugh at the Hiſtorian, who ſpins the anſwer in queſtion to three or four pages? " Our Henry, *ſays he* (48), made ſuch
" as ſhewed, at that time, what the greatneſs of his
" courage, the depth of his ſenſe, and the great gen-
" tleneſs of his clemency, would be. He beſought
" his Majeſty to call to mind the word of honour he
" had given him; the near relation they bore to one
" another, and the new alliance they had concluded
" together; and not to offer any violence to the Re-
" ligion which he had ſucked in, from his infancy,
" like his nurſe's milk. He ſaid it was a great miſ-
" fortune that ſo auguſt a King, whoſe ſoul poſſeſſed
" the ſeeds of all the exalted virtues, ſhould have been
" ſo perniciouſly counſelled, to force his ſubjects, by
" murthers and maſſacres, to worſhip and ſerve God
" after his fancy and caprice. That nothing could
" ſubdue a couragious people, and eſpecially the
" French, but the mildneſs of their Prince, whom
" they worſhip almoſt as if he was God. That Fla-
" minius had employed this method, in order to make
" the Romans maſters of all Greece; ſo that, though
" he was poſſeſſed of ſuperior force in the city of
" Thebes, he yet employed as much perſuaſion, in
" order to gain the people, as an Orator would have
" done from the roſtrum; and that he ought to know,
" that he was King over a people who cannot bear a
" perfect liberty, nor an entire ſlavery; and that the
" regal power was not a government over ſlaves, but
" over fellow citizens. That he had often heard, that
" thoſe great Romans had commanded over all Na-
" tions, and made themſelves maſters of the world, to
" ſhew that they were governed by reaſon, and did
" not abandon themſelves to revenge. . . . (49). Your
" Majeſty is ſenſible, that one ſingle example of hu-
" manity among the Romans, was more efficacious
" towards ſubduing the Faliſci, who were foreigners,
" than all their military power had been; what there-
" fore might not your Majeſty's mildneſs and cle-
" mency have effected with regard to Proteſtants?
" A mighty King, like to your Majeſty, ſhould not
" do all he can, but imitate the Sun who, the higher
" he is in the horizon, the ſlower he moves. . . (50).
" Thoſe who have given you ſuch evil counſel are
" more to blame than you, and deſerve to be puniſh-
" ed as much as thoſe, who poiſon the public fountains
" or aqueducts, and conſequently kill all thoſe
" who drink of them." I have omitted moſt of the particulars which this compiler of common places puts into the King of Navarre's mouth; but I ſhall not curtail, in any manner, the reply which he falſely aſcribes to Charles IX. " Theſe are fine maxims, ſaid the
" King, which you learnt of Chretien your tutor; but
" I know one much finer than any of them, viz. that
" God has inveſted the King with the ſupreme com-
" mand, the ſprings of which it is not lawful for a
" ſubject to touch; it is glory ſufficient for him that
" he obeys. Go, and obey what I command, upon
" pain of death; and although I am not obliged to
" give you an account of my actions, I yet will in-
" form you, that every illuſtrious example ſeems to
" have ſomething of injuſtice in it, which is compen-
" ſated by the public utility (51)." I am to obſerve, that this author ſuppoſes that the King ſent for the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde ſeparately; but other Hiſtorians relate, that Charles IX ſent for thoſe two Princes at the ſame time.

(43) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 257.

(44) D'Aubigné, tom. 2. liv. 1. chap. 4. pag. m. 547.

(45) *Invent. de l'Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. pag. m. 704.

(46) Lib. 10. folio m. 35.

(47) *Quæ tamen humiliſſimo animo & conſternato ore ab illo dicebantur.* Ibid.

(48) Julian Peleus, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, *Hiſt. des Faits & de la Vie de Henry le Grand*, tom. 1. pag. 828.

(49) Idem, ibid. pag. 831.

(50) Ibid. pag. 832.

(51) Ibid. pag. 833.

time, but that he ſometimes intermeddled with State-intrigues; he being concerned in thoſe which were projected *to remove the Queen-mother from the Adminiſtration, and drive the Guiſes from the Court* (*n*); but the Queen *having diſcovered theſe practices* (*o*), *cauſed him and the Duke of Alençon to be put under an arreſt, ſet a guard over them, and ordered them to be examined on ſeveral heinous particulars* (*p*) [*N*]. Theſe two Princes were ſet at liberty by Henry III, to meet whom they had been conducted by Catherine of Medicis as far as Beauvoiſin Bridge (*q*). The King of Navarre went, at laſt, ſecretly away, in the year 1576, and withdrew to Alençon (*r*). He *then returned to the Huguenot party, and again profeſſed his firſt Religion* (*s*). The Rochellers opened their gates to him, *and after reſiding ſome months in their city, he went and took poſſeſſion of his Government of Guyenne* (*t*). From that period, to the year 1589, his life was divided between battles, negotiations and amours. His wife was a great impediment to him; and nevertheleſs ſhe ſometimes was of advantage to him [*O*]. There were frequent ruptures and pacifications between him and the Court of France, but at laſt Henry III concluded a ſincere alliance with him, to oppoſe the League, which, ſince the death of the Duke and Cardinal of Guiſe, was grown more furious than ever. The reconciliation and confederacy of theſe two Kings was concluded in April 1589; and their interview was in Tours, the 30th of the ſame month, and the greateſt demonſtrations of a reciprocal ſatisfaction were ſeen on that occaſion. They ſome time after joined their troops together in order to beſiege Paris. This they did in perſon, and were upon the point of taking that great city, and of puniſhing the inhabitants as they deſerved, when the King of France was killed by James Clement, at St. Clou. The King of Navarre ſucceeded him in the throne the 2d of Auguſt 1589; but he did not obtain the crown without the utmoſt difficulties; he not being able to force the chiefs of the League to recognize him as King, till after he had renounced the Proteſtant Religion. The citizens of Paris perſiſted in their rebellion till the 22d of March 1594; I mean that the King did not make his entry into it till that day. The year after he declared war againſt the Spaniards, but had little reaſon to be ſatisfied with it; he loſing much more than he gained by it; however, from a felicity unknown to all his predeceſſors, he concluded a treaty of peace by which he indemnified himſelf for his loſſes [*P*]. This treaty was concluded at Vervins the 2d of May 1598. From that time till the day of his death, the Kingdom was free

(*n*) Ibid. pag. 33.

(*o*) In 1574.

(*p*) Ibid. pag. 36.

(*q*) Ibid. pag. 37, 38.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 46.

(*s*) Ibid. pag. 47.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 48.

[*N*] *The Queen-mother . . . ordered him and the Duke of Alençon . . . to be examined on ſeveral heinous particulars.*] " (52) " The Chancellor would have examined the King of Navarre, but, although he was " a priſoner and threatened, he yet would not derogate ſo much from his dignity as to anſwer: nevertheleſs, to ſatisfy the Queen-mother, he addreſſed " a long ſpeech to her, wherein he deduced a great " many particulars relating to the preſent ſtate of affairs; but then he did not accuſe any perſon, which " the Duke of Alençon had been ſo weak as to " do (53)."

(52) Perefixe, *Hiſt. de Henri le Grand*, pag. m. 36, *ad an.* 1574.

(53) See the remark [*G*] above.

[*O*] *His wife was a great impediment to him, and nevertheleſs ſhe ſometimes was of advantage to him.*] Catherine of Medicis had brought her to him in 1578 (54). He then kept his little court at Nerac. (55) *Both the husband and wife* were diſpleaſed at ſeeing one another again. " (56) Margaret, who was fond of " the great ſplendor of the Court of France where ſhe " ſwam, if I may employ the expreſſion, in a full " current of intrigues, looked upon her reſiding in " Guyenne as a kind of baniſhment; and Henry, " knowing her temper and conduct, would have had " her at a diſtance from him rather than near. " However, as he found that this was an evil, which " could not be remedied, he reſolved to ſuffer it, and " left her at perfect liberty . . . . (57); and ſuiting " himſelf to the times, and the neceſſity of his affairs, he endeavoured to reap ſome advantage from " her intrigues and intereſt. He gained a benefit, " that was far from being inconſiderable, in the conference which himſelf and the deputies of the Huguenots had at Nerac with the Queen-mother. For " whilſt ſhe fancied that ſhe ſhould inchant them, by " the charms of the beautiful young Ladies ſhe had " with her, and by Pibrac's eloquence; Margaret oppoſed the ſame artifices to her; won over the Gentlemen who were in her mother's retinue by the " charms of her own women; and employed her own " ſo dextrouſly, that ſhe ſtrongly captivated poor Pibrac's mind and heart, inſomuch that he was actuated entirely by her, and did every thing the very " reverſe of what the Queen-mother intended; for " ſhe, not imagining that ſo wiſe a man could have " acted in ſo ſilly a manner, was deceived in many " articles; and inſenſibly prevailed upon to yield much " more to the Huguenots than ſhe had reſolved to " do."

(54) Perefixe, *Hiſt. de Henri le Grand*, pag. 54.

(55) Ibid. pag. 57.

(56) Ibid.

(57) Ibid. pag. 58.

[*P*] *From a felicity unknown to all his predeceſſors, he concluded a treaty of peace by which he indemnified himſelf for his loſſes.*] Bodin (58) obſerves, that the Spaniards had not, for an hundred years, concluded any treaty with France, without having had the advantage in it. That author had reaſon to aſſert this, Henry IV being the firſt King of France who had reaped any benefit by concluding a peace with Spain. He recovered all the towns he had loſt in Picardy, and likewiſe Blavet which the Spaniards were maſters of. This peace did not paſs uncenſured; ſome people blaming the King of Spain, and others the King of France. We will cite Perefixe. " Several of the French, who " did not well know the wretched condition the King " of Spain and his affairs were in, could not conceive " how it had been poſſible for that Prince to purchaſe " the peace at ſo dear a rate, as to give up ſix or ſeven " good towns, and among them Calais and Blavet, which " might be called the Keys of France. On the contrary " the Spaniards, who ſaw that their King was in a " languiſhing condition, his treaſury exhauſted, the " Low-Countries tottering, Portugal and his territories " in Italy upon the point of revolting, and the ſon " that was to ſucceed him, a good Prince indeed, but " who loved eaſe and tranquillity; were ſurprized " that as the French had ſo bravely retaken Amiens, " and joined all their forces together after the treaty " of Mercoeur, they had not made an irruption into the " Low-Countries, becauſe they in all probability would " have been conquered, either wholly or in part. " The King anſwered, that if he had deſired peace, " it was not becauſe he was tired out with the inconveniencies of war, but to give the Chriſtian " world an opportunity of breathing; that he knew " very well, that ſuch was the ſituation of things at " this time, that he might have reaped great advantages; but that the hand of heaven frequently " cruſhed Princes in the height of their proſperity; " and that a wiſe man ought never, from the opinion " he might entertain of ſome favourable event, to be " averſe to the concluding a good peace, nor rely too " much on the appearance of a preſent happineſs, " which a thouſand unforeſeen accidents may change; " it often happening, that a man overthrown and very

(58) Bodin, *de la Republique*, liv. 5. chap. 1. pag. m. 676.

free from inteſtine as well as foreign wars, the expedition of 1600 excepted. It was undertaken againſt the Duke of Savoy; was of ſhort continuance, and was followed by an advantageous treaty (*u*), as it had been accompanied by glorious actions. Had not this King diſplayed his courage and high valour on an hundred different occaſions, the prodigious kindneſſes he indulged his moſt inveterate enemies, would doubtleſs have been conſidered as a weakneſs, and an effect of fear; but as he could not be ſuſpected of cowardiſe, the world had juſt reaſon to believe, that his conduct on that occaſion was wholly the reſult of a generous clemency. It is indeed certain, that his acting in that manner was perfectly conſonant to the maxims of a moſt refined policy; he could not convert his enemies by any other method; and he found this method only too ſhort, he being able to convert only part of the Leaguers; and a great number of Prieſts perſiſted obſtinately in omitting his name in their public prayers [Q]. It is obſerved in Moreri's Dictionary, *that upwards*

(*u*) That in which Breſſe was exchanged for the Marquiſate of Saluſſes.

" much wounded, has killed him who would oblige " him to aſk his life (59)." This anſwer of Henry IV, does not agree with what others declare he ſaid to Duke d'Epernon, who was preſent at the ſigning the treaty of peace: *I have atchieved more exploits with this ſingle daſh of my pen, than I could have atchieved, during a long time, with the beſt ſwords of my kingdom* (60). It is indeed very probable, that he did not flatter himſelf with the hopes of gaining any advantage, by continuing the war; and I am certain that the moſt impartial people, ſuch as were moſt converſant in things of this nature, were equally convinced of the weakneſs of mind which Philip II ſhewed on that occaſion, as of the wiſdom which Henry IV diſcovered in accepting of ſuch a peace. The Spaniards bluſhed at their King's weakneſs. The Prince his ſon paſſionately deſired to have ſo proſperous a war prolonged; and he occaſioned the diſgrace of Don Chriſtopher de Mora, who had repreſented, in a Council, ſuch arguments as were moſt apt to incline the members to peace (61). However, the King of Spain was not to be moved, he deſiring to conclude a peace " upon any " conditions whatever; he did not find any article in " the treaty of Vervins which ſhould prompt him not to " approve of it, although his council judged that the " giving back cities taken ſo fortunately, and ſo difficult to be retaken, would be ignominious and detrimental. He urged that it might be ſworn to, " and put in execution (62)." It is very probable that he would have entertained a very different way of thinking, had he been in the vigour of his age. But what can be done? It is one of the defects of old age to inſpire fearfulneſs.

(59) Perefixe, *Hiſt. de Henry le Grand*, pag. 262, 263. It is to be obſerved that Peter Matthieu, *Hiſt. de la Paix*, liv. 1. Narrat. 3. pag. m. 69. relates that Henry IV ſaid part of theſe particulars to the Spaniſh Embaſſadors, who came to be preſent at his taking the oath.

(60) I believe this is found in Girard's *Life of Duke d'Epernon.*

(61) Matthieu, *Hiſt. de la Paix*, Narrat. 1. pag. 13.

(62) Ibid. Narrat. 3. pag. 68.

Multa ſenem circumveniunt incommoda: vel quod
Quærit, & inventis miſer abſtinet, ac timet uti,
Vel quod res omnes TIMIDE GELIDEQUE *miniſtrat* (63).

(63) Horat. *de Arte Poetica*, ver. 169, &c.

" Old men are only walking hoſpitals,
" Where all defects and all diſeaſes croud,
" With reſtleſs pain, and more tormenting fear;
" Lazy, moroſe, full of delays and hopes,
" Oppreſt with riches which they dare not uſe, &c."
Roſcommon.

I obſerved elſewhere, that commonwealths boaſt one advantage which kingdoms have not. In commonwealths the Sovereign is neither too young nor too old, and is not ſubject to the infirmities of childhood, nor thoſe of old age. But kingdoms have not that happineſs; for they experience at one time the diſorders of a minority, at another the wild heat of youthful blood, and at another the tardineſs and weight of declining years. A King is often forced to complain more than once, that the number of his years deprive him of his activity, and the reſolution he once poſſeſſed, and which a young Prince, his enemy, poſſeſſes.

Non laudis amor, nec gloria ceſſit
Pulſa metu: ſed enim gelidus tardante ſenectâ
Sanguis hebet, frigentque effœtæ in corpore vires.
Si mihi quæ quondam fuerat, quâque improbus iſte
Exſultat fidens, ſi nunc foret illa juventa (64).

(64) Virgil. Æn. lib. 5. ver. 394.

" My ſoul is ſtill the ſame;
" Unmov'd with fear, and mov'd with martial fame:
" But my chill'd blood is curdled in my veins;
" And ſcarce the ſhadow of a man remains.
" Oh, could I turn to that fair prime again,
" That prime, of which this boaſter is ſo vain,
" The brave, who this decrepid age defies,
" Should feel my force without the promis'd prize."
Dryden.

By the way, we muſt not wonder that the peace of Vervins was cenſured; and that ſome blamed France, others Spain, and others again Spain and France both together. This is the fate of ſuch great negotiations, and ſuch was that of the treaty of peace concluded at Ryſwick, anno 1697. Many perſons blamed the allies for not requiring conditions that were ſtill more advantageous, whilſt others cenſured France for giving up ſo great an extent of country. The French murmured at this; the citizens of Paris would not make bonfires on that account, ſo that they were forced to this by repeated menaces. They would not have the Nation return to the ſtate they were in in paſt ages, when it might be juſtly affirmed, that they knew better how to make war than peace, and underſtood equally well the art of reſtoring and taking. They wiſhed that the diſcourſes of the common people among the Flemings had not been found true. They knew that a numberleſs multitude of ignorant perſons had ſaid, that there was no occaſion for people to be alarmed at the loſs of ſome cities; but that they ought even to rejoice at it, ſince they were recovered fortified after Vauban's method. Scholars uſed to expreſs this in another manner, viz. the towns we loſe are built of brick, but we ſhall recover them built with marble (65).

[Q] *A great number of Prieſts perſiſted obſtinately, in omitting his name in their public prayers.*] The King's Attorney-General in the Parliament of Toulouſe, having been informed that a very great number of Prieſts, in celebrating maſs, uſed to omit the prayer for the King (66), and that it had been omitted in ſeveral printed Miſſals (67), made complaint thereof to the Parliament. It was enacted there, that all Prieſts ſhould be obliged to obſerve the antient cuſtom of uſing that prayer, in celebrating divine ſervice; forbid the making uſe of thoſe Miſſals in which this prayer was not inſerted; commanded all Printers and Bookſellers to add immediately the leaf that was wanting; and, in caſe of refuſal, to be puniſhed corporally, and their copies confiſcated. This decree was enacted the 7th of June 1606 (68). If the King, twelve years after he had abjured the Proteſtant principles, had given many teſtimonies of his zeal and attachment to Popery, and indulged the Leaguers many kindneſſes; he yet was mortally hated by ſo great a number of eccleſiaſtics; what could he have expected, had he acted in a contrary manner? Bigots and obſtinate people would have ſwelled to infinitely greater fury, had he neglected the outward profeſſion of religion, and behaved like a Prince who was fired by reſentment. One of his Hiſtorians (69) relates what follows as an inſtance of *wonderful policy: That very evening* (70) *he played at cards with the Ducheſs of Montpenſier, who was of the houſe of Guiſe, and the moſt violent leaguer in all the party* (71). This muſt certainly diſpleaſe his old ſervants. He would not have been ſo urgent to do a like honour to a Huguenot Lady. This is going beyond the parable in the Goſpel. They very probably might ſay, this Ducheſs has not yet laboured in your vineyard, and has done all that lay in her power to deſtroy it, and nevertheleſs ſhe is better paid than *we who*

(65) This alludes to a thought of the Emperor Auguſtus, with regard to the ſtate in which he had put the city of Rome.

(66) *In Miſſa canone paſſim à Sacerdotibus per cunctas dioceſes celebrantibus orationem pro Rege omitti.* Thuan. lib. 136. pag. 123.

(67) At Paris, Bourdeaux and Lyons.

(68) *Extracted from* Thuan. lib. 136. pag. 1123, 1124.

(69) Perefixe, *Hiſt. de Henri le Grand*, pag. 225.

(70) i. e. the day he made his entry into Paris.

(71) See the remark [D] of the article HENRY III.

wards of fifty Hiſtorians, and more than five hundred Panegyriſts, either Poets or Orators, had ſpoke of this Monarch with applauſe. It is certain, on the other ſide, that many authors have maliciouſly endeavoured to throw a ſhade over his glory. Mr. de Sulli complains of this, refutes their calumnies, and aſſerts, among other particulars, that this Prince did not ſuffer his miſtreſſes to fleece him at will [*R*]. However, I am of opinion, that had he not been happy in ſome faithful ſervants, who checked the rapaciouſneſs of thoſe

(72) Matthew, chap. xx. ver. 12.

who have borne all the burthen and heat of the day (72). It was thought ſufficient, in the parable, to equal the recompence of thoſe who had laboured the whole day, to the reward of ſuch as had worked but an hour, and had done no prejudice before. There certainly were many ſuch murmurs, which doubtleſs could not have been appeaſed by the following anſwer of the maſter of a family, *Is your eye evil, becauſe I am good* (73)? This would only have inflamed the wound; Henry IV would have choſe rather to have ſaid for his vindication, that the neceſſity of the times required ſuch a conduct (74).

(73) Ibid. ver. 15.

(74) Compare, with this, the remark [*AA*] of the article CHARLES V.

Res dura & regni novitas me talia cogunt
Moliri (75).

(75) Virg. Æn. lib. 1. ver. 567.

Du Pleſſis Mornai, in a letter he wrote to Morlas in 1594, whilſt thoſe who had followed the League were diſengaging themſelves from it on advantageous conditions, employs the remarkable words following: "We do not envy your killing the fatted "calf for the prodigal ſon, provided you ſay with a "ſincere heart to the obedient ſon, *thou knoweſt, my "ſon, that all I have is thine*; and that you, at "leaſt, do not ſacrifice the obedient ſon, to make the "better entertainment for the prodigal one. In fine, "I am greatly pleaſed with whatever is done, pro"vided it be advantageous; but I dread thoſe bar"gains, in which things are given up, and nothing "got but mere words; the words of thoſe, who hither"to have had no words at all (76)."

(76) *Memoires of du Pleſſis Mornai*, tom. 2. pag. 398, 399.

[*R*] *Mr. de Sulli complains of this .... and aſſerts, among other particulars, that this Prince did not ſuffer his miſtreſſes to fleece him at will.*] He ſpeaks of certain Hiſtoriographers, who had beſtowed their elogiums and cenſures unjuſtly. They ſcarce ſaw one fault in thoſe whoſe hirelings they were, and ſcarce one tolerable quality in Henry the Great, *who had given them nothing*. And "foraſmuch, *ſays he* (77), "as they cannot deny him ſome praiſes, among a "numberleſs multitude which are publickly beſtowed "upon him by the conſent of all nations, they ma"liciouſly forget ſuch as are moſt neceſſary to be "known; diſguiſe others; and extenuating them "all as much as poſſible, they employed another "kind of malice, filled with impoſture, viz. to aſcribe "to him, impudently and falſely, deſires, projects, "deſigns, enterprizes, and reſolutions, with regard "to ſtate-affairs; all of them the moſt abſurd, ſilly, "impertinent and ridiculous poſſible. On this occa"ſion they give themſelves airs; they talk as if they "had been the King's greateſt confidents, and been "admitted into all his moſt ſecret thoughts and de"ſigns; or held intelligence with ſome of his moſt "familiar ſervants both for peace or war, who had "told them all theſe particulars. Afterwards pro"ceeding to diſcourſe on his private converſation, the "ſtate of his family, his behaviour in it, and eſpeci"ally on his recreations, diverſions, ſports, plea"ſures, paſtimes and feſtivities; though they were "for the moſt part ordinary, common and familiar "to men in general, nay even to women; and al"ways moſt general, univerſal, tolerated, lawful and "permitted to all Kings, Potentates, Princes and "great Lords, there being few to be found, even a"mong the moſt prudent, virtuous, gracious, pious "and holy, who were not delighted with them, and "which their people and ſubjects have not chearfully "ſuffered, when, for ſuch pleaſures and paſtimes, "there has not been committed any injuſtice, rape, "murder, violence, extortion or plundering. Never"theleſs, when they come to diſcourſe on the gaiety "and mirth of this ſo clement and gracious a Prince, "they exaggerate and miſrepreſent them to ſuch a "degree, by ſo many falſhoods and fallacious cir"cumſtances; by ſo many miſchievous and pernici"ous conſequences; charging him with ſo many vi"cious, ſhameful, infamous and even execrable and "ſcandalous deſires and paſſions; that one would ima"gine, in hearing them ſpeak with ſo much audaci"ouſneſs, impudence, boldneſs and raſhneſs, that "they were the ſearchers into the hearts and thoughts "of men ..... or that they had been his Majeſty's "confeſſors and great penitentiaries ..... and they "have eſpecially been ſo raſh, as to rank in the "number of his miſtreſſes, a Lady whoſe qualities, "eminence, virtues and wiſdom, ſhould ever have "cautioned him, even though he had thought of her, "not to look upon her as ſuch; and therefore theſe "knaviſh writers deſerve a moſt ſevere puniſhment for "writing after this manner. Theſe writers ſay in "other places, that the woman had gained ſo great "an aſcendant over him, becauſe vice was grown na"tural and habitual to him by long uſe and acquain"tance with wicked people; and that he was ſo diſ"tractedly fond of ſome of thoſe beauties, that he "had no other will but theirs; and that this weak"neſs was the cauſe that the moſt important affairs "were tranſacted by their mediation, and that they "were not refuſed any thing they deſired. They ſo "often add ſuch a number of trifling, impertinent "particulars, that all theſe raſh falſhoods being too "prolix to be refuted by the preſent diſcourſe, which "was drawn up for another purpoſe, we ſhall refer "thoſe who are deſirous of ſeeing their calumnies ſet "in a full light, to all that will be ſaid of them "in the courſe of theſe memoirs, from which it will "appear, how, and for what reaſons, the King never "intended to marry a Lady of gallantry; that the "women had no manner of influence in ſtate-affairs; "and that he had ſervants, who, by his command, "would tell them their faults, even in his preſence; "and divert them from, and refuſe them ſuch "things as they might think to be unjuſt and preju"dicial to the ſtate, the affairs and revenues of the "King, or to his people; and they were forced to "ſubmit to this." This ſhall be confirmed by ſome words extracted from a letter of Henry IV, wherein the reader will ſee the calumnies that were ſpread againſt him. "Some blame me as being too fond of "edifices and coſtly works; others cenſure my hunt"ing, hounds and hawks; ſome reproach me with "cards, dice, and other kind of games; others blame "me on account of women; ſome tax me with "loving feaſtings, banquets, and dainties; whilſt o"thers find fault with me for being delighted with "aſſemblies, plays, balls, dances, and running at "the ring,, in which (ſay they to reproach me) I am "ſtill ſeen with my grey beard, as much delighted, "and being as proud of having run victoriouſly, en"tred twice or thrice, as they merrily expreſs it, and "carried off ſome fine Lady's ring, as I could have "been in my youthful days, nay, as the moſt vain "man in my Court. I will not deny but that there "may be ſome truth in all theſe diſcourſes; but I "muſt obſerve at the ſame time, that as I do not "act in an immodeſt manner on theſe occaſions, this "ought rather to be ſpoke in my commendation than "as a fault; but be this as it will, I ſurely ought to "be excuſed for delighting in ſuch diverſions, as they "are not any way inconvenient or prejudicial to my "people, by way of recompence for the frequent bit"terneſs I have taſted; and for the many uneaſi"neſſes, diſguſts, fatigues, perils and dangers, which "I have paſt through from my childhood till the age "of fifty .... The ſcriptures do not abſolutely com"mand us to be free from ſins and failings, foraſmuch "as ſuch infirmities are inſeparable from the haſtineſs "and impetuoſity of human nature; but only not to "be enſlaved from them, nor to ſuffer them to gain "an empire over our wills; and this I have ſtudied "to do, not being able to do better: And you are "very ſenſible, from many things which have paſt, "with regard to my miſtreſſes (all people thinking

(77) See *Memoires du Sulli*, in the preliminary Epiſtle to tom. 3. folio m. e. ij.

thoſe harpies, and whoſe reſiſtance he approved, they would have had a ſtill more abſolute aſcendant over him. Henry did not often diſcover, though he did more than once, thoſe ſnares which were laid for him by beautiful women [*S*]. Such perſons as were of approved fidelity, might venture to give that Prince their advice without angring him; and we do not find that Villeroy diſpleaſed him, for having delivered himſelf with ſuch a freedom to this Prince, as might have offended him or any other [*T*]. It cannot be denied but that this Monarch had a great fund of generoſity, which made him abhor a numberleſs multitude of artifices, which are but too much ſeen in thoſe who govern. We will here ſee, on this ſubject, the judgment he formed of the artifice, which a King of France had employed [*U*].

HERACLEOTES

" that love was the moſt predominant paſſion in me)
" whether I have not often aſſerted and maintained
" your opinions in oppoſition to their whims and
" chimeras, even ſo far as to tell them, when they
" pretended to give themſelves airs and make a noiſe,
" that I had rather loſe ten ſuch miſtreſſes as they,
" than one ſuch ſervant as you, who were neceſſary
" to me for affairs of an honourable and uſeful na-
(78) *Mémoires de Sulli*, tom. 3. pag. 137, 138. " ture (78)."

[*S*] There were ſome occaſions in which Henry eſcaped *thoſe ſnares which were laid for him by beautiful women.*] Catherine of Medicis aſking him at the conference of St. Brix (79), " What he would
" have? He anſwered, looking on the Ladies in her
" train, I am not for any thing there, Madam; as
" though he hinted thereby, that he would never
" more ſuffer himſelf to be enſnared by ſuch lures."
(79) A caſtle near Coignac. But he had not ſhown the like prudence on other occaſions; for ſome time after the maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's day (80), " he ſuffered himſelf to be cap-
" tivated by the charms of certain Ladies of the
" Court, which it is ſaid that Queen had employed,
" purpoſely to amuſe the Princes and great Lords,
" and to diſcover all their thoughts (81)." What an abominable Queen was this! Every one knows what name is given to ſuch a behaviour. Heavens! what a ſchool was this for young Ladies of quality. Ladies who went by the name of Maids of Honour! And it is to be obſerved, that had this Queen deſired to keep two or three hundred, ſhe would have been ſupplied with them; ſo great was the corruption in thoſe times, the uſe to which thoſe Maids of Honour were employed being well known.

(80) Perefixe, *Hiſt. de Henry le Grand*, pag. 80. *ad ann.* 1586.

(81) Ibid. pag. 33.

[*T*.] *Villeroy delivered himſelf with ſuch a freedom to this Prince, as might have offended him.*] What people are they who do not know that it is a very rude advice, and which touches to the quick, to repreſent to a perſon, that he is not able to maintain his rank, but forgets the dignity of his character? Now Villeroi repreſented this to *Henry* IV. and he is applauded for it by Naude. *One of the beſt Counſels*, ſays he, (82), *that Mr. de Villeroy ever gave to Henry the Great, who had led a Soldier's life during the wars which had broke out at his acceſſion to the Crown, was, when he told him, that a Prince who was regardleſs of the reverence due to his Majeſty, ſuffered it to be contemned and affronted. That the Kings his Predeceſſors, in times of the greateſt confuſion, had always behaved as Kings, and that it was high time for him to ſpeak, write, and command as a King.*

(82) Naudé, *Coups d'Eſtat*, chap. 1. pag. m.

[*U*.] *We will here ſee the judgment he formed of the artifice which a King of France had employed.*] He was " a great obſerver of ſuch things as re-
" late to the preſerving the reputation of Princes,
" wherein he choſe rather to recede from his own
" right and power, than to give the leaſt occaſion for
" cenſuring his ſincerity; he always blaming faithleſs
" and inſidious Princes, not excepting even his pre-
" deceſſors, whenever the converſation fell on ſuch of
" their Actions, in which they had been wanting with
" regard to prudence in their promiſes and publick
" faith, as he did one day, when the ſubject of diſ-
" courſe, in his preſence, was on the weighty affairs of
" King *Philip* of Valois; and his great courage,
" which was ſo ill ſeconded by fortune." *He was a great Monarch*, (ſaid the King) *but there were certain ſubtilties in his words, which would have become wheedlers of little Children better than Kings, as was the following, which I no ways approve. He had concluded a treaty with the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and promiſed by the treaty, not to make war with the Empire, notwithſtanding which, he levied both ſea and land armies, with which he invaded the Low Countries, under the command of the Duke of Normandy his eldeſt ſon, who was defeated by ſea at Sluys; and having laid ſiege to the City of Thin, the King his father was at that ſiege, as a ſoldier fighting under his ſon, being nevertheleſs one of his Counſellors; he thinking, by this captious equivocation, that no one could blame him for breaking the treaty which he had made as King of France; as tho' it were not the ſame thing to attempt any enterprize one's ſelf, as by another* (83). It is not long ſince that walking with a Doctor, he told me that Henry IV. having been told a fraud of the King of Spain, cried out, *It muſt be owned, that Kings are great knaves.* I immediately ask'd whether he had read this particular in any Book, to which he replied, that this was one of Henry IV's ſmart ſayings, (α), inſerted in the collection which was publiſhed of them, at the end of his hiſtory written by the biſhop of Rhodez (84), preceptor to Lewis XIV. I very much doubt this, replied I; for I formerly read that work of Mr. de Perefixe quite through, and I have not the leaſt idea of what you now tell me; and yet theſe words are ſo very likely to make an impreſſion, that they could not be eaſily forgot. I afterwards run over Perefixe's work, and found that they were not there, and accordingly I wrote word to the Doctor about this. He then ſent me word, that, upon recollection, he believed that this exclamation of Henry IV. is told in one of Howel's Letters (in Engliſh). I relate this only by way of advice, *viz.* that we muſt not truſt *hear-ſays*; and that incidents vary greatly, by their paſſing from one writer to another. What a difference there is between the words of le Grain and thoſe of Howell!

(83) Baptiſte le Gruin, *Décade du Roy Henry le Grand*, liv. 8. pag. m. 781.

(84) Hardouin de Perefixe.

§ (α) There is a collecton of them, but two repartees are wanting which this Prince made when but fifteen years of age; and which his renowned mother, the illuſtrious Joan d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, has preſerved. The Queen-mother, Catherine of Medicis, in concert with the Cardinal of Lorrain, had ſent the Sieur de la Motte-Fenelon to the Queen of Navarre, to diſſuade her from joining her forces with theſe, which under the command of the Prince of Conde, the Proteſtants were aſſembling in 1568, juſt before the civil war. As la Motte-Fenelon one day, directing himſelf privately to the Prince of Navarre, ſtudiouſly affected to appear ſurprized, that he, being ſo young, ſhould engage in a quarrel which properly concerned no one but his uncle the Prince of Conde, and thoſe Huguenots who waged war againſt the King: I do ſo, anſwered the young Prince, becauſe it being manifeſt, that upon pretence of rebellion with which my Uncle and the Huguenots are falſly charged here, our enemies have no leſs a deſign in view than to extirpate the whole royal branch of *Bourbon*, we are determined to die all together, to ſave the expences of mourning, which we otherwiſe ſhould be obliged to wear for one another.

The ſame Gentleman directing himſelf, another time, to the Prince of *Navarre*, bewailed the miſeries which, he ſaid, the fire of this war would occaſion throughout the whole Kingdom. Pugh, ſays the Prince; ſuch a fire as this may be extinguiſhed with a bucket of water. How could that be, ſaid la Motte-Fenelon? by forcing, (continued the Prince) the Cardinal of Lorrain, the true and principal incendiary of France, to ſwallow down that water till he burſt. It is the Queen of Navarre herſelf who, pag. 234, 235, of a collection printed in 12mo, Anno 1570, entitled, *Hiſtoire de notre tempes, &c.* relates this in a long, noble *manifeſto* of her's. By the way, I know not whether Henry IV. was not as much obliged, for this vivacity and fire, to his mother, as to his father Anthony of Bourbon, who is not repreſented, in our hiſtory, as poſſeſſed of very ſhining qualities; and a circumſtance which

HERACLEOTES (DIONYSIUS) ſo named becauſe he was of Heraclea (a) a city of Pontus, ſtudied under various maſters, and at laſt attached himſelf to the founder of the Stoics (b). From him he learnt to aſſert, that pain is not an evil; that nothing but vice deſerves this name, as nothing but virtue deſerves the name of good; and that all other things are indifferent. He perſevered in this doctrine ſo long as he was in health; but being afterwards afflicted with the ſharpeſt pains, he abjured his opinions [A], and renounced the Sect of the Stoics; and, what is worſe, embraced that of the Cyrenaics, who made the *ſummum bonum* to conſiſt in pleaſure. He now entered without the leaſt ſenſe of ſhame, and in the moſt public manner, into the ſtews; and was willing that the whole world ſhould know the pleaſures in which he immerſed himſelf (c). Some perſons even ſay, that he was a debauchee from his youth [B]; and that recollecting as he paſſed

(a) Diog. Laert. lib. 7. num. 166.

(b) Idem, ibid.

(c) Idem, num. 167.

which is pretty ſtrong in the mother's favour, is a delicate raillery we find, page 236 and 237 of the manifeſto in queſtion, of that Princeſs, with regard to one Deſcars, a Limouſin Gentleman, who had ridiculouſly boaſted to the King and the Queen Mother, that he had the command of 4000 Gentlemen, who would be able to prevent ſo much as one ſingle Huguenot from marching, to join the Prince of Conde's army. However, as the Queen of Navarre, and her forces, paſſed without oppoſition; not to mention that Deſcars was not conſiderable enough, to prevail with ſo great a number of the Gentry to follow him as Volunteers: In all probability, ſaid ſhe, by theſe 4000 Gentlemen, Deſcars underſtoood *Swine*, who were called Gentlemen in his Village, becauſe they are cloathed in ſilk. The Reader may here obſerve the origin of the word *Pourceaugrac*. REM. CRIT.

[A] *Being afterwards afflicted with the ſharpeſt pains, he abjured his opinions.*] On account of this change, he was called μεταθέμενος (1), which we may tranſlate deſerter. Some relate, that his having ſore eyes was the occaſion of *Heracleotes's* changing his opinion, but others aſcribe it to the pains he felt in the gravel. Cicero gives us both theſe traditions (2). *Nobis Heracleotes ille Dionyſius flagitioſe deſciviſſe videtur à Stoicis propter oculorum dolorem. Quis verò hoc didiciſſet à Zenone, non dolere quum doleret? Illud audierat, nec tamen didicerat malum illud non eſſe, quia turpe non eſſet, & eſſet ferendum viro. Hic ſi Peripateticus fuiſſet, permanſiſſet, credo, in ſententia, quoniam dolorem dicunt malum eſſe, de aſperitate autem ejus fortiter ferenda præcipiunt eadem quæ Stoici* (3). "Dionyſius Heracleotes "ſeems to have left the Stoicks infamouſly, becauſe of "a pain in his eyes. For what man had been taught "by Zeno, that what is really painful is not ſo? "He had been told, but without underſtanding it, "that pain was not an evil, becauſe it does not reflect "ignominy on men, and ought to be borne by them. "Had Heracleotes been a Peripatetick, I fancy he "would have continued as ſuch, they maintaining "that pain is an evil; but they inculcate, in like manner as the Stoicks, that men ought to bear it courageouſly." I have quoted more words than I needed to have done, to prove what I advanced, and yet I do not think my Labour loſt; for I ſhew by the way, that the controverſies between the Stoicks and Peripateticks, with reſpect to the nature of pain, was but a mere diſpute about words. Both agreed that it ought to be borne courageouſly, but one part would not allow it to be called an evil, and the other aſſerted that it was. Did this deſerve to have ſuch a pother made about it? We diſpute at this time, both in Divinity and Philoſophy, about things wherein the miſunderſtanding is no leſs viſible. Here follows another paſſage of Cicero; I will cite it at length, in order that the Reader may have a full view of the manner in which our Philoſopher Heracleotes reaſoned. He preſumed greatly on the ſtrength of Philoſophy; he judging that as it was inferior to the force or violence of pain, pain muſt conſequently be an evil. *Homo ſanè levis Heracleotes Dionyſius, cùm à Zenone fortis eſſe didiciſſet, à dolore deductus eſt. Nam cùm ex renibus laboraret, ipſo in ejulatu clamitabat, falſa eſſe illa, quæ antea de dolore ipſe ſenſiſſet. Quem cum Cleanthes condiſcipulus rogaret, quænam ratio eum de ſententia deduxiſſet, reſpondit, Quia cùm tantum operæ Philoſophiæ dediſſem, dolorem tamen ferre non poſſem, ſatis eſſet argumenti, malum eſſe dolorem. Plurimos autem annos in Philoſophia conſumpſi, nec ferre poſſum: malum eſt igitur dolor. Tum Cleanthem, cùm pede terram percuſſiſſet, verſum ex Epigonis ferunt dixiſſe:*

Audiſne hæc Amphiarae, ſub terram abdite?

Zenonem ſignificabat: à quo illum degenerare dolebat (4). (4) Idem, Cicero, Tuſcul. 2. cap. 25.

"Dionyſius Heracleotes, being a fickle man, after "Zeno had taught him ſtrength and hardineſs, fell "from it, being vanquiſhed by pain; for being troubled with great pain in the kidneys, he cried aloud in "the anguiſh he felt, that what he had formerly taught "with regard to pain, was falſe. And when Cleanthes, his fellow diſciple, asked him wherefore he "had altered his opinion, he replied, ſince I have devoted ſo many years to Philoſophy, and yet am "not able to bear pain, this ſhews ſufficiently that "pain is an evil. Upon this Cleanthes, after ſtamping his foot on the ground, is ſaid to have repeated "the following Verſe out of the Epigonæ,

"Amphiaraus now laid low in Earth,
"Heareſt thou this?

"He hinted at Zeno, from whom he was grieved "that Heracleotes had degenerated."

[B] *Some perſons ſay that he was a debauchee even from his youth.*] We have juſt now ſeen, that he had adhered many years to the ſevere maxims of the Stoicks, and this he himſelf aſſerts, if Cicero may be credited. What are we then to think of a ſtory which we meet with in Athenæus? Shall we conclude that this author took a pleaſure in collecting whatever ſcandalous ſtories he met with, whether true or falſe, in the moſt ſatyrical writers? I ſhall leave this to the deciſion of my readers; and will only inſert Athenæus's Greek, with Dalecampius's tranſlation (5) which it may be neceſſary to rectify by Caſaubon's notes. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Διονύσιος ἔτι ἐκ νέου, ὡς φησι Νικίας ὁ Νικαεὺς ἐν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς πρὸς τὰ Ἀφροδίσια ἐκμανὴς, καὶ πρὸς τὰς δημοσίας εἰσήει παιδίσκας ἀδιαφόρως· καί ποτε πορευόμενος μετὰ τινῶν γνωρίμων, ὡς ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ παιδισκεῖον εἰς ὃ τῇ προτεραίᾳ παρελήλυθώς ὤφειλε καλκοῦς, ἔχων τότε κατὰ τύχην, ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα πάντων ὁρώντων ἀπέδιδε. *Fuit autem Dionyſius ille, quod ait Niceas Nicæenſis libro de Succeſſionibus, jam ab adoleſcentia, tam immani furioſaque libidine percitus, ut ſine diſcrimine cum plebeiis ancillis ac pediſſequis coiret & aliquando cum familiaribus inambulans, ubi ad ancillarum ædes venit, quas pridie ingreſſus aliquot obolos quos debebat non ſolverat, caſu tum forte in loculis habens, diſtentâ manu coram omnibus numeraverit* (5). (5) Athen. lib. 10. pag. 437.

i. e. "It is related in Niceas Nicenſis's Book of Succeſ- "ſions, that this Dionyſius was, from his youth, fired "with ſuch luſt, that he would lie indiſcriminately with "all the wenches who came in his way. And that "walking one day with ſome friends, and going by the "houſe of certain girls, with whom he had had an affair "the day before, and to whom he owed a few pence, "he happening to have ſome then in his pocket, "ſtretched forth his hand, and paid his debt before "every one." Thoſe who ſhall well remember Athenæus's ſeventh book will eaſily join with Cicero; and will believe that Dionyſius did not quit the Stoics, till after he had ſpent a great number of years among them; for Athenæus calls him an old man at the time he deſerted; and cites Timon the joker, who uſed to ſay that this man had begun to devote himſelf to pleaſure, at a time when the ſeaſon proper for it was over. But I had better quote the original, which is in Chapter VI, Book VII, Page 281 of Athæneus. Περὶ δὲ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἡρακλεώτου τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; ὃς ἄντικρυς ἀπόδυς τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς χιτῶνα ἄνδρα μετημφιάσατο, καὶ Μεταθέμενος καλούμενος ἔχαιρε, καί τοι γεραιὸς ἀποφὰς τῶν τῆς σοφῆς λόγων,

(1) That word ſignifies *immutatus*, and not *tranſpoſitor*, as Athenæus's tranſlator renders it, book 10. pag. 437. See Voſſius, *De Hiſt. Græc.* pag. 466. Caſaubon, *in Athenæum*, pag. 733. had always obſerved that fault.

(2) Compare citation (3) with citation (4).

(3) Cicero, lib. 5. *de Finib.* cap. 31. Laert. num. 166. ſpeaks only of his ſore eyes.

paſſed by a brothel, that he had left it the day before without paying what he owed the ſtrumpets, he put his hand into his pocket, and paid his debts regularly, in preſence of every one. A puzzling objection was made to him [C], viz. his admitting, with all the *Dogmatiſts*, that there is a rule to diſcover truth from falſhood. He compoſed ſeveral philoſophical works, and likewiſe ſome Poems (*d*). He impoſed upon Heraclides by one of his Poems [D]. He lived to fourſcore years of age, when being grown quite weary of life, he ſtarved himſelf (*e*). He burnt with laſcivious deſires, even in an age when nature was not able to ſatiate them [E].

(*d*) Diogen. Laert. lib. 7. num. 167.

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

Moreri

λόγων, ᾗ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον μεταπηδήτας· περὶ ὃ δὴ καὶ ἀχαρίτως ὁ Τίμων ἔφη,

Ἤιξ ἰχεῖν δύνειν, νῦν ἄρχεται ἡδύνεσθαι.
Ὥρη ἐρᾶν: ὥρη δὲ γαμεῖν, ὥρη δὲ πεπαύσθαι.

Quid autem de Heracleote Dionyſio attinet dicere? Apertè quidem & palàm virtutis exuta veſte, cùm indumentum mutaſſe & alienum ſumpſiſſe criminarentur, gaudebat, quamvis jam natu grandis à Stoïcorum ſchola defeciſſet, & tranſiviſſet ad Epicurum. De illo non invenuſte Timon ſcripſit.

Ille voluptati ſe tradit jam moriturus.
Tempus amandi, tempus habendæ conjugis, eſt quod
Rebus ab his tandem moneat deſiſtere tempus.

i. e. " What ſhall be ſaid of Heracleotes Dionyſius? who " having diveſted himſelf publickly of the robe of " virtue, and being accuſed for ſo ſhamefully changing " his principles, only laughed at the reproach, though " he was ſo far advanced in years when he abandoned " the Stoics and went over to the Epicureans. Timon " wrote pleaſantly of Heracleotes as follows :

" He dedicates his ebbing life to pleaſures.
" There is a time for love, a time for marriage;
" And there is a time we ſhould abſtain from both."

I ſhall add that Lucian obſerves, that Dionyſius was extremely ſober and prudent, when he left the Stoics (6). I dare not affirm, as Menage does (7), that he travelled into Aſia in Alexander's retinue ; and that he danced to the ſound of flutes at this conqueror's nuptials. Athenæus indeed ſpeaks this of one Dionyſius Heracleotes ; but how many perſons does he mention of the ſame name, without diſtinguiſhing them by any characteriſtic?

(6) Ἀνδρα τότε σώφρονα. Lucian. in *his accuſato*, pag. 325. tom. 2.

(7) In Laert. lib. 7. pag. 334.

[C] *A puzzling objection was made to him.*] The perſon who made it was one Antiochus. He had gone over to the ſect or principles of thoſe who did not admit of any knowledge, that is, any propoſition to be certainly true; and he afterwards had quitted that ſect, after having long maintained incomprehenſibility, and wrote ſubtilly in favour of it. *Scripſit de his rebus acutiſſime, & idem hoc acrius accuſavit in ſenectute quàm antea defenſitaverat. Quamvis igitur fuerit acutus, ut fuit, tamen inconſtantia elevatur autoritas. Quis, inquam, etiam iſte dies illuxerit, quæro, qui illi oſtenderit eam quam multos annos eſſe negaviſſet veri & falſi notam* (8)? i. e. " He wrote with great acuteneſs " and ſubtlety on theſe ſubjects ; and cenſured his for- " mer doctrine more vehemently than he had before " defended it. Therefore, although he was a ſubtle " and acute writer, yet his fickleneſs leſſened his au- " thority. For I would enquire of him when that " propitious day would ariſe, which ſhould reveal to " him that criterion of truth and falſhood which he had " denied during ſo many years." Now whilſt he was oppoſing knowledge or certainty, he haraſſed our Heracleotes in a moſt dreadful manner ; you believed for a long time, ſays he to him, that there was no other good but virtue ; after which you aſſerted, that virtue is only an empty name, and that the ſupreme good conſiſts in pleaſure. You therefore ought to believe, that falſhood preſents itſelf to our minds, and impreſſes itſelf there under the ſame characteriſtic or image under which truth exhibits itſelf ; and conſequently that this diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of truth and falſhood, which you truſt to in affirming or denying, is deceitful and illuſive. The whole ſtrength of the objection in queſtion conſiſted in this, that Heracleotes had ſucceſſively maintained two contradictory propoſitions. Antiochus felt the force of his own objection, when he had changed his opinion, he being defeated with the ſame weapons which he had employed againſt Heracleotes. Here follows Cicero's Latin (9). *Quoque ſolebat uti argumento*

(8) Cicero, *Academ. Quæſt.* lib. 2. cap. 22.

A SCEPTICAL OBJECTION.

(9) Idem, ibid.

tum, cùm ei placebat, nihil poſſe percipi, cum quæreret, Dionyſius ille Heracleotes, utrum comprehendiſſet certa illa nota quæ aſſentiri dicitis oportere, illudne, quod multos annos tenuiſſet, Zenonique magiſtro credidiſſet, honeſtum quod eſſet, id bonum ſolum eſſe ; an quod poſteà defenſitaviſſet, honeſti inane nomen eſſe, voluptatem eſſe ſummum bonum : qui ex illius commutata ſententia docere vellet, nihil ita ſignari in animis noſtris à vero poſſe, quod non eodem modo poſſit à falſo, is curavit, quod argumentum ex Dionyſio ipſe ſumpſiſſet, ex eo cæteri ſumerent. i. e. " He employed this argument, whilſt " he thought that we could not arrive at any certainty " of truth ; which, *ſaid he*, of thoſe two opinions did " Heracleotes find out, by that criterion, to which " you declare that we ought to ſubmit ; whether the " firſt which he had long maintained, and had been " taught by Zeno his maſter, viz. that nothing is " good but what is virtuous ; or that which he af- " terwards defended, viz. that virtue is a vain and " empty name, and that pleaſure is the ſupreme " good? he intending to ſhew, from Heracleotes's " changing his opinion, that truth does not make " any impreſſion on the mind, but what it may like- " wiſe receive from falſhood. He took care, that " others ſhould draw the ſame argument from his " inconſtancy, as he had drawn from that of Hera- " cleotes." This objection may puzzle ſuch modern Proteſtants, as aſſert that the truths of the Goſpel do not enter into our minds by the way of evidence, but by that of ſenſe. What will they ſay ſhould they be ſhewed ſome Chriſtians who change their religion ; and who in imitation of our Heracleotes, a long time eſpouſe with incredible zeal and ardor, the very tenets which they afterwards reject with equal ardor? Does not the ſenſation of falſhood, will it be aſked, impreſs or ſtamp itſelf on the mind, with all the ſame characteriſtics as the ſenſe of truth?

[D] *He impoſed upon Heracleotes by one of his poems.*] Having written a Poem intitled Παρθενοπαῖον, *Partheno-pæum*, he publiſhed it under Sophocles's name, as tho' he had been the author of that poem. Heraclides was ſo far impoſed upon as to think it had really been writ by Sophocles, and quoted it as ſuch in one of his works. Heracleotes then diſcovered the artifice, which Heraclides would not believe in any manner, he aſſerting that it certainly was writ by Sophocles; and even when Heracleotes ſent him his manuſcript, he ſtill perſiſted in his opinion, and declared, that chance might make two poets form the very ſame compoſition (10); ſo diſpleaſing it is to an author, to own that he has ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon in ſuch a manner. Scaliger, when impoſed upon thus by Muretus, was not ſo obſtinate, but then he was prodigiouſly vexed at it.

(10) Diog. Laert. lib. 5. num. 92, 93.

[E] *He burnt with laſcivious deſires, even in an age when nature was not able to ſatiate them.*] Upon a high feſtival, which he ſolemnized as agreeably as he could, he cauſed a courteſan to be brought, that nothing might be wanting to the feſtivities of the day ; but old age had impaired his faculties to ſuch a degree, that all his attempts were fruitleſs. He confeſſed his imbecillity, employing the words (11) which Homer puts into the mouth of one of Penelope's gallants, who not being able to bend Ulyſſes's bow, cried, let another take this bow, I am not able to bend it (12). Heracleotes declared in like manner, that ſince he was not able to engage with the courteſan, another man ought to take her. Φησὶ τὸν Διονύσιον τοῖς οἰκέταις συνεορτάζοντα, ἐν τῇ τῶν Χόων ἑορτῇ, ᾗ μὴ δυνάμενον δῆσαι γῆρας χρήσθαι ἢ παμιλήφισαν ἑταίρᾳ, ὑποσρέψαντα εἰπεῖν ὡρὸς τὰς συνδιατριβάς, ΟΥ̓ δύναμαι τανύσαι, λαβέτο δὲ ᾗ ἄλλος. *Tradit Dionyſium cum domeſticis, diebus feſtis congiorum, ferias illas agentem, cum ob ſenectutem meretrice quam adduxerant uti non poſſet, ad convivas facie verſa, dixiſſe, Arrigere nequeo, ſumat alius* (13). Antigonus Caryſtius related thoſe particulars in the life of our Heracleotes.

(11) He made ſome alterations in them by way of parody. *See* Caſaubon on Athenæus, pag. 733.

(12) Odyſſ. lib. 21. pag. m. 647.

(13) Athen. lib. 10. pag. 437, &c. Antigonus Caryſtius.

Moreri has made conſiderable blunders [*F*].

[*F*] *Moreri has made conſiderable blunders.*] I. He ſays that *Dionyſius Heracleotes ... having quitted Zeno's ſchool, became a follower of the Cynics.* Now he ſhould have ſaid the *Cyrenaics*, which ſect differed greatly from that of the Cynicks. The reader may judge of this, from the oppoſite characters that were found in Ariſtippus and Diogenes. There is not in the main, any great difference between Diogenes Laertius, who declares that our Heracleotes went over to the Cyrenaicks, and Athenæus who ſays that he went over to the Epicureans; for though Epicurus gave a more virtuous explication of the word pleaſure, he agreed with the Cyrenaicks, that the ultimate end of man, the ſupreme good, the happineſs of man, is pleaſure. II. The following words, *he did not ſcruple in any manner ... to do publicly what might give him pleaſure*, are a conſequence of his firſt error, and a new error. Had Heracleotes gone over to the Cynicks, he would not have been aſhamed to lie with a woman in the middle of the ſtreets; but as he did but go over to the ſchool of Ariſtippus, who was an agreeable debauchee, a polite libertine, and who knew the world admirably well; and as the Cyrenaicks who were for indulging nature to the utmoſt of its wiſhes, were not nevertheleſs as barefaced and impudent as the Cynicks, it is wrong for any writer to aſſert that he had as little deference and reſpect, as Diogenes, for his neighbour's eye. I own, that he was willing to have people ſee him enter into the public brothels, and that it ſhould be known he had lain with proſtitutes (14); but every one knows that this does not ſignify, to know a woman publicly, and in the ſight of every one, as the Cynicks uſed to do. III. It would be impoſſible for any one to repreſent in a more confuſed manner than Moreri has done, our Philoſopher's deſerting the Stoicks. *Dionyſius*, ſays he, *being extremely tortured with a dreadful pain in his eyes, would never ſay that pain was an indifferent thing.* Is this a faithful deſcription of the change of this philoſopher? Would not the reader be apt to image to himſelf a man who is put on the rack, in order to force him to declare, that pain is an indifferent thing; and who perſiſts obſtinately in refuſing to make ſuch a confeſſion? See in the paſſages above cited (15) from Cicero, the genuine ſtate of this affair. IV. He ſhould not have ſubtracted ten years from Heracleotes's age; he *ſtarving himſelf* at eighty years of age, and not at threeſcore and ten.

(14) Εἴς τε τὰ χαμαιτυπεῖα ὑπιοῦσι καὶ τἄλλα ἀπαραλύπτως, ἰδυναῖοι. *Luſtra ingrediebatur cæteriſque voluptatibus aperte operam dabat.* Laertius, lib. 7. num. 167. The common verſion is expreſt in too ſtrong terms, and very probably miſled Moreri. *Palam luſtra ingrediebatur, cæteraque ſub omnium gerebat oculis quæ ad voluptatem pertinerent.*

(15) Citation (3) and (4).

HERACLIUS, Patriarch of Jeruſalem in the twelfth Century, made his own fortune by his art and conduct. He was a native of Auvergne, without either friends or fortune; notwithſtanding which he roſe to be Archbiſhop of Cæſarea, and afterwards Patriarch of Jeruſalem. His handſome air and artful conduct procured him the moſt intimate confidence of the King's mother; inſomuch that the oppoſitions of the Archbiſhop of Tyre were of no effect, though founded on prophecies [*A*]. It was in vain that he proteſted againſt the election of Heraclius, appealed to the Pope on that account, and even went to Rome in order to get it revoked; he had not time ſufficient to put an end to this affair. Heraclius cauſed him to be poiſoned [*B*], and going afterwards to Rome, got himſelf confirmed by the Pope. He ſucceeded Almericus the Patriarch, who died in 1180. He led a very ſcandalous life with the wife of a Merchant of Napoli in Syria, whom he ſent for to Jeruſalem after her huſband's death (*a*). The particulars of this incident are related below, in old French [*C*]. He muſt not be diſtinguiſhed from

(*a*) See *Hiſtoire de la Conquête du Roiaume de Jeruſalem par Saladin*, printed in Paris, anno 1679.

[*A*] *Though founded on prophecies.*] He ſaid, that it was threatned in the prophecies, that as the Croſs was conquered by one Eraclius (Heraclius) it ſhould be loſt under another (1). I am of opinion that he would have ſpoke more conformably to Hiſtory, had he ſaid, that as the Infidels had taken the Croſs under one Eraclius, i. e. under the Empire of Heraclius, they ſhould re-take it under another Heraclius. I know very well that the Emperor Heraclius recovered, by a treaty of peace, the Croſs which the Perſians had carried off; but can we call this conquering the croſs?

(1) *Hiſtoire de la Conquête de Jeruſalem par Saladin.* See the remark [*C*].

[*B*] *The Archbiſhop of Tyre ..... had not time ſufficient to put an end to this affair. Heraclius cauſed him to be poiſoned.*] I found this particular in the preface which Bongars wrote to the *Geſta Dei per Francos*. He relates that William Archbiſhop of Tyre, the ſame who wrote the Hiſtory of thoſe times, declared, but in vain, to the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, that it would not be proper for them, in any manner, to nominate Heraclius to the Patriarchate of Jeruſalem. He told them the prophecy related above; and, to prevent their entertaining a thought that he aſpired to the vacant dignity, he conjured them not to nominate either Heraclius or himſelf. However, they nominated theſe two; and the King, purſuant to the promiſe he had made his mother, choſe Heraclius, who immediately publiſhed his mandate, requiring obedience from the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, ſubordinate to the Patriarchate of Jeruſalem. The Archbiſhop of Tyre was the only Prelate who refuſed to appear; he appealing to the Pope, and boaſting he would prove that Heraclius was not worthy of the Patriarchat. He ſet out immediately for Rome, and met with a very gracious reception there; and ſettled matters on ſuch a foot, that it was believed Heraclius would inevitably be depoſed; but the new Patriarch warded off the blow, by bribing a Phyſician who poiſoned William the Archbiſhop. Heraclius afterwards went to Rome, and was indulged by the Pope in all things he deſired. Bongars met with theſe particulars in none but French Authors.

[*C*] *The particulars of this incident hereunder, in old French.*] The *Hiſtoire de la Conquête de Jeruſalem*, abovecited, was publiſhed at Paris in 1679. The Editor had taken it from an old manuſcript, which Mr. Cabart de Villermont had put into his hands. He publiſhes what follows in the very words and orthography of the original: *Et celle* (2) *tenoit li Patriarche tout en apiert, & ſans celée de gens, ainſi comme un homme fait ſa femme, fors tant qu'elle ne manoit pas avec li, & quant li Patriarche alloit au Monſtier, elle eſtoit auſſi bien aornée de riches draps, comme ſe cou fut une Emperées ou une Reine, & ſes ſerians devant li, & quant aucunes gens la veoient qui ne la connoiſſoient point, ſi demandoient qui cette Dame eſtoit, ainſi qu'on fait des gens qu'on ne connoit; & ceux qui la connoiſſoient diſoient que cou eſtoit la Patriarcheſſe, la femme le Patriarche, & ſachez qu'elle avoit nom Paſque de Riveri, & ſi avoit aſſez d'enfans du Patriarche. On conte que ce Prelat aſſiſtant à un Conſeil d'importance, un fol s'eſtant fourré dans la chambre, courut droit à lui, & lui dit, Sire Patriarche preparez moi une riche recompenſe, car je vous aporte de joyeuſes nouvelles, voſtre femme Paſque de Riveri eſt heureuſement accouchée d'une belle fille* (3). i. e. "The Patriarch kept her in the moſt "public manner, as a man does his wife, except that "ſhe did not live with him. And whenever the "Patriarch went to church, ſhe was in as rich and "ſplendid a habit as if ſhe had been an Empreſs or "Queen, having her domeſtics before her; and when "any perſons, who did not know her, uſed, when "they met her, to aſk who that Lady was, people "would anſwer, the Patriarcheſs, wife to the Pa"triarch. The reader is to know that her name was "Paſque de Riveri, and that ſhe had ſeveral children "by the Patriarch. It is related that this Prelate be"ing in Council when affairs of an important nature "were debating, a madman happening to get into "the room, ran up to him and ſaid, Lord Patriarch, "get

(2) i. e. the widow to the merchant of Napoli in Syria.

(3) I give this paſſage, according to the copy I took of it, a long time ſince. I fear I have not always followed the orthography according to the printed book; and I have it not by me at this time to compare them.

from the Patriarch Heraclius, mentioned in the hiſtory of the Cruſades, and who diſcovered ſo much animoſity againſt Henry II King of England [*D*], when he found that this Prince did not care to go and ſuccour Jeruſalem in perſon. He was the chief of the embaſſy which the Princes of the holy Land had ſent into the Weſt to aſk for ſuccours; and *he had undertaken in Paleſtine, to bring thither the King of England, or one of the three Princes his ſons* (*b*).

(*b*) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. des Croiſades*, liv. 4. tom. 2. pag. 65. Dutch edit.

" get ready a handſome reward for me, for I bring " you joyful news, Paſque de Riveri, your wife, is " happily brought to bed of a lovely girl."

Bongars tells the ſame ſtory in Latin, and more at large (4); for he ſays that the French Author who relates it, obſerves that this conduct of the Patriarch ſerved as a pattern or example to others; and that the Prieſts, the Clerks and Monks, were ſo immerſed in lewdneſs and adultery, that ſcarce ſo much as one woman was chaſte in Jeruſalem; and that Jeſus Chriſt, ſeeing theſe obſcene actions in the city where he had ſhed his blood, to redeem his people, would no more ſuffer them than thoſe of Sodom and Gomorrah. For this reaſon he repurged it ſo thoroughly of this filthy practice, that of all thoſe who were living in Heraclius's time, only two perſons eſcaped impriſonment, when that city was taken by Saladine. The ſame Bongars quotes Marinus Sanutus, and Paulus Æmilius, the firſt of whom ſays, that the people uſed to give the name of *Patriarcheſs* to Heraclius's concubine. *Cui* (Almerico) *ſucceſſit, Heraclius tam pernicioſi exempli, ut procedentem ornatiſſimam mulierem quam publicè tenebat vulgus* Patriarchiſſam *vocaret* (5). Paulus Æmilius aſſerts, that this Patriarch and his clergy led a diſſolute life. *Sacerdotes fuiſſe flagitiis ſceleribuſque obrutos: atque adeo ipſum Patriarcham neque caſte neque integre vitam egiſſe* (6).

(4) Bongars *Præfat. Geſtorum Dei per Francos.*

(5) Marinus Sanutus, lib. 3. Part 4. cap. 24. *apud* Bongars, *Præf. Geſt. Dei per Francos.*

(6) Paulus Æmilius, *de Rebus geſtis Francorum*, lib. 5. *ſub finem*, *apud eundem*, *ibid.*

[*D*] It was he . . . . *who diſcovered ſo much animoſity againſt Henry II, King of England.*] This Prince, " to expiate the crime he had committed, by occa- " ſioning the aſſaſſins of St. Thomas (a Becket) Arch- " biſhop of Canterbury, to murther that Prelate in his " own church, had ſubmitted to a penance of the " Pope, by which he had bound himſelf to convey, " in perſon, in three years time, a conſiderable ſuc- " cour to the Holy Land. Above ten years were " elapſed ſince the time fixed upon, and yet this " King did not prepare to fulfill his promiſe (7)." This made Heraclius hope that he ſhould be ſucceſsful in his negotiation. He made an *extremely pathetic ſpeech to that* Monarch, *after preſenting him with the keys of Jeruſalem, and thoſe of the Holy Sepulchre* (8). He was made to hope that his requeſt ſhould ſoon be indulged, but the King did not keep his word with him. Henry conſulted his Clergy, *in order to enquire, if, in the preſent poſture of affairs, it was incumbent on him to fulfill his promiſe; and ſubmit to that part of the penance which the Pope had enjoined him, and to which he had ſolemnly bound himſelf* (9). Heraclius the Patriarch was preſent in this aſſembly where this caſe of conſcience was examined. " All the Biſhops and " Abbots . . . . concluded unanimouſly, that not only " the King was not then obliged to go to Paleſtine, " but that it would be much better for the ſalvation " of his ſoul, to continue in his dominions; becauſe " that the promiſe he had made, in ſubmitting to the " penance, from which he might, and even ought, " to be diſpenſed, could not prejudice or interfere " with that which is abſolutely indiſpenſable, and " which he had taken at his coronation, viz. to rule " his ſubjects with goodneſs and juſtice; and to de- " fend them from the inſults of foes both foreign and " domeſtic, which it would not be poſſible for him " to do during his abſence, conſidering the ſtate of " affairs at that time. They all added unanimouſly " with the Lords, that as to one of the King's ſons " who was demanded in his ſtead, the aſſembly could " not come to any determination on that head, ſince " they were abſent; and that the reſolution they were " to take depended abſolutely on them (10)." The Patriarch, " who was a very paſſionate man, was ſo " exaſperated at *this reſolution*, that he had like to " have ſpoilt all, by quite neglecting the reſpect and " veneration he owed the King; and by treating him " in ſuch a manner as cannot be excuſed, what at- " tempts ſoever may be made to cover it with the " name and ſpecious appearance of zeal (11)." He anſwered the King, *who offered fifty thouſand marks of ſilver for this war* (12), " That they did not want " his money, but his perſon; that they had more " gold and ſilver than they deſired; and that the " only motive of their coming ſo far was, to look for " a man who wanted money, in order for the carry- " ing on a war, advantageouſly, againſt the Infidels; " and not to ſearch for money, which ſhould want or " require a man who had the art of applying it ad- " vantageouſly in this war. By the way, *added he,* " *with a moſt inſulting air*, you have hitherto reigned " with great glory; but know that God, whoſe cauſe " you abandon, will now forſake you. To be per- " ſuaded of the truth of this, you need but compare " the mercies he has indulged you, with the horrid " crimes you have committed, and with which you " have ſo ungrately repaid him. You have broke the " faith that you owed to the King of France your So- " vereign; and you now alledge that the war, which " you are afraid he will declare againſt you, as a pre- " tence for your refuſal. You have cauſed the holy " Archbiſhop of Canterbury to be murdered, and you " now refuſe to go and defend the Holy Land, after " having moſt ſolemnly engaged in it upon the holy " Sacrament. *The Patriarch obſerving that the King,* " *changing colour, redned with anger and indignation:* " Do not imagine, *continued he ſtretching out his neck* " *towards him*, that I fear the effects of that fury, " which the truth you are told, but cannot bear, " lights up in your ſoul. Behold my head; treat me " as you have done St. Thomas; I ſhall be as well " ſatisfied to die by your hand in England, as by that " of the Saracens in Syria; and indeed you are little " better than a Saracen (13)." The King bore all theſe words patiently, and continued to treat the Patriarch with great civility, even ſo far as to conduct him to his own ſhip at Roan, from whence *he conveyed him to the frontiers, in order that he might be preſent at the conference which he had there, during three days, with King Philip, concerning the Holy War* (14). Heraclius returned back, *without obtaining what he deſired, and even without the ſuccour that was offered him, and which his paſſion made him fooliſhly ſlight, contrary to all the rules of prudence and good ſenſe, and to the great prejudice of his Sovereign's affairs: ſo greatly it concerns Kings not to abandon their intereſt to the diſcretion of thoſe who have very little; and who very often are deprived, by the ſtrong paſſions with which they are fired, of the little they have.*

(7) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. des Croiſades*, liv. 4. tom. 2. pag. 57. Dutch edit.

(8) Ibid. pag. 58. ad ann. 1185.

(9) Ibid. pag. 59. (12) Ibid. pag. 63.

(10) Ibid. p. 61.

(11) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. des Croiſades*, liv. 4. tom. 2. pag. 62. Dutch edit.

(12) Ibid. pag. 63.

(13) Maimbourg tells us, pag. 64. that the Patriarch ſaid ſome things ſtill more injurious to the King; and which, *adds he*, I will not repeat.

(14) Maimbourg, ibid. pag. 65.

HERALDUS (DESIDERIUS) in French *Herault*, a Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris, has given good proofs of his erudition, by ſeveral works he publiſhed [*A*]. He diſguiſed himſelf under the name of *David Leidhreſſerus*, to write a political Diſſertation on the independence of Kings (*a*), ſome time after the death of Henry IV. He died in June 1649, and left children [*B*]. Salmaſius and our

(*a*) It was refuted by Joannes Eudæmon the Jeſuit.

[*A*] *He has given good proofs of his erudition, by ſeveral works he publiſhed.*] His *Adverſaria* appeared in 1599. This is a little book which, if the Scaligerana may be credited, he repented the having publiſhed. His Notes on Tertullian's Apology, on Minutius Felix, and on Arnobius, have been eſteemed. He alſo wrote notes on Martial's Epigrams.

[*B*] *He left children.*] Mr. Daillé (1), ſpeaking of ſuch Proteſtant writers as condemned the executing Charles I, King of England, quotes the *Pacifique royal en*

(1) *Replique à Adam & à Cottibi*, Part 2. chap. 21. pag. 127.

our Heraldus wrote againſt one another [*C*].

en deuil, by Mr. Heraud. This Author, ſon to our Deſiderius Heraldus, was a Miniſter in Normandy, when he was called to the ſervice of the Walloon Church of London, under King Charles I; and he was ſo zealous a Royaliſt, that he was forced to return to France, to eſcape the fury of the Commonwealth's Men, who were diſpleaſed at his exhorting them to ſubmit to their lawful Prince. He returned to England after the Reſtoration, and reſumed his antient employment in the Walloon Church at London; ſome time after which he obtained a Canonry in the Cathedral of Canterbury, and enjoyed it till his death. I was lately told this by a perſon who had opportunities of being acquainted with his hiſtory. See alſo the laſt page of Bochart's Letter to Dr. Morley.

[*C*] *Salmaſius and our Heraldus wrote againſt one another.*] "An old, and very learned Counſellor, "named Mr. Heraut (*Deſiderius Heraldus*) is dead here. "He was engaged in a quarrel with Salmaſius, who "had wrote againſt him, about four years ſince, *Ob-"ſervationes ad Jus Atticum & Romanum.* Heraut, "who found himſelf injuriouſly treated in that book, "was writing an anſwer to it in folio; but as he was "ſnatched away by death, I believe it muſt be ſold "as it is, and an end put to it where the author "found his own. He ſeemed to be threeſcore and "ten. . . . . He was looked upon as a very learned "man, both in the Civil-Law and in Polite Literature, "and wrote with great facility on any ſubject he might "pitch upon (2)." I am informed by a letter of Mr. Sarrau (3), that Heraldus, after being ſilent twenty ſeven years, having looked over his papers at the requeſt of his friends, was going to publiſh the work intitled *de Autoritate rerum judicatarum.* The piece he had prepared againſt Salmaſius was printed in 1650. It is a folio volume, and intitled *Quæſtiones quotidianæ, & Obſervationes ad Jus Atticum ac Romanum.* There are two books, in the Bodleian Catalogue, aſcribed to *Hier. Herbarius*, which were certainly miſplaced by the Printers. They ought to have been put a little higher, under *Deſid. Heraldus.* Here follow the titles of them; *De rerum judicatarum autoritate Libri II*, Paris 1640. *Obſervationum & Emendationum Liber unus, ibid.*

(2) Patin, *Lettre* 29. pag. 121. of tom. 1. dated Nov. 3, 1649.

(3) It was written in the year 1639. *See* Sarravii, Epiſt. pag. 16.

HERBELOT (BARTHOLOMEW D'), a French Writer, eminent for his ſkill in the Oriental Learning, was born at Paris December the 4th 1625 of a good family. When he had paſſed through a courſe of polite Literature and Philoſophy, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Eaſtern Languages, eſpecially the Hebrew, in order to underſtand the original text of the Old Teſtament. After a continual application for ſeveral years he took a journey into Italy, being perſuaded that the converſation of the Armenians and other Eaſtern people, who frequent that country, would perfect him in the knowledge of thoſe Languages. At Rome he was particularly eſteemed by the Cardinals Barberini and Grimaldi, and contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with Lucas Holſtenius and Leo Allatius, two of the moſt learned men of the laſt age. Upon his return from this journey, in which he ſpent a year and an half, Monſieur Fouquet, Procureur General of the Parliament of Paris, and Sur-intendant of the Finances, invited him to his houſe, and gave him a penſion of fifteen hundred livres. Though that Miniſter was diſgraced ſoon after, yet our author was preferred to the place of Interpreter for the Eaſtern Languages. Some years after he took a ſecond journey into Italy, where he gained ſo great a reputation, that perſons of the higheſt diſtinction for their learning or rank, were ſollicitous of his acquaintance. Ferdinand II Grand Duke of Tuſcany gave him extraordinary marks of his eſteem. It was at Leghorn that Monſieur d'Herbelot had the honour of ſeeing the Duke for the firſt time. He had frequent converſations there with his Highneſs and the Prince his ſon, and they were ſo highly pleaſed with him, that they engaged him to promiſe to viſit them at Florence. He arrived there July the 2d 1666, and was received by the Secretary of State, who conducted him to an houſe prepared for him, where he was entertained with great magnificence, and had a chariot kept for him at the expence of the Grand Duke. A Library being at that time expoſed to ſale at Florence, the Duke deſired Monſieur d'Herbelot to ſee it, to examine the manuſcripts in the Oriental Languages, to ſelect the beſt of them, and to mark the price. When this was done, that generous Prince purchaſed and made them a preſent to our author. Theſe diſtinguiſhed favours conferred upon him might ſeem a reproach to France for ſuffering itſelf to be deprived of a perſon of his merit. But Monſieur Colbert, who had a great affection for men of learning, invited him to return to Paris, with aſſurances that he ſhould receive the moſt ſubſtantial proofs of his eſteem for him. The Grand Duke would ſcarce permit him to depart, and refuſed to conſent till he had ſeen the expreſs order of the Miniſter for his return. When he came to France the King often did him the honour of converſing with him, and gave him a penſion of fifteen hundred livres. During his ſtay in Italy he began his *Bibliotheque Orientale* [*A*], which he finiſhed in France. Whatever could not be inſerted in this work was digeſted by him under the title of

[*A*] *His* Bibliotheque Orientale.] He wrote this work at firſt in Arabic; and Monſieur Colbert had a deſign to print it at the Louvre with a ſet of types caſt on purpoſe. But after the death of that Miniſter this reſolution was waved, and Monſieur d' Herbelot tranſlated his work into French, in order to render it of more extenſive uſe. He committed it to the preſs, but had not the ſatisfaction to ſee the impreſſion finiſhed, for he died in the courſe of it. It was printed at Paris 1697 in folio under this title, *Bibliotheque Orientale, ou Dictionaire univerſel contentant generalement tout ce qui regarde la Connoiſſance des Peuples de l'Orient. Leurs Hiſtoires & Traditions veritables ou fabuleuſes. Leurs Religions, ſectes & politique. Leurs Government, Loix, Coûtumes, Mœurs, Guerres, & les Révolutions de leurs Empires. Leurs Sciences & leur Arts. Leurs Théologie, Mythologie, Magie, Phyſique, Morale, Médicine, Mathématiques, Hiſtoire naturalle, Chronologie, Geógraphie, Obſervations Aſtronomiques, Grammaire, & Rhétorique. Les vies & actions remarquables de tous leurs Saints, Docteurs, Philoſophes, Hiſtoriens, Poëtes, Capitaines, & de tous ceux qui ſe ſont rendus illuſtres parmi eux par leur Vertu, ou par leur Savoir. Des Jugemens critiques & des Extraits de tous leurs Ouvrages, de leurs Traitez, Traductions, Commentaires, Abregez, Recueils, de Tables, de Sentences, de Maximes, de Proverbes, de Contes, de bons Mots, & de tous leurs livres, écrits en Arabe, en Perſan, ou en Turc, ſur toutes ſortes de ſciences,*

of *Antologie*; but this was never publiſhed, any more than a Turkiſh, Perſian, Arabian, and Latin Dictionary, to which he had given the laſt hand, and ſome other works. It was in conſideration of his extraordinary talents that Monſieur de Pontchartrain procured him, upon the death of Monſieur d'Auvergne, the place of Royal Profeſſor of the Syriac Language. He died December the 8th 1695, aged ſeventy years, after a ſickneſs of ten or twelve days. He was no leſs converſant in the Greek and Latin Learning than in the Oriental Languages and Hiſtory. He was indeed an univerſal ſcholar; but what was moſt valuable in him, was, that his modeſty was equal to his erudition. He never ſpoke of what he was a great maſter of, without being called upon by his friends; he was not the leaſt dogmatical, nor preferred his own ſentiments to thoſe of others: he heard their reaſons with patience, and anſwered with the utmoſt civility. His uncommon abilities were accompanied with the utmoſt probity, piety, charity, and other Chriſtian virtues, which he practiſed through the whole courſe of his life (*a*).

(*a*) See his *Eloge par Monſ. Couſin*, prefixed to our Author's *Bibliotheque Orientale*; Perrault, *Hommes illuſtres, qui ont paru en France pendant le XVII Siecle*, tom. 2. pag. 154-158. edit. Paris 1701, and *Journal des Savans* du 3 Janvier 1696.

d'Arts, & de Profeſſions. Par Monſr. D'Herbelot. This work is a proof of the author's profound knowledge of the Eaſtern learning. It contains the ſubſtance of a great number of Arabic, Perſian, and Turkiſh Books, which he had read; and informs us of an infinite multitude of particulars unknown before in Europe. T.

☞HERBERT (EDWARD) Lord Herbert of Cherbury in Shropſhire, an eminent Engliſh writer in the ſeventeenth Century, was deſcended of an antient family, and ſon of Richard Herbert Eſq; [*A*], by Magdalen youngeſt daughter of Sir Richard Newport [*B*], and ſiſter to Sir Francis Newport of High-Arcall in Shropſhire Knt. grandfather to Francis Lord Newport, Comptroller of the Houſhold to King Charles II (*a*). He was born at Montgomery-Caſtle in Wales (*b*) in 1581, and was entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Univerſity-College in Oxford in 1595 [*C*], where he was put under an eminent Tutor, and laid the foundation of that admirable learning, of which he was afterwards maſter. Thence he betook himſelf to travel, and applied himſelf to military exerciſes in foreign countries, by which he became a moſt accompliſhed Gentleman (*c*). After his return he was made Knight of the Bath, when Prince Henry was inſtalled Knight of the Garter (*d*), which was on the 2d of July 1603 (*e*); or on the 23d of that month, when ſixty one Knights of the Bath were created, being the day before King James's coronation (*f*). He was afterwards one of the Counſellors to that King for military affairs (*g*); and was ſent Embaſſador to Lewis XIII King of France to mediate for the relief of the Proteſtants of that Realm then beſieged in ſeveral parts; but was recalled in July 1621 on account of a diſpute between him and the Conſtable de Luines [*D*], but at his return he juſtified his conduct ſo effectually, that he was immediately

(*a*) *Life of Mr. George Herbert. By Izaac Walton*, printed with the *Lives of Dr. Donne &c. by Mr. Walton*, pag. 262, 263. 4th edit. Lond. 1675.

(*b*) Idem, ibid. pag. 262.

(*c*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 117. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*d*) Walton, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 263. and Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiquit. Univerſit. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 65.

(*e*) *Camdeni Apparatus Annalium Regis Jacobi I.* ſubjoined to *G. Camdeni & illuſtrium Viror. Epiſtol.* pag. 2. edit. London 1691 in 4to.

(*f*) Idem, ibid.

(*g*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *Deſcended of an ancient Family, a Son of* Richard Herbert, *Eſq;*] *Richard Herbert* was the ſon of Sir *Edward Herbert*, Knt. ſon of Sir *Richard Herbert*, Knt. ſon of the former Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook in the County of Monmouth, who was youngeſt brother of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke in the reign of King Edward IV (1).

(1) *Life of Mr. George Herbert. By Izaac Walton*, printed with the *Lives of Dr. Jonn Donne &c. written by Mr. Walton*, pag. 262. 4th edit. London 1675.

[*B*] Magdalen, *youngeſt daughter of Sir* Richard Newport.] Lloyd erroneouſly calls her *Suſan* (2) This Lady having continued a Widow above twelve years, after the death of her firſt Husband Mr. Herbert, married a noble Gentleman, the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby. She was eminent for the excellent accompliſhments of her body and mind, and highly eſteemed by Dr. John Donne the Poet (3), who had a long and intimate friendſhip with her, and left a character of her in one of his Poems intitled, *The Autumnal* (4), which begins thus:

(2) *State-Worthies*, pag. 1017. 2d edit. London 1670.

No Spring nor Summer Beauty hath ſuch Grace
As I have ſeen in one Autumnal *Face.*
Young Beauties force our Love, and that's a Rape;
This doth but counſel, yet you cannot ſcape.
If 'twere a ſhame to love, here 'twere no ſhame,
Affections here take Reverence's Name.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
In all her Words unto all Hearers fit,
You may at Revels, or at Counſels ſit.

(3) Walton, pag. 266, 267.

(4) *Poems by J. D. With Elegies on the Authors death*, pag. 151. edit. London 1633, in 4to.

(5) Walton, pag. 268, 269.

He ſent her likewiſe with a Letter dated at Micham, July 11. 1607 (5), ſeveral holy Hymns and Sonnets, and a Poem intitled,

To the Lady Magdalen Herbert, *of St.* Mary Magdalen.

" Her of your Name, whoſe *fair* Inheritance
" *Bethina* was, and jointure *Magdalo*,
" An active Faith ſo highly did advance,
" That ſhe once knew more than the Church did know,
" The Reſurrection; ſo much Good there is
" Deliver'd of her, that ſome Fathers be
" Loth to believe one Woman could do this;
" But think theſe *Magdalens* were two or three.
" Increaſe their Number, Lady, and their Fame;
" To their Devotion add your Innocence,
" Take ſo much of th' Example, as of Name,
" The latter half; and in ſome Recompence,
" That they did harbour Chriſt himſelf, a Gueſt,
" Harbour theſe Hymns, to his dear Name addreſt."

She died in the year 1627; and Dr. Donne preached her funeral Sermon at Chelſea near London, where ſhe lies interr'd.

[*C*] *Was enter'd a Gentleman Commoner of Univerſity College in Oxford.*] This we are aſſured of by Mr. Wood (6), whoſe authority in theſe points is unqueſtionable. And therefore Mr. Iſaac Walton is miſtaken in aſſerting (7), that he was entered in *Queen's College*; confounding him with another of the ſame name, an Eſquire's ſon of Montgomery, who was matriculated in that Univerſity as a Member of Queen's College in the beginning of July 1608, aged 17 years, and who appears to be the ſame, who was afterwards a Knight and Attorney General in the reign of King Charles I. (8.)

(6) *Athen. Oxon* vol. 2. col. 117. 2d edit. London 1721.

(7) Pag. 266.

(8) Wood, col. 118.

[*D*] *Recalled in July* 1621, *on account of a diſpute between him and the Conſtable* de Luines.] Camden informs us (9), that he had irreverently treated the Conſtable *Edw. Herbertus revocatur e Galliâ, quod Luinum Conſtabularium irreverenter tractaſſet.* Mr. Iſaac Walton obſerves (10), that Sir Edward, while he continued at the court of France, " could not ſubject himſelf to a compliance with the humours of the Duke " *de Luines*; who was then the great and pow-" erful

(9) *Annalium Regni Regis Jacobi I. Apparatus*, ſubjoined to *G. Camdeni & illuſtrium Virorum Epiſtolæ*, pag. 73. edit. London 1691 in 4to.

(10) Pag. 263.

ately ſent back on his embaſſy. In 1624 he publiſhed his book *De Veritate* [*E*]. In 1625 he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of the Kingdom of Ireland by the title of Lord Herbert of Caſtle Iſland; and in 1631 to that of Lord Herbert of Cherbury in Shropſhire. After the breaking out of the civil wars he adhered to the Parliament (*h*), and on the 25th of February 1644 had "an allowance granted him for his livelihood, "having been ſpoiled by the King's forces (*i*)." Beſides his *Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of King Henry VIII* [*F*], which is greatly admired, and his book *De Religione Gentilium*,

(*h*) Whitelocke's *Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs*, pag. 105. edit. London 1732 *and* Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 117.

(*i*) Whitelocke, pag. 134.

"erful favourite at Court; ſo that upon a complaint "to our King, he was called back into England in "ſome diſpleaſure; but at his return he gave ſuch an "honourable account of his employment, and ſo juſti- "fied his comportment to the Duke, and all the court, "that he was ſuddenly ſent back upon the ſame Em- "baſſy." Lloyd relates the Affair in the following manner (11): Sir Edward, while he was in France, had private inſtructions from England to mediate a Peace for the Proteſtants in France; and in caſe of refuſal, to uſe certain menaces. Accordingly being referred to de Luines the conſtable and favourite, he delivers to him the meſſage, reſerving his threatnings till he ſaw how the matter was reliſhed. De Luines had concealed behind the curtain a Gentleman of the reformed Religion, who being an Ear-witneſs of what paſſed, might relate to his friends what little expectations they ought to entertain of the King of England's interceſſion. De Luines was very haughty, and would needs know what our King had to do with this Affair. Sir *Edward* replied, "It is not to you, to whom the "King my maſter oweth an account of his actions; "and for me, it is enough that I obey him. In the "mean time I muſt maintain, that my maſter hath "more reaſon to do what he doth, than you to aſk "why he doth it? Nevertheleſs, if you deſire me "in a gentle faſhion, I ſhall acquaint you farther." Upon this de Luines bowing a little, ſaid, *Very well.* The Embaſſador anſwered, that it was not on this occaſion only, that the King of Great Britain had deſired the peace and proſperity of France, but upon all other occaſions, whenever any war was raiſed in that Country; and this he ſaid was his firſt reaſon. The ſecond was, that when a Peace was ſettled there, the King of France might be better diſpoſed to aſſiſt the Palatinate in the Affairs of Germany. De Luines ſaid, *We will have none of your advices.* The Embaſſador replied, that he took that for an anſwer, and was ſorry only, that the affection and good will of the King his maſter was not ſufficiently underſtood; and that ſince it was rejected in that manner, he could do no leſs than ſay "That the King his maſter knew well enough "what to do." De Luines anſwered, *We are not afraid of you.* The Embaſſador ſmiling a little, replied, "If "you had ſaid, you had not loved us, I ſhould have "believed you, and given you another anſwer. In "the mean time, all that I will tell you more, is, "that we know very well what we have to do." De Luines upon this riſing from his chair with a faſhion and countenance a little diſcompoſed, ſaid, *By God, if you were not Monſieur the Embaſſador, I know very well how I would uſe you.* Sir Edward Herbert riſing alſo from his chair, ſaid, "that as he was the King of Great "Britain's Embaſſador, ſo he was alſo a Gentleman; "and that his ſword, (whereon he laid his hand) ſhould "give him ſatisfaction, if he had taken any of- "fence." After which de Luines making no reply, the Embaſſador went on towards the door; and de Luines ſeeming to accompany him, Sir Edward told him, *that there was no occaſion to uſe ſuch ceremony after ſuch language*; and ſo departed, expecting to hear further from him. But no meſſage being brought from de Luines, he had in purſuance of his inſtructions a more civil audience of the King at Coignac, where the Marſhal of St. Geran told him, that he had offended the Conſtable, and was not in a place of ſecurity there; to which he anſwered, "that he thought himſelf to be "in a place of ſecurity whereſoever he had his ſword "by him." De Luines reſenting the affront, procured Cadinet his Brother, Duke of Chaun, with a Train of Officers, (of whom there was not one, as he told King James, but had killed his man) to go as an Embaſſador extraordinary; who miſrepreſented the affair ſo much to the diſadvantage of Sir Edward, that the Earl of Carliſle, who was ſent to accommodate the miſunderſtanding, which might ariſe between the two Crowns, got him recalled untill the Gentleman who had ſtood behind the curtain, out of regard to truth and honour, related all circumſtances ſo, as that it appeared, that tho' de Luines gave the firſt affront, yet Sir Edward had kept himſelf within the bounds of his inſtructions and honours. He afterwards fell on his knees to King James before the Duke of Buckingham, requeſting, that a Trumpeter, if not an Herald, might be ſent to de Luines, to tell him, that he had made a falſe relation of the paſſages abovementioned; and that Sir Edward Herbert would demand ſatisfaction of him ſword in hand. The King anſwered, that he would take it into conſideration; but de Luines died ſoon after, and Sir Edward was ſent again Embaſſador to France.

(11) Pag. 1018, 1019, 1020.

[*E*] *In* 1624 *he publiſhed his Book* De Veritate.] It was printed at Paris, and reprinted there in 1633 in 4to, and at London 1645 in 4to under the following Title: *De Veritate, prout diſtinguitur a Revelatione, à verifimili, à poſſibili, à falſo. Cui Operi additi ſunt duo alii tractatus; primus de Cauſis Errorum: alter de Religione Laici. Una cum Appendice ad Sacerdotes de Religione Laici, & quibusdam Poematibus. Autore* Edvardo *Barone Herbert de Cherbury in Angliâ, & Caſtri Inſulæ de Kerry in Hiberniâ, & Pari utriuſq; Regni.* The Treatiſe *de Veritate* was tranſlated into French, and printed at Paris in 1639 in 4to under the following Title: *De la Verité en tant qu'elle eſt diſtincte de la Revelation, du Vraiſemblable, du Poſſible, & du Faux, par Edward Herbert de Cherbury: traduit du Latin & augmenté par lui-même.* In this Book our author aſſerts the doctrine of innate principles, and in his chapter *de Inſtinctu naturali* lays down theſe ſix marks of his *Notitiæ Communes*. 1. *Prioritas*. 2. *Independentia*. 3. *Univerſalitas*. 4. *Certitudo*. 5. *Neceſſitas*, i. e. as he explains it, *faciunt ad hominis Conſervationem*. 6. *Modus Conformationis*, i. e. *Aſſenſus nullâ interpoſitâ morâ*. At the latter end of his *Tract de Religione Laici*, he ſays thus of thoſe innate principles, *Adeo ut non uniuscujuſvis Religionis Confinio arctentur quæ ubique vigent Veritates: ſunt enim in ipſâ mente cælitus deſcriptæ nulliſq; traditionibus, ſive ſcriptis, ſive non ſcriptis, obnoxiæ.* And *Veritates noſtræ Catholicæ, quæ tanquam indubia Dei effata in foro interiori deſcripta.* Thus having given the marks of the innate principles or common notions, and aſſerted their being imprinted on the minds of men by the hand of God, he proceeds to ſet them down, and they are theſe; 1. *That there is ſome ſupreme Deity.* 2. *That this Deity ought to be worſhipped.* 3. *That Virtue joined with Piety is the beſt Method of divine Worſhip.* 4. *That ſins ought to be repented of.* 5. *That there will be rewards and puniſhments after this Life.* Mr. Locke (12) obſerves, that tho' he allows theſe to be clear truths, "and ſuch, "ſays he, as if rightly explained, a rational crea- "ture can hardly avoid giving his aſſent to, yet I "think he is far from proving them innate impreſ- "ſions *in Foro interiori deſcriptæ*." To which purpoſe he makes ſeveral reflections. Gaſſendi wrote a confutation of our Author's *De Veritate* at the deſire of Peyreſcius and Elias Diodati, and finiſhed it at Aix; but as he did not publiſh it, he retouched it in 1641; and the Lord Herbert paying him a viſit in September 1647, Gaſſendi was ſurprized to find, that this piece had not been delivered to him, for he had ſent him a copy; upon which he ordered another copy to be taken of it, which that Nobleman carried with him to England. Gaſſendus's Tract is entitled, *Ad Librum D. Edvardi Herberti Angli de Veritate Epiſtola*, and is imperfect, ſome Sheets of the original being loſt (13). It was printed after Gaſſendus's death in the edition of his works at Lyons 1658 in fol. Mr. Richard Baxter in his *More reaſons for the Chriſtian Religion* has likewiſe ſome reflections upon our Author's Book.

(12) *Eſſay concerning human Underſtanding*, lib. 1. cap. 3.

(13) *Vie de Pierre Gaſſendi*, lib. 2. pag. 137. edit. Paris 1737.

[*F*] *His* Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.] It was printed at London 1649, 1672, and

Gentilium, Errorumque apud eos Cauſis [G], both printed after his death, he wrote in 1630 *Expeditio Buckinghami Ducis in Ream Inſulam*, publiſhed by Timothy Baldwin LLD. and Fellow of All-Souls College in Oxford, at London 1656 in 8vo: and *Occaſional*

and 1683 in fol. and reprinted in the *ſecond volume* of Kennet's *Compleat Hiſtory of England*. In the *Dedication* to the King he obſerves, that this work *took its firſt beginning from his Majeſty's particular and unexpected commands*; *and the parts thereof*, ſays he, *as faſt as I could finiſh them, were laſtrated by your gracious eye, and conſummated by your judicious animadverſions . . . I am not yet ignorant, that the King, whoſe hiſtory I write, is ſubject to more obliquies, than any ſince the worſt Roman Emperor's times. But I ſhall little care for cenſure, as long as the teſtimonies I uſe do aſſure and warrant me; ſince I pretend not to deſcribe him otherwiſe, either good or bad, but as he really was. Only where he holds any doubtful part, I conceive it will be but juſt to give a favourable conſtruction.* Mr. Wood tells us (14), that our author was aſſiſted in collecting the materials for this hiſtory by Mr. Thomas Maſter, Fellow of New College in Oxford. "Four thick "volumes in folio of ſuch materials, *ſays that writer*, I have lying by me, in every one of which I "find his [Mr. Maſter's] hand-writing, either in interlining, adding, or correcting, and one of thoſe four, "which is intitled *Collectaneorum Liber ſecundus*, is "moſtly written by him, collected from Parliament "Rolles, the Paper-Office at Whitehall, Vicar Generall's Office, books belonging to the Clerk of the "Council, MSS in Cotton's Library, Books of Convocation of the Clergy, &c. printed authors, &c. "And there is no doubt, that as he had an eſpecial "hand in compoſing the ſaid *Life of King Henry VIII*, "(which as ſome ſay, he turned moſtly into Latin, "but never printed) ſo had he a hand in Latinizing "that Lord's book *De Veritate*, or others." Archdeacon Nicholſon tells us (15), that in this Hiſtory our Author *acquitted himſelf with the like reputation as the Lord Chancellor Bacon gained by that of Henry the Seventh. For in the public and martial part this honourable Author has been admirably particular and exact from the beſt records that were extant; though as to the Eccleſiaſtical, he ſeems to have looked upon it as a thing out of his province, and an undertaking more proper for men of another profeſſion.*

(14) *Athen. Ox.* vol. 2. col. 40.

(15) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, Part 1. pag. 226. edit. London 1696 in 8vo.

[G] *His book* De Religione Gentilium Errorumque apud eos Cauſis.] The firſt part was printed at London 1645 in 8°, and the whole in 1663 in 4to, and reprinted there in 1700 in 8vo. In 1645 he ſent the manuſcript of this book to *Gerard John Voſſius*, as appears from a letter of his Lordſhip to that learned man dated from his houſe near Weſtminſter on the 15th or 25th of Auguſt that year (16), and from *Voſſius's* Anſwer dated at Amſterdam 3 *Kal. Jan.* 1645. (17). An Engliſh tranſlation of this work by Mr. William Lewis was publiſhed at London 1705 in 8vo under the following title: *The antient Religion of the Gentiles and Cauſes of their Errors conſidered. The Miſtakes and Failures of the Heathen Prieſts and wiſe Men, in their Notions of the Deity and Matters of Divine Worſhip, are examined with regard to their being deſtitute of Divine Revelation. With a compleat Index. By the learned and judicious Edward Lord* Herbert *of Cherbury, &c.* In the firſt chapter our author mentions *the Occaſion of the whole Work*, and tells us, that when for a long time he had employed his moſt ſerious thoughts in conſidering whether any common means for the obtaining eternal ſalvation were ſo propoſed to all mankind, that from thence we might neceſſarily infer the certainty of an univerſal divine providence, he met with many doubts and difficulties not eaſy to be ſolved. He found, that many of the Fathers of the Church had not only a mean opinion of the antient religion of the Heathen, but alſo condemned it. The Divines of the laſt age alſo pronounce as ſevere a ſentence againſt all thoſe, who are without their pale; ſo that according to their opinions, the far greateſt part of mankind muſt be inevitably ſentenced to eternal puniſhment. This appearing to our author too rigid to be conſiſtent with the attributes of God, he began to conſult the writings of the Heathens themſelves. But when from their own hiſtories he found that their Gods were often not only mere men, but alſo ſome of them moſt vile, and when he had obſerved that their religious worſhip, rites and ceremonies, were ridiculous and extravagant; he was very much inclined to be of the common opinion againſt them. But then again when he conſidered, that this was altogether incompatible with the dignity of an univerſal divine providence, he began to make a diligent enquiry, whether they meant the ſame by God as we now do. Now by God we underſtand a perfect, immenſe, and eternal Being. And he found, that with them it ſometimes ſignified nature, or a certain imperfect, finite, and tranſitory power; ſo that not only heaven, the planets, ſtars, etherial and aerial ſpirits, but alſo men who had deſerved well of mankind in general, or their country in particular, were unanimouſly tranſlated into the number of their Deities. Their Emperors likewiſe, ſome of whom were the worſt of men, were deified in their life-time; and even the *fever*, *fear*, and *paleneſs* were eſteemed Gods and Goddeſſes by them: ſo that they aſcribed divine honour to whatſoever was above the common rank of mankind, or exceeded the apprehenſion of the vulgar. But ſtill it is very evident, that wherever we find the attributes of *Summus*, *Optimus*, *Maximus*, they meant the ſame God and common Father with us. So that the word God being explained, the doubts which ariſe in comparing our God with theirs, will ſoon be cleared. But yet neither their religious worſhip or rites could ever make our author have an ill opinion of the common people, they being the invention of the Prieſts only; and therefore this might ſolely be imputed to their great men, and not to the populace, who were only paſſive in this affair. Our author thinks, that it cannot be denied, that Prieſts have introduced ſuperſtition and idolatry, as well as ſown quarrels and diſſentions wherever they came. This inclined him not to make ſo raſh and peremptory a determination concerning the future ſtate of the Heathen Laity, as ſome Divines have done; they being only culpable for totally devoting and ſubjecting themſelves to the authority of their Prieſts. Their great defection from the pure worſhip of the ſupreme God being juſtly to be attributed to the ſacerdotal order, this put him upon the enquiry, whether amongſt thoſe heaps of Heathen ſuperſtitions a thread of truth might be found, by the aſſiſtance of which it was poſſible for them to extricate themſelves out of that labyrinth of error, in which they were involv'd. Upon this five undeniable propoſitions immediately occurred, which all mankind in general muſt acknowledge. I. That there is one ſupreme God. II. That he ought to be worſhipped. III. That virtue and piety are the chief parts of divine worſhip. IV. That we ought to repent of our ſins. V. That the Divine Goodneſs diſpenſes rewards and puniſhments both in this life and after it. Our author obſerves, that the modern Divines were more conſiderate in their determinations concerning the ſouls of the Heathens; The moſt rigid, ſuch generally as are leaſt acquainted with learning in general, and eſpecially polite literature, expreſſing themſelves to this purpoſe: "that after the "fall of *Adam* all mankind was formed and produced "out of a degenerate maſs. Some of them out of the "good pleaſure of God, and through the intervention "of Chriſt's death were elected to eternal glory; but "the far greater part, nay even thoſe, who never heard "of the name of Chriſt, were reprobated and determined to everlaſting perdition; and the moſt innocent and irreproachable lives, which the Heathens "could lead, will avail nothing, in regard their works "were merely moral, and upon that account altogether inſignificant." Now when our author perceived that they reſolved the cauſes of ſalvation or damnation only into the good pleaſure of God on the death of Chriſt; he found that their opinion was grounded not on reaſon, but on ſome peremptory decrees, which no perſon pretended to know; and he could not think theſe Divines ſo privy to the ſecret councils of God, as to eſtabliſh any thing for certain. He left them therefore, as entertaining mean and unworthy thoughts of the Deity and mankind in general. Then he met with ſome other Divines, who aſſerted, that Chriſt was revealed to ſuch Heathens, as led pious and honeſt lives, at the very moment of their deaths,

(16) Vide *Clarorum Virorum ad Voſſium Epiſt.* num. CDX. pag. 272, 273. edit. London 1690 in fol.

(17) *G. J. Voſſii Epiſt.* num. DV. pag. 435, 436.

caſional Verſes, publiſhed 1665 in 8vo, by his ſon Henry Herbert [*H*], and dedicated to Edward Lord Herbert, grandſon of our author. We have likewiſe other occaſional Poems of his in the books of other Writers, and particularly in that of Mr. Joſhua Silveſter, intitled, *Lacrymæ Lacrymarum: or the Spirit of Tears diſtilled for the untimely death of Prince Henry*. London 1613 in 4to. He died at his houſe in Queen-ſtreet in London Auguſt the 20th 1648, and was interred in the Chancel of the Church of St. Giles's in the Fields, with an inſcription upon a flat marble ſtone over his grave [*I*]. Chriſtian Kortholt has ranked him, on account of his book *De Veritate*, with Hobbes and Spinoſa, in his Diſſertation, intitled, *De tribus Impoſtoribus magnis, Edvardo Herbert, Thomâ Hobbes, & Benedicto Spinoſâ, Liber:* printed at Kilon 1680 in 4to, and at Hamburg 1700 in 4to. Wood tells us (*k*), "that he was a perſon well ſtu- "died in the Arts and Languages, a good Philoſopher and Hiſtorian, and underſtood "men as well as books." And Mr. Lock (*l*) ſtiles him *a man of great parts*.

(*k*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 117.

(*l*) *Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding*, lib. 1. cap. 3. § 15.

deaths, and ſo they were conveyed to paradiſe. But their opinion being neither founded on hiſtory, tradition, or rational conjecture, it appeared to him very improbable, though theſe Divines ſhewed much greater tenderneſs towards mankind. At laſt he conſulted the ſchoolmen, to ſee if their ſentiments concerning the Heathens were more juſt and regular; but they ſkipping from faith to reaſon, and then immediately again from reaſon to faith with wonderful agility, and being ſo very nice and ſubtle in their diſtinctions, he could not receive the leaſt ſatisfaction from them. Amongſt other axioms he found this an eſtabliſhed one amongſt them; *Facientibus quod in ſe eſt, non deeſt gratia ſalutaris.* i. e. "Saving grace is never wanting to thoſe, who "do all that is in their power." He had recourſe then to other authors, but eſpecially *Crellius*, a very learned man, who hath written concerning the ſtate of the ſouls of the Heathens, and quoted ſeveral excellent paſſages upon this ſubject out of the moſt antient Fathers; by which our author found they were of opinion, that ſome of the beſt amongſt the Heathens, through the infinite mercy of God, might be capable of eternal ſalvation. He ſoon embraced their opinion, not ſeeing how the doctrine of an univerſal divine providence, could be ſolved otherwiſe, than that ſome means ſhould be afforded unto all men, by which they might come to God. And ſeeing that nature or common providence ſupplies us here with all things neceſſary and convenient for food and raiment; he could not conceive how the ſame God either could or would leave any man quite deſtitute, either by nature or grace, of the means of obtaining a more happy ſtate. And though the Heathens did not make ſo good uſe of them as they might have done, yet the Deity is not in the leaſt to be charged with their miſcarriage. He knew it to be a generally received opinion, that common providence doth not afford ſufficient means without the concurrence of grace and particular providence. But his deſign is to make it evident, that an univerſal providence is extended to all mankind. Now ſince the Heathens, as the ſcriptures teſtify, and learned Divines acknowledge, worſhipped the ſame God as we do, had the ſame abhorrence of ſin, and believed the rewards and puniſhments after this life; he could not but think, that after they had led a good life, they were made partakers of the fulneſs of that divine grace, eſpecially in regard they knew the moſt rational and clear parts of the true divine worſhip.

[*H*] Occaſional Verſes, *publiſhed at London* 1665 *in* 8*vo by his ſon* Henry Herbert.] They were publiſhed under this title: *Occaſional Verſes of* Edward *Lord* Herbert, *Baron of Cherbury and Caſtle-Iſland, deceaſed in Auguſt* 1648. The Dedication is dated March the 18th 166$\frac{4}{5}$.

[*I*] *With an inſcription upon a flat marble-ſtone over his grave.*] The inſcription is as follows. *Heic inhumatur corpus Edwardi Herbert Equitis Balnei, Baronis de Cherbury & Caſtle-Iſland, Auctoris Libri, cui titulus eſt,* De Veritate. *Reddor ut herbæ, viceſſimo die Auguſti anno Domini* 1648. T.

☞HERBERT (GEORGE), brother of the preceding, was an eminent Engliſh Poet and Divine. He was born at Montgomery Caſtle in Wales April the 3d 1593 (*a*), and educated in Grammar Learning at Weſtminſter School, where he was a King's Scholar; and about the year 1608 was elected into Trinity College in Cambridge (*b*). In 1611 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and March the 15th 1615 was choſen Major Fellow of his College, and the ſame year became Maſter of Arts (*c*). In 1619 he was choſen Orator of the Univerſity; which office he held eight years (*d*); and during that time had learned the Italian, Spaniſh, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping, that he might in time (as his predeceſſors Sir Robert Naunton, and Sir Francis Netherſoll had done) obtain the place of Secretary of State, he being at that time highly eſteemed by the King and the moſt eminent of the Nobility. This and the love of a Court-Converſation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be ſomewhat more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend his Majeſty, wherever the Court was, who gave him a *Sine Cure*, which Queen Elizabeth had formerly conferred on Sir Philip Sidney, worth about a hundred and twenty pounds *per ann.* (*e*). His hopes of preferment at Court failing upon the death of the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hamilton, he entered into holy Orders, and on the 15th of July 1626 was collated to the Prebend of Layton Eccleſia in the dioceſe of Lincoln by the Biſhop of that See (*f*). About the year 1630 he married Jane, the daughter of Charles Danvers of Bainton in Wiltſhire Eſq; a near kinſman to the Earl of Danby (*g*). April the 26th the ſame year he was inducted into the Rectory of Bemerton near Sarum, to which he was preſented by the King, upon the advancement of Dr. Curle to the Biſhopric of Bath and Wells (*h*). Here he diſcharged the duty of his function in the moſt exemplary manner. We have no certain account of the exact time of his death; but it happened between the years 1630 and 1640. His Poems, intitled, *The Temple*, were printed at London 1635 in 12mo, and his *Prieſt to the Temple; or the Country Parſon's Character and Rules of holy Life*, was publiſhed by Mr. Barnabas Oley at London 1652, and the third edition in 1675. He was highly valued by the moſt eminent perſons of that age. Dr. Donne inſcribed to him a copy of Latin Verſes; and the Lord Bacon dedicated to him his Tranſlation of ſome Pſalms into Engliſh metre. T

(*a*) Walton's *Life of Mr. George Herbert*, printed with the Lives of *Dr. John Donne &c.* pag. 262. 4th edit. London 1675.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 265.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 272.

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 273.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 277, 278.

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 281.

(*g*) Ibid. pag. 290.

(*h*) Ibid. pag. 291, 292, 293.

☞HERBERT (THOMAS), ſon of Chriſtopher Herbert, and grandſon of Thomas Herbert Alderman of York, deſcended from Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook in Monmouthſhire Knt. was born in York, and admitted a Commoner of Jeſus College in Oxford in 1621, under the tuition of Mr. Jenkin Lloyd his kinſman. But before he took a degree, his uncle Dr. Ambroſe Aikroyd, Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, brother to his mother Jane, daughter of Jo. Aikroyd of Folkerthorpe in Yorkſhire, invited him to that College. He made but a ſhort ſtay there, and went up to London to wait upon William Earl of Pembroke, who owning him for his kinſman, and intending his advancement, ſent him to travel in 1626 at his expence. He ſpent ſome years in his travels in Africa and Aſia, an account of which he publiſhed [*A*], and upon his return waiting on the Earl, the latter invited him to dinner the next day at Baynard's Caſtle in London, but dying ſuddenly that night (*a*), Mr. Herbert's expectations of preferment from him were fruſtrated; upon which he left England a ſecond time, and viſited ſeveral parts of Europe. After his return he married, and ſettling himſelf in his native country, proſecuted his ſtudies. Upon the breaking out of the civil wars, he adhered to the intereſt of the Parliament, and by the endeavours of Philip Earl of Pembroke was appointed one of the Commiſſioners of Parliament to reſide in the army of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and a Commiſſioner to treat with thoſe of the King's party for the ſurrender of the garriſon of Oxford. He afterwards attended that Earl, eſpecially in January 1646, when he with other Commiſſioners were ſent from the Parliament to the King at Newcaſtle about peace, and to bring his Majeſty nearer London. While the King was at Holdenby, about May 1647 Mr. Herbert and James Harrington Eſq; author of the *Oceana*, were appointed Grooms of his Majeſty's Bed-chamber [*B*]; and the former attended on the King to his death. Upon the Reſtoration he was advanced by letters patents dated July the 3d 1660, to the dignity of Baronet by the name of Thomas Herbert of Tinterne in Monmouthſhire, becauſe Little Tinterne about half a mile from Tinterne Abbey was his own eſtate, and the ſeat of his grandfather Thomas Herbert (*b*). Beſides his *Threnodia Carolina*, containing an hiſtorical account of the two laſt years of the Life of King Charles I [*C*], he wrote an account of the laſt days of that King, 1721.

(*a*) He died April 10, 1630.

(*b*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 690, 691, 692. 2d edit. London

[*A*] *An account of which he publiſhed.*] It was printed under the title of *A Relation of ſome Years Travels into Africa and the great Aſia, eſpecially the Territories of the Perſian Monarchy, and ſome parts of the Oriental Indies, and Iſles adjacent.* London, 1634, 1638, and 1677, in Folio. This laſt is the fourth impreſſion, and has ſeveral additions. This book was tranſlated by Mr. Wicquefort into French, with an account of the revolutions of Siam in the year 1647. Paris, 1663, in 4to.

[*B*] *While the King was at Holdenby, about May 1647, Mr. Herbert and James Harrington, Eſq; author of the* Oceana, *were appointed Grooms of his Majeſty's Bedchamber.*] Mr. Wood tells us (1), that when the King was ſettled at Holdenby, the Parliament Commiſſioners, purſuant to inſtructions, addreſſed themſelves all together to his Majeſty, and deſired him to diſmiſs ſuch of his ſervants as were there, and had waited upon him at Oxford. "This their application "was in no wiſe pleaſing to the King, he having had "long experience of the loyalty and good affection "of thoſe his ſervants, as appeared by his counte-"nance and the pauſe he made ere he gave the "Commiſſioners any anſwer. Howbeit after ſome ex-"poſtulation and deliberation, he condeſcended to "what they propoſed, they not oppoſing the conti-"nuance of Mr. James Maxwell's and Mr. Pat. "Maule's attendance upon his royal Perſon, as "Grooms of his Majeſty's Bedchamber, in which "place they had ſeveral years ſerved the King. Next "day his Majeſty's ſervants came, as at other times, "into the Preſence-Chamber, where all dinner-time "they waited, but after his Majeſty roſe from dinner, "he acquainted them with what paſſed betwixt him "and the Commiſſioners, and thereupon they all "knelt and kiſſed his Majeſty's hand, and with "great expreſſion of grief for their diſmiſs, they "poured forth their prayers for his Majeſty's freedom "and preſervation, and ſo left Holdenby. All that "afternoon the King withdrew himſelf into his bed-"chamber, having given order, that none ſhould in-"terrupt him in his privacy. Soon after this his "Majeſty purpoſing to ſend a meſſage to the Parlia-"ment, he after dinner called Philip Earl of Pem-"broke to him, and told him, that *he would have* "*Mr. Herbert come into his chamber*; which the Earl "acquainting the Commiſſioners with, Mr. Thomas "Herbert, our Author, was brought into the Bedcham-"ber by Mr. Maxwell, and upon his knees deſired to "know the King's pleaſure. He told him, *he would* "*ſend a meſſage to the Parliament, and having none* "*there, that he uſually employed, and unwilling it* "*ſhould go under his own hand, called him for that pur-*"*poſe.* Mr. Herbert having wrote as his Majeſty "dictated, was enjoined ſecrecy, and not to commu-"nicate it to any, untill made public by both Houſes, "if by them held meet; which he carefully obſerved. "This errand was, as I conceive, *his Majeſty's meſ-*"*ſage for peace*, dated from Holdenby, the 12th of "May, 1647." About a week after the King told the Commiſſioners, that ſince Mr. James Levingſton, Henry Moray, John Aſhburnham, and William Legge, were for the preſent diſmiſſed, he had taken notice of Mr. James Harrington and Mr. Thomas Herbert, who had followed the Court from Newcaſtle, and having received ſatisfaction concerning their ſobriety and education, he was willing to receive them as Grooms of his Bedchamber, to wait upon his perſon with Mr. Maule and Mr. Maxwell; which the Commiſſioners approving, they were that night admitted. *Being thus ſettled in that honourable office, and in good eſteem with his Majeſty, Mr. Herbert continued with him, when all the reſt of the chamber were removed, till his Majeſty was brought to the block. . . . . His Majeſty, though he found him to be Preſbyterianly affected, yet withall he found him very obſervant and loving, and therefore intruſted him with many matters of moment.*

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 691.

[*C*] *His* Threnodia Carolina, *containing an hiſtorical account of the two laſt years of the Life of King Charles I.*] This was written by him in 1678, on the following occaſion. The Parliament having a little before taken into conſideration the appointing of ſeventy thouſand pounds for the funeral of that King, and for a monument to be erected over his grave, Sir William Dugdale, then Garter King of Arms, ſent to our Author, then living at York, to know of him, whether the King had ever ſpoke in his hearing, where his body ſhould be interred. To this Sir Thomas returned a large anſwer, with many obſervations concerning his Majeſty; which Sir William Dugdale being pleaſed with, deſired him by another letter, to write a treatiſe of the actions and ſayings of the King, from his firſt confinement to his death; which he did accordingly.

(c) Vol. 2. col. 693, & ſeqq.

King, publiſhed by Mr. Wood in his *Athenæ Oxonienſes* (c) [*D*], and at the deſire of his friend John de Laet of Leyden, tranſlated ſome books of his *India Occidentalis*; but was prevented by buſineſs from perfecting them. He aſſiſted alſo Sir William Dugdale in compiling the third volume of his *Monaſticon Anglicanum*. He died at his houſe in York March the 1ſt 168½, aged ſeventy ſix years, and was interred in St. Croſs Church in Foſſegateſtreet in that City, where a monument was erected to his memory by his widow Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gervas Cutler of Stainborough in Yorkſhire. His firſt wife was Lucia daughter of Sir Walter Alexander, ſervant to King Charles I, by whom he had iſſue Philip, Henry heir to his father, Montgomery, Thomas, William, &c. A little before his death he gave ſeveral manuſcripts to the public Library at Oxford, and others to that belonging to the Cathedral at York; and in the *Aſhmolean Muſæum* at Oxford there are ſeveral Collections of his, which he made from the Regiſters of the Archbiſhops of York, given to it by Sir William Dugdale.

[*D*] *Wrote an account of the laſt days of that King, publiſhed by Mr. Wood in his* Athenæ Oxonienſes.] Mr. Wood obſerves (2), that about the ſame time that Sir Thomas wrote his *Threnodia Carolina*, himſelf "having occaſion to write to him for information "of certain perſons then or about that time (3) attending the King, he thereupon ſent him ſeveral "letters in anſwer to his queries, with divers other "matters by way of digreſſion; which letters con"tain, as it ſeems, the chief contents of *Threnodia* "*Carolina*, and are ſeveral times quoted in this "work (4). . . . . With the ſaid letters, which Mr. "Wood received from Sir Thomas, he received from "him an account of the laſt days of King Charles I "of ever bleſſed memory, with an earneſt deſire, "that if he ſhould have any occaſion to make men"tion of that moſt pious and good King, he would "by no means omit him for theſe reaſons: 1. Be"cauſe in the ſaid account there are many things, "that have not yet been divulged. 2. That he was "grown old, and not in ſuch a capacity, as he "could wiſh, to publiſh it. And 3. That if he "ſhould leave it to his relations to do it, they, out "of ignorance or partiality, may ſpoil it. Upon "his deſire, and theſe reaſons given, he [Mr. Wood] "did then promiſe him to find ſome place to receive "it in a work that he was then compiling, viz. *Athenæ* "*Oxonienſes*." We ſhall add here a copy of a very remarkable letter from our author to Dr. Samways, by whom it was ſent to Dr. Sancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and referred to in col. 524, line 73, Vol. II. of the *Athenæ Oxon.* Edit. 1692, and in col. 701, line 39, of the ſame volume, Edit. 1721. This letter was found in a copy of that book lately in the hands of the Lord Viſcount Preſton, and was communicated to us by the very learned Richard Rawlinſon, LL. D. and F. R. S. It is as follows.

(2) Ibid. col. 692, 693.

(3) Juſt before King Charles I's death.

(4) *Athenæ Oxonienſes.*

"Sir,

"After his late Majeſty's remove from Windſor to "St. James's, albeit according to the duty of my "place I lay in the next room to the Bedchamber, "the King then commanded me to bring my pallate "into his chamber, which I accordingly did the "night before that ſorrowful day. He ordered what "cloaths he would wear, intending that day to be "as neat as could be, it being (as he called it) his "wedding-day. And having a great work to do "(meaning his preparation to eternity) ſaid, he would "be ſtirring much earlier than he uſed. For ſome "hours his Majeſty ſlept very ſoundly. For my "part, I was ſo full of anguiſh and grief, that I "took little reſt. The King ſome hours before day "drew his bed-curtains to awake me, and could by "the light of a wax-lamp perceive me troubled in my "ſleep. The King roſe forthwith, and as I was "making him ready, Herbert, ſaid the King, I "would know why you were diſquieted in your ſleep. "I replied, May it pleaſe your Majeſty, I was in a "dream. What was your dream, ſaid the King? "I would hear it. May it pleaſe your Majeſty, ſaid "I, I dreamed, that as you were making ready, one "knocked at the Bedchamber door, which your Ma"jeſty took no notice of, nor was I willing to ac"quaint you with it, apprehendng it might be Colonel "Hacker. But knocking the ſecond time, your "Majeſty aſked me, if I heard it not? I ſaid, I "did, but did not uſe to go without his order. Why "then go, know who it is, and his buſineſs. Where"upon I opened the door, and perceived that it was "the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, in "his pontifical habit, as worn at Court. I knew "him, having ſeen him often. The Archbiſhop de"ſired he might enter, having ſomething to ſay to "the King. I acquainted your Majeſty with his de"ſire; ſo you bad me let him in. Being in, he "made his obeyſance to your Majeſty in the middle "of the room, doing the like alſo when he came "near your perſon; and falling on his knees, your "Majeſty gave him your hand to kiſs, and took "him aſide to the window, where ſome diſcourſe "paſſed between your Majeſty and him, and I kept "a becoming diſtance, not hearing any thing that "was ſaid, yet could perceive your Majeſty penſive "by your looks, and that the Archbiſhop gave a "ſigh; who after a ſhort ſtay again kiſſing your "hand, returned, but with his face all the way to"wards your Majeſty, and making his uſual reve"rences, the third being ſo ſubmiſs, as he fell proſ"trate on his face on the ground, and I immediately "ſtept to him to help him up, which I was then "acting when your Majeſty ſaw me troubled in my "ſleep. The impreſſion was ſo lively, that I looked "about, verily thinking that it was no dream. The "King ſaid, my *dream was remarkable, but he is* "*dead; yet had we conferred together during life, it is* "*very likely, albeit I loved him well, I ſhould have* "*ſaid ſomething to him might have occaſioned his ſigh.*" Soon after I had told my dream, Dr. Juxon, then "Biſhop of London, came to the King, as I relate "in that narrative I ſent Sir William Dugdale, "which I have a tranſcript of here, nor know whe"ther it reſts with his Grace the Archbiſhop of "Canterbury, or Sir William, or be diſpoſed of in "Sir John Cotton's Library near Weſtminſter Hall; "but wiſh you had the peruſal of it, before you re"turn into the North. And this being not commu"nicated to any but yourſelf, you may ſhew it his "Grace, and none elſe, as you promiſed.

"Sir,

"Y[ork], 28 "Your very affectioned
"Aug. 80. "Friend and Servant,
Tho. Herbert.

T.

HERCULES. There have been ſeveral heroes of this name [*A*], but he of Thebes was the moſt renowned, becauſe the Greeks aſcribed to him the actions atchieved by the

[*A*] *There have been ſeveral Heroes of this Name.*] Cicero reckons ſix. *Quamquam quem potiſſimum Herculem colamus ſcire ſane velim, plures enim tradunt nobis ii qui interiores ſcrutantur & reconditas literas: antiquiſſimum Jove natum, ſed item Jove antiquiſſimo; nam Joves quoque plures in priſcis Græcorum literis invenimus. Ex eo igitur & Lyſito eſt is Hercules, quem concertaviſſe cum Apolline de tripode accepimus. Alter traditur Nilo natus Ægyptius, quem aiunt Phrygias literas conſcripſiſſe. Tertius eſt ex Idæis Dactylis, cui inferias afferunt. Quartus Jovis eſt, & Aſteriæ Latonæ ſororis, quem Tyrii maximè colunt, cujus Carthaginem filiam ferunt. Quintus in India, qui Belus dicitur. Sextus hic ex Alcumena, quem Jupiter genuit; ſed tertius Jupiter: quoniam, ut jam docebo, plures Joves etiam accepimus* (1). i. e. "I want very much to be informed, "which

(1) Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, lib. 3. cap. 16.

the reſt, and have ſtudiouſly affected to ſpeak concerning him, according to the fabulous genius of their Nation. I intend to write of that Hercules only. He was looked upon as the ſon of Jupiter and Alcmene. I obſerved in other articles (*a*), in what manner that Lady was impoſed upon by this God; and will not repeat that, nor what is found in Moreri. Our Hercules exerted prodigious ſtrength, as well in the combats of Mars, as in thoſe of Venus [*B*]. He alſo was a prodigious eater [*C*], of which

(*a*) See the articles ALCMENE and AMPHITRYO.

" which of the Hercules's it is we chiefly worſhip, " for thoſe who peruſe ſecret Hiſtory, declare, that " there were ſeveral of this Name; the moſt antient " of all having ſprung from Jove, and the moſt antient of the Jupiters; for we find ſeveral of the Jupiters in old Greek Authors. 'Twas this Hercules, " the ſon of Jupiter and Lyſito, who is related to have " had a conteſt with Apollo concerning a tripod. Another Hercules, an Egyptian, Nilus's ſon, whom we " are told was the inventor of the Phrygian Letters. " A third deſcended from the *Idæi Dactyli*, to whom " infernal rights are offered. A fourth Hercules was " the offspring of Jupiter and Aſteria, Latona's ſiſter, " who is chiefly worſhipped by the Tyrians, and " who is ſaid to have a Daughter called Carthage. " There was a fifth in India, and who is named Belus; and a ſixth, the ſon of Alcmena by Jupiter, " but a third Jupiter; becauſe, as I ſhall ſoon ſhow, " we are told of ſeveral Jupiters." According to this account, the Egyptian Hercules would be but the third; however, the Egyptians gave him the firſt place (2). Diodorus Siculus (3), who ſpeaks but of three Hercules's, declares him of Egypt to have been the eldeſt; and owns that a ſimilitude of name and inclinations, was the reaſon why the acts of the others have been aſcribed to the Theban Hercules, who was the youngeſt of them all. 'Tis ſaid, that Varro reckons forty-four Hercules's.

(2) *Inde proximum amnis* (Nili) *os dicatum Herculi, quem indigenæ ortum apud ſe antiquiſſimum perhibent, eosque qui poſtea pari virtute fuerint in cognomentum ejus aſcitos.* Tacit. *Annal.* lib. 2. cap. 60.

(3) Lib. 3. *ſub fin.*

[*B*] *Our Hercules exerted prodigious ſtrength, in the combats of Venus.*] Some relate (4) that Hercules, in ſeven days, cropt the virgin Flower of the fifty Daughters of Theſtius; others (5) declare, that this buſineſs took up but one night; and add, that he had got each of them with child of a Boy; and that two of them, the eldeſt and youngeſt brought him each twin ſons. According to ſome writers (6), the youngeſt would never conſent to loſe her maidenhead; but to puniſh her for this, he ſentenced her to perpetual virginity, and would have her ſerve him as prieſteſs; and for this reaſon, a prieſteſs who was to live for ever a maid, was to officiate in Hercules's temple in Theſpis (7). Pauſanias could not think, that Hercules could have been ſo prodigiouſly exaſperated with the Daughter of his good friend (8); he therefore conſidered the ſentence, which Hercules was ſaid to have pronounced on her, as a very ſevere puniſhment. What he relates of the friendſhip which Theſtius had for Hercules, agrees very well with what we read in Diodorus Siculus (9), viz. that Theſtius (10) being deſirous that his daughters might give him poſterity, of which Hercules might be the father, invited him to a grand banquet, and regaled him in a very magnificent manner, and then ſent him his fifty Daughters one after the other. Vigenere has ſaid pleaſantly enough, *that this was the ſtouteſt battle in which* Hercules *was ever engaged in his life* (11): and yet the antients have not ranked this in the catalogue of his labours. It has been obſerved, that becauſe he made war, ſometimes in one country, and at other times in another, and was very fond of the fair ſex, he had diſperſed or ſettled women in different parts of the world, in order that he might have ſome for his purpoſe wherever he came. Lactantius had juſt reaſon to laugh at the Heathens, who had ranked in the number of their Deities, a man who left works of his uncleanneſs in all parts of the earth. *Hercules . . . nonne orbem terræ quem peragraſſe ac purgaſſe narratur, ſtupris, libidinibus, adulteriis inquinavit? nec mirum, cum eſſet adulterio genitus, Alcmenæ. Quid tandem potuit in eo eſſe divini, qui ſuis ipſe vitiis mancipatus, & mares, & Fœminas, contra omnes leges infamia, dedecore, flagitio, afficit* (12). i. e. " Did not Hercules, who is ſaid to " have travelled through the whole earth, and to have " purged it from Monſters, defile and pollute it with " whoredoms, with leud and adulterous actions? " but this we are not to wonder at, ſince he ſprung " from Alcmena's Adultery. Now what could there " be divine in him, who being himſelf a ſlave to vice, " in oppoſition to all Laws, brought infamy, ſhame, " and guilt on both ſexes." Arnobius has ridiculed the Heathens very agreeably, for ſuppoſing that nine nights were required for Jupiter to get a child; and that Hercules in one night's time got fifty women with child. *Quis illum* (Jovem) *in Alcmena novem noctibus fecit pervigilaſſe continuis? non vos? . . . Et ſane adjungitis beneficia non parva: ſiquidem vobis Deus Hercules natus eſt, qui in rebus hujuſmodi patris ſui tranſiret exuperaretque virtutes. Ille noctibus vix novem unam potuit prolem extundere, concinnare, compingere: at Hercules ſanctus Deus natas quinquaginta de Theſtio nocte una perdocuit, & nomen virginitatis exponere, & genitricum pondera ſuſtinere* (13). i. e. " Who declared that this Jupiter lay nine whole nights with " Alcmena? was it not you? and you really make noble " advantages reſult upon it; and from this embrace " your God Hercules ſprung, who greatly ſurpaſſed " his father in ſuch kind of feats. Jupiter could ſcarce " get one child in nine nights; but the holy God " Hercules, in a ſingle night, not only deflowered " Theſtius's fifty Daughters, but got them all with " child." It is to be obſerved that Theſtius was frightened at this vigour of Hercules (14).

(13) Arnobius, lib. 4. pag. 145.

(14) *Qualemque vagæ poſt crimina noctis, Theſpius obſtupuit toties ſocer.* Stat. Silv. 1. lib. 3. ver. 42.

[*C*] *He was a prodigious eater.*] He boaſted that he could eat more than any other man, and therefore was extremely vexed to meet with one who equalled him in that particular. He diſputed the prize of voraciouſneſs with one Lepreus, but did not win it (15). Each ſacrificed an Ox; and as Hercules eat all his at a ſingle meal, his antagoniſt exerted himſelf no leſs ſpeedily and vigorouſly with regard to his victim. Lepreus ought to have ſtopt here; but he was ſo inſolent as to challenge Hercules to engage him in another kind of combat, in a true Duel, in which he loſt his life. I ſhall expatiate farther on this diſpute, at the end of this remark. Here follows another Story. Hercules travelling with his wife, and young Hylacs his ſon; and finding that the child was very hungry, he addreſſed a husbandman, and deſired ſome victuals; however he got nothing, upon which he took one of the Oxen from the plough, ſacrificed it to the Gods, and eat it (16). This canine appetite did not abandon him, even in Heaven, whence it is, that Callimachus exhorts Diana not to catch hares, but wild boars and bulls; becauſe Hercules had not loſt now he was among the Gods, that faculty he had of eating prodigiouſly when among men.

(15) Pauſan. lib. 5. pag. 151.

(16) *See* Natalis Comes, *Mythol.* lib. 7. pag. m. 693, 694. Apollodorus, liv. 2. pag. 145. does not ſay ſo much, and has not the ſame circumſtances; but he owns that Hercules killed and eat the ox. The Scholiaſt on Apollonius, lib. 1. ver. 1212, ſays the ſame as Natalis Comes.

Οὐ γὰρ ὄγε Φρυγίη περ ὑπὸ δειρὴ γυῖα θεωθεὶς
Παύσατ' ἀδηφαγίης· ἔτι οἱ παρὰ νηδὺς ἐκείνη
Τῇ ποτ' ἀροτριάοντι συνήλετο Θειοδάμαντι (17).

" Tho' now a God, he is not leſs voracious,
" Than, when a man, in Phrygia's blooming plains,
" He loos'd from Theodamas's plough, the ox,
" And eat it at a meal.

(17) Callimachus in *Hymno Dianæ*, ver. 159. pag. m. 78.

Athenæus cites ſome verſes of Epicharmus, which expreſs admirably well the voraciouſneſs of this hero.

Πρῶτον μὲν αἶκ' ἔσθοντ' ἰδὴς νιν, ἀπεθάνοις,
Βρέμει μὲν ὁ φάρυγξ ἔνδοθ', ἀραβεῖ δ' ἃ γνάθω,
Ψοφεῖ δ' ὁ γόμφιος, τρίζει γ' ὁ κυνόδων,
Σίζει δὲ ταῖς ῥίνεσσι, κινεῖ δ' ἄλα, τῶν τετραπόδων
οὐδὲν ἧττον (18).

(18) Athen. lib. 10. *init.*

" Should you behold his furious meals, you'd die;
" Hear his jaws craſh, and his ſwollen cheeks reſound;
" The thunder of his grinders, and the roar
" Of his wide noſtrils, ſee his moving ears.

He cites ſome other Poets to prove his poſition, viz. that Hercules was a prodigious great eater, ὅτι ἦν καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀδηφάγος; and does not omit Lepreus's competition. Here follows all he ſays of it.

(7) Idem, ibid.

(8) Ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡγήσομαι πιθόν. Ἡρακλέα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὀργῆς ἀνδρὸς φίλου θυγατρὶ ἀφικέσθαι. Idem, ibid.

(9) Liv. 4. cap. 29.

(10) The father of theſe fifty girls is called Theſtius by ſome, and Theſpius by others.

(11) Vigenere, *ſur Philoſtrate*, tom. 1. pag. 98. edit. in 4to.

(12) Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 9.

which I ſhall relate ſome extraordinary particulars; as alſo of his mighty quaffing [*D*], for which he was no leſs remarkable. He diſplayed the voraciouſneſs of his appetite, on an occaſion that gave riſe to a very ſingular ceremony, viz. that opprobrious expreſſions were always vented againſt Hercules, all the time that the inhabitants of Lindus were offering up ſacrifices to him [*E*]. Some, from the ſtrong love which Hercules had for wine

Lepreus challenged Hercules to a gluttonous contеſt, and was overcome. Εἰσάγεται δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Λεπρεῖ περὶ πολυφαγίας ἐρίζων ἐκείνῳ προκαλεσαμένῳ, καὶ νενίκηκε (19). i. e. "Hercules is brought in contending "with Lepreus, who had challenged him, for the "prize of gluttony, on which occaſion Hercules came "off victorious." Zenodotus relates, that Hercules had put in chains Lepreus, grandſon to Neptune, after having cleanſed the Augean ſtables: He ſet him at liberty after he had ended his labours, and then had three conteſts with him. They play'd at Quoits, they ſtrove who ſhould pump water with the greateſt vigour, and who ſhould have the ſooneſt devoured an ox. Hercules came off victorious on all theſe occaſions. At laſt Lepreus being intoxicated with liquour, challenged Hercules anew, and was killed by him. Others relate, that they did not diſpute who ſhould eat moſt, but who ſhould drink moſt; and that Hercules was victorious over Lepreus (20). Others pretend that their conteſt was, who ſhould ſooneſt eat up a bull, and who ſhould drink moſt (21). I ſhall relate ſome other particulars in the remark [*H*].

(19) Idem, ibid.

(20) *Matris in Herculis Laudatione.* Caucalus, *Rhetor Chius, frater* Theopompi *Hiſtoriographi in* Herculis Laudatione, *apud* Ath. *ibid.*

(21) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 1. cap. 24.

[*D*] *His mighty quaffing.*] To be convinced of this, we need but conſider the prodigious ſize of his goblet, which required two men to carry it; but as to himſelf, he wanted but one hand, in order to lift it up, and drink it off.

Huic pretium palmæ gemini cratera ferebant
Herculeum juvenes. Illum Tyrinthius olim
Ferre manu ſola, ſpumantemque ore ſupino
Vertere ſeu monſtri victor, ſeu marte ſolebat (22).

(22) Statius, *Theb.* lib. 6. ver. 531.

"The prize, a mighty goblet, by two youths
"Aloſt was held; and Hercules of old,
"With eaſe oft carried it, with but one hand;
"And, from the field or labours when return'd,
"Could drink it off, tho' running o'er the brim.

It appears by the Hiſtory of Alexander the Great, that in feaſts in which the gueſts quaffed in an extraordinary manner, they all drank off a mighty cup, called the cup of Hercules. It was reſerved for the cloſe, as may be inferred from Alexander's not having drunk it, when he was taken ſick at table. *Nondum Herculis Scypho epoto repente velut telo confixus ingemuit* (23), during a feaſt in which he before had drunk very copiouſly. Others ſay he had drunk it, and that it proved his fatal doſe. *Alexandrum . . . intemperantia bibendi atque ille Herculeanus & fatalis ſcyphus condidit* (24). Diodorus Siculus relates, that Alexander having quaffed a great quantity, at laſt emptied Hercules's cup, and immediately fell into a ſwoon (25). To reconcile theſe ſeveral variations, I believe it muſt be ſuppoſed that the Monarch in queſtion was ſtruck as he was drinking off this cup, and before he had drunk it off. The Hiſtorian in queſtion obſerves, that this cup of Hercules was of a vaſt ſize. But what can be more expreſs, with regard to this ſubject, than the following words of Macrobius? *Scyphus Herculis poculum eſt, ita ut Liberi patris cantharus: Herculem vero pictores veteres, non ſine cauſa cum poculo fecerunt & nonnunquam caſabundum & ebrium, non ſolum quod is heros bibax fuiſſe perhibetur, ſed etiam quod antiqua hiſtoria eſt Herculem poculo tanquam navigio ventis immenſa maria tranſiſſe. Sed de utraque re pauca ex Græcis antiquitatibus dicam, & multibibum Heroa iſtum fuiſſe, ut taceam quæ vulgo nota ſunt, illud non obſcurum argumentum eſt, quod Ephippus in Buſiride inducit Herculem ſic loquentem,* &c. (26). i. e. "Hercules's cup is the ſcyphus, as "the cantharus is that of Bacchus. It was not with"out reaſon that the antient Sculptors repreſented Her"cules holding a cup, and ſometimes reeling and "drunk; not only becauſe the hero in queſtion is "ſaid to have been a quaffer, but alſo becauſe we are "told in antient Hiſtory, that Hercules ſailed over "boundleſs ſeas in a cup, as though it had been a "ſhip. But I will preſent my readers with a few "particulars concerning both, from the Greek an"tiquities. With regard to Hercules's being a "mighty quaffer, not to mention what is commonly "known, we have no ill proof of this, where Ephip"pus, in his Buſiris, introduces Hercules ſpeaking as "follows, &c." Athenæus ſeems to denote the capaciouſneſs of this cup, he ſaying (27), that that which killed Alexander, held two *congiarii* or gallons. We learn a very remarkable particular from Steſichorus the Poet. He ſays that Pholus drunk a health to Hercules in a pitcher holding twenty four pints. *Centaurorum & Lapitharum convivium deſcribens* (Steſichorus) *ait Pholum (quem propterea hoſpitem Alcidæ nuncupat Lucanus) impleviſſe Herculi craterem trium lagenarum capacem, quem prior ipſe obbibiſſet: amplum autem fuiſſe oportuit, qui urnam, hoc eſt, quatuor & viginti ſextarios caperet* (28). He drank it off firſt, and was pledged a moment after by Hercules.

(23) Q. Curt. lib. 10. cap. 4. num. 18. edit. Freinſhem. *See alſo* Plutarch in Alexandro, *ſub fin.*

(24) Seneca, Epiſt. 83.

(25) Diod. Sic. lib. 17. cap. 117.

(26) Macrob. *Saturn.* lib. 5. cap. 21. *See* Dempſterus in *Roſinum*, lib. 5. cap. 30. pag. m. 856.

(27) Lib. 10. cap. 9. pag. 434.

(28) Hadrian, Junius, *Animadverſ.* lib. 4. cap. 5. pag. m. 410.

Σκυφίον δὲ λαβὼν ὀίπας ἔμμιτρον ὡς τριλάγυνον
Πῖν ἐπισχόμενος, τὸ ῥά οἱ παρέθηκε Φόλος κεφάσας (29).

(29) *Apud* Hadrian. Junium, *ibid.*

Hercules (de eo enim loquitur) *acceptum in manus ſcyphum plenum, trium lagenarum capacem, ori admovens obbibit, quem Pholus ipſi infuderat.*

"He took the mighty cup, which Pholus fill'd
"With three *Lagenæ*, and at once quaff'd off
"The glorious bumper."

Athenæus explains after a very probable manner, the reaſon, why the Poets feigned that Hercules croſſed the ſea in a cup. This fiction, ſays he, in all probability took its riſe, from the pleaſure this hero took in drinking out of large glaſſes, Μάλιστα μεγάλοις ἔχαιρε πολλοῖς ὁ ἥρως, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος παίζοντες οἱ ποιηταὶ [καὶ συγγραφεῖς] πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν ποτηρίῳ ἐμυθολόγησαν (30). *Poculis fortaſſe quia heros amplis gaudebat, per jocum ſcriptores, ac Poëtæ, eum in poculo navigaſſe fabulati ſunt*; for he was a mighty drinker: Ὅτι δὲ εἷς ἦν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τῶν πλείστων πινόντων προείπομεν (31). *Bibacem inter alios Herculem fuiſſe antea nos memoravimus.*

(30) Athen. lib. 11. pag. 496.

(31) Idem, ibid.

[*E*] *Opprobrious expreſſions were always vented againſt Hercules, all the time that the inhabitants of Lindus were offering up ſacrifices to him.*] I related above, that Hercules eat up an ox which he had taken from a peaſant; but I ſhall add here, that the peaſant, all the time he was devouring the animal, vented the moſt opprobrious expreſſions againſt him, which was only a diverſion to Hercules; ſo that when an altar was erected to his honour, he would have this peaſant to be his prieſt, and commanded him to repeat the ſame curſes, every time that ſacrifices ſhould be offered up to him; for, did he uſe to ſay, I never in my life eat with a better appetite. Lactantius relates this incident at large. *Apud Lindum, quod eſt oppidum Rhodi, Herculis ſacra ſunt, quorum à cæteris longe diverſus eſt ritus. Si quidem non εὐφημία, ut Græci appellant, ſed maledictis, & execratione celebrantur, eaque pro violatis habent, ſi quando inter ſolemnes ritus vel imprudenti alicui exciderit bonum verbum. Cujus rei hæc ratio redditur, ſi tamen ulla eſſe ratio in rebus vaniſſimis poteſt. Hercules, cum eo delatus eſſet, famemque pateretur, aratorem quendam aſpexit operantem, ab eoque petere cæpit, ut ſibi unum bovem venderet. Ille negavit fieri poſſe, quia ſpes ſua omnis colendæ terræ duobus illis jumentis niteretur. Hercules ſolita violentia uſus, quia unum accipere non potuit, utrumque ſuſtulit. At ille infelix, cum boves ſuos mactari videret, injuriam ſuam maledictis ultus eſt, quod homini eleganti & urbano gratiſſimum fuit. Nam dum comitibus ſuis epulas apparat, dumque alienos boves devorat, illum ſibi amariſſime conviciantem, cum riſu, & cachinnis audiebat. Sed poſtquam Herculi divinos honores ob admirationem virtutis deferri placuit, à civibus ei ara poſita eſt, quam de facto* βούζυγον, *id eſt bovis jugum nominavit; ad quam duo juncti boves immolarentur, ſicut illi, quos abſtulerat aratori,*

wine and women, have denied his atchieving the noble exploits aſcribed to him [*F*]. A very particular circumſtance is told concerning the greedineſs with which he devoured his victuals, it being ſaid, that the motion on theſe occaſions made his ears move (*b*). This is a very rare and uncommon thing [*G*]. I fancy it is a miſtake to aſſert, that Hercules

(*b*) See the remark [*C*].

aratori, eumque ipſum ſibi conſtituit Sacerdotem, ac præcepit, ut iiſdem maledictis ſemper in celebrandis ſacrificiis uteretur, quod negaret, ſe unquam epulatum eſſe jucundius (32). i. e. "In Lindus, a city of Rhodes, there "are offered up, to Hercules, rites which differ greatly "from thoſe uſed in other places. For theſe rites are "not performed with praiſes, but with curſes; and "they would be thought to be profaned, ſhould a "good or virtuous word ſlip inadvertently from any "perſon who was preſent at the ſolemnity, for which "the reaſon is given, if there can be any reaſon in "ſuch trifling practices. Hercules, as it is related, "coming that way, was hungry, when ſeeing a "countryman ploughing, he deſired him to ſell him "an ox. The countryman replied, that he could not "oblige him on that occaſion, becauſe thoſe oxen "were the only cattle he had to plough with. Her"cules employing his uſual violence, ſince he could "not be favoured with one ox, took them both a"way. The unhappy peaſant, ſeeing his oxen "ſlaughtered, took his revenge by curſes, which were "exceedingly pleaſing to the elegant and polite Her"cules; for whilſt he was preparing this entertain"ment for his companions, and was devouring the "cattle which did not belong to him, he laughed "at, and ridiculed the ill-fated owner, who was "curſing him in a moſt bitter manner. But when "it was afterwards judged proper, in admiration of "the virtues which Hercules poſſeſſed, to pay him di"vine honours, the inhabitants of that city erected "two altars to him, which he, from the action itſelf, "called the yoke of oxen. Here two yoked oxen "were to be offered, as were thoſe which he forced "from the peaſant, whom he conſtituted his prieſt; "and commanded him to employ always the ſame "kind of curſes in ſolemnizing the ſacrifices, Her"cules declaring that he had never in his life feaſted "with greater delight."

(32) Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 21. pag. m. 70. *See alſo* Conon, *apud* Photium, pag. 429.

[*F*] *Some have denied his atchieving the noble exploits aſcribed to him.*] Meglacides in Athenæus, cenſures the Poets who came after Homer and Heſiod, for their ſaying that Hercules had commanded armies and taken cities, ſince it is certain that he led a very voluptuous life, having ſeveral lawful wives, and getting a very great number of young women with child clandeſtinely, Ὃς μετ' ἡδονῆς πολείσης τὸν μετ' ἀνθρώπῳ βίον διετέλεσε πολίσας μὲν γυναῖκας γήμας, ἐκ πολίσων δὲ λάθρα παρθένων παιδοποιησάμενος. *Cum maximè voluptariam inter homines vitam egerit, plurimarum uxorum maritus, & puellis quam multis compreſſis, è quibus ſuſcepit liberos* (33). Beſides, he was a great lover of good eating and drinking; ſo that after his example, thoſe who offered libations to him, quite emptied the glaſſes, and did not leave ſo much as a drop. Other proofs were brought (34) of his ſoftneſs and effeminacy; and it was pretended that Steſichorus firſt armed him with a club, a bow, and a lyon's ſkin. We meet with one particular in Eraſmus, which ſtrongly oppoſes the tradition concerning Hercules's effeminacy. It is in the explication of the proverb, *beware of the man with the black buttocks* (35). Eraſmus tells us, that a mother gave this caution to her two ſons, who were unlucky rogues. They were for attacking Hercules as he was ſleeping under a tree; but he awaked, and tied them to his club (36), and threw them over his ſhoulders with their heads downward. By this poſture they diſcovered that Hercules's back was very hairy, and that the hair was very black and thick; a circumſtance which made them call to mind their mother's caution, and forced a laugh from them. Hercules being told what they laughed at, gave them their liberty. The words of Eraſmus which I am to cite are theſe. *Melampygus Græcis ſignificat eum qui nigro ſit podice: quo quidem cognomento notatus eſt Hercules quod eam corporis partem, non Lydorum more vulſam, neque candidam (quemadmodum effœminati ſolent) ſed nigris pilis hirſutam ac ſylvoſam haberet. Nam Græci quemadmodum molles & imbelles, fractoſque deliciis, τυγάργυς καὶ λευκοπύγυς appellant; itidem è diverſo fortes ac ſtrenuos, μελαμπύγυς vocare conſueverunt, ut author eſt Lycophronis interpres.* i. e. "Melampygus ſignifies, among "the Greeks, one who has black buttocks, which "ſirname was given to Hercules, becauſe that part of "his body was rough and ſhaggy, with black hair, "and not ſhaved after the manner of the Lydians, "nor white as effeminate people are. For as the "Greeks call'd the effeminate and weak, and ſuch as "immerſed themſelves in luxury white-breech'd: ſo, "on the contrary, they commonly gave the name of "black-breech'd to the valiant and ſtrong, as we are "told by the interpreter of Lycophron." See Suidas under the article μελαμπύγυ τύχοις, *in Melampygum incidas*. See alſo Apoſtolius, Zenobius, Diogenianus, in their collections of proverbs.

(33) Athen. lib. 12. cap. 1. pag. 512.

(34) Idem, ibid.

(35) Μὴ τῷ μελαμπύγῳ περιτύχοις. It is the 43d proverb of Century 1. of the ſecond Chiliad in Eraſmus.

(36) See Moreri under the word *Acbemon*.

[*G*] *This is a very rare and uncommon thing.*] The Journal of the *Academia Naturæ curioſorum* (37) mention a maiden whoſe ears moved. The author of *Nouvelles de la republique des Lettres*, giving the extract of this Journal, obſerved (38) that there was no room to doubt of this ſingular particular, after what Abbé de Marolles atteſts concerning Craſſot the Philoſopher, *pag.* 32 of his Memoirs. "He very much reſembled, "*ſays he*, the portraits of thoſe Cynical Philoſophers, "which are found in the cabinets of the curious, he "being ſlovenly like them; having a long and buſhy "beard, and his hair neglected and uncombed. There "was one thing very peculiar in him, which I never "ſaw in any other perſon; and this was, he could "move his ears up and down without touching them." Peter Meſſie relates in the 24th chapter of part I, that St. Auſtin had ſeen (29) a man, who not only mov'd his ears at pleaſure, but alſo his hair, without making the leaſt motion either with his hands or head. Give me leave to join to this ſome collections which bear a relation to it. I ſhall begin with a pretty long paſſage from Caſaubon (40). *Iſtud planè communi hominum naturæ contrarium eſt; quibus* [*ſolis* (41) *ex omnibus animantibus* (*niſi forte ſimias excipias*)] *dedit aureis ἡ πολυποίκιλος τῆ ΘΕΟΥ ſοφία moveri ſuapte ſponte neſcias.* [*Nam quod ſcribit Martialis, Cinnæ cuidam natum filium* auribus longis Quæ ſic moventur ut ſolent Aſellorum: *poetica ſine dubio licentia eſt, non rei veritas.*] *Narrat tamen Euſtathius ſacerdotem fuiſſe quendam aureis motitantem. Accepimus etiam à viris fide dignis, viſas manifeſto aures movere viro cuidam eruditiſſimo* (42) *cum Allobrogum fides tranſiens, vivicomburii periculum ſibi à magiſtratu imminere intellexiſſet, quod diceretur nefandi criminis reus Toloſa in Italiam fugere.* i. e. "This in"terferes directly with the common nature of men, "to whom only of all animals, unleſs apes ought to be "excepted, Heaven has given ears which move of "themſelves. For what we find in Martial concern"ing the ſon of one Cinna, who had long ears which "moved like thoſe of aſſes, it is doubtleſs a poetical "fiction, and not a true incident. Nevertheleſs Euſta"thius tells us that a certain Prieſt moved his ears. I "have alſo been told by perſons worthy of credit, that "the ears of a certain man of learning were plainly "ſeen to move, when travelling by the borders of "Savoy, he found that he was in danger of being burnt "alive by the magiſtrate, on its being reported that "he was flying into Italy from Thouloufe, becauſe "he had perpetrated a heinous crime." Since Caſaubon does not doubt the truth of Euſtathius's report, nor what had been told him concerning the learned man who had fled from Thouloufe, why does he doubt what relates to Cinna's child, in the 39th epigram of the 6th book of Martial? He would have leſs doubted it had he taken notice, not only of what St. Auſtin relates in Chap. XXIV, Book XIV, *De civitate Dei: ſunt qui & aures moveant vel ſingulas vel ambas ſimul.* i. e. "Some people move their ears either "ſingly or together:" but alſo what is atteſted by Veſalius. This great anatomiſt affirms (43), that he ſaw, in Padua, two men whoſe ears moved. He explains the cauſe of this motion in another place. *Interdum*, ſays he (44), *quibuſdam raris fibris carnalis membrana quam carnoſam vocamus ſupra aures augetur, & modice auri*

(37) In the volume for anno 1685.

(38) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for September 1686, pag. 1021.

(39) St. Auſtin's words, cited below, do not denote that he had ſeen this, and therefore Father Hardouin in Plin. lib. 11. pag. 543. ſhould not have ſaid, *quæ vidit Auguſtinus.*

(40) Caſaubon, in *Athen.* lib. 10. cap. 1. pag. 702.

(41) This is extracted from Ariſtotle, μόνον ἀνθρωπος οὖς οὐ κινεῖ, *ſays he*, lib. 1. *Hiſt. Animal.* cap. 9. Pliny in like manner, *Aures homini tantum immobiles*, lib. 11. cap. 37.

(42) It is a little probable, that Anthony Muretus is hinted at here.

(43) *De humani Corporis Fabrica*, lib. 2. cap. 13. *apud* Coquæum, *Not. in Auguſt. de Civitat. Dei*, lib. 14. cap. 24.

(44) Ibid. cap. 17. *apud eundem* Coquæum, *ibid.*

Hercules would be drawn in this attitude, in one of his moſt famous portraits [*H*]. It is falſe to aſſert, that his club was in a chapel at Rome [*I*], and that it drove away from thence

auri proximam cutem, & ipſam quoque aurem motu agit arbitrio. i. e. " Sometimes by means of certain " delicate fibres, the fleſhy membrane, call'd by us " *Carnoſa*, is ſtretched above the ears, and gives the " ſkin next the ear, and the ear itſelf, an arbitrary " motion. Du Laurent affirms, that he had ſeen ſome perſons, who gave motion to their ears (45). Valverdus ſaw a Spaniard do the ſame in Rome (46). Procopius compares Juſtinian " to an aſs, not only on ac- " count of his dulneſs and ſtupidity, but likewiſe be- " cauſe of his ſelf-moving ears, whence he was called, " in a full theatre, γαύδων, that is to ſay, word for " word, maſter-aſs, by thoſe of the green faction or " Praſini, to which he was an enemy." I read theſe words in la Mothe le Vayer, pag. 134 of tom. 3 in 12mo. He cites pag. 36 of Procopius's ſecret Hiſtory.

(45) Laurent. lib. 11. *Hiſt. Anat.* cap. 12. *apud eundem, ibid.* I have verified this paſſage.

(46) Valverdus, lib. 2. *Anatomes Corporis Humani*, cap. 2. *apud eundem, ibid.* I correct Coquæus, who calls him *Valvardus*.

[*H*] *It is aſſerted that Hercules would be drawn in this attitude in one of his moſt famous portraits.*] This is told by Coſtar, in his Dialogues. Here follows the ſequel of what he there ſays concerning Hercules. In the *Anthologia* a peaſant " highly applauds Mercury's moderation, " for being ſatisfied with milk and fruits; and com- " plains againſt Hercules, for requiring a conſiderable " number of ſheep and oxen in ſacrifice. And being " told; *But this God preſerves your flocks ſo well.* " *What difference is there*, replied he, *whether my* " *flocks are devoured by wolves, or by their keeper?*"

(47) *Entretiens de Voiture & de Coſtar*, pag. 32.

---- Τί τὸ πλέον εἰ τὸ φυλακτέν
Ὄλλυται ὑπὸ λύκων ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ φυλακός (47).

Voiture thus anſwers Coſtar. " It is true indeed that " Hercules eat gladly *of ſheep*, and devoured a great " number of them. The Argonauts in their voyage " to Colchos, put him aſhore on an iſland. Many " pleaſant reaſons are given for this: ſome ſay that " it was becauſe he broke all the oars as he rowed; " others, becauſe he was too weighty: ſome, becauſe " the Argonauts were afraid that he alone would carry " away all the glory; and others again becauſe *he eat* " *too much*. I remember to have read in a Greek " Poet (that is to ſay Greek and Latin) that he moved " his ears as he eat, &c. (48)." Coſtar anſwering his friend, ſays to him *that Hercules eat like a Devil*, and that, *according to Athenæus, ... he had an ox at every meal.* He cites Philoſtratus *in his picture* of Theodamas. We there find the following words according to Vigenere's verſion, page 906 of vol. I. " You per- " haps found it in Pindar, where having fought in " Coronus's hovel, he eat up an ox ſo compleatly, " that he did not even think, that the bones ought to " be left." Coſtar cites alſo Lactantius, in *chapter* 21 (50) *of the* Chriſtian Inſtitution. It is to inform his friend of the ceremony of the execrations which were vented by the Lyndians, when they offered up their ſacrifices to Hercules. He tells him, that in " this caſe Hercules was of the ſame humour with " fortune, which is never had in ſo much honour as " when ſhe is reviled; and that ſhe is accuſed of oc- " caſioning all the changes and diſorders which hap- " pen in the world, *cum convitiis colitur*, this is an ex- " preſſion of Pliny's (51)." He adds that this " *Beef-* " *eater* (for thus he was ſirnamed βοφάγος and βο- " τοίνης) was ſo renowned for his voraciouſneſs, that " the antients conſecrated to him a bird call'd by them " *glutton*; it is that which is called in French " *Foulque*, in Latin *Gavia* or *Furica*, and in Greek " λάρος." *One might ſay of him*, continues he, *as Martial ſays of* Tucca, viz. that he was not ſatisfied with being a glutton, but would have every one know, and ſpeak of it.

(48) Ibid. pag. 38.

(49) Ibid. pag. 55.

(50) He ſhould have added of book 1. Beſides, this work of Lactantius is not intitled, *Chriſtian Inſtitution*, but *Divinæ Inſtituti-ones*. Vigenere miſled Coſtar.

(51) Theſe words of Pliny are in chap. 7. of book 2. but they do not ſignify, that Fortune is *never ſo much* honoured *as when ſhe is exclaimed againſt.*

Non eſt Tucca ſatis, quòd es guloſus,
Et dici cupis, & cupis videri (52).

(52) Martial, lib. 12. Epig. 41.

And indeed, he once revealed himſelf to Parrhaſius the painter, in the ſame ſtate he was in, when his ears moved; *and he would be painted in the ſame attitude in which Theodamas had ſeen him.* He cites, with regard to this apparition, the twelfth book of Athenæus; and obſerves that in Pliny, *lib.* 35, *cap.* 10, one Demon, an Athenian painter, boaſts his having painted Hercules in the city of Lindus, exactly as he had ſeen him in his ſlumbers. He carried this boaſting ſo far, as to put it into the inſcription of the picture Οἷος δ' ἐννύχιον φανλάζετο πολλάκι φοιτῶν Παῤῥασίῳ δι' ὕπνυ, τοῖος ὅ δ' ἐστὶν ὁρᾶν. *Qualem noctu videntur ſe objiciebat dormienti Parrhaſio, talem hic videre licet* (53); but it does not follow from thence, that he aſcribes to Hercules that ſelf motion of the ears mentioned by Coſtar. is a ſtrange boldneſs to affirm, 1ſt, that we find in Athenæus that Hercules appeared to Parrhaſius *in the ſame ſtate he was in when his ears moved*; 2dly, that Theodamas had ſeen Hercules in *that very attitude*; but theſe two errors are inconſiderable in compariſon of the blunder I ſhall here take notice of. Here follow Pliny's words. *Pinxit Demon Athenienſium, argumento quoque ingenioſo. Volebat namque varium, iracundum, injuſtum, inconſtantem; eundem exorabilem, clementem, miſericordem, excelſum, glorioſum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque, & omnia pariter oſtendere Idem pinxit Theſea, ... & in una tabula quæ eſt Rhodi, Meleagrum, Herculem, Perſea* (54). i. e. " He painted the people " of Athens, and that after a very ingenious man- " ner; for he drew them fickle, paſſionate, unjuſt, " and inconſtant; and, at the ſame time, exorable, " merciful, haughty, humble, fierce and cowardly, " The painter in queſtion drew likewiſe Theſeus, ... " and in one picture, which is in Rhodes, Meleager, " Hercules, and Perſeus." Pliny here enumerates the works of Parrhaſius; the word *Demon* ſignifies the people of Athens, whoſe oppoſite paſſions Parrhaſius had repreſented after an ingenious manner. Here Coſtar metamorphoſes this picture of Parrhaſius into a painter: and pretends that this chimerical painter aſcribed to himſelf the picture of Hercules, where that hero moved his ears. But this is a new blunder; for ſuppoſing Demon to be a Painter, no other picture could be aſcribed to him but that picture, which was at Rhodes, viz. the picture where Meleager, Hercules, and Perſeus had been painted, and which Pliny diſtinguiſhes plainly from the Hercules that was in Lindus, which was exhibited agreeable to the painter's dream; & *Herculem, qui eſt Lindi, talem à ſe pictum, qualem ſæpe in quiete vidiſſet* (55). But if we are for aſcribing the Hercules of Lindus to the pretended Demon, we muſt alſo aſcribe to him the greateſt part of Parrhaſius's pictures.

(53) Athen. lib. 11. pag. 544.

(54) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10. pag. m. 202.

(55) Idem, ibid. pag. 204.

[*I*] *It is falſe to aſſert, that his club was in a chapel at Rome.*] A famous proteſtant divine has writ as follows (56). *You ſhall frequently hear in our Temples Atheiſm and Error combatted and trampled on: Thoſe Peſts are drove from them by the odour of the word of God, which is there preached in its purity; as anti- ently, in Rome, Hercules's Club uſed to drive out Dogs and Flies from the chapel where it was.* He quotes the ſecond chapter of Solinus, where nothing like this is found; but here follows what he ſays in Chapter I. *Hoc ſacellum Herculi in boario foro eſt, in quo argumenta & convivii & majeſtatis ipſius remanent. Nam divinitus illò neque canibus neque muſcis ingreſſus eſt. Etenim cum viſcerationem ſacricolis daret, Myiagrum deum dicitur imprecatus, clavam vero in aditu reliquiſſe, cujus olfactum refugerint canes: id uſque nunc durat:* i. e. " This little Temple dedicated to Hercules, ſtands in " the *Forum Boarium*, and proofs ſtill exiſt in it both " of the ſacrifices and majeſty of the God; for by " his divine power neither dogs nor flies enter it, and " when he gave the bowels to the prieſt, it is ſaid " that he prayed to the God Myiagrus, and left " in the entry his Club, the ſmell whereof drove a- " way Dogs; and this continues to this preſent time." It is plain Solinus does not affirm that Hercules's Club was ſtill there; he ſaying only, that Hercules had left it in the entry of that place, where he gave the prieſts an entertainment after the ſacrifice; and that the ſmell of this Club drove away Dogs. Such was the effect the Club had; but as to the Flies, they were not repulſed by the Club, but by the prayers which Hercules offered up to the God *Myiagrus*. What was obſerved on this occaſion, viz. that the Flies and Dogs kept at a diſtance from that place, continued in the whole ſeries of ſucceeding ages. This is what Solinus ſays; but it was not neceſſary that the Club ſhould be preſerved in the chapel, nor does Solinus ſay ſo. If the incident abovementioned related by the proteſtant Miniſter had been true, this Club might have been ranked among the Taliſmans; and be

(56) Sam. Des Marets, *Eſchantillon des Maximes du Clergé Romain és Provinces unies*, pag. 59.

thence dogs and flies; and it is a ſtill falſer aſſertion to maintain, that he ſet up pillars at the Cape called *Fineſterre* [*K*], and there lodged a mirror or looking-glaſs which had an aſtoniſhing property [*L*]. Some writers ſay, that he lived but till fifty years of age; and that he then conſumed himſelf in the flames, becauſe he no longer had ſtrength to bend his bow [*M*]. He was the laſt child that Jupiter had by any mortal woman [*N*].

It

compared to the Fly, which we are told, is engraved on the Door of the Shambles in Toledo, and which keeps flies at a diſtance from them. Since we are upon this ſubject, I ſhall relate a particular which I read in a modern writer (57), viz. that in Miſitra, dogs never go into the Turkiſh Moſques, nor the Churches of the Chriſtians. This the Turks explain by a miracle with regard to themſelves, and by a natural reaſon with reſpect to the Greeks. Guillet's words are as follow:

(57) Guillet, *Lacedemone ancienne & nouvelle*, pag. 232. Dutch edit.

Dogs that never go into Churches.

"The Turks ſpeak of the diſcretion of theſe dogs, "as of ſomething miraculous. Theſe animals ſometimes ſlip into private houſes, when they find the "doors of them open; but as to the Moſques, they need "not be ſhut at all, for the dogs never enter them. "The Turks take an occaſion from hence to make "a wonder of it; and call that a miraculous reſpect, "which is only an imitation of the young Dogs, "who have ever ſeen the oldeſt keep at a diſtance "from the doors of Moſques, where, in all probability, they had been heartily drubbed by the firſt "Turkiſh inhabitants to make them keep away from "them for ever. Neither are Dogs to be ſeen in the "Churches of the Greeks; but this is not looked "upon as ſtrange by the Turks, who give a reaſon "for it, which, to me, appears probable enough. "I before obſerved, that when the Greek Schiſmaticks go into their Churches, they make ſo profound "a bow, that their hands touch the Ground. The "Turks ſay, that the Dogs ſeeing them ſtoop their "hands ſo low, imagine that it is in order to take "up ſtones, and to throw at their heads; and that "the fear of this keeps them at a diſtance from the "Churches."

To return to Hercules's Club, I ſay that a great miracle was related concerning it, viz. that being fixed in the Ground, it had taken root, and ſhot up into a tree. Πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ ἀγάλματι τὸ ῥόπαλον θεῖναί φασιν Ἡρακλέας καὶ (ἦν γὰρ κοτίνου) τοῦτο μὲν (ὅτῳ πιστά) ἐνέφυ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνεβλάστησεν αὖθις. *Ei clavam ab Hercule dedicatam perhibent, factam ex oleaſtro. Quod adjiciunt miraculum, haud ſcio an cuiquam fide dignum videri poſſit, eam clavam radicibus actis regerminaſſe* (58). I add, that 'twas the Trœzenians who related this incident. They had the ſtatue of Mercurius Polygius, to which Hercules had conſecrated his Club. It is univerſally known that it was of the wood of the olive-tree; and Pauſanias ſays, that this tree, whence it was taken, was ſtill ſhewn, which Hercules found near the fen called Saronis (59). Here is an article proper for a writer who would undertake a collection of hiſtorical parallels, with reſpect to certain ſtories told by Heathens as well as Chriſtians; for we find by travellers, *that at the gate of the old fortreſs of* Smyrna, *there is a great wild cherry-tree, which the Greeks of that country declare to have been the ſtaff of St. Polycarp, firſt biſhop of Smyrna, which the inſtant after it was fixed in the ground, ſhot forth branches* (60).

(58) Pauſan. lib. 2. pag. 74.

(59) Ibid.

(60) Spon, *Voyage de Greece*, tom. 1. pag. 232. Dutch edit.

(*K*) . . . nor *that he ſet up Pillars at the cape called Fineſterre.*] The fiction with regard to the foundation of Corrunna, which I ſhall ſpeak of in the following remark, has made ſome learned men conclude, that Hercules had ſet up pillars in that place. Paul Jovius fell into this error, for which he was cenſured as follows by Ludovicus Nonnius. *Ab hac fabula perſuaſi nonnulli, credidere arcem Herculis fuiſſe, & alteras columnas ab illo hic fixas, non ſecus ac circa Gades, dictamque urbem hanc* Corunna *tanquam* columnam: *quod egregium etymon apud Paulum Jovium, virum aliàs gravem & doctum, tantum valuit, ut ab imperito aliquo Hiſpaniæ antiquitatis perſuaſus, huic opinioni etiam ſubſcriberet, cùm in vita Gonſalvi Ferdinandi d'Aguilar, agens de adventu Regis Philippi I. in Hiſpaniam, ita ſcriberet:* Nec diu Philippus amicorum ſuorum ſtudia, votaque fruſtratus, ut ſua regna ex arbitrio adminiſtranda ſuſciperet, in Cantabriam Oceano devectus, pervenit in portum, qui vocatur ad Columnas, fortaſſe quòd ibi quoque alteræ Herculis columnæ, ſicuti Gadibus, poſitæ fuerunt, quum eo externo litore terræ Hiſpanicæ finis. *Sed opinio hæc infirmiori tibicine fulta quàm ut rationibus convelli mereatur* (61). i. e. "This "fiction made ſome people imagine, that it was a caſtle "which had been built by Hercules; that he ſet up "pillars there, as he did near Cales; and that this "city was called Corunna, as it were, Columna or "Pillar. This fine etymology was thought ſo good by "Paul Jovius, in other reſpects a man of learning and "judgment, that being miſled by ſome writer who was "ignorant of the antiquities of Spain, he has given "into it, he writing as follows in the Life of Gonſalvo Ferdinando d'Aguilar, where he ſpeaks of "the arrival of Philip I. in Spain: *Nor did Philip long baulk the deſires and wiſhes of his friends, "viz. that he would take the reins of Government into "his own hands. Being arrived in the Bay of Biſcay, "he went on ſhore in the harbour of Columna, which "perhaps had that name, becauſe certain pillars were "ſet up there as at Cales, this being the utmoſt limits of "Spain. But this opinion is ſo weakly grounded, that "it does not deſerve a confutation.*"

(61) Ludov. Nonnius, *in Hiſpania*, cap. 54. pag. m. 170.

[*L*] . . nor that he *there lodged a mirror or looking-glaſs, which had an aſtoniſhing property.*] Ludovicus Nonnius, after ſaying that the *Flavium Brigantium* of the antients is the preſent *Corunna*, adds that the inhabitants inſcribe the foundation of it to Hercules; and ſay, that he built a tower there, wherein he fixed a mirror, that brought the moſt diſtant Ships in ſight. *Incolæ ab Hercule conditam referunt, turrimque hic eſſe ab eodem exſtructam, in qua ſpeculum arcana arte fabricatum erat, unde naves vel longiſſimo ſpatio diſtantes contemplari liceret* (62). The origin of this fiction is almoſt as ridiculous as the fiction itſelf. *In tam ridiculam opinionem vocum ignorantia & antiquitatis imperitia ita lapſi ſunt, nam cum turris illa ſpecula dicatur, ſpeculum illud mirandum ſine opifice ullo confinxere* (63.) i. e. "They fell into this ridiculous opinion from their unſkilfulneſs in language and antiquity; for that tower being "called *ſpecula* in Latin, they raiſed this aſtoniſhing "mirror or *ſpeculum* without the aſſiſtance of any artiſt."

(62) Idem, ibid. pag. 196.

(63) Idem, ibid.

[*M*] *He then conſumed himſelf in the flames, becauſe he no longer had ſtrength to bend his bow.*] Ὡς πυρὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεῖλε μὴ δυνηθεὶς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐντεῖναι τόξον πεντεκοντούτης γεγώμενος. *Ut igne vitam ſibi abſtulerit, quod arcum ſuum intendere non poſſet annos jam natus quinquaginta* (64), i. e. "That he burnt himſelf to death, becauſe he could not bend his bow, at fifty years of "age." Some perſons who trifle away their leiſure in ſearching after allegories, imagine that under theſe words the following meaning is ſhadowed, *viz.* that Hercules finding himſelf no longer able to dally with the fair-ſex, was ſo ſtruck with this dreadful change, that it threw him into the deepeſt melancholy, and made him reſolve to diſpatch himſelf. He would have been more impatient than Milo the wreſtler (65), who only wept when he viewed, in his old age, the weakneſs of his arms, that had been ſo robuſt and vigorous in his youth. In caſe I write the article Penelope, I ſhall ſpeak of theſe hunters after allegories; for they explain in the ſame manner, *nemo meo melius arcum tendebat Ulyſſe.* i. e. "No man could bend his bow better than my Ulyſſes."

(64) Ptol. Hephæſt. *apud* Photium, Cod. 190. pag. 472.

(65) See the article ACHILLES citation (128).

[*N*] *He was the laſt child that Jupiter had by any mortal woman.*] Diodorus Siculus makes this remark, in order to heighten the glory of Hercules. He ſuppoſes, that Jupiter left off all commerce with the fair ſex, becauſe he would not have his laſt Productions inferior to the preceding ones. *In hac ipſa* (Alcmena) *tandem deſiit, nec cum ulla deinceps mortali rem habere ſobolemque procreare voluit, ne præſtantioribus ſcilicet deteriora ſubſtitueret* (66). He therefore was afraid, that the children he ſhould get after Hercules would not come up to him. The younger Pliny ſays a thing (67) which recalls that thought to my memory. It turns on Nerva's dying a little after he adopted Trajan. I have read in Lactantius, a ſtrong raillery, with regard to the greateſt of the Gods ceaſing to beget children. *Cum verò dicantur aliqui* (Dii) *ex aliquibus nati, conſequens eſt, ut ſemper naſcantur ſiquidem aliquando ſunt nati; vel ſi aliquando naſci deſierunt, ſcire nos convenit, cur, aut quando deſierint. Non illepide*

(66) Diod. Sicul. lib. 4. cap. 14. See the remark [*C*] of the article ALCMENA.

(67) *Hunc* (Nervam) *Dii cœlo vindicaverunt, ne quid poſt illud divinum & immortale factum mortale faceret.* Plin. *in Panegyr. Traj.*

Seneca

It was ſaid that he had been three days in a whales's belly [O], and got ſafe and ſound out of it, with the loſs only of his hair. He was adopted, after his death, by Juno; but it is ſaid that he refuſed to be incorporated in the College of the twelve greater Deities [P]. I muſt take ſome notice of the Hercules of Gaul [Q].

One

Seneca in libris moralibus Philoſophiæ. QUID ergo eſt (inquit) quare apud Poëtas ſalaciſſimus Jupiter deſierit liberos tollere? Utrum ſexagenarius factus eſt, & illi lex Papia fibulam impoſuit? an impetravit jus trium liberorum? An tandem illi venit in mentem,

Ab alio expectes alteri quod feceris?

Et timet, ne quis ſibi faciat quod ipſe Saturno (68)? i. e. "Since ſome Deities are ſaid to ſpring from others, it "follows, that they ſhould always continue to be born "in caſe they are once ſo; or if at any time "they left off being born, it is proper we ſhould be "informed, why, or when they did this. Seneca "ſays, pleaſantly, in his Ethicks; Wherefore do the "Poets relate that Jupiter, who was ſo very luſtful, "has ceaſed to procreate children? Is it becauſe be"ing now threeſcore, the *Lex Papia* has check'd his "Proweſs? Or has he obtained the privileges en"joyed by the fathers of three children? Or does "the following proverb occur to him?

Expect to be treated yourſelf as you've treated others?

"and ſo is afraid, leſt any one ſhould ſerve him as he "did Saturn."

(68) Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 16. pag. m. 51, 52.

[O] *'Twas ſaid that he had been three Days in a whale's Belly.*] I will borrow the words of Philoſtratus's commentator, to deſcribe that adventure, and the circumſtance that gave occaſion to it. "The Gods "having once upon a time formed a conſpiracy in or"der to impriſon Jupiter their ſovereign, he being "privately told this by Themis, fruſtrated their "plot, and puniſhed them after a different manner. "As to Neptune and Apollo, he ſent them in his in"dignation, to ſerve the maſons who were building the "walls of Ilion; where, having hired themſelves to "Laomedon, after the work was compleated, he indeed "rewarded Apollo with a great number of ſacrifices "and offerings, but did not offer to ſatisfy Neptune. "The God being exaſperated at this, ſent an enor"mouſly large whale, which diſgorging great floods "of water on the country, quite drowned it; and "Laomedon, by the command of the Oracle, to free "himſelf from that calamity, was forced to expoſe "his daughter Heſione, dreſſed in her royal robes, "to this monſter, in order to be devoured by him. "Hercules happening to paſs that way, and being "moved with pity, offered Heſione's father to deliver "her, upon condition that he would give him the "horſes ſprung from an immortal race, which he had "had from Jupiter, for Ganymede, whom he forced "away to Heaven, to ſerve him as cup-bearer. The "terms being approved of, Hercules, armed cap"apee, plunged headlong down the monſter's "throat; whence deſcending to his belly, he re"mained ſhut up three days there, all which he ſpent "in hacking and hewing, till ſuch time as he had "chopt it to pieces. Laomedon refuſing after this to "perform the contract, Hercules returned to Troy "with ſix ſhips filled with ſoldiers, and ſacked that "city; put Laomedon to death; carried off Heſione "priſoner, and preſented her to Telamon, the father "of Ajax, for his having firſt mounted the wall (69)." It is pity that Vigenere ſhould not have cited any author. To ſupply this defect, I will quote a paſſage from Tzetzes, which Mr. Drelincourt communicated to me (70). Τειὸτερον γὰρ τὸ Ἡρακλέα καλεῖ διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ κήτει τρεῖς ἡμέρας εἶναι ὡς ἑσπέρας καλεῖ Λυκόφρων διὰ τὸ ἀφότιστον καὶ σκοτεινὴν εἶναι τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ θηρίου (71). The Scholiaſt on Homer (72) relates moſt of the particulars, which I have cited from the Commentator on Philoſtratus; and informs us that this ſtory was found in Hellanicus. By the way, Hercules did not come out the ſame way as he went in; he iſſuing at the breach, I mean by the whale's belly. I have not been able to verify whether Natalis Comes has juſtly related what he cites from Andrœtas of Tenedos, with reſpect to the loſs of Hercules's hair (73). *Ubi vero cetus acceſſiſſet, hians in ejus os Hercules irruit, ubi cùm per triduum fuiſſet, ceto diſrupto exiit omnibus amiſſis capillis capitis, ut ſcriptum reliquit Andrœtas Tenedius in navigatione Propontidis* (74). i. e. "When the whale "approached with open jaws to Hercules, he ruſhed "down his throat, where, when he had ſtaid three "days, the whale burſting, he iſſued out, having "loſt all the hair off his head, as we find it related "by Andrœtas of Tenedos, in his voyage to the Pro"pontis." Lycophron inſinuates plainly, that the heat of the whale's belly occaſioned Hercules's hair to fall off.

(74) Voſſius, *de Hiſtor. Græcis*, pag. 321. ſays, that this work of Andrœtas is cited by the *Scholiaſt. upon Apollonius* in lib. 2.

Ἔμπνους δὲ δαιτρὸς ἡπάτων φλοιδύμενον,
Τιτθῶ λίθῃ θ' ἀφλόγοις ἐπ' ἰσχάραις,
Σμήριγγας ἐστέλαξε κωδίας πάλῳ (75).

(75) Lycophron. ver. 35.

Vivus autem diſſector inteſtinorum ambuſtus,
In calido campo, in ollæ focis non ignitis,
Jubas capitis deſtillavit.

[P] *He was adopted, after his death, by Juno, but it is ſaid that he refuſed to be incorporated in the College of the twelve greater Deities.*] Juno, who had perſecuted him with ſo much violence in his life-time, was greatly inclined to love him when he was dead. This verifies the following lines of Horace.

Diram qui contudit Hydram,
Notaque fatali portenta labore ſubegit,
Comperit invidiam ſupremo fine domari (76).

(76) Horat. Ep. 1. lib. 2. ver. 10.

"He that kill'd Hydra, he deſign'd by fate
"To quell the monſters rais'd by Juno's hate;
"Tho' he, the mighty he, had always try'd,
"Found envy could be vanquiſh'd only when he
"dy'd.

CREECH.

Here follows what we find related by Diodorus Siculus. After that Hercules had been ranked among the Gods, he was adopted by Juno, who was afterwards a kind mother to him. The ceremony of this adoption was as follows. Juno went to bed; when, to imitate a true delivery, ſhe placed Hercules in ſuch a manner, that he fell to the earth from under her petticoats. The barbarians likewiſe obſerved this ceremony in their adoptions, in Diodorus Siculus's time. Hercules was afterwards married to Hebe; but he refuſed the honour which Jupiter would have done him, viz. to aſſociate him into the College of the twelve greater Deities; and he gave this reaſon for his refuſal, viz. that as there was no vacancy in that College, he ought not to enter it; and that it would be very unjuſt to degrade any other Deity, to make room for him (77). Juno had for a long time begun to act as a mother with regard to Hercules; but it was without knowing him. The affair was this. Alcmena, dreading the jealouſy of that Goddeſs, did not dare to own herſelf to be Hercules's mother, and therefore expoſed him in the middle of a field as ſoon as he was born. Minerva and Juno ſoon came that way; and as Minerva was gazing upon this child with admiring eyes, ſhe adviſed Juno to ſuckle it. Juno did ſo; but the child bit her nipple to ſuch a degree, that ſhe felt an intolerable pain, and laid down the child. Minerva then took it up, and carried it to Alcmena, as to a nurſe ſhe would recommend him to (78). A parallel might here be drawn between Moſes and Hercules.

(77) *Ex* Diod. Sicul. lib. 4. cap. 40.

(78) *Ex eodem*, ibid. cap. 9.

[Q] *I muſt take ſome notice of the Hercules of Gaul.*] A modern Author (79) has imitated the Greeks whilſt he refuted them: He has transferred to this Hercules moſt of the actions performed by the other; and has left the Grecian Hercules none but moral conqueſts, that is to ſay, only triumphs over his paſſions. According to this author, the Gallic Hercules built the city Aliſe or Alexia in Gaul (80). He was attacked by *Albion King of Great Britain, and by Bergiona, both ſons to Neptune.* He defeated them in Provence, *by*

(79) Audigier, *Origine des François, & de leur Empire*, Part 1. pag. 225, & *ſeq.*

(80) Idem, ibid.

(69) Vigenere, in the *Summary of Perſeus in Philoſtratus*, tom. 1. pag. m. 466.

(70) With ſeveral other particulars relating to the text of this remark.

(71) Tzetzes *ad Lycophronem*, pag. 13.

(72) In Iliad. lib. 19. ver. 145.

(73) Natalis Comes, *Mythol.* lib. 8. cap. 3. pag. m. 821.

One of the moſt celebrated Athenian Orators obſerves, that writers took an extreme delight in celebrating the combats and bravery of Hercules; but did not make the leaſt mention of his other qualities, which yet might have furniſhed them with a very noble field. He declares, that that part of the exalted character of Hercules, which they had neglected ſo much, would require an excellent Orator; and that had he thought of drawing it in his youth, he would have ſhewn that this hero had ſurpaſſed all other men, in prudence, in knowledge, and in juſtice, more than in bodily ſtrength. Old age, adds he, does not ſuffer me to attempt this panegyric in that reſpect; I find myſelf too weak to undertake ſo important and copious a ſubject (*c*). This Orator's remark may make us reflect on the depraved taſte of the mind of man [*R*]. We may confirm what this great Rhetorician

(*c*) *Extracted from* Iſocrates, *Orat. ad Philippum*, p. m. 152.

the ſuccour which he received from his father Jupiter, who obſerving that the army of his ſon was unprovided with arrows, diſcharged ſuch a volly of ſtones on the enemy, as quite overpowered them (81). *In quo* (lapideo campo) *Herculem contra Albionem & Bergiona Neptuni liberos dimicantem cum tela defeciſſent, ab invocato Jove adjutum imbre lapidum ferunt, credas pluiſſe, adeo multi paſſim, & latè jacent* (82). He was the firſt among the Gauls who went into Italy by the way of the Alps (83). "He there made Umbria "habitable, having formed the river Arno out of "its marſhes. He led the Gallic colonies on the "other ſide of the Pyrenees, where Gerion, King "of Spain, was vanquiſhed . . . . . He died during "this expedition into Spain, where he was honoured "with a magnificent temple which the Tyrians dedicated to him in the city of Gades, where his "bones ſtill exiſted in the time of Pomponius Mela, "who affirms this particular (84)" "His accoutrements were as follow: a quiver hanging at his "back, a club in his right hand, and a bow in his "left; with the face of a bald, wrinkled, ſwarthy "old man, whoſe aſpect was yet venerable; drawing after him a crowd of people, who were bound "with little chains of gold and ſilver, hanging from "his tongue; and though theſe chains were vaſtly "ſlender, yet none of theſe captives endeavoured to "break them; and all, on the contrary, diſcovered "by their air and countenance, that it would have "been a grief to them to be delivered from ſo delightful a captivity, as being vanquiſhed, much more by "the eloquence of the Gallic Hercules, than by the "ſtrength of his arms. Such is the deſcription which "Lucian has given us of him (85)." This deſcription agrees little with what Menage read in ſome book, viz. *that our antient Gauls had a great veneration for Hercules, becauſe he was of a* MIGHTY STATURE AND STRONG; *and having declared, on their being converted to Chriſtianity, that it would be one of their greateſt troubles not to ſee his image any more; they were comforted in being told, that the Chriſtians had a ſaint, who was ſix times as* TALL *and as* STRONG *as Hercules* (86). (*a*).

(81) Ibid. pag. 231.

(82) Pomponius Mela, lib. 2. cap. 5. pag. m. 38, 39.

(83) Audigier, *Origine des François*, Part 1. pag. 230.

(84) Lib. 3. cap. 6. but Pomponius ſpeaks of the Egyptian Hercules.

(85) Audigier, *Origine des François*, Part 1. pag. 229.

(86) *Suite du Menagiana*, pag. 285. Dutch edit.

§ (*a*) That is, ſix *Hercules Alexicaci*, in which ſenſe St. Chriſtopher is the Hercules of the French, and in general of all the Roman Catholics, witneſs the fine verſes following, quoted by St. Aldegonde, in his *Tableau des differens de la Religion*, Tom. II. fol. 136, printed in 1605.

Chriſtophori ſancti faciem quicunque tuetur,
Illa nempe die mala morte non morietur.

"Whoe'er ſhall ſee St. Chriſtopher's bright face,
"The ſtroke of death, that day, he need not fear.

REM. CRIT.] Audigier applies to his hypotheſis, as well as he can, a ſtory related by Diodorus Siculus; viz. that the daughter of a King of Celtæ, proud of her extraordinary ſtature, and her exquiſite beauty, deſpiſed all the ſuitors who addreſſed her in marriage; but when ſhe had ſeen Hercules, ſhe had a violent deſire to have an affair with him, with her father's conſent. Her paſſion was indulged. Hercules had a ſon by her, named Galates (87). The Hiſtorian does not name this daughter, but others pretend that ſhe was called Galatea (88). This ſtory is related differently in the *Erotica* of Parthenius. We there find, that Hercules, when he was driving Gerion's oxen from Erythia, went through Gaul; and came to the houſe of Bretannus, father to Celtina, who fell ſo violently in love with this hero, that ſtealing Gerion's oxen from him, ſhe could not be prevailed with to reſtore them, but upon condition that he ſhould lie with her. Hercules, as well to recover his oxen, as on account of Celtina's beauty, went in to her, and got a boy, who was called Celtus, and gave his name to the Celtæ. Herodotus (89) relates, that Hercules being in Scythia, laid himſelf on the ground on his lion's ſkin, and fell aſleep. At his waking, he did not ſee his mares; upon which he ſought for them every where; and when he was arrived in Hyleus's country he entered into a cave, where he met with a maid, who had nothing of the human ſhape, but from the head to the girdle; the remainder reſembling a ſerpent. Have you ſeen my mares, ſays he to her? Yes, replied ſhe, I have them in my cuſtody, but will not return them unleſs you will lie with me. Hercules was willing to recover them on that condition; but when the ſport was ended, the girl poſtponed as long as ſhe could the reſtoring him the mares; ſhe having a ſtrong deſire to begin again. At laſt, when ſhe could no longer detain Hercules, he being very deſirous of leaving that place with his mares, ſhe ſpoke thus to him: I kept them for you, and you have rewarded me; for I am now big with three boys, by you. Τὴν δὲ φάναι ἑαυτὴν ἔχειν, καὶ οὐκ ἀποδώσειν ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ οἱ μιχθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα μιχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τούτῳ. κείνην τε δὴ ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἵππων, βουλομένην ὡς πλεῖστον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ. *Illamque reſpondiſſe, ſe quidem illas habere: ſed non prius reddituram ei quam cum ipſa coiiſſet: Herculem pro ea mercede cum fœmina concubuiſſe. Sed quum illa differret reddere equas, cupida diutiſſime cum Hercule concumbendi, &c.* (90).

(89) Herod. lib. 4. cap. 9.

(90) Herodot. ibid. pag. m. 227, 228.

Audigier pretends (91) that the Celtic Jupiter, the moſt antient of the Jupiters, is the father of our Gallic Hercules; and that all the greater Deities of Greece were firſt known in Gaul (92). This is a very ſtrange pretenſion, but not ſo chimerical as that of the learned Rudbeck (93).

(91) Pag. 228.

(92) Pag. 222.

[*R*] A remark of Iſocrates *may make us reflect on the depraved taſte of the mind of man.*] The prudence of Hercules, his philoſophy, his juſtice, were qualities of an infinitely more valuable kind than his bodily ſtrength. Καὶ τῇ φρονήσει καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, πολὺν διενεγκόντα πάντων τῶν προγεγενημένων, ἢ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῇ τοῦ σώματος. *Et prudentia, & literis, & juſtitia plus antecelluiſſe* (Herculem) *ſuperiorum temporum hominibus omnibus, quam robore corporis* (94). And yet the Orators and Poets applauded him only for thoſe actions, which ſtrength had enabled him to perform; and at the ſame time ſuffered the perfections of ſoul to be buried in oblivion. They did thus, as well becauſe they themſelves were more ſtruck with glittering, than with ſolid things; as becauſe they were perſuaded that their auditors and readers would be more ready to applaud the relation of battles, than the deſcription of ſuch virtues as are exerciſed in times of peace. Horace has very well obſerved this, in ſuppoſing that the ſhades or ghoſts liſtned favourably to the poetical compoſitions of Sappho and Alcæus; but that they were more delighted with the latter, becauſe they treated of nothing but wars, ſtate-revolutions, baniſhment, &c. (95).

(93) See *Nouv. de la Republique det Lettres*, Feb. 1685. pag. 140.

(94) Iſocr. *Orat. ad Philippum*, pag. m. 152.

(95) *Dura navis,*
Dura fugæ mala,
Dura belli. Hor. Od. 13. lib. 2.

Utrumque ſacro digna ſilentio
Mirantur Umbræ dicere: ſed MAGIS
Pugnas, & exactos tyrannos
Denſum humeris bibit aure vulgus (96).

(96) Idem, ibid.

(87) Audigier does not cite Diodorus's Work; it is in chap. 24. of Book 5. Hanov. 1611, in 8vo.

(88) Compare with Diodorus Siculus theſe words of Ammianus, Marcellinus, Book 15. cap. 9. *Celtas nomine Regis amabilis, & matris ejus vocabulo Galatos dictos.*

"With

Rhetorician has obſerved, with regard to the knowledge of this hero; it being well known, that the Antients declared, that there was a very intimate correſpondence between the Muſes and Hercules (*d*); thence it is that he was ſirnamed *Muſagetes*, i. e. the companion and conductor of the Muſes; and that thoſe nine Deities were put under his protection, in the temple which Fulvius Nobilior built in his honour [*S*]. The thought

(*d*) *See* Paſſerat on Propertius, Eleg. 10. lib. 4.

" With ſilent reverence ghoſts admire
" The wondrous fury of his lyre:
" The vulgar ſhades throng moſt to hear
" Of Kings depos'd, of feats of war,
" And drink them with a greedy ear.

CREECH.

It is to be further obſerved, that ſuch ſubjects as tyrants overthrown, and monſters tamed, in a word, times of confuſion and ſlaughter, give a writer a better opportunity of diſplaying his genius and eloquence, than a life or ſeries of years, led after an uniform manner, and ſpent agreeably to the rules of virtue. An Hiſtorian who has no great events to deſcribe, ſleeps over his work, and makes his readers yawn; but a civil war, two or three conſpiracies, and as many battles, the ſame leaders ſometimes humbled, and at other times exalted; ſuch ſubjects, I ſay, ſharpen his pen, warm his imagination, and always keep his readers in a breath. I am really of opinion, that ſhould he be commanded to write the hiſtory of a peaceable reign, ſuch an one as was not checquered with variety; he would bewail himſelf much after the ſame manner as Caligula did, viz, becauſe there did not happen ſome grievous calamites in his reign. *Queri etiam palam de conditione temporum ſuorum ſolebat*: quod nullis calamitatibus publicis inſignirentur. *Auguſti principatum clade Variana: Tiberii, ruina ſpectaculorum apud Fidenas, memorabilem factum: ſui oblivionem imminere proſperitate rerum. Atque identidem exercituum cædes, famem, peſtilentiam, incendia, hiatum aliquem terræ optabat* (97). i. e. " He would often complain pub-
(97) Sueton. *in Caligula*, cap. 31. " licly of the ſtate of the times in which he lived,
" *becauſe they were not made remarkable by ſome pub-*
" *lic calamities*; ſaying that the defeat of Varius
" would tranſmit to poſterity the remembrance of Au-
" guſtus's reign; and the falling of the theatre in Fi-
" denæ, the reign of Tiberius; but that he himſelf
" was in danger of being for ever forgot, becauſe of
" the felicity of the times in which he lived. He
" would frequently wiſh for the ſlaughter of armies,
" for famine, peſtilence, the burning of cities, and
" earthquakes." Deſolations and public calamities are of advantage to an Hiſtorian, and add a luſtre to his writings. He pities, if he be a good man, the illuſtrious veſtal who was buried alive, and abhors the tyrant who, to make his reign the more remarkable, cauſed that Veſtal to be put to death: *Cum Corneliam Veſtalium maximam defodere vivam concupiſſet* (Domitianus) *ut qui illuſtrari ſeculum ſuum ejuſmodi exemplo*
(98) Plin. Epiſt. 11. lib. 4. *arbitraretur* (98; but this melancholy incident is, at the ſame time, of advantage to his pen, it proving an ornament to his books. This work is a kind of ſhip that never ſails better than during ſtorms; a tempeſt is to him a kindly gale; a calm is as unpropitious to him as to a real ſhip; and when an Hiſtorian can begin as Tacitus does, *Opus aggredior opimum caſibus, atrox prœliis, diſcors ſeditionibus, ipſâ etiam pace ſævum. Quatuor Principes ferro interempti. Tria bella civilia,*
(99) Tacit. *Hiſt.* lib. 1. cap. 2. *plura externa, ac plerumque permixta* (99). i. e. " I am
" going upon a work that is fruitful in mighty events,
" made cruel by wars, diſcordant by ſeditions, and
" dreadful even in peace. Four Monarchs ſlain, three
" inteſtine wars, more foreign, and theſe generally
" blended." When, I ſay, he can begin thus, he prejudices his readers in his favour, and is very ſenſible that he has made choice of a favourable ſubject. But ſtill it ſhews a bad taſte, to prefer the relation of warlike actions before an account of ſuch as are equitable; and to admire ſtill more in a man his bodily ſtrength, and the boldneſs whereby he is enabled to defeat a wild boar, or a bull, than that virtue which gives him the maſtery over his paſſions, and prompts him to eſtabliſh good and wholeſome laws among his neighbours. This virtue, though it does not ſhine ſo much as the other, has much more of true grandeur in it; there is more reality in ſuch of Hercules's qualities as writers had taken no notice of, than in thoſe which they ſo pompouſly magnified. But what ſhall we ſay? they comply'd with the taſte of the public. It is to be obſerved that young people take much greater pleaſure in reading romances than true hiſtories; and that after years have ripened them, and matured their judgment, they chooſe to peruſe a Thuanus and a Mezerai, rather than a Calprenede and a Scuderi. But very few perſons loſe the taſte of their younger years, with reſpect to the deſcription of a calm and unruffled reign, and the hiſtory of a reign filled with troubles and mighty events.

[*S*] *The Muſes... were put under his protection in the temple.*] This temple was built by Fulvius Nobilior, who had vanquiſhed the Ætolians in the year of Rome 565. He was Conſul at that time. The name of their chief city was Ambracia, which he took; and having found therein the ſtatutes of the nine muſes, he carried them to Rome, where he conſecrated them to the temple which he cauſed to be built in honour of Hercules, and put them under the protection of this God. I am of opinion that we ſhould not have known theſe particulars, had they not been mentioned by an Orator who lived five or ſix centuries after. His words deſerve to be quoted. *Ædem Herculis Muſarum in circo Flaminio Fulvius ille Nobilior ex pecunia Cenſoria fecit, non id modo ſecutus, quod ipſe literis & ſumma Poetæ amicitia duceretur, ſed quod in Græcia cum eſſet imperator, acceperat Herculem Muſagetem eſſe, id eſt comitem ducemque Muſarum; idemque primus novem ſigna, hoc eſt omnium Camænarum, ex Ambracienſi oppido tranſlata, ſub tutela fortiſſimi numinis conſecravit, ut res eſt, quâ mutuis operibus & præmiis juvari ornarique deberent; Muſarum quies defenſione Herculis, & virtus Herculis voce Muſarum* (100). i. e. " Fulvius Nobilior raiſed a tem-
(100) Eumenius, *in Oratione pro ſcholis inſtauran-dis.* " ple in honour of Hercules and the Muſes, in the
" Circus Flaminius, out of the monies he got amaſſed
" when Cenſor. He was prompted to this, not only
" becauſe he was a great patron of letters and poetry;
" but becauſe he had been informed, whilſt he was
" Generaliſſimo in Greece, that Hercules was called
" *Muſagetes*, that is, the companion and leader of the
" Muſes. It was he alſo who firſt put the ſtatues
" of the nine Muſes, brought by him from the city
" of Ambracia, under the protection of this moſt
" powerful God. This was very proper, becauſe they
" ought to help and adorn each other with recipro-
" cal ſervices and rewards. The Muſes ſhould owe
" their tranquillity to the bravery of Hercules, and
" Hercules's bravery be ſung by the Muſes. It is juſt in this orator to aſſert, that mighty warriors and the Muſes want one another: it is the buſineſs of the former to procure tranquillity and ſecurity to the Muſes; and it is the duty of theſe to immortalize the illuſtrious actions of heroes by their poems. One might, in conſequence of this orator's notion, apply what follows to our Hercules, viz. that thoſe who atchieve actions worthy of being celebrated by the Poets, are themſelves lovers of verſe (101). It is to be obſerved that Her-
(101) *Carmen amat quiſquis carmine digna gerit.* cules, according to Statius, was well ſkilled in Muſic.

Dic age, Calliope, ſocius tibi grande ſonabit
Alcides, tenſoque modos imitabitur arcu (102).
The ſenſe is,
" Tune, tune, Calliope, the heavenly lyre,
" With thee, in concert, Hercules ſhall ſing,
" And add his twanging bow.

(102) Statius, Sylv. 1. lib. 3. ver. 50.

Others obſerve that he was ſkilled in aſtrology: Naudæus aſſerts this as certain; but, by his leave, he has diſcovered a little ignorance on this occaſion. It is in that part of his *Coup d'Etat*, where he ſpeaks of ſome perſons who had employed fraud, in order to obtain the honour of deification. " What Hercules per-
" formed, *ſays he* (103), was much more ingenious;
" for being extremely well ſkilled in aſtrology, witneſs
" fables concerning his life, which ſuppoſe him to
" carry the heavens together with Atlas, he choſe pre-
" ciſely at the time when a great comet made its ap-
(103) Naudé, *Coups d'Eſtat*, chap. 2. pag. m. 89.

thought, which Poſidonius employed, to ridicule a paſſage in a tragedy of Æſchylus, was not juſt; and Strabo who cenſured it, did not know wherein the real defect of it conſiſted [T]. This relates to a certain ſhower of ſtones which fell, in order to ſuccour Hercules, whilſt he was engaged in battle againſt the Ligurians.

" pearance, to lay himſelf on the burning pile, where " he would die, in order that this new celeſtial fire " might be preſent as a witneſs, and make mankind " believe what the Romans would perſuade, in after- " ages, the world concerning their Emperors, by " means of an eagle, which uſed to fly out of the " midſt of flames, as though it was going to waft the " ſoul of the deceaſed Monarch into Jupiter's arms." Here we have an author who ſuppoſes that the appearance of comets may be foretold by aſtrology: but he is miſtaken, and has been cenſured for it by his commentator (104).

(104) See the *Reflexions de Louis de Mai ſur les Coups d'Eſtat de Naudé*, pag. 144.

It is to be obſerved, that the temple, which Fulvius Nobilior had built in honour of Hercules, lay almoſt in ruins in Auguſtus's time; but Lucius Martius Philippus (105) rebuilt it, and added a portico. See Ovid *de Faſtis*, at the cloſe of the 6th book; and epigram 51 of the 5th book of Martial.

(105) This Philippus was ſecond huſband to Auguſtus's mother.

[T] *Strabo, who cenſured a* thought of Poſidonius, *did not know wherein the real defect of it conſiſted.*] Æſchylus ſuppoſes (106), that it was foretold Hercules, that in his combat againſt the Ligurians, he ſhould be deſtitute of arrows, the fates having ſo ordained it, and this in a place where it would not be poſſible for him to get any ſtones; but that, when reduced to this extremity, he would excite the pity of Jupiter, who would waft a cloud filled with ſtones; and that, with theſe he ſhould vanquiſh the Ligurians. Would it not have been infinitely better, ſaid Poſidonius, for Jupiter to hurl theſe ſtones at the Ligurians, and quite deſtroy them, than to reduce Hercules to ſuch a neceſſity? ἢ τοσοῦτον δεόμενον ποιῆσαι λίθον τὸν Ἡρακλέα. *Quam ad tot lapidum indigentiam redigere Herculem* (107). Strabo has anſwered this cenſure, and ſaid two things; firſt, that a vaſt number of ſtones were required, becauſe the enemy to be fought were very numerous, ſo that, in this reſpect, Æſchylus's thought is more probable than that of his Cenſor. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, εἴπερ πρὸς πολὺν ὄχλον παμπληθῆ. ὥς τε ταύτῃ γε πιθανώτερος ὁ μυθογράφος τῇ ἀναισχυντίᾳ τὸν μῦθον. *At verò tot lapidibus opus erat contra tantam multitudinem; ut hac quidem in parte fabulæ autor probabiliora dixerit, quam fabulæ reprehenſor* (108). Secondly, he adds, that as the Poet ſaid expreſly, that this was a thing ordained by fate, it ought to have ſtopped the mouths of all criticks; for ſhould one go about to diſpute on predeſtination and providence, many things would be found both in morality and phyſicks, which might give people occaſion to ſay, that they might have been better ordered in another manner: for inſtance, it would have been better for rain to have fallen in Egypt, than for it to be moiſtened by the waters of Ethiopia; it would have been better, had Paris been ſhipwrecked in his paſſage to Lacedemonia, than to let him carry off Helen; and to puniſh him for it afterwards, to the great detriment of both Greeks and Trojans; a circumſtance which Euripides aſcribes to Jupiter. Καὶ τὸν Πάριν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην πλέοντα, ναυαγίῳ περιπεσεῖν. ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν Ἑλένην ἁρπάσαντα, δίκας τίσαι τοῖς ἀδικηθεῖσιν ὕστερον, ἡνίκα τοσοῦτον ἀπεργάσατο φθόρον Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων. ὅπερ Εὐριπίδης ἀνήνεγκεν εἰς τὸν Δία,

Ζεὺς γὰρ κακὸν μὲν Τρωσὶ πῆμα δ' Ἑλλάδι
Θέλων γενέσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐβούλευσεν πατήρ.

Et Paridem cùm Spartam peteret debuiſſe potiùs naufragium facere, quam rapta Helena pœnas poſtmodò ſceleris dare, autorem tantæ cladis Græcorum ac Barbarorum: quam Euripides Jovi imputat:

Jupiter malum Troibus, & cladem Græciæ
Volens contingere, iſta decrevit pater (109).

(107) Idem, ibid.

(108) Idem, ibid. pag. 127.

(109) Strabo, lib. 4 pag. m. 127.

I am of opinion that Strabo uſed more artifice than ſincerity. It is no ways probable that Poſidonius grounded his raillery on Hercules's having wanted ſo great a number of ſtones; nevertheleſs as his words would bear that ſenſe, Strabo took advantage of it. But ſtill he has not animadverted on the real fault of the criticiſm. He ſhould have anſwered Poſidonius, that had Jupiter intended merely, and in general, to knock the Ligurians on the head, he had much better have ſhowered down the ſtones on their heads, than round about Hercules; but that deſigning to make Hercules defeat that people, the ſtones were therefore to fall near him, and not on his enemies. The critic went upon a notion, which is an inexhauſtible ſource of fallacious ſyllogiſms; and did not conſider that fate includes, at one and the ſame time, both the end and the means.

HERLICIUS (DAVID) a Philoſopher, a Phyſician, and Aſtrologer, was born at Ceitz in Miſnia, December the 28th 1557. He wanted the aſſiſtance of his mother's relations to be educated at ſchool, for his father's eſtate was not ſufficient to maintain him there. He learnt to write verſes and to ſing; by which means he got ſomething on ſeveral occaſions when neceſſity oppreſſed him [A]. He continued but a little while at the Univerſity of Wittemberg, becauſe Peucer, whoſe Lectures he chiefly deſigned to hear, was put in priſon. As he could not therefore improve himſelf under that learned Profeſſor, he went to Leipſic, where he made a conſiderable progreſs in his ſtudies. He went afterwards to Roſtock, where the Profeſſors gave him leave to read private Lectures. He acquitted himſelf ſo well of that function, that the Duke of Wittemberg made him Sub-Principal of the College of Guſtraw. He continued two years in that poſt, and employed all the time he could ſpare in the practice of Phyſic, and in drawing Horoſcopes (a). He ſpent the two following years (b) at Primiſlaw (α), where he taught natural Philoſophy, and in the year 1513 he accepted the like employment at Anclam, where he alſo practiſed Phyſic. The next year he publiſhed an Almanack, which was extremely applauded [B]. Since

(a) *Quicquid temporis extraordinarii lucrari potuit, Aſtrologiæ ſtudio, conſtructioni & judicio geniturarum tribuit, & inſuper ad medicinam factitandam ſe applicuit.* Eichſtadius, *ubi infra* Quotation (d).

(b) In the Marquiſate of Brandenburg.

[A] *By which means he got ſomething, when neceſſity oppreſſed them.*] This is what his Friend *Eichſtadius* ingenuouſly confeſſes. *Sponte*, ſays he, (1) *ad Poëſin & Muſicam exercendam ſe dedit: à quo utroque ſtudio etiam poſtea in Academiis, quoties aliquâ inopiâ laborabat, fructus non pœnitendos percepit, eoque ſibi viros bonos & homines doctos patronos atque amicos conciliavit; ſicut & habuit duos alios fratres Stralſundi in Pomerania & Muſica inſtrumentali & Vocali (quorum unus Cantorem Scholæ, alter Muſicum organicum in templo Nicolaitano inibi egit) celebres atque excellentes.* i. e. " He applied himſelf " of his own accord to the learning of Muſick, from " which he reaped afterwards conſiderable benefits in " the univerſities, whenever he laboured under any " want; and by his skill in that art he made himſelf " Patrons and Friends of ſeveral honeſt and learned " men. He had alſo two brothers famous at Stralſund in " Pomerania, for their skill both in inſtrumental and " vocal Muſick, in which they excelled, one of whom " was Chantor to a School there, and the other Or- " ganiſt of St. Nicholas's Church."

(1) Eichſtad. *in Vita Davidis Herlicii, apud* Henning. Witte, *Memor. Medicorum*, Decad. 1. pag. 74.

(α) The true name of that City, both in German and in French and Engliſh is Prenſlaw. Crit. Rem.]

[B] *He publiſhed an Almanack, which was extremely applauded.*] Here follow Eichſtadius's words (2), *Anno* 1584

(2) *Apud* Witte, ibid. pag. 76.

Since that time he made one conſtantly every year during fifty two years. In the year 1585 he was choſen to teach Mathematics in the Univerſity of Gripſwald, and he continued thirteen years in that poſt, and publiſhed ſeveral works. He received the degree of Doctor of Phyſic in that Univerſity with great ſolemnity in the year 1597; and at a year's end he accepted the Profeſſorſhip of Natural Philoſophy, which was offered him at Stargard in Pomerania, whence he removed to Lubeck in the year 1606, where he had an employment of the ſame kind. He did alſo practiſe Phyſic there with great reputation (c); and yet, through I know not what inconſtancy, he retired to Stargard, where he paſſed the remainder of his life. He died Auguſt the 15th 1636. He had had a very ſad loſs the preceding year; for his houſe and all his papers were burnt in the fire, which conſumed the whole city of Stargard to aſhes October the 7th 1635. Had it not been for this loſs the public would have ſeen an infinite number of our Herlicius's Aſtrological Obſervations [C]; for he had very much ſtudied that Science (d). He got money by drawing of Horoſcopes [D], and as he did not want wit, he acted with all the caution he could, that he might not too much expoſe the uncertainty of his Art.

(c) See the remark [E], quotation (12).

(d) Taken from a Letter of Laurence Eichſtadius, inſerted in Henninges Witte's *Memoriæ Medicorum*, Decad. 1. pag. 73, &c.

1584 *primum ſuum Calendarium & Prognoſticon de mutationibus auræ & tempeſtatum in hoc phyſicatu publicavit, quod magno hominum applauſu ſtatim exceptum fuit.* i. e. "Whilſt he was in the poſt of teacher of "natural Philoſophy, he publiſhed in the year 1584 "his firſt Almanack and Calendar of the changes of "the wind and weather, which was immediately re-"ceived with a great applauſe." This good ſucceſs encouraged him to continue his work, and he had the pleaſure to ſee that his Almanacks were tranſlated into ſeveral Languages, and that upon this account he was conſidered as the ornament of Pomerania. *Sed & Prognoſtica annua de ſtatu aëris, quæ jam per quatuor ac decem annos conſcripſerat, maximo labore, ſumma fide, indefeſſiſque obſervationibus, in uſum Pomeraniæ & regionum regnorumque adjacentium quotannis per 52 annos continuavit. Qui labor progreſſu annorum in tantam lucem venit, ut non tantùm à Germanis in ſuo idiomate expetitus, verùm etiam ab exteris in Latinam, Bohemicam, Polonicam, Danicam, & denique Suecicam linguam tranſlatus, mox hinc inde in vicina climata illatus, atque HERLICIUS noſter tam utili anniverſario opere Decus & Ornamentam Pomeraniæ factus ſit* (3). i. e. "He had already publiſhed his annual Calendar of "the conſtitution of the air during fourteen years, "and continued with great labour, with the utmoſt "exactneſs, and by unwearied obſervations, during "fifty-two years to publiſh it yearly for the uſe of "Pomerania, and the adjacent Countries and King-"doms. This work in proceſs of time gained ſuch a "reputation, that not only the Germans deſired to "have it in their own tongue, but it was alſo tranſla-"ted by foreigners into the Latin, Bohemian, Poliſh, "Daniſh, and Swediſh Languages, and thus it was "diſperſed thro' the neighbouring countries, and our "Herlicius became by this uſeful annual work the glory "and ornament of Pomerania." He loved this kind of labour to ſuch a degree, that one of the reaſons why he left Lubec was, that he hoped to have at Stargard the leiſure he wanted to finiſh a large work, of which Aſtrology was to be a conſiderable part (4). *Ut defatigatus iſtic plurimis negotiis, curis, turbis, honeſtum ſibi otium quæreret, & DEO, ſuis Muſis atque affinibus vacare commodiùs poſſet, rurſus valedicens Lubecæ anno 1614; cum univerſa ſua familia rebus compoſitis Stargardiam Pomeranorum ſe contulit, ubi majore tranquillitate literariâ ad abſolvendum & expoliendum opus illud magnum, quod de* triplici Kalendario Eccleſiaſtico, Aſtronomico, & Aſtrologico *conſcribere inceperat, ſed ante annum* (6), *proh dolor, in communi Civitatis Stargardenſis flamma unà conflagravit, ſe frui poſſe ſperabat.* i. e. "Being diſturbed there, at Lubec, by a great "deal of buſineſs, cares and troubles, he deſired to "live in a place where he might enjoy an honeſt "leiſure, and apply himſelf to his duty towards God, "cultivate the Muſes, and ſee his relations: he left "therefore Lubec again in the year 1614, and having "ſettled his affairs he retired with his whole family "to Stargard in Pomerania, where he hoped to live "with a greater literary tranquillity, ſo that he might "finiſh and poliſh that great work, which he had be-"gun to write, of a threefold Calendar, namely, Ec-"cleſiaſtical, Aſtronomical, and Aſtrological: but, oh, "misfortune! it periſhed a year ago in the flames that "burnt the whole city of Stargard." See the following Remark.

(3) Ibid. pag. 77.

(4) Ibid. pag. 77, 78.

(5) His wife was of Stargard. She was a widow, when he married her in the beginning of the year 1611. Ibid. pag. 78.

(6) That is to ſay in the year 1635.

[C] *Had it not been for this loſs the Publick would have ſeen an infinite number of our Herlicius's Aſtrological Obſervations.*] That the reader may ſee how much this man applied himſelf to the minuteſt particulars of Aſtrology, I ſhall tranſcribe the following inſtances of it, as I find them in his life. *Interea ſuas Obſervationes Aſtrologicas publici juris facere decreverat ſæpe enim ad me ſcripſit, quod ultra mille & ducenta collegerit Themata, quæ ſuo tertio operi Calendariographico & Aſtrologico inſerere, iiſque veritatem aliquot Aphoriſmorum Aſtrologicorum probare nitebatur: e. g.* Quod Planetæ benefici, Jupiter & Venus conjuncti, imprimis in octava domo longam vitam & annos (*ultra* 70) diuturnos polliceantur. *Item*, quod Fomabant, inſignis ſtella aſteriſmi Aquarii, in octava domo celebrem & glorioſum poſt mortem faciat. *Item*, quod Cauda Draconis in prima domo Cœli vel altero oculo carentem, vel gibboſum fore minetur. *Ut complures alios taceam. At hæc cum reliqua ſua inſtructiſſima Bibliotheca (cujus ſimilem vix privatus alius tota noſtra in Pomerania quoad Mathematicos, Hiſtoricos, & Medicos libros poſſedit) in communi Stargardienſi excidio flammis conflagrarunt* (7). i. e. "He deſigned in the "mean time to publiſh his Aſtrological Obſervations; "for he wrote to me often that he had collected a-"bove one thouſand and two hundred Horoſcopes, "which he propoſed to inſert in his third Aſtrologi-"cal and compleat Calendar, endeavouring to prove "thereby the truth of ſome Aſtrological Aphoriſms. "As for inſtance, *That the kind Planets Jupiter and "Venus, being in a Conjunction, eſpecially in the eighth "houſe, promiſed a long life, and a great number of "years* (above threeſcore and ten). And alſo, *that the "bright Star Fomabant in the Conſtellation of Aquarius, "being in the eighth houſe, rendered a man celebrated and "famous after his death:* And alſo, *that the Dra-"gon's Tail in the firſt houſe of the Heavens threatened "that a perſon ſhould be born either blind of one eye, "or crooked.* Not to mention a great many other "ſuch maxims. But all this, together with his Li-"brary, which was ſo large that hardly any private "perſon in all Pomerania was poſſeſſed of the like, "eſpecially with regard to Mathematical, Hiſtorical, "and Phyſical Books, periſhed in the flames, that "deſtroyed the City of Stargard."

(7) Witte, *Memor. Medicorum*, Decad. 1. pag. 81.

[D] *He got money by drawing of Horoſcopes.*] The Bohemians and Polanders were thoſe that paid him moſt liberally. *Diverſæ ſæpe nationes ad eum confluebant, & ob multa experimenta nominiſque celebritatem judicium de ſuis genituris ab eo poſcebant Germani & exteri, præſertim Bohemi & Poloni, quorum liberalitatem præ reliquis prædicabat* (8). i. e. "Several nations "reſorted to him, and on account of his numerous "experiments, and the reputation he had gained, the "Germans and the Foreigners deſired him to draw "Horoſcopes, but eſpecially the Bohemians, and the "Polanders, whoſe generoſity he extolled above that "of any other nations." And as he was one of thoſe who make much of themſelves, he ſpared his eyes that they might be of uſe to him in his old age, and therefore he made uſe of the aſſiſtance of his friend Eichſtadius, who alſo meddled with Aſtrology: he gave him his Horoſcopes to calculate, and aſked him his advice of them. *Et quia in ſua ingraveſcente ætate parcere oculis, & ad plures annos eorum uſum reſervare volebat, haud raro a me petiit, ut ſibi ad calculum genturarum perficiendum, & aliquod breve judicium de iis ferendum ſubvenirem, cui lubens annui* (9).

(8) Ibid. pag. 80.

(9) Ibid.

Art [*E*]. The prediction he publiſhed againſt the Turks did not prove true in the event [*F*]. He

[*E*] *He acted with . . . . caution . . . that he might not too much expoſe the uncertainty of his art.*] He would never work for thoſe that could not tell him exactly at what hour they were born, and he choſe rather to loſe what money he might have received from them, than to run the riſk of expoſing his reputation. *Numquam illis γενεθλίακον ſuum adornare volebat, qui ſine cognita nativitatis hora ad eum accedebant ; maluitque dignitati Artis, quam pecuniæ turpique lucro conſulere* (10). What he wrote to Eichſtadius, proves that he was ſincere, and that he really imagined Aſtrology was a venerable ſcience, the dignity of which ought to be kept up, though it would coſt ſomething. He did not like that people ſhould aſk him, of what colour cloaths or horſes ought to be, in order to be lucky ; he perceived very well that he was in danger of being miſtaken, if he pretended to anſwer ſuch queſtions. He was angry with ſeveral Aſtrologers, who for want of ſuch a cautiouſneſs, expoſe judicial Aſtrology to contempt and cenſure ; and upon the whole he wiſhed he were rich enough to have no occaſion to get a livelihood by this deſpicable trade. Sobriè quoque hanc artem tractari volebat : hinc aliquando in ſuis literis ita ad me perſcripſit : *Utinam amicis fortuna me intueretur oculis, ut ſine Aſtrologicis gerris ſenectuti meæ (quæ mihi cæcitatem minatur) proſpicere poſſem, nunquam γενέθλια calculo inquirerem. Interim quomodo multi plura inquirunt, & ſcire deſiderant, quam ars noſtra fert, aut patitur, aut habet, aut explicat, malo juxta conſcientiam agere, quàm Sanctam Uraniam noſtram deturpare & velut ſtuprare, eique nigrum ſalem vel atram notam aſpergere : quum alias tot ſuperſtitionibus Chaldaicis noſtra Ars ſcateat, quas multi ex noſtratibus adhuc mordicus tenent. Multi ex me ſcire laborant, qui colores veſtimentorum & equorum fortunati ſibi ſint futuri ? Hæc & alia monſtra quæſtionum ſæpè albis dentibus rideo, ſæpè etiam deteſtor. Amo enim virginitatem noſtræ Artis, nec patiar eam ita nefario ſtupro pollui, ne Miſaſtrologi hoſce abuſus in contemptum Aſtronomiæ nobis objicere poſſint* (11). i. e. " He was of opinion that this art muſt be managed with caution, whence he wrote to me ſometimes after this manner : O that fortune would look kindly upon me ! that without meddling with thoſe aſtrological trifles, I might make proviſion for old age, which threatens me with blindneſs ; and I would never draw any horoſcope. In the mean time, when a great many perſons enquire for, and deſire to know more things, than are within the compaſs of our art, or more than it can explain, I chooſe rather to act with conſcience, than to diſgrace, and, as it were, to defile our ſacred Aſtrology, and to caſt a blemiſh upon it. For our art abounds ſtill with a great number of Chaldean ſuperſtitions, which ſeveral of our countrymen are ſtill obſtinately fond of. A great many aſk me, what colour of cloaths and horſes will be lucky to them ? Sometimes I laugh heartily at theſe and other ſuch abſurd queſtions, but I do alſo often abhor them. For I am enamoured with the virgin ſtate of our art, nor can I ſuffer that it ſhould be ſo abominably defiled, as to give the enemies of Aſtrology an opportunity to object to us thoſe abuſes to the contempt of the art itſelf." One can hardly imagine why a man, who had ſo much buſineſs in the practice of phyſic (12), and who never had any children, ſhould fear to want bread in his old age, unleſs he drew horoſcopes. This may give ſome weight to the ſlanders that were ſpread abroad againſt him, and perſuade us that he made extravagant expences in keeping miſtreſſes.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Eichſtadius, *apud* Witte, *Memor. Medicor.* pag. 76.

(12) Idem, ibid. pag. 77.

[*F*] *The prediction he publiſhed againſt the Turks, did not prove true in the event.*] Monſieur Thomaſius delivered an oration at Leipſic, October the 15th, 1665, at a ſolemn thankſgiving for the peace which had been concluded between the Emperor and the Ottoman Port. The Millenarians were very much diſpleaſed with this peace, becauſe they had foretold that the end of the Turkiſh Empire was near at hand. They grounded their predictions on ſome paſſages in the ſcripture, and on a number of preſages, which they explained after their own fancy. *Non aliis armis inſtructi prodierunt, qui per hos annos credi a nobis voluere, fore brevi, ut jam deletum Ottomannidarum imperium cerneremus : non levi, opinor, cum ſacræ Scripturæ profanatione, quam & generis diverſiſſimi prædictionibus ſociarent, & ſui cerebri ſomnia cogerent interpretari* (13). i. e. " The ſame arguments were made uſe of by thoſe, who during theſe laſt years would have us believe, that we ſhould ſoon ſee the Ottoman Empire deſtroyed ; which, in my opinion, was a great prophanation of the holy ſcripture, which they put in the ſame rank with predictions of a quite different nature, and by which they would abſolutely explain the idle fancies of their own brains." This is their conſtant practice, which they renew daily. Thomaſius wonders, that after ſo many falſe predictions, that had been publiſhed of the pretended approaching ruin of the Ottomans, men did not propheſy with more caution. One would think however, that the more perſons there are, that have been miſtaken in their prophecies, the leſs reaſon there is to fear a miſtake for the future ; for after all, the word of God, who cannot impoſe upon us, has promiſed us the overthrow of that powerful Monarchy. And this it is which makes the new Prophets the bolder. The Orator does not inſiſt upon this reaſon only ; he does alſo imagine, that theſe Gentlemen are miſled by an eager deſire of enjoying the golden age here upon earth. *Sed fortaſſe curioſitati huic nihil potentiorem ſtimulum admovet, quàm neſcio cujus aurei ſeculi per mille duraturi annos perſuaſio, ubi profligatis ab omni latere hoſtibus Deo dilecta cohors in otio ſit ſuaviſſimo victura. Trahimur omnes beatæ his in terris vitæ cupiditate. Itaque ſi qua nobis eam fama polliceatur, ei ſitientiſſimas aures adjungimus, inque omnes articulos temporis, qui favere huic affectui videntur, enixè vigilamus* (14). i. e. " But there is perhaps nothing that raiſes this eager deſire of knowing futurity more, than a perſuaſion of I know not what golden age that is to laſt a thouſand years, during which God's enemies being every where deſtroyed, the choſen people is to live in the moſt delightful eaſe. So that if any report promiſes us the reproach of that age, we hearken to it moſt earneſtly, and watch with the utmoſt attention every circumſtance, that ſeems to favour this deſire." He repreſents afterwards to his audience, that there never was, during the XVIIth Century, any conſiderable war againſt the enemies of the true church, but ſome predictions were ſpread abroad, promiſing the entire overthrow either of the Pope, or of the Turks, or of both. The glory of this overthrow was promiſed firſt to Frederick King of Bohemia, then to Guſtavus Adolphus, and afterwards to Charles Guſtavus. *Tantæ victoriæ lauream erant qui ſuperioris Germanici belli tempore Friderico Palatino, erant qui Guſtavo Adolpho Suecorum Regi, erant qui Carolo Guſtavo deſtinarent, cùm is Poloniam ante hos novem annos infeſtaret* (15). i. e. " During the war in Upper Germany, ſome deſigned the glory of this great victory to Frederic Elector Palatine ; others to Guſtavus Adolphus, King of Sweden ; others again to Charles Guſtavus, when he was making war in Poland about nine years ago." He ſpeaks afterwards of our David Herlicius, who towards the latter end of the XVIth Century had promiſed that the Empire of the Turks would ſoon be deſtroyed. *Plenus talium in primis eſt Davidis Herlicii, in aliis fortaſſe prædictionibus, quàm in hâc felicioris Aſtrologi, libellus, quem ſub finem ævi ſuperioris, miſerè Pannoniam vexante Turcâ, vulgavit. Ibi Danielem, Apocalypſin, dictum Eliæ, præſagia Joannis Hilteni, Antonii Torquati Ferrarienſis, Turcarum ipſorum, curſus ſiderum, conjunctiones planetarum, quaſi in exercitum unum conſcribi video, quo in animis hominum ultimo prælio cum Turcâ decidatur* (16). i. e. " Such things are above all to be met with in a little book of David Herlicius, who perhaps was a happier Aſtrologer in other predictions than he was in this. He publiſhed that book towards the latter end of the laſt century, when Hungary was miſerably oppreſſed by the Turks. Daniel, the revelation of St. John, a ſaying of Elijah, the preſages of John Hiltenus, of Anthony Torquatus of Ferrara, and of the Turks themſelves, with the courſe of the ſtars, and the conjunctions of the planets, are collected together there, as it were into an army, by which in the people's opinion, the Turks were to be deſtroyed in a laſt and deciſive battle."

(13) Thomaſius, *in Orationib.* pag. m. 397.

(14) Idem, ibid. pag. 395.

(15) Idem, ibid.

(16) Ibid.

He was twice married, and very unhappy with his firſt wife [G]. It was perhaps his fault; for he was charged with being one of thoſe whore-maſters, who go and make love abroad. His friend does not clear him well of that charge [H]. There are

[G] *He was very unhappy with his firſt wife.*] God knows for what reaſon, ſays the writer of his life. *Anno* 1593 *honeſtiſſimam virginem* Reginam Hungers *primarii civis Primiſlavienſis filiam in matrimonium accepit, cum qua tamen non adeo concorditer* (*cauſam novit Deus*) *vixit, & ſine fructu matrimonii per* 17 *annos* (17). i. e. "In the year 1593 he married a very honeſt "virgin named Regina Hungers, who was the daughter of one of the moſt eminent citizens of Primiſlaw; "but he did not live in great union with her (God "knows why) and they had no children during ſeventeen years they were married." Seventeen years are a pretty long term for perſons that are not well matched together. We ſeldom meet in thoſe who write the lives of illuſtrious perſons, with the ingenuity we have here. I have peruſed a great many elogies and lives of learned men, ſince I am about this work, but I hardly read in any of them that they do not live well with their wives; it is almoſt always aſſerted, that their marriage was bleſſed with the moſt happy union that can be wiſhed for; and yet the neighbours very often know the contrary. I remember a particular which deſerves ſome attention. A learned Roman (18) who died in the year 1640, had his wife under ſo ſtrict a confinement, that he ſuffered no body to ſee her, nor her to ſee any body. *Uxorem adeo amplius quadraginta annos quibus cum ea vixit cuſtodiis ſuis domi ſubjectam habuit, ut mortalium nemini fas fuerit aſpicere* (19). He would not even ſuffer that the Curate of the pariſh ſhould come to his houſe in the Eaſter holy-days, to take an account of the perſons that lived in his family, and to make the aſperſions with holy water, as it is the cuſtom at Rome. He uſed to ſay, that when the Pope went by his houſe, he gave his bleſſing to the whole family, and that this was ſufficient: and if the Curate pretended to inſiſt, he was ill uſed, and threatned with a ſtick. *Parochis, quibus mos eſt quotannis, Paſchalibus feriis, ſuis in parochiis capita hominum recenſere, ac ſingulorum domus aqua luſtrali conſpergere, verborum contumeliis, ac metu etiam fuſtis, ſi auſi eſſent accedere, domi ſuæ foribus abigebat, quod diceret, Pontificem Max. cum illac iter faceret, bene domui ſuæ dicere, proinde nihil opus eſſe cujuſquam ad eam rem opera.* It happened one day, that he aſked the Curate of his pariſh leave for his wife not to keep Lent, upon which the Curate anſwered, that he would not grant it, unleſs he ſaw with his own eyes, in what condition the patient was: the huſband replied aloud, that the diſtemper was in the womb; do you pleaſe, added he, to ſee the place where the diſtemper is? Nicius Erythræus was preſent at that converſation. *Atque ipſemet adfui, cum in ſacrario S. Spiritus in Saxia Parocho, neganti, non aliter ſe uxori ejus poteſtatem facturum veſcendi carnibus in quadrageſima, niſi ſuis ipſe oculis, quo morbo affecta eſſet, aſpexiſſet, palam multis audientibus, dixit, Uxori meæ morbus in matrice inhæret, placetne morbi locum aſpicere?* It is an eaſy matter to judge, whether ſuch a man could live forty five years with his wife without any diſpute or quarrel whatſoever: And yet this is aſſerted in his epitaph, which is inſerted in page 275 of Proſper Mandoſio's *Bibliotheca Romana. Sed quod raro contingit cum Claudia Sebaſtiani Tiburtina uxore ſine querela conjunctiſſime vixit annis* XLV. i. e. "But, what happens very ſel-"dom, he lived forty five years, without any diſpute, "and in the ſtricteſt union with his wife Claudia "Tiburtina, Sebaſtian's daughter." We muſt depend neither upon epitaphs, nor elogies.

[H] *His friend does not clear him well of that charge.*] Some, ſays he, aſſert that Herlicius loved young girls; his ſtars would have it ſo; but if one pretended to infer from thence, that this occaſioned the unhappineſs of his firſt marriage, I would anſwer in his defence, that he had no children by either of his wives, and that he uſed to ſay, he ſowed in a barren field; and conſequently, he deſigned only to be beloved by the young girls, but not to enjoy them. *Ferunt nonnulli eum, quum ætas ferret, non abhorruiſſe à puellarum amoribus, id quod in geneſi ejus conjunctio Veneris cum Marte præ ſe ferre videtur. Quod ſi quis hinc eum fortè ſalacem, & hinc multas turbas in priore matrimonio ortas eſſe dixerit, ille ſciat, D. HERLICIUM ex utraque ſua conjuge nullos liberos vel* Herliciolum *ſuſcepiſſe, ſed illorum exortem fuiſſe, atque in ſterili agro* (*ut dicere ſolebat*) *laboraſſe, & proinde animo juvencularum mutuo potiùs, quàm coitu captum eſſe* (21). And in order to add ſtrength to this apology he quotes Cardan, who proved by the great number of his children, that he was very laſcivious. *Hieron. Cardanus quidem in judicio ſuæ genituræ ſe laſcivum fuiſſe multitudine procreatorum liberorum probat* (20). There was never a more wretched apology; for in the firſt place, Herlicius did not boaſt of his continence and moderation in the pleaſures of love, but only complained that he cultivated a barren ground. He had laboured therefore, and confeſſed it himſelf. What inference can you draw then from his having no children? Will you infer from thence, that if he endeavoured to gain the young maiden's affection, it was only for the bare pleaſure of being beloved by them, without pretending to any thing beſides? But ſuch a concluſion can by no means be drawn from the premiſes. In the ſecond place, barren marriages are no proofs at all of leſs incontinency, on the contrary, the Phyſicians aſſert, that too great a laſciviouſneſs is one of the cauſes that hinders a conception; and that the reaſon why ſome marriages are fruitleſs the firſt year, is, that the young married couple are too laviſh of their embraces, ſo that before their firſt heat is abated, nature being too often diſturbed and interrupted, cannot well perform her functions. Read Ariſtotle quoted by Montagne (23). "A man, *ſays Ariſtotle*, muſt come to his wife pru-"dently and ſparingly, leſt if he ſhould tickle her "too laſciviouſly, ſhe ſhould go beyond the rules of "reaſon. What he aſſerts as a rule of conſcience, "the Phyſicians preſcribe as a neceſſary precaution "to preſerve one's health: namely, that a pleaſure "exceſſively hot, voluptuous and frequent, ſpoils the "ſeed, and prevents conception. They aſſert farther, "that this being naturally a faint congreſſion, a man "ought to come to it ſeldom, and only after a con-"ſiderable interval, in order to furniſh it with a pro-"per and fruitful heat.

"*Quo rapiat ſitiens Venerem, interiuſque recondat.*

"That the woman may long after the venereal plea-"ſure, and receive the ſeed in its proper place."

Laurence Joubert a famous Phyſician, deſigned one of the chapters (24) in his book of the popular errors, to refute thoſe, *who never ceaſe to embrace each other, in order to have children, and thoſe who do it but ſeldom, for fear of having too many.* The ignorant vulgar, ſays he (25), *is miſtaken two contrary ways, acting intirely againſt their own intention. Some who do earneſtly wiſh to have children, never ceaſe to embrace their wives as often as they can; and others ſpare them for fear of having too numerous a family: whereas it happens quite otherwiſe than they expect. For what could be performed by one good hit, may be deſtroyed by the next. And beſides, when they come to it ſo often, without being prompted by nature, the ſeed has not time to be thoroughly ripened, and perfect. Whence it proves unfruitful, and uſeleſs like water.*

It is very juſtly obſerved, that it is better not to have one's cauſe pleaded, than to commit it to an indifferent Counſellor. Eichſtadius deſerves to be compared with that perſon, whom Scipio the Prætor recommended to one who had a law-ſuit. *Ille Siculus, cui Prætor Scipio patronum cauſæ dabat hoſpitem ſuum, hominem nobilem, ſed admodum ſtultum: Quæſo, inquit Prætor, adverſario meo da iſtum patronum, deinde mihi neminem dederis* (26). i. e. "A Sicilian, to whom Sci-"pio the Prætor recommended a Counſellor to plead "his cauſe, a man who was his gueſt, and of a noble "birth indeed, but very ſilly, told him, pray, Prætor, "recommend that man to my adverſary, and I "ſhall be content to have no body to plead my cauſe."

(17) Eichſtadius, *in Vita* Herlicii, *apud* Witte, *Memor. Medicor.* pag. 76.

(18) His name was *Joſper Cælius.*

(19) Nicius Erythræus, *Pinacoth.* 1. pag. 229.

(20) Idem, ibid.

(21) Eichſtadius, *in Vita Herlicii, apud* Witte, *Medicor.* pag. 78.

(22) Idem, ibid.

(23) Montagne, *Eſſais*, liv. 3. chap. 5. pag. m. 112.

(24) It is the 6th of the 2d book.

(25) Joubert, *Erreurs populaires*, liv. 2. ch. 6. pag. m. 74.

(26) Cicero, *de Orat.* lib. 2. cap. 69.

are a great many books of his extant [*I*]. I forgot to obſerve that he was a very good Lutheran.

[*I*] *There are a great many books of his extant.*] Moſt of them are in the German tongue: Thoſe that are in Latin, are either Poems, Orations, or Philoſophical and Phyſical Treatiſes. Witte gives a catalogue of them (27).

(27) *Memoriæ Medicor* Decad. 1. pag. 87.

HERMANT (GODFREY) one of the moſt celebrated writers in the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Beauvais February the 7th 1617. "From his infancy he gave "proofs of a lively genius, and a happy memory, which qualities he enjoyed to the "end of his life. He learnt the Greek and Latin Tongues with a wonderful readineſs, "and in an age in which children can hardly read and write. He was but twelve years "old when *Meſſire* Auguſtin Potier Biſhop and Count of Beauvais ſent him to ſtudy Rhe"toric under the Jeſuits at Paris. When he had finiſhed his courſe of Philoſophy in "the College of Navarre, and of Divinity in the Sorbonne, this good Prelate, who "loved him, made him return to Beauvais, to teach the *Belles Lettres* and Rhetoric "there. In the year 1640 he ſent him again to Paris, to be tutor to his nephew Mon"ſieur d'Ocquerre. Notwithſtanding this employment he taught Philoſophy in the "College of Beauvais, that he might be admitted a member of the Sorbonne. He was "made a Bachelor in the year 1641, and Canon of the Cathedral Church of Beauvais "in the year 1642. None but his friends were all this time acquainted with his merit. "But the Jeſuits having preſented a petition to the King in the year 1643, deſiring to "be incorporated with the Univerſity of Paris, Monſieur Hermant was choſen to defend "the cauſe of the Univerſity;" and he wrote three or four books which gained him great reputation. Monſieur le Camus Biſhop of Bellai congratulated him upon it in ſuch a manner as deſerves to be related [*A*]. He repreſented to him, that the reſentment of the Jeſuits was to be dreaded. But as Monſieur Hermant lived without any ambition, he did not give them an opportunity to exert their credit to his prejudice. "He was "made Prior of the Sorbonne in the year 1644, and Licentiate and Rector in 1646. "In the ſecond year of his Rectorſhip, there happened one of thoſe fortuitous events, "which make ſome perſons think favourably of Judicial Aſtrology [*B*], and prevent "them

[*A*] *Monſieur le Camus . . . congratulated him in ſuch a manner as deſerves to be related.*] Monſieur Hermant publiſhed four pieces on this occaſion. 1. The Obſervations on the Petition of the Jeſuits; 2. The firſt Apology for the Univerſity; 3. The Academical Truths; 4. The ſecond Apology; this laſt is a reply to the Anſwer which the Jeſuits publiſhed. His name was not put to any of theſe four pieces. "Monſieur le Camus "Biſhop of Bellai having found that Monſieur Her"mant was the author of them, went to meet him at "Albiac-Houſe, where he lodged, and embracing him "told him that he bleſſed God for giving him in his "younger days, not only ſo much wit and learning, "but alſo courage and ſtrength of mind enough, not "to dread the hatred and revenge of ſo formidable a "ſociety, as that was, againſt which he wrote. And "yet all the wrong the Jeſuits ever could do him, "came only to this, namely, that they did not love "him, and never ſpoke of him with any eſteem, "though he had been their pupil. His modeſty ſkreened "him againſt their moſt dreadful reſentment, nor "could they oppoſe him in the purſuit of the firſt "eccleſiaſtical dignities, which were all at their diſpo"ſal, becauſe he was ſo far from hunting after "them, that he even refuſed them, when they "were offered him, and he was preſſed to accept "them (1)." To have no ambition is very often a ſafe ſanctuary.

(1) Taken from *Memoirs*, communicated to the bookſeller.

[*B*] *There happened during this Rectorſhip one of thoſe fortuitous events, which make ſome perſons think favourably of Judaical Aſtrology.*] Here follow the words of the memoirs, that have been communicated to us (2). "Marcellus, Profeſſor of Rhetoric in the "college of Liſieux, had compoſed a Latin elogy of "Monſieur the Marſhal de Gaſſion, who was ſhot "with a muſquet at the ſiege of Lens. Marcellus was "to deliver it in a public oration, when an old "Doctor who made it his chief buſineſs to read all "the bills that were poſted up, and being ſurprized "to ſee one, in which it was advertiſed, that Mar"cellus was to deliver his oration that day at two of "the clock in the afternoon, ran immediately to com"plain of it to Monſieur Hermant, and repreſenting "to him that it was not to be ſuffered, that a funeral "oration of a man, who died in the pretended re"formed religion, ſhould be delivered in a Catholic "univerſity, he deſired him to appoint a meeting, to "determine this affair. Monſieur Hermant could not "refuſe his requeſt, ſo that the aſſembly met, and it "was reſolved by a majority of votes, that they ſhould "go immediately to Marcellus, to forbid him to de"liver Monſieur de Gaſſion's panegyrick. The aſtro"logers were exceedingly pleaſed with this, and made "all the world obſerve, that in the almanac of the "celebrated Larrivey, amongſt other predictions for "that ſame month, there was written in a large cha"racter, LATIN LOST." That the reader may be the better acquainted with the circumſtances of the prohibition that was notified to the Marſhal de Gaſſion's panegyriſt, I ſhall tranſcribe here a paſſage from du Boulai (3). "Monſr. Will. Marcel, Profeſſor of "Rhetoric, in the college of Liſieux, having adver"tiſed, by bills poſted up, that he would deliver a "funeral oration on Marſhal de Gaſſion, the Rector "forbad him to do it, becauſe the ſaid Gaſſion died "an Huguenot. Upon which Monſieur James Deſ"periers, Principal of the ſame college, went with the "ſaid Marcel, to complain to the Chancellor of France, "who referred them to the Rector's ſentence: as ap"pears from the deed extracted from the records of the "German nation. 22 Decemb. (*an.* 1647) Ampl. D. "*Rector habitis Comitiis ex conſilio D. D. Decanorum,* "*& 4 Procuratorum prohibuit D. Guill. Marcel. Elo*"*quentiæ Profeſſorem in Collegio Lexoveo* declamare lau"des & præconia demortui Mareſchalli nomine "Gaſſion, *quod prolixo programmate publico notum fe*"*cerat omnibus ſtudioſis; ſed quia res erat peſſimi exempli,* "*& contra Religionem laudare hominem in hæreſi mor*"*tuum, noluit Academia acquieſcere inſtantiſſimis præci*"*bus D. Marcelli, neque D. Deſperiers Gymnaſiarchæ* "*Lexovæi, qui provocarunt ad D. Seguier Franciæ Can*"*cellarium, qui eos auditos ad Ampliſ. D. Rectorem hu*"*jus rei Judicem remiſit. Et ſic ſilentium illis impoſitum* "*eſt.*" i. e. "December the 22d, 1647; the Rector "in a general aſſembly, and by the advice of the "Deans and of four Procurators, has forbidden William "Marcel Profeſſor of Rhetoric in the college of Li"ſieux to deliver publicly an oration in the praiſe and "commendation of the late Marſhal de Gaſſion; "which he had given notice of to all the ſtudents, "in a long advertiſement publickly poſted up; but as "it was of a very bad example, and againſt religion, "to commend a man who died an heretic, the uni"verſity would not yield to the earneſt requeſt of "Marcel,

(2) Ibid.

(3) Cæſar Egaſſe du Boulai, *Remarques ſur la Dignité, Préſeance, &c. du Recteur de L'Univerſite de Paris*, pag. 91.

" them from condemning it without reſtrictions." I ſhall give a compleat catalogue of the works which Mr. Hermant publiſhed [*C*], and I ſhall give ſome account of his controverſy with Father Maimbourg [*D*]. He died ſuddenly in the ſtreet at Paris July the

A COLLECTION of paſſages relating to ſcruples of the Church of Rome about commending of heretics.

" Marcel, nor of Monſieur Deſperiers Principal of the " college of Liſieux, who appealed thereupon to " Monſieur Seguier Chancellor of France, by whom " they were referred to the Rector, who is the proper " judge in this affair; and thus they were both ſi- " lenced."

How many reflections could not one make upon that ſpirit of policy, or of miſtaken devotion, which makes the Church of Rome refuſe to heretics the praiſes they deſerve? But waving all reflections, I ſhall only take notice of ſome facts, and I begin with a paſſage in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, taken from the extract of a book of Daniel Francus, intitled, *de Papiſtarum Indicibus Librorum prohibitorum & expurgandorum*. i. e. " Of the Papiſt's expurgatory In- " dexes and thoſe of books prohibited." " The author " relates the rules, which the Inquiſitors are obliged to " follow, by which it appears, amongſt other things, " that they have a poſitive order to blot out, without " any mercy, all the praiſes that are beſtowed upon a " heretic. Theſe are things which we muſt ſee with " our own eyes in order to believe them; otherwiſe, " we ſhould never imagine that religion is capable of " putting ſuch a byaſs upon our minds. Bellarmine was " ſo fully perſuaded, that it was a part of an ortho- " dox character never to praiſe an heretic, that the " author ridicules him for aſſerting poſitively †, that " *we do not find the Catholicks ever commended the doc-* " *trine or the actions of thoſe heretics.* And yet he " proves againſt Bellarmine that his touch-ſtone is not " very much to be depended upon, as appears by the " elogies, which Cochleus, Æneas Sylvius, Poggius " of Florence, Clavius the Jeſuit, Monſieur de l'Au- " beſpine Biſhop of Orleans, and Caramuel have beſ- " towed upon Hereticks. But yet this acquaints us " with the true genius of the Inquiſition. It is ſome- " thing very remarkable; for the Inquiſitors give or- " ders to eraſe from all ſorts of books the prefaces, " dedications, and abſolutely all that can in the leaſt " be to the honour of perſons who are ſeparated from " the Church of Rome, without excepting the Princes " themſelves. Hence it is, that it is commanded in " the *Expurgatorii Indexes*, that if any Hiſtorian ſaid, " *ſuch a day was born Chriſtopher, the illuſtrious Duke* " *of Wittemberg, Præclarus Dux Wertenbergenſis*, the " title *illuſtrious, præclarus* ſhall be erazed, which yet is " of ſo little conſequence, that it is given in Latin to the " meaneſt ſcholar. They command alſo, that all the " capital letters, which are uſually prefixed to proper " names, ſignifying that an heretic is ſtiled a *Doctor*, " *Mr. a celebrated Divine, vir clariſſimus, vir reve-* " *rendus, a famous man, a reverend man*, be immediately " blotted out. The Jeſuit Serrarius aſſerts in his *Mi-* " *nerval*, that the praiſes of a heretic in the book of " a Catholic, are an *abomination unto God*, in the ſame " manner as thoſe abominable offerings, which are " mentioned in the XXIIId chapter of Deuteronomy, " verſe the 18th (4)." I have read in the Paris Ga- zette, that in the year 1633, the maſter of the ſacred palace publiſhed at Rome *a prohibition to keep any proſe, or verſe, or image, or picture, or medal made to the me-* *mory* of Guſtavus Adolphus King of Sweden (5). Monſr. Sallo has the following reflections in his account of a work of Father Bona. *This writer*, ſays he (6), *is the* *firſt that ever gave a catalogue of the authors he quotes, with his opinion of every one of them* (7). *There are ſome things pretty curious in this Critique. But let us ob-* *ſerve, that we ought not to think it ſtrange, that this good father ſhould ſpeak ſo ill in this Critique of the Heterodox Authors even upon ſubjects in which faith is not at all concerned; for he writes at Rome, where it is a crime to approve the leaſt thing in the book of an heretick.* Let us add to this theſe words of Balzac (8). " Madam de Saumaiſe deſired me, by Mr. Conrart's " means, to write a few lines to the memory of her " huſband to be engraved on his tomb. But I " was very far from promiſing it to her, being in a " condition in which I could not have kept my " word, and labouring under pains, which never a- " bating, left no room for poetical thoughts. And " beſides, funerals, and all that relates to funeral rites " belonging to religion, I was of opinion that the " epitaph of a Huguenot could not be written by a " Catholic. I ſay, ſuch an epitaph as this, which is to " be placed in a Proteſtant Church, which ought to " be written in a Chriſtian ſtile, and in which it would " be very difficult, on account of ſome word, upon " which a favourable conſtruction might be put, that " the deceaſed was paſſed from this life to a better. " Now, you know, my Lord, that it is a ſin in our " Church to uſe ſuch expreſſions, and that they have " been condemned at Rome in the writings of the " greateſt men of this age."

Take notice that this maxim of Rome is not always practiſed, for if you conſult James Laurent in the IId and VIth Chapters of his *Prodiga Jeſuitarum liberali-* *tas*, i. e. " the prodigal liberality of the Jeſuits," you will find there ſome praiſes that were beſtowed by Roman Catholic authors upon the morals and learning of the Heterodox. See the margin (9).

[*C*] *I ſhall give a compleat catalogue of the works which Monſieur Hermant publiſhed.*] I make no ſcru- ple to ſtile it thus, becauſe I ſhall tranſcribe from the Memoirs, which have been communicated to me. *In* *the year* 1644 *he publiſhed an apology for his friend* *Monſieur Arnaud againſt a libel of F. Nouët intitled,* Remarques judicieuſes ſur le livre de la Frequente communion. i. e. " Rational remarks upon the " books concerning the frequent taking of the ſacra- " ment." In the year 1651, " he wrote under the " name of St. Julien againſt the fantaſtical notions of " Labadie a renegado Jeſuit; and under that of *Hie-* " *ronomus ab Angelo Forti* three Latin letters to Monſ. " de Saintebeuve againſt Monſ. des Marets a Miniſter " at Groeningen, who had taken ſome advantage from " a Catechiſm concerning Grace, printed by a pious " Biſhop's orders. He publiſhed St. Chryſoſtom's " Life in 1664, that of Athanaſius in 1671, St. Baſil's " Aſceticks in 1663, and the Lives of St. Baſil and " of St. Gregorius Nazianzenus in 1674. He publiſhed " Devout Converſations on St. Matthew in 1690. " And ſince his death they have publiſhed his De- " vout Converſations on St. Mark, and a ſmall Trea- " tiſe of Silence. A perſon of quality having deſired " him to give him the Extracts he had made from " the Councils, truſted an unfaithful writer with them, " who kept a copy of them, and printed it at L'Iſle " in the year 1693 with this title, *Clavis Diſciplinæ* " *Eccleſiaſticæ, ſeu Index univerſalis totius Juris Eccle-* " *ſiaſtici*. i. e. " A Key to the Church Diſcipline, or " an univerſal Index to the whole Eccleſiaſtical Law." " His Extracts are diſgraced in that edition by ſuch " additions as are unworthy of Monſieur Hermant, " and which might injure his reputation if the public " were not told that they are not his, and eſpecially " the collection of the letters falſely aſcribed to our " firſt Popes. God grant, that we may once have his " Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Hiſtory of Beauvais, and the " territories belonging to it, and that it may not be loſt " in the hands of thoſe, who ſeized upon it to the pre- " judice of one of his friends, whom he truſted with it, " charging him in his laſt will with the care of pub- " liſhing it (10)."

[*D*] *I ſhall give ſome account of his controverſy with Father Maimbourg.*] This Jeſuit " having tranſcribed " in his Hiſtory of Arianiſm all that was moſt curious " and remarkable in the life of St. Athanaſius, ima- " gined that if he did but diſgrace the author of it " in a wicked and malicious preface, it would be ſuffi- " cient to hide his plagiariſm, and that no man in the " world would think that he would have deigned to " extract the leaſt thing from a book, of which he " ſpake with ſo much contempt. He cenſures Monſr. " Hermant, 1. For tranſcribing the paſſages of the " authors he quotes. 2. For giving at the end of his " work an explanation of the moſt difficult points. " 3. For ſaying, that it is difficult to ſay any thing " more of the order and rank in which the members " of the Council of Nice ſat, except only that they " were regulated by the ſimplicity, modeſty and civi- " lity of the members themſelves; and that the argu- " ments which are alledged to prove the contrary,

(†) *De Notis Eccleſ.* c. 6. art. 1.

(4) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for July 1685, Art. 2. pag. 776, &c.

(5) *Gazette de Paris*, of March 14, 1633.

(6) *Journal des Savans*, for Jan. 19, 1665, in the account of the book, *de Divina Pſalmodia*.

(7) This is not true; it is a long time ſince Demſter did this in his Additions to *Roſinus's Roman Antiquities*. See alſo the ſame in Nicholas Vignier's *Theatre de l'Antechriſt*, of the Geneva edition 1613, in 8vo.

(8) Balzac, *Extrait d'une Lettre à Mr. le Marquis de Montauſier*. It is to be met with at the end of his *Letters to Mr. Conrard*, p. 416. of the Dutch edition 1659.

(9) Lorenzo Craſſo has inſerted the Elogies of ſeveral Proteſtants, and amongſt others of Guſtavus Adolphus and of Salmaſius, amongſt the Elogies of the great Captains, and of the learned men, which he publiſhed in Italy.

(10) Taken from the *Memoirs* quoted above.

the 11th 1690, as will appear by his epitaph. I ſhall tranſcribe it at length, though it was not put upon his tomb [*E*], for his enemies had malice and power enough to prevent it (*a*).

(*a*) Taken from *Memoirs* ſent to the bookſeller.

" how plauſible ſoever they appear, are not extremely " ſtrong, nor proper to determine the queſtion. Monſr. " Hermant publiſhing in the year 1674 the Lives of " St. Baſil and of St. Gregorius Nazianzenus, an- " ſwered in his Preface Father Maimbourg's three " objections or cavils, and finiſhes his reply thus. " But ſome perſons will perhaps find fault with me " for dwelling too long upon the refutation of a charge " which has no ſolid foundation, and indeed, I might " have deſpiſed it intirely. For it is certain that an " author expoſes himſelf to the indignation of all " equitable perſons, when having made an advantage " of another's labours, and enriched and adorned him- " ſelf with their ſpoils, all his gratitude terminates in " loading him with injuries. This will excuſe me " from giving a particular anſwer to the writer who " has acted thus with regard to me; and it is enough " for me to know, that there is no rule more univer- " ſally admitted in the world, than this maxim of the " Canoniſts, namely, that we ought firſt of all to make " a reſtitution to them we have robbed. *Spoliatus* " *ante omnia reſtituendus.* I muſt make a better uſe " of my time, than to examine his blunders, " which are perhaps more numerous, than he ima- " gines. What he cenſures in my Hiſtory of St. Atha- " naſius will ſtand by the unconquerable ſtrength of " truth; it is not neceſſary that I ſhould ſupport it " with new arguments, &c. (11)."

(11) Taken from the *Memoirs* quoted above.

(12) Ibid.

[*E*] *I ſhall tranſcribe his* epitaph, *though it was not put upon his tomb.*] Let us make uſe of the very words in the *Memoirs* we have quoted (12). " A Canon, " who was his relation, had compoſed an epitaph for " him, which had been approved by the Chapter; " but ſome falſe brother having given the Jeſuits no- " tice of it, they cauſed it to be ſuppreſſed by an " Order from the court, at the very time when in the " ſight of the whole city of Paris, and to the diſgrace " of the Church, they were prophaning a whole chapel " by raiſing a monument to Lulli . . . Here follows the " epitaph which was deſigned for Monſieur Hermant.

" *Heic reſurrectionem expectat*
" GODEFRIDUS HERMANT BELLOVACUS,
" *Eruditione clarus, fama celebris, virtute præſtantior,*
" *Rector quondam Academiæ Pariſienſis*
" *ſtrenuuſque defenſor,*
" *Doctor & Socius Sorbonicus,*
" *Hujus Eccleſiæ Canonicus,*
" *Amans diſciplinæ ſi quis unquam ſanctioris*
" *Excelſi vir ingenii, ſtupendæ doctrinæ, facundiæ mira-*
" *bilis*
" *Debebantur majora.*
" *Oblata recuſavit modeſtiâ ſingulari.*
" *Impendit*
" *Doctis elucidata illuſtrium Patrum geſta,*
" *Piis Sacras in Matthæum & Marcum exercitationes,*
" *Civibus urbis hujus & Diœceſis hiſtoriam.*
" *Omnibus ſeipſum, verbo, converſatione, charitate.*
" *Super impendit*
" *Egenis ſua omnia.*
" *Repentinâ morte ereptus non improviſâ*
" *Pariſiis ictu ſanguinis exanimatus viâ publicâ*
A. R. S. MDCXC. XI. Julii. Æt. LXXIII.
" *Ad ſacelli hujus cancellos tumulum deſignavit ſibi,*
" *Dignum cum Ambroſio ratus requieſcere ſacerdotem*
" *ubi offerre conſueverat.*"

i. e. " Here waits for the reſurrection GODFREY " HERMANT of Beauvais, famous for his learning, " celebrated for his reputation, but more eminent ſtill " for his virtue. Being formerly Rector of the Uni- " verſity, he was a ſtrenuous aſſertor of her rights. He " was a Doctor and Fellow of the Sorbonne, and a " Canon of this Church. He was as great a lover as " any man in the world of the holy diſcipline; he had " an exalted mind, wonderful learning, and an ad- " mirable eloquence. He deſerved greater preferments; " but his great modeſty made him refuſe thoſe that " were offered him. He beſtowed upon the learned " clear accounts of the lives of the moſt illuſtrious " Fathers, upon the Pious his obſervations on St. " Matthew and St. Mark, upon his fellow-citizens " the hiſtory of this city and dioceſs: he ſacrificed " himſelf for all in his words, converſation, and " charity: laſtly he left all that was his to the poor. " He was ſnatched away by a ſudden but not unex- " pected death, and died in the ſtreet at Paris of a bloody- " flux in July 11, 1690, in the 73d year of his age. " He choſe his tomb here in the Chancel of this Cha- " pel, thinking with St. Ambroſe, that it was proper " a Prieſt ſhould reſt in the ſame place where he uſed " to officiate."

HERMESIANAX, an elegiac Poet, born at Colophon, was honoured with a ſtatue erected to him in his native place (*a*). See the remark (*b*) of the article LEONTIUM.

(*a*) Pauſanias *in Eliacis*, (and not *Iliacis*, as we read in Voſſius, *de Hiſtor. Græc.* pag. 374.) *Sive* lib. 6. pag. 194.
(*b*) The remark [*A*].

HERMIAS, a Philoſopher of Alexandria in the fifth Century, ſtudied with Proclus under Syrianus. He had two ſons, Ammonius and Heliodorus, who were of his profeſſion, and the former of whom became much more celebrated than the latter. Hermias was a very honeſt and plain man, of a mild temper. He was as laborious as a man can be; but he had an indifferent genius, and could not invent thoſe ſtrong arguments, which one who pretends to philoſophize has occaſion for. He had an admirable memory, and could repeat to a wonder the Lectures of his Profeſſor, and what he read in books: this was what he excelled in; for if he had the objections or difficulties of an opponent to anſwer, he ſoon diſcovered his weakneſs. His ſyſtem of Morality was very ſound [*A*]. It is aſſerted that he did not approve of thoſe diminutive and endearing expreſſions, which mothers

[*A*] *His ſyſtem of morality was very ſound.*] We may judge of it by the maxims he followed when he bought any thing. He aſſerted that one muſt never make an advantage of the ſeller's ignorance, but that one ought to acquaint him with the true price of his wares, when he does not know it. They who acted otherwiſe were according to him guilty of a very great injuſtice. They did not rob after the manner of Highwaymen, and with danger of their lives, but they perverted the law, and corrupted juſtice. He did not like this axiom *volenti non fit injuria.* i. e. " There is no injury done to a man that conſents to " it." He pretended that beſides the injuries that are committed by mere force, there are others that are done without acting againſt the conſent of thoſe that ſuffer them. He uſed himſelf to practiſe this noble theory; for as he obſerved one day, that a man who was ſelling him a book to him did not put the whole value upon it, he acquainted him with it, and paid for the book more than he was aſked for it. He did the ſame ſeveral other times, and whenever there was occaſion for it (1). Καὶ οὐχ ἅπαξ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ταύτην, ὡς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδέ τις ἐπιστροφὴ· ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις, ὁσάκις συνέβαινεν ἀγνοεῖν τὸν πιπράσκοντα τὸ δίκαιον τίμημα ἐπεδείκνυτο,

(1) Taken from Photius, pag. 1044.

(a) Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ ἐπετίμησε τὸν παιδικὸν τοῦτον ὑποκορισμὸν. Photius, *Biblioth.* pag. 1044.

mothers and nurſes are wont to uſe with regard to children, and that he reproved his wife ſeverely (*a*) on that account (*b*).

(b) Taken from Photius, in the the Extract of Damaſcius, pag. m. 1044.

(2) Photius, *in* Damaſcio, *Biblioth.* pag. 1044.

ἐπεδείκνυτο. i. e. "Nor did he practiſe this kind of "juſtice once only, which others do not in the leaſt "mind, but ſeveral times, and as often as the ſeller "did not know the true price of what he ſold, he "acquainted him with it." Can any thing be imagined more worthy a Philoſopher? The Chriſtians who do the ſame are very ſcarce.

Rara avis in terris nigroque ſimillima cygno. (3) Juven. Sat. 6. ver. 164.

"A black ſwan is not half ſo rare a bird."
Dryden.

☞HERODIAN, an eminent Greek Hiſtorian, flouriſhed under the reigns of Severus, Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander, and Maximin (*a*). His Hiſtory contains eight books, and begins from the death of Marcus Antoninus the Philoſopher, and ends with the death of Balbinus and Maximin, and the beginning of the reign of Gordian. It was tranſlated into Latin with great elegance by Angelus Politianus, and paſſed thro' ſeveral editions. Julius Capitolinus (*b*) charges him with favouring Maximin out of prejudice againſt the Emperor Alexander. Photius (*c*) tells us, that his ſtyle is elegant and perſpicuous, and that he is ſcarce inferior to any Hiſtorian in his manner of writing. Iſaac Caſaubon (*d*), and John Henry Bœcler (*e*) incline to acquit him of the imputation of partiality againſt Alexander caſt upon him by Capitolinus. T

(*a*) Martini Hankii *de Romanarum Rerum Scriptoribus*, Part 1. cap. 21. pag. 129. edit. Lipſiæ 1669 in 4to.

(*b*) *In Maximinis*, cap. 12.

(*c*) *Bibliotheca*, cap. 99.

(*d*) *In Notis ad Capitolinum in Maximinis.*

(*e*) *In Præfatione in Herodianum*, edit. Argentorati 1644 in 8vo.

☞HERODOTUS, an antient Greek Hiſtorian, was born at Halicarnaſſus, according to Pamphila cited by Aulus Gellius (*a*), in the firſt year of the ſeventy fourth Olympiad, ſince he was fifty years old at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, and but four years of age when Xerxes invaded Greece. The name of his father was Lyxus, and that of his mother Dryo (*b*). The city of Halicarnaſſus being at that time under the dominion of Lygdamis, grandſon of Artemiſia Queen of Caria, Herodotus quitted his country in ſearch after the liberty which is neceſſary to learned men, and retired to Samos, from whence he travelled into Egypt, Italy, and through all Greece; and in his travels acquired the knowledge of the origin and hiſtory of Nations. He then begun his Hiſtory [*A*], and after having laboured in that work in the Iſle of Samos, he returned to

(*a*) Lib. 13. cap. 23.

(*b*) Suidas, *in voce* Ἡρόδοτος.

[*A*] *His Hiſtory.*] His principal deſign in it was, to write an account of the Perſian war againſt the Greeks, from the reign of Cyrus to that of Xerxes; but he alſo extended it to the Hiſtory of other nations. Lucian informs us (1), That our Author having left Caria to go into Greece, employed his thoughts in contriving meaſures, by which in a ſmall time, and without much trouble, he might gain great reputation. He foreſaw, that it would be tedious to go through the reſpective places, and recite them to the Athenians, Corinthians, Argives, and Lacedemonians. He thought it moſt proper to take the opportunity of their aſſembling all together; and accordingly recited his work at the *Olympic* Games; which rendered him more famous than even thoſe, who had obtained the prizes. None were ignoranr of his name, nor was there a ſingle perſon in Greece, who had not either ſeen him at the Olympic Games, or heard thoſe ſpeak of him, who came thence; ſo that wherever he came, the people pointed to him with their Finger, ſaying, "This is that Herodotus, who has written the Per-"ſian wars in the Ionick Dialect; this is he, who "has celebrated our victories." His work is divided into nine Books, each of which are diſtinguiſhed by the name of one of the Muſes. His ſtyle has been admired by all antiquity, and the beſt Judges of the modern Ages. With regard to the truth of his Hiſtory, he has been accuſed by ſeveral Authors as faulty in that reſpect. Cteſias ſuſpected him in his Hiſtories of the Medes and Aſſyrians. And Manetho cenſured his account of Egypt; and it is ſaid, that Thucydides had him in his eye, when he blames thoſe Hiſtories, which were writ for no other end but to divert the Reader. But that Hiſtorian did not apply this to our Author, but ſays it in general of all Hiſtories of that character. Strabo particularly accuſes Herodotus of this fault, and tells us, that he trifles very agreeably, interweaving extraordinary events with his narration by way of ornament. Juvenal likewiſe aims at him in that paſſage (2):

(1) Du Pin, *Bibliotheque Univ. Hiſt.*

(2) Satyr 10.

——— ——— *Creditur olim*
Velificatus Athos, & quicquid Grecia mendax
Audet in Hiſtoriâ.

But none have ventured to attack him with ſo much freedom as Plutarch, who conceived a warm reſentment againſt him for caſting an odium upon his countrymen the Thebans. This he owns to be the motives of his writing that little Treatiſe *of the Malignity of Herodotus* (3), in which he accuſes that Hiſtorian of having maliciouſly taxed the Honour not only of the Thebans and Corinthians, but almoſt all the Greeks, out of partiality to the Medes, and in order to raiſe the glory of his country higher in the perſon of Artemiſia Queen of Halicarnaſſus, whoſe heroick Actions in the battle of Salamis he ſo exaggerates, that this Princeſs alone takes up the greateſt part of his Narration. Plutarch owns, that it is one of the beſt written and moſt agreeable pieces, which can be read; but adds, that amidſt the charms of his Narrative he makes his Readers ſwallow the poiſon of Detraction; and compares the Malignity, which he imputes to him, to Cantharides covered with Roſes. Some are of opinion, that Plutarch's criticiſm is written with ſo much heat, that he ſeems poſſeſſed of all that ill nature, which he aſcribes to his Antagoniſt. But La Mothe le Vayer (4) obſerves, that if we conſider in what manner Herodotus ſpeaks in his *Urania* of Themiſtocles, whom he accuſes of Rapine and carrying on a correſpondence with the Perſians, it is not eaſy to acquit him of the ſuſpicions of what Plutarch charges him with. Dion Chryſoſtom likewiſe (5), introduces our Author among the Corinthians, expecting from them a reward for his Hiſtory, in which they had a great ſhare; and tells us, that he had not yet falſified them. But becauſe the Corinthians declared, that they would not purchaſe honour with money, he changed the account of what paſſed in the Sea-fight at Salamis, accuſing Adimantus the Corinthian General of flying in the beginning of the battle, and betraying by that means the common cauſe of Greece. Dion adds a little afterwards, that he could not allow of what Herodotus has written upon this ſubject, the publick Epitaphs and Inſcriptions on Sepulchres, erected by the conſent of all Grece in the Iſland of Salamis, teſtifying againſt him. And he recites part of the ſame Epigrams of Simonides the Poet, which Plutarch had cited to ſhew Herodotus guilty of Prevarication. However, our Author has not wanted perſons to defend him. Aldus Manutius, Joachim Camerarius, and Henry Stephens have written Apologies for him. And the long Voyages to the North or South, and to the Eaſt Indies, which have been made in the later times, have greatly juſtified his writings, and ſhewn a prodigious number of things related by him upon the authority of others, tho' doubted by himſelf, to be true. T.

(3) Περὶ τῆς Ἡροδότου κακοηθείας.

(4) *Jugemens des Hiſtoriens Grecs & Latins.*

(5) Orat. 37.

to his own country, and expelled the tyrant, but afterwards finding himſelf expoſed to the envy of his fellow-citizens went to Thurium in Italy, where he died, though ſome ſay it was at Pella (*c*). The only remaining work of him is his Hiſtory abovementioned; beſides which he promiſed in two places of his firſt book to write the Hiſtory of Aſſyria; but this never appeared, being probably prevented by his death; for if it had ever been publiſhed, it is ſcarce credible that none of the Antients ſhould mention it. Ariſtotle indeed (*d*) blames Herodotus for ſaying that an eagle drank during the ſiege of Antioch, becauſe, as he affirms, that bird, as well as thoſe who have forked claws, never drinks. And this fact not being mentioned in all our author's nine books yet extant, ſome writers have conjectured, that Ariſtotle meant the Hiſtory of Aſſyria, to which the ſiege of Nineveh properly related. There is aſcribed to Herodotus a *Life of Homer*, printed at the end of his works; but there is no probability that this was written by the antient Herodotus. The author of that *Life* does not agree with him with reſpect to the time when that Poet lived; for, he ſays, that Homer flouriſhed CLXVIII years after the Trojan war, and DCLXII years before Xerxes's expedition into Greece. But Herodotus in his *Euterpe* affirms, that Homer and Heſiod preceded him CD years; and conſequently they flouriſhed at a greater diſtance of time from the taking of Troy. Beſides, the ſtyle of this piece is very different from that of Herodotus, and the author mentions ſeveral things of Homer, which do not at all agree with what the Antients have ſaid of that Poet; and he treats of his ſubject more like a modern Grammarian than an antient Hiſtorian. Suidas mentions an Abridgment of Herodotus's Hiſtory by Theopompus of Chios. There is ſo much reſemblance between our Author and Homer, that Longinus (*e*) aſſures us, that none but Herodotus perfectly imitated that Prince of Poets; and that he alone is Ὁμηρικώτατος. Cicero (*f*) ſtiles him the *Father of Hiſtory*. It was a monſtrous error of James Gaultier the Jeſuit, in his *Chronographical Tables* printed at Cologne in 1616, to place our author under Conſtantine the Great and his children.

(*c*) Idem.

(*d*) *De Animal.* lib. 8. cap. 18.

(*e*) In his Treatiſe of *the Sublime*.

(*f*) *De Legibus*, lib. 1.

HEROLD (BASIL JOHN) was born at Hochſtad (*a*) on the Danube in Suabia, in the year 1511. He applied himſelf to polite Literature, and went to Baſil in the year 1539, where he ſtudied at the ſame time Divinity and Hiſtory. He married there, and was appointed Miniſter to a village of that Canton; but as the bookſellers had found him proper for their ſervice, they prevailed upon him to return to Baſil in the year 1546. He prepared works for them with an incredible application; and it was to reward his continued labours, that the Magiſtrates of Baſil preſented him with the freedom of their city in the year 1556 (*b*). I ſhall give the titles of moſt of his works [*A*]. Lezana, who wrote the Annals of the Carmelites, has committed a very groſs blunder when he mentioned this author [*B*]. Konig has made two writers of John Herold, and Baſil John

(*a*) Hence it is that he ſtiles himſelf *Acropolita*, in his *Philopſeudes*.

(*b*) *Taken from* Martin Hanckius, *de Scriptoribus Rerum Romanarum*, tom. 2. pag. 142.

[*A*] *I ſhall give the titles of moſt of his works.*] I have mentioned in another place (1) his *Philopſeudes, ſive Declamatio pro Deſid. Eraſmo Rot. contra Dialogum famoſum Anonymi cujuſdam Medici.* i. e. "The "lover of falſities, or a Declamation for Eraſmus a- "gainſt an infamous Dialogue of a certain anonymous "Phyſician. This piece was printed at Baſil in the year 1541 (2), His ſix Books *Belli ſacri Hiſtoria continuata*, a continuation of the Hiſtory of the holy war, was printed by William of Tyre in folio in the year 1560; they begin with the year 1185, and end at the year 1521, as alſo his *Princeps juventutis ſive Panegyricus Ferdinando Archiduci Auſtriæ dicatus, cum Hiſtoria Turcici belli anno* 1556 *geſti*; i. e. "The "prince of the youths, or a Penegyrick offered to "Ferdinand Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, together with the "Hiſtory of the war waged againſt the Turks in the "year 1556." He tranſlated ſeveral works into the German Tongue, of which you will find a Catalogue in the Epitome of Geſner's Bibliotheque. His *Pannoniæ Chronologia* or Chronology of Hungary is generally printed with Bonfidias's Decads. His Treatiſe *de Germaniæ veteris veræ quam primam vocant locis antiquiſſimis; item de Romanorum in Rhætia littorali ſtationibus, & hinc ortorum ibidem vicorum atque municipiorum hodie ſuperſtitum originibus.* i. e. "Of "the moſt ancient place of old true Germany, which "they now call the firſt, and of the ſtations of the "Romans in Rhætia or the Banks of the Danube, "and of the origin of the Towns and Cities which "do ſtill ſubſiſt, and owe their Foundation to theſe "Nations." This Treatiſe, I ſay, has been inſerted in the firſt vol. of Simon Schardius's Collection *de Scriptoribus rerum Germanicarum*, i. e. "Of the writers of the "Affairs of Germany." Chriſtopher Lehman (3) has criticized upon it in the firſt Book of his Chronicle of Spires; but there has been a vindication of Heraldus publiſhed. How laborious the latter was, will appear to any one who conſults the Preface (4), which he has prefixed to the firſt Volume of Eugyppius's Treaſures: He promiſes there a collection of Stratagems, and I find in Geſner's Epitome, that he has publiſhed ſix Chiliads or Thouſands of it. He made a funeral Oration on the death of the Emperor Ferdinand, which was printed at Francfort in the year 1564. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that he publiſhed (5) the writings of 76 Authors under the Title of *Orthodoxographi*, i. e. "*Orthodox writers*," and an *Hæreſeologia ſeu Syntagma veterum Theologorum tam Græcorum quam Latinorum numero* 18, *qui graſſatas in Eccleſia Hæreſes confutarunt, & præcipua Theologiæ capita tractarunt* (6). i. e. "A collection of 18 antient Divines, both Greek "and Latin, who have refuted the Hereſies, which "have raged in the Church, and who have treated of "the chief ſubjects in Divinity."

(1) In the remark [*C*] of the article ERASMUS.

(2) Geſnerus, *in Biblioth.* folio 425, *verſo*.

(3) *See* Zeiller, *De Hiſtoricis*, Part 2. pag. 74.

(4) Geſner, *Biblioth.* fol. 425 *verſo* gives a paſſage of it.

(5) At Baſil in the year 1555.

(6) At Baſil in the year 1556.

[*B*] *Lezana ... has committed a very groſs blunder, when he mentioned this Author.*] He obſerves under the year 1159, that St. Antoninus was in the wrong to tranſcribe word for word a paſſage from John Heroldus, without refuting him. This paſſage contains a deſcription of the firſt dreſs of the Carmelites. The Jeſuit Papebroch has cenſured this blunder, obſerving that St. Antoninus flouriſhed a whole Century before John Herold; for, adds he, St. Antoninus died in the year 1459, and the *Princeps juventutis*, which Herold dedicated to the Arch-duke Ferdinand, was printed in the year 1557 (7). There is not a full Century between them; for we have ſome Books of Heroldus, printed in the year 1540; but yet Lezana was greatly miſtaken. Here follows a queſtion, which this Jeſuit propoſed to a Carmelite, who wrote againſt him (8). *An Joannes Heroldus Hochſtenſis, continuator belli ſacri, cujus Continuationis ſingulos libros Catholicis Prælatis dedicavit, ſemper cum laude etiam de religioſis mendicantibus locutus, ſed in ſolis Carmelitis explodens enormem quem fingebant ſeſe in Syria habuiſſe, monaſteriorum ac Fratrum numerum; an, inquam Heroldus iſte indignus ſit qui citetur, tanquam infeſtiſſimus ſedis Apoſtolicæ*

(7) *See* Daniel Papebroch, *Reſponſ. ad Exhibit. Errorum*, p. 153.

(8) Papebroch. *in Synopſi Quæſt. curioſarum*, Art. 24. pag. 43.

John Herold; he ſhould not have diſtinguiſhed the one from the other. There was in the fifteenth Century a Dominican Friar named JOHN HEROLDUS, a German by nation; he was an able Divine, and a very good Preacher. He compoſed ſeveral books, which have been printed in different places. There was an edition of his works publiſhed at Mentz in the year 1612 in three volumes in quarto (*c*).

(*c*) *See* Cave, *Script. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Literar.* Part 2. pag. 314, 315. of the Geneva edit. 1699.

licæ hoſtis: eſto juvenis ſub nomine Heroldi Acropolitani, ſcripſerit Apologiam pro Eraſmo, inter prohibitos relatam. i. e. "Whether John Herold of Hochſtad, "who continued the Hiſtory of the holy war, every "part of which continuation he dedicated to ſome "Catholick Prelate, and who always ſpoke with "praiſe, even of the mendicant Fryars, but only re-"jected that immenſe number of Monaſteries and "Brethren, which the Carmelites feigned they had in "Syria, whether, I ſay, this Herold is unworthy to "be quoted, as being a moſt bitter enemy of the "Apoſtolick See? though, indeed, in his youth, he "wrote under the name of Herold of Acropolita an "Apology for Eraſmus, which is ranked amongſt the "prohibited Books."

HERWART (JOHN (GEORGE) Chancellor of Bavaria towards the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, gained a reputation by the Apology he wrote for the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria againſt the falſities of Bzovius, whom he alſo charged with ſeveral other blunders. Scaliger judged him an indifferent Chronologiſt (*a*).

(*a*) See the *Scaligerana*, under the word *Chancelier*, pag. m. 48.

Our Herwart was deſcended from a Patrician family, which came originally from Augſburg; I ſhall give the title of a Chronological work he compoſed, and that of a book which his ſon publiſhed [*A*], and which contains a very particular opinion concerning the firſt Gods of the Heathens; for the author maintains, that the Winds, the Magnetical Needle, &c. were the firſt Gods of the Egyptians, and that they were worſhiped under myſterious names. There is a branch of the family of the Herwarts ſettled at Paris, where they hold a conſiderable rank (*b*).

(*b*) Monſ. Fachelier Des-Mareſts, whom I have already mentioned above, quotation (3) of the article EPPENDORF, has communicated to me almoſt all that I obſerve in this addition, both in the Text and in the Commentary.

[*A*] *I ſhall give the Title of a Chronological work he compoſed, and that of a Book which his ſon publiſhed.*] *Chronologia nova, vera, & ad calculum aſtronomicum revocata.* i. e. "A new and true Chronology, calcula-"ted from Aſtronomical Obſervations," printed at Munich in the year 1612, in 4to; *Pars prima. Part the firſt.* The ſecond part was printed in the year 1626. *Pars altera quæ eſt Chronologicorum ſeu emendatæ temporum rationis, adverſus incredibiles aliorum errores.* i. e. "Part the ſecond, which contains "the Chronology reformed from the incredible errors "of others," in 4to. You will ſee his ſon's Chriſtian name in the following title, which I promiſe to tranſcribe. *Admiranda Ethnicæ Theologiæ Myſteria propalata, ubi lapidem magnetem antiquiſſimis paſſim nationibus pro Deo cultum, & artem qua navigationes magneticæ per univerſum orbem inſtituerentur à veterum ſacerdotibus ſub involucris deorum dearumque, & aliarum perinde fabularum cortice ſummo ſtudio occultatam eſſe noviter commonſtratur. Acceſſit exacta temporum ratio adverſus incredibiles Chronologiæ vulgaris errores. Opus diu deſideratum. Jo. Fredericus Herwart ab Hohenburg in Schuuindeck S. E. Bavariæ, &c. à Conſiliis ex incompletis optimi parentis P. M. eruit monumentis, atque ad finem perduxit.* i. e. "The wonder-"ful Myſteries of the Heathen Theology unfolded; "ſhewing that the Loadſtone has been worſhipped "every where by the moſt antient nation, as a God, "and that the art of navigating over the whole world "by the help of the Loadſtone was moſt carefully hid "by the Prieſts of the antients under the myſterious "names of the Gods and Goddeſſes, and under the "veil of ſuch other Fables. To which is added, an "exact account of times, againſt the incredible errors "of the vulgar Chronology. A work that has "been a great while wanted. Joh. Frederick Her-"wart of Hohenburg in Schuuindek, counſellor to "the Elector of Bavaria, has extracted it from the "imperfect manuſcript of his late father, and com-"pleated it." At Munich, 1626, in 4to. There is a great deal of learning in this work; we find an Index prefixed to it, intitled, *Tabula nauticæ & hieroglyphicæ deſcriptionis totius mundi vetuſtiſſima, quæ Theologiam Chaldæorum Babylonis Ierogrammateon Ægypti, & Orphei Phrygis, nec non Magiæ, Sophiæque Zoroaſtris & Magorum Perſidis oſtendit originem.* i. e. "An Index containing a deſcription of the moſt an-"cient navigation, and of the Hieroglyphicks uſed in "the whole world; which ſhews the origin of the Theo-"logy of the Chaldeans of Babylon, of the holy "ſcribes in Egypt, and of Orpheus in Phrygia; as "alſo of the Magic and Wiſdom of Zoroaſter, and of "Magi or Wiſe-men in Perſia." Voſſius's ſilence with regard to the Books I have mentioned here, is to be wondered at. That learned man does not ſay a word of them, neither in his collection of Chronology, nor in his large work of the origin of Idolatry, where he has collected a great many particulars concerning the Loadſtone, and where he did not forget to obſerve, that the winds were worſhipped as Gods. Did not he in the leaſt know, that the two Herwarts both the father and the ſon were Authors? This would be ſtrange in a man of ſuch an extenſive reading. Or did he not care to quote them, though he were acquainted with their works? This would not be leſs ſtrange in an author, who loved ſo much to make a ſhew of his reading.

HESHUSIUS (TILEMANNUS) a Divine of the Augſburg Confeſſion, born at Weſel [*A*] in the year 1526, gained a very indifferent reputation by his reſtleſs and violent temper. He was ſtill very young when two conſiderable poſts were conferred upon him at Heidelberg, namely that of Divinity Profeſſor, and that of Preacher in the Church of the Holy Ghoſt. He did not perform his functions without occaſioning a great confuſion; for there aroſe a terrible diſpute between him and William Clebitius concerning the doctrine of the Euchariſt. The Elector Palatine Frederic III, being perſuaded that Melanchthon's opinion would be of great weight to put an end to this controverſy, conſulted him upon that ſubject. His anſwer exaſperated Heſhuſius, who would not ſwerve a jot from Luther's opinions; and as there was no likelihood to ſee an end of the injuries with which the parties loaded each other [*B*], as long as Heſhuſius ſhould live

(1) Quenſtedt, *de Patris Viror. Illuſt.* pag. 208.

[*A*] *Born at Weſel.*] According to Moreri, he was born at *Ober Weſel*, upper Weſel, *on the Rhine in the Dioceſs of Treves*. But Quenſtadt (8), who aſſerts it was at Weſel in the dutchy of Cleves, deſerves, I think, more credit.

[*B*] *There was no likelihood to ſee an end of the injuries*

live at Heidelberg, he was commanded to leave that City. He went into Saxony, and publiſhed ſome polemical writings in the Univerſity of Iena. Being called into Pruſſia he taught Divinity at Koningſberg, till he was baniſhed in the year 1577 with the Miniſters of his faction. He had a violent diſpute with Wigandus upon ſubjects of very little importance (a) [C]. He retired with his family to Lubec, and thence to Helmſtad, where he was made Profeſſor of Divinity. He died there September the 25th 1588. He did ſtrongly oppoſe the doctrine of Ubiquity in the Conference of Quellenburg held in the year 1583 [D]. Melchior Adam, from whom I have borrowed what I have been relating, gives us but a very ſuperficial account of this man's actions. I adviſe them, who have a mind to ſee them related more at length, to conſult Heſhuſius's Life written by

(a) *Ingens inter ipſum & Wigandum diſſidium fuit, exortum propter* abſtracti *uſum.* Melchior Adam, *in Vit. Theolog.* pag. 622.

juries with which the Parties loaded each other.] Melanchthon's anſwer was compoſed in the year 1559; they publiſhed it after his death, without any regard to his intention (2). Heſhuſius fell in a furious paſſion againſt him, and forgot the reſpect he owed to his great Maſter. *Heſhuſius itaque cùm Lutheri de cœna ſacra ſententiam mordicus retineret ac propugnaret: à principe Electore, ut finis eſſet conviciorum & inſectationum in ſua urbe, dimiſſus offenſuſque vehementer judicio Melanchthonis de ſe, acerbè reſpondit, ac ne moro tuo quidem & benè merito præceptori pepercit* (3). i. e. "Heſhuſius, who maintained and defended Luther's "opinion concerning the Lord's Supper obſtinately, "was baniſhed from the Town by the Elector; and "being extremely offended at Melanchthon's judgment "of him, he anſwered him paſſionately, nor did he "in the leaſt ſpare his Maſter, though he was dead, "and to whom he was very much obliged." Calvin reproves him for his paſſion againſt Melanchthon. *Pauliſper expendant lectores*, ſays he (4), *quam atrociter Philippum Melanchthonem ſuum præceptorem cujus memoriam ſancte revereri debuerat, ſugillet ac laceret . . . . . Probroſis elogiis Philippum ita digito monſtrat, ut videri poſſit data opera materiam ejus traducendi in ſcribendo libro captaſſe.* i. e. "Let the Readers conſi-"der a little, how groſly he defames and abuſes Phi-"lip Melanchthon, who was his Maſter, and whoſe "memory he ought to have religiouſly revered . . . . "He leads him with ſuch opprobrious language, that "he ſeems to have taken an opportunity of writing "that Book on purpoſe to traduce him.

(2) *Publice poſt mortem auctoris, contraque voluntatem ejus editum exſtat in Conſil. Th.* Part 2. pag. 378. Melchior Adam, *in Vitis Theol.* pag. 622.

(3) Melch. Adam, *in Vitis Theolog.* pag. 622.

(4) Calvin. *in dilucida Explicat. Janæ Doctrinæ de vera participatione*, pag. 840. *Tractat. Theolog.*

[C] *He had a violent diſpute with Wigandus upon ſubjects of very little importance.*] The origin of this diſpute was as follows: Heſhuſius aſſerted in a Book againſt Beza (5), that the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt is to be worſhipped *in abſtracto* (6). *Non ſolum in concreto dici debere, filium Dei eſſe adorandum, omnipotentem, & vivificum, ſed etiam in abſtracto carnem Chriſti eſſe adorandam: quia majeſtas adorationis ſit carni communicata.* i. e. "We ought to ſay not only, that the al-"mighty and vivifying ſon of God is to be worſhip-"ped *in concreto*, that is, the Godhead being con-"ſidered united with the human nature, but alſo that "Chriſt's fleſh is to be adored *in abſtracto*, that is, "being conſidered without that union, becauſe the "majeſty of adoration is communicated to the fleſh." Great clamours were raiſed againſt him on this account; it was pretended that he aſſerted, Jeſus Chriſt's fleſh is adorable in itſelf, without conſidering the hypoſtatical union. *Quod in abſtracto & in ſua eſſentia caro Chriſti, etiam extra unionem conſiderata, ſit adoranda* (7). He denied that this was his opinion, and he explained his meaning. But his adverſaries were not ſatisfied with this. Biſhop Wigandus (8) aſſerted, that this propoſition, *Humanitas Chriſti in abſtracto eſt adoranda, omnipotens, vivifica.* i. e. "Chriſt's hu-"man nature conſidered in itſelf is adorable, al-"mighty, and vivifying," that this propoſition, I ſay, was dangerous. Heſhuſius maintained that he never aſſerted it, and explained his meaning again; but to no purpoſe: A Synod was aſſembled, in which Heſhuſius's expreſſion was rejected, and Wigandus would even oblige him to make a public recantation; which Heſhuſius refuſing to do, he was baniſhed the country, though he promiſed to alter and correct the improper expreſſions that dropped from his pen. All the Miniſters who endeavoured to ſupport him, received the ſame treatment. The adminiſtrator of Pruſſia conſulted in the year 1578 the Divines, who were met at Hertzburg, to draw up articles of union and agreement, and having received from them an anſwer that was favourable to Heſhuſius, he commanded Wigandus not to put an end to this controverſy. This was the eleventh ſchiſm that happened in the Lutheran church (9). It is more uſeful, than ſome perſons may imagine, to be acquainted with ſuch hiſtories; we learn by them to know by what factious ſpirit the authors of ſuch controverſies are animated.

(5) Intitled, *Aſſertio contra Bezianam Exegeſin Sacramentorum.*

(6) Micrælius, *Syntagm. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. m. 867.

(7) Micrælius, ibid.

(8) *Wigandus Epiſcopus Pomezanienſis.* Idem, ibid.

[D] *He did . . . oppoſe the doctrine of Ubiquity in the conference of Quellenburg, held in the year* 1583.] This conference was held January the 14th, and 16th, 1583 (10), between the divines of his Highneſs the Elector of Saxony, and thoſe of Brunſwick. Heſhuſius was at the head of the latter. The acts of this diſpute and conference were publiſhed. *In eo* (Colloquio) *præcipuæ partes demandatæ à Theologis Brunſuicenſibus* Heſhuſio *fuerunt, qui διαφόρων negavit dogma illud generalis Ubiquitatis . . . . in ſacræ ſcripturæ canone haberi, neque inde poſſe demonſtrari* (11). i. e. "In "this conference the divines of Brunſwick committed "the chief part to Heſhuſius, who openly denied that "the doctrine of a general Ubiquity . . . . was to be "found in the holy ſcripture, and aſſerted that it "could not be proved from it." Quenſtedt pretends that Heſhuſius did not know the true ſtate of the queſtion, aſcribing to his adverſaries a doctrine which they did not hold, and which was a mere invention of his own brains. This is often the caſe in ſuch controverſies. Let us tranſcribe Quenſtedt's words: they are hiſtorical with regard to our Doctor. *Veſalia inferior vulgo* Unter Weſel . . . *urbs Cliviæ clariſſima, . . . excepit in hanc lucem editum . . . . Tilemannum Heſhuſium Theologum Lutheranum inſignem, multiſque ſcriptis Didacticis & Polemicis contra Calviniſtas clarum, qui ante Librum Concordiæ defendit Omnipræſentiam Carnis Chriſti, poſtmodum verò non tam ipſam in Libro Concordiæ de Majeſtate Chriſti hominis doctrinam, quam præconceptum cerebri ſui idolum impugnavit, talem ſcil. omnipræſentiam, quâ ſubſtantia Carnis Chriſti ſit localiter, extenſivè, diffuſivè & objectivè in omnibus creaturis, cum qua portentoſâ ubiquitate noſtris Eccleſiis nihil quicquam fuit commercii. Vide* Concord. Concord. Hutteri, cap. XLVI. (12). i. e. "Lower Weſel . . . . a famous city in the "Duchy of Cleves . . . . gave birth . . . to Tileman-"nus Heſhuſius, a very eminent Lutheran Divine, "who aſſerted the omnipotence of Chriſt's fleſh, be-"fore the book of concord was publiſhed. But after-"wards, he refuted not ſo much the doctrine concern-"ing the Majeſty of the Man Chriſt, which is aſſert-"ed in the book of Concord, as a vain fancy of his "own brains, namely ſuch an omnipreſence, by "which the ſubſtance of Chriſt's fleſh is locally, ex-"tenſively, diffuſively, and objectively in all the "creatures, which monſtrous ubiquity our churches "never dreamt of. See Hutterus's Concord of Con-"cord, chap. 46." Micrælius pretends that Heſhuſius diſputed only out of ſpite againſt the doctrine of Ubiquity. There was an aſſembly held to conſider of a vindication that was to be publiſhed of the book of Concord, in which aſſembly meaſures were taken which Heſhuſius did not approve of. This was enough to exaſperate his contradicting ſpirit, and to make him take up arms againſt the Ubiquitarians. *Contra Calvinianos ore & calamo omnipræſentiam carnis Chriſti fortiter uſque ad annum Chriſti* 1582 *defendit. Tandem cum nonnulli theologorum ad conſcribendam pro Formula concordiæ apologiam convenirent: ille ſuum ad arbitrium non omnia agi indignatus, majeſtatem Chriſti, libro Concordiæ inſertam, quam* ubiquitatem generalem *vocant, oppugnare cœpit, & cum* Dan. Hoffmanno, *collega, orthodoxis eam ſententiam affinxit, ac ſi ſubſtantiam carnis Chriſti extenſive ac localiter in omnibus creaturis eſſe*

(9) Taken from Micrælius, ibid.

(10) According to Melchior Adam, *in Vitis Theolog.* pag. 622. Micrælius places it under the year 1585. I cite him below quotation (14).

(11) Melch. Adam. ibid. pag. 622.

(12) Quenſtedt, *de Patriis Viror. Illuſtr.* pag. 622.

by his ſon-in-law [*E*]. Heſhuſius was four times baniſhed [*F*], and he took care, if we may believe Calvin (*b*), not to receive any detriment by it. He has publiſhed ſeveral books [*G*]. They who mention to us a ſect of the Heſhuſians, and who charge them with the opinion of Arius, deſerve the utmoſt contempt [*H*], and

(*b*) See the remark [*F*].

eſſe dicerent. Sic igitur proprii cerebri commentum impugnans, loco omnipræſentiæ introduxit multipræſentiam (13). i. e. " He had vigorouſly defended Chriſt's om-
(13) Micrælius, *Syntag. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* pag. 758. " nipreſence againſt the Calviniſts, both in his diſ-
" courſes and in his writings, till the year 1582.
" But at laſt, when ſome Divines were agreed about
" an apology for the formulary of union, Heſhuſius
" being exaſperated becauſe every thing was not done
" according to his own will, began to attack Chriſt's
" Majeſty, as it is aſſerted under the name of *general*
" *Ubiquity* in the book of Concord, and with his col-
" legue Dan. Hoffman, he aſcribed to the orthodox an
" opinion, as though they aſſerted that Chriſt's fleſh
" is extenſively and locally preſent in every creature.
" Thus, attacking a fancy of his own brains, he
" ſuppoſes a preſence in ſeveral places, inſtead of an
" omnipreſence." Daniel Hoffman aſſiſted him vi-
gorouſly, and would not yield one ſingle point in the
(14) *Nec pertinacia ejus in Quedlenburgenſi Colloquio anno 1585. frangi voluit.* Idem, ibid. pag. 759. conference of Quellenburg (14).

[*E*] *Melchior Adam . . . . gives us but a very ſuperficial account of this man . . . . I adviſe . . . . to conſult Heſhuſius's life . . . . by his ſon-in-law.*] The authors of the Journal intitled *Acta Eruditorum*, publiſhed at Leipſic, were in the right to obſerve it (15). *Tilemanni Heſhuſii vitam conciſam admodum & mancam ad nos tranſmiſit Melchior Adam*, Vit. Germ. Theolog. p. 621. ſeq. *multo locupletiorem, eamque carmine heroico exaratam, & Heſhuſii commentariis in Eſaiam adjectam gener ejus D. Jo. Olearius: ubi & quarti, quod ſuſtinendum illi fuit, mentionem reperies exilii ; cujus hiſtoriam illuſtrabunt egregie quæ* (16) Parte II. ſub anno 1565. p. 182. ſeqq. *tum in ipſius Heſhuſii, tum in aliorum epiſtolis leguntur.* i. e. " Melchior Adam has given us
" but a ſhort and very imperfect account of Tilemannus Heſhuſius, *in his lives of the German Divines*, *p.* 621, &c. We have a much fuller account of him
" written in heroic verſe by his ſon-in-law John Olearius, and added to Heſhuſius's Commentary on
" Iſaiah ; you will find there an account of his fourth
" baniſhment, the hiſtory of which is wonderfully
" cleared up by what we read of in the letters of Heſhuſius and others, *in the ſecond part, under the year*
" 1565, *pag.* 182, *&c.*"

(15) *Acta Eruditor. Lipſienſ. Menſe Junio* 1684, pag. 288.

(16) That is to ſay, in the book which is intitled, *Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ ſeculi à Chriſto nato ſexti decimi ſupplementum, celeberrimorum ex illo ævo Theologorum Epiſtolis ad Joannem, Eraſmum, & Philippum Marbachios conſtans... editum à Jo. Fechtio.*

[*F*] *Heſhuſius was four times baniſhed.*] You may have obſerved in the paſſage from the Journal of Leipſic, which I have juſt now quoted ; here follows a diſtich, which confirms the ſame particular, and which is not very honourable to this Doctor's memory.

Quæritur, Heſhuſi, quarta cur pulſus ab urbe ;
In promptu cauſa eſt, ſeditioſus eras (17).

(17) See the article ACRONIUS in the text.

" They aſk, Heſhuſius, why you was baniſhed from
" a fourth city ? The reaſon of it is plain ; you was
" a quarrelſom man."

(18) Calvin. *Tractat. Theolog.* pag. 842. col. 1. The character Calvin gives us (18) of Heſhuſius does wonderfully confirm what is aſſerted in this diſtich. *Illuc* (19) *eum rapit naturæ intemperies, vel quod videt in moderata docendi ratione nullum ſibi laudis gradum relinqui, qui tamen ambitione totus ad inſaniam uſque flagret. Certè in ſuo libello turbulenti ſe ingenii hominem, præcipitis etiam audaciæ & temeritatis eſſe prodit . . . Concionatur de ingentibus ſuis periculis, qui ſemper non minus ſecurè, quam lautè, delicias ſuas coluit. Prædicat multiplices ærumnas, qui cùm largos theſauros habeat domi repoſitos, ſemper amplis ſtipendiis ſuas operas vendiderit, omnia tamen ſolus ingurgitat. Verum quidem eſt, quum multis locis tranquillum nidum figere voluerit, ſæpius propria inquietudine fuiſſe excuſſum. Sic Gloſſario* (20), *Roſtochio, Heidelberga, Brema pulſus, Magdeburgum nuper conceſſit. Ac laudi quidem danda eſſent exilia, ſi pro conſtanti veritatis confeſſione ſolum vertere ſæpius coactus eſſet : ſed quum homo inexplebili ambitione plenus, contentionibus & rixis deditus, immani verò ferocia ubique fuerit intolerabilis, non eſt cur queratur aliorum injuria ſe fuiſſe vexatum, qui ſua importunitate moleſtias homini delicato graves exhibuit. Intereà tamen providè ſibi cavit, ne damnoſæ eſſent migrationes : quinetiam divitiæ ipſum magis animoſum reddunt.* i. e. " His violent temper brought him to this, or his

(19) That is to ſay, *ad Paradoxa, & opinionum abſurditatem*, i. e. " To para-
" doxes, and abſurd opinions."

(20) I think it ought to have been Goſſario.

" knowing, that he could not get any reputation by
" a moderate way of teaching, though he be ambi-
" tious even to madneſs. And indeed he ſhews him-
" ſelf in his little book a turbulent man, of a deſperate
" audaciouſneſs and temerity. He boaſts of the great
" dangers to which he has been expoſed, though he
" treats himſelf delicately, living with as much ſecurity
" as ſplendor. He mentions his numerous misfor-
" tunes, who having large ſums of money at home,
" always ſold his labours for a great price, and yet
" enjoys all by himſelf alone. It is true indeed, that
" as he deſigned to lead a quiet life in ſeveral places,
" he was often baniſhed from them becauſe of his reſt-
" leſs temper. Thus being baniſhed from Goſlar,
" Roſtoch, Heidelberg and Bremen, he removed late-
" ly to Magdeburg. Theſe baniſhments might be ho-
" nourable to him, had he been obliged to remove
" from place to place for his conſtant confeſſion of
" the truth. But as this man through his unſatiable
" ambition, quarrelſome temper, and exceſſive ſur-
" lineſs, was every where unſufferable, he ought not to
" complain that he was unjuſtly vexed, ſince by his
" own outrageouſneſs he drew upon him thoſe vexations,
" which indeed were hard for a man of a tender con-
" ſtitution. However, he took care not to ſuffer any
" damage by theſe changings of habitation ; nay,
" his very riches render him more outrageous." We might infer from this paſſage, that Heſhuſius was baniſhed above four times ; for it is not obſerved there that he was baniſhed from Iena, and then from Pruſſia ; nor could this be obſerved, ſince theſe facts happened after this book of Calvin was written (21). He was expelled from Iena in the year 1573 (22), and went into Pruſſia, where he was made Biſhop of Samia in Morlinus's ſtead.

(21) It was written in the year 1561.

(22) Micrælius, *Syntagm. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 758.

[*G*] *He has publiſhed ſeveral books.*] A Commentary on the Pſalms, on Iſaiah, and on all St. Paul's Epiſtles. A Treatiſe of the Lord's Supper, and of Juſtification. *Aſſertio Teſtamenti Jeſu Chriſti contra blaſphemias Calviniſtarum.* i. e. " A Vindication of
" Chriſt's Teſtament, againſt the blaſphemies of the
" Calviniſts." *Antidotum contra impium dogma Math. Flacii Illyrici, quo aſſerit quod peccatum originis ſit ſubſtantia.* i. e. " An Antidote againſt Math. Flacius
" Illyricus's impious opinion, who aſſerts that origi-
" nal ſin is a Subſtance." *De ſervo hominis arbitrio, & converſione ejus per Dei gratiam, contra Synergiæ aſſertores.* i. e. " Of man's will being enſlaved and
" of his converſion by God's grace, againſt thoſe who
" aſſert, that a man co-operates in his converſion."
De vera Eccleſia, ejuſque auctoritate. i. e. " Of the
" true Church and of her Authority. . . . &c."

[*H*] *They who mention to us a ſect of the Heſhuſians . . . deſerve the utmoſt contempt.*] I have more than once (23) given my opinion of thoſe wretched Compilers of Catalogues of Heretics. The only voucher they have on this occaſion is a Dialogue of Lindanus, in which are the following words (24) : *Heſhuſii, a Tilmanno Heſhuſio quem Calvinus Servetianum infamat, Boquinus Arrianum, Wilhelmus Cleinwitzius vero præter peculatum plurimis de fidei capitibus accuſat : quibus hoc anno* (25) *ſua reſpondit defenſione objecta inficiatus, niſi quod illud Trinitas eſt unitas negat ſe meminiſſe an dixerit in lectionibus : cum ita diſerte doceat de præſentia Chriſti corporis in cœna Domini objectione quinta.* i. e. " The Heſhuſians are
" thus called from Tilemannus Heſhuſius, whom Calvin
" repreſents as a diſciple of Serveut ; Boquinus as an
" Arian, and Will. Cleinwitzius, beſides the crime of
" embezzling money, charges him alſo with errors in
" ſeveral points of the Chriſtian Faith. He has an-
" ſwered them this year (1564) by denying the charges,
" adding that he did not remember he ever aſſerted in
" his lectures that the Trinity is an Unity, where-
" as he aſſerts it expreſly in his Treatiſe of the Pre-
" ſence of Chriſt's Body, in the Sacrament, Ob-
" jection the fifth." There are three things to be cenſured in this paſſage. I. It is an impertinent piece of injuſtice to charge a man with the hereſies, of which his adverſaries accuſe him in the heat of the controverſy. Has not Hunnius a Lutheran author

(23) See the article BEZANITES.

(24) Lindanus, *in Dubitat.* Dial. 2. pag. 135.

(25) That is to ſay the year 1564, which is the date of Lindanus's dedicati-
on.

and yet Moreri followed their account.

wrote a pretty large book in which he boasts that he has convicted Calvin of Judaism? And therefore tho' Calvin, Boquinus, and other such adversaries of Heshusius, being exasperated by his opprobrious language, ascribe Arian opinions to him, no man of sense will think this a sufficient reason to stile him an Arian. He will think, that such imputations may very well be the fruit of too great a leisure, which a man misimploys in examining too scrupulously every word of his enemy, and in putting a false construction upon them, with a design to find them heretical by far-fetched consequences. II. The injustice, which would only be impertinent, if a man did not know Heshusius's answers becomes absolutely criminal, when it is known that he publicly denied those things, with which his adversaries charged him. Now Lindanus himself tells us that he knew this. III. Though this Divine had taught some heresies, it does not follow from thence that there is a sect of Heshusians in Germany. A Professor who teaches particular doctrines does not always make proselytes to them, much less to his disciples always separate from the Church, which is necessary to deserve the name of a sect.

Prateolus, upon the bare credit of Lindanus, has put the Heshusians in the catalogue of heretics. Father Gaultier (26) has done the same on the bare credit of Prateolus.

(26) In *Tabula Chronographica.*

O imitatores servum pecus, ut mihi sæpe
Bilem, sæpe jocum, vestri movere tumultus (27)!

(27) Horat. *Epist.* 19. lib. 1. ver. 19.

" Base imitators, slaves to others wills,
" How oft you move my frowns, how oft my smiles?
Creech.

☞HEYLIN (PETER) an eminent English writer in the seventeenth Century, was descended from an antient family of his name at Pentrie-Heylin in Montgomeryshire, and second son of Henry Heylin, Gentleman (*a*), by Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Clampard of Wrotham in Kent (*b*). He was born at Burford in Oxfordshire November the 29th 1600 (*c*), and educated in Grammar-learning in the free-school there, where he distinguished himself by several exercises both in prose and verse, particularly a Tragi-Comedy upon the wars and destruction of Troy, and other exercises historical (*d*). In 1613 (*e*), he was admitted into Hart-Hall in Oxford; and the next year stood for a Demy's place in Magdalen-College, but being very young, and the Fellows already pre-engaged, he was then put by, but the year following elected (*f*). In 1616 he wrote an English Tragedy, called *Spurius*, which was so generally approved of by the society, that Dr. Langton the President ordered it to be acted in his lodgings (*g*), but it was never printed (*h*). Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts October the 17th 1617 (*i*), he read every long vacation, till he was Master of Arts, Lectures on Cosmography in the common Refectory of the College, of which the first being performed in the latter end of July 1618, it was so well approved, that he was chosen Probationer-Fellow, and Moderator of the Senior Form in the Hall; and on July the 19th 1619 was admitted perpetual Fellow (*k*). July the 1st 1620 he took the degree of Master of Arts (*l*). The year following he published his *Microcosmus: A Description of the Great World* [*A*]. In 1623 he was ordained Deacon and Priest by Dr. Howson, Bishop of Oxford, at St. Aldate's Church in that city (*m*). In 1625 he made a tour to France for about five or six weeks, the particulars of which he wrote an account of, which was printed about thirty years after [*B*]. April the 24th 1627 he answered *pro forma*, upon these two questions, 1. *An Ecclesia unquam fuerit invisibilis?* i. e. " Whether the Church was ever " invisible?" 2. *An Ecclesia possit errare?* i. e. " Whether the Church can err?" both which he determined negatively; which gave great offence [*C*]. In February 162$\frac{7}{8}$ he was

(*a*) *Theologo-Historicus: or the true Life of the most reverend Divine and excellent Historian Peter Heylin, D. D. Sub-Dean of Westminster. Written by his son-in-law John Barnard, D. D.* pag. 75. edit. London 1683.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 80.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 74.

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 81, 82.

(*e*) Wood, *Hist. & Antiquitat. Universit. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 203.

(*f*) Barnard, *ubi supra*, pag. 84, 85.

(*g*) Idem, pag. 86.

(*b*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 279. 2d edit.

(*i*) Idem, *Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 203.

(*k*) Barnard, pag. 87.

(*l*) Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 216.

(*m*) Idem, *Hist. & Antiquit. ubi supra, and* Barnard, pag. 93.

[*A*] *The year following he published his* Microcosmus.] It was printed at Oxford 1622, and 1624 in 4to, and enlarged afterwards to a great folio, intitled, *Cosmography in four books*, &c. London 1652, 1664, 1677, 1682. Dr. John Barnard informs us (1), that the first edition was published November the 7th 1621: and the first copy was presented to Prince Charles, to whom it was dedicated, who received the author very graciously, being introduced by Sir Robert Carr, one of the Gentlemen of the Prince's Bed-Chamber, and afterwards Earl of Ancram. The first edition being highly approved, it was reprinted and enlarged in the second edition in 1624, and presented again to the Prince. But the book being afterwards put into King James I's hands by Dr. John Young Dean of Winchester, his Majesty was greatly pleased with it, till he fell upon a passage, wherein Mr. Heylin gave precedency to the French King, and stiled France the more famous Kingdom, which so offended him, that he immediately ordered the Lord Keeper to call in the Book. Mr. Heylin, then at Oxford, was informed of this by Dr. Young, and advised by him to repair to Court, that by the Prince's patronage he might pacify the King's resentment; but not knowing whether the Prince himself might not also be offended, he staid at Oxford, and by the advice of the Lord Danvers sent up an apology to Dr. Young, which was an explanation of his meaning upon the words in question. He alledged, that the error in one passage (2) was not his own, but the Printer's, who had put *is* instead of *was*; and that when he mentioned the precedency of France before England, besides that he did not speak of England as it then stood augmented by Scotland, he had it from Camden in his *Remains*. The King was satisfied with his apology; and Mr. Heylin took care, that the whole clause, which gave so much offence, should be left out of all his books (3).

(1) *Theologo-Historicus: or the true Life of the most reverend Divine and excellent Historian, Peter Heylin, D. D.* pag. 89.

(2) *Microcosmus*, pag. 441. Line 1. edit. 1624.

(3) Barnard, *ubi supra*, pag. 94-101.

[*B*] *In* 1625 *he made a tour to France for about five or six weeks, the particulars of which he wrote an account of, which was printed about thirty years after.*] The original of this account he presented to the Lord Danvers (4); but a copy of it he kept by him, and to " correct a false copy which had been printed, he pub- " lished it at London in 1656 in 4to. under this title. *A full relation of two Journies: the one into the main Land of France; the other into some of the adjacent Islands. In five Books.* In this relation he treats the French nation with great contempt and ridicule.

(4) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 276.

[*C*] *Both which he determined negatively, which gave great offence.*] In stating of the first question he tells us (5), that he " fell upon a different way from " that of Dr. Prideaux the Professor in his lecture *de Visi-* " *bilitate Ecclesiæ*, and other Tractates of and about that " time, in which the visibility of the Protestant Church " (and consequently of the renowned Church of En- " gland) was no otherwise proved than by looking " into the scattered conventicles of the *Berengarians* " in Italy, the *Waldenses* in France, the *Wickliffists* in " England, and the *Hussites* in Bohemia; which man- " ner of proceeding not being liked by the *Respon-* " *dent*, as that which utterly discontinued that succession " of the hierarchy, which the Church of England " claims from the very Apostles and their immediate " successors, he rather chose to find out a visible Church " in

(5) Appendix to the *Advertisements on Mr. Sanderson's History.*

was recommended by the Earl of Danby to Dr. William Laud, then Biſhop of Bath and Wells, for his advancement in the Church (*n*); and in the latter end of 1628 he attended the Earl as Chaplain into the Iſle of Guernſey, of which his Lordſhip was Governor; where continuing about three weeks, upon his return, he wrote an account of that voyage [*D*]. June the 13th 1629 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*o*), and was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to his Majeſty by the intereſt of the Earl of Danby (*p*). In 1630 he preached on Act-Sunday before the Univerſity of Oxford at St. Mary's on Matth. xiii. 25. [*E*]; and the ſame year reſigned his Fellowſhip, having been married almoſt two years before [*F*]. In 1631 he publiſhed his *Hiſtory of St. George* [*G*]; and in October the ſame year was preſented by the King to the Rectory of Hemingford in Huntingtonſhire; and on the firſt of November following his Majeſty gave him a Prebend of Weſtminſter. In 1632 (*q*) the King beſtowed on him the Rectory of Houghton in the Biſhoprick of Durham, worth near four hundred pounds *per ann.*; which he afterwards exchanged with Dr. Marſhall for the Rectory of Alreſford in Hampſhire; which exchange he was commanded by his Majeſty to make, that he might live nearer the Court (*r*). April the 13th 1633 he took the degree of Doctor of

(*n*) *See* Dr. Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus: or the Hiſtory of the Life and Death of William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, lib. 3. *ad ann.* 1627.

(*o*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 247.

(*p*) Idem, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 277. *and* Barnard, pag. 120, 121.

(*q*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*r*) Bernard, pag. 142, 143.

of Thomas Highgate of Heys Eſq; (4).

(4) Barnard, pag. 114.

" in Aſia, Ethiopia, Greece, Italy, yea Rome itſelf, " as alſo in all the Weſtern Provinces, then ſubject to the " power of the Roman Biſhop when he was the chief " Patriarch." He obſerved likewiſe in his Diſputation, that the writers of the Romiſh Church, even Bellarmin himſelf, had ſtood up as cordially in maintenance of ſome fundamental points of the Chriſtian Faith, againſt Anti-Trinitarians, Anabaptiſts, and other heretics of theſe laſt ages, or other learned men of the Proteſtant Churches; which point Mr. Heylin cloſed up with theſe words; *utinam quod ipſe de Calvino, ſic ſemper erraſſet nobiliſſimus Cardinalis.* Theſe words ſo exaſperated the Profeſſor, that he called our author *Papicola, Bellarminianus, Pontficius* (6). This raiſed a great clamour againſt Heylin for the preſent, which Dr. Prideaux increaſed the monday after, when Mr. Heylin oppoſed Mr. William Hayes of Magdalen Hall, at which time he was again treated as a Papiſt by the Profeſſor in the public ſchool of Divinity. On the 5th of Auguſt following Mr. Edward Reynolds, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich, preaching to the Univerſity in the Chapel of Merton College, of which he was a Fellow, touched upon the paſſages, which had happened between Dr. Prideaux and Mr. Heylin, in order to expoſe the latter to cenſure (7); who to clear himſelf from the ſuſpicion of Popery, in November following preached before the King on *John iv.* 20, in which ſermon he declared with great zeal againſt the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome (8).

(6) Barnard, pag. 108, 109.

(7) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 276.

(8) Barnard, pag. 111.

[*D*] *Upon his return he wrote an account of that voyage.*] It was printed in his *Full Relation of two Journies* abovementioned.

[*E*] *In* 1630 *he preached on Act-Sunday before the Univerſity of Oxford at St. Mary's on* Matt. xiii. 25.] In this ſermon, ſays Mr. Wood (9), " he diſcovered " the great myſtery of iniquity, which lay hid under " the ſpecious project of the Feoffees for buying in of " Impropriations, and was the firſt who gave notice " of the danger of it to the undeceiving of the people. " It made much noiſe, and brought to him more " envy." The Reader may conſult *Prynne's Canterbury's Doom.* p. 386. and Dr. Heylin's *Hiſtory of the Life and Death of Archbiſhop* Laud, *L. III. p.* 210.

(9) Col. 277.

[*F*] *The ſame year he reſigned his fellowſhip, having been married almoſt two years before.*] This we are informed of by Mr. Wood (10); and Dr. John Barnard (11) owns this clandeſtine marriage, and tells us (12), that though " it was performed upon St. Simon " and St. Jude's day between ten and eleven of the " clock in the morning in his own College Chapel, " in the preſence of a ſufficient number of witneſſes " of both ſexes, and the wedding dinner kept in his " own chamber (13);" yet all this while it was *a marriage clancularly, a marriage in maſquerade, a marriage* incognito *to the College, becauſe the Preſident and Fellows neither knew nor believed there was a true ſolemnization of marriage in their Chapel; and though ſome of them were invited to the wedding-dinner, they took the invitation to a merriment and not to a marriage. Indeed it was not clandeſtine againſt the Laws of our Church and Realm, becauſe the uſual ceremonies and formalities of both were performed in the ſolemnization betwixt the parties; but ſuch marriage was expreſly againſt the Laws and Statutes of the College-Founder, and much more for a married Fellow to keep his Fellowſhip after.* The young Gentlewoman was Letitia, third Daughter

(10) Ibid.

(11) Pag. 17.

(12) Pag. 18, 19.

(13) *Life of Dr. P. Heylin, by George Vernon*, pag. 13.

[*G*] *In* 1631 *he publiſhed his* Hiſtory of St. George.] It was printed with this title, *The Hiſtory of that moſt famous Saint or Soldier of Jeſus Chriſt St.* George *of* Cappadocia, *aſſerted from the fictions of the middle ages of the Church, and oppoſition of the preſent.* London 1631 and 1633 in 4to. To this was ſubjoined *The Inſtitution of the moſt noble order of St.* George, *named the Garter*, and *A Catalogue of all the Knights of the Garter from the firſt inſtitution to this preſent; as alſo of the principal Officers thereto belonging.* At the end of the edition in 1633 is *A Review of the whole work, conſiſting of additions and emendations.* On the 2d of February $163\frac{2}{3}$, the author was introduced by Dr. Laud, then Biſhop of London, to the King at Whitehall, to whom he preſented this Hiſtory, which his Majeſty graciouſly received. He afterwards preſented ſeveral copies to all ſuch Knights of the Garter and men of eminence, as were then in London, and was received by them all with great reſpect, except by Archbiſhop Abbot and William Earl of Exeter, the former diſliking the argument, and the other treating him as a begging ſcholar (15). Soon after this Hiſtory was attacked by a Diſcourſe of Dr. George Hakewill, which, as our author ſays (16), was *full of moſt baſe and malicious calumniations, both againſt the perſon and religion of the author.* Whereupon his Majeſty having received notice of it from Biſhop Laud, (who had a copy of it ſent to him from Oxford by Dr. William Smith the Vicechancellor, and he from Dr. Hakewill to be approved before it was ſent to the preſs) commanded Mr. Heylin to conſider of the matter, and withal ſent him to Windſor to ſearch into the records of the Order of the Garter there. The command he immediately obeyed, and accordingly publiſhed a ſecond edition of the Hiſtory in 1633, wherein he endeavoured to anſwer all Dr. Hakewill's objections. Upon the publiſhing of this, he heard no more of the Doctor till a ſecond edition of that writer's *Apology or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World*, wherein Mr. Heylin found a Retractation of the paſſages, which related to St. George. However, though the Doctor thought proper to continue ſilent rather than to reply, he about the ſame time acquainted his friends what his ſentiments were of the *Second Edition* of the *Hiſtory of St. George*, in ſeveral Letters; in one of which he writes thus (17). *In the ſecond impreſſion of this book* [*The Hiſtory of St. George*] *where he hath occaſion to ſpeak of the Roman writers, eſpecially the legendaries, he magnifies them more, and when he mentions our men, he vilifies them more than he did in his firſt edition. But the matter is not much, what he ſaith of the one or of the other, the condition of the man being ſuch, that his word hardly paſſeth either for commendation or ſlander, &c.* From this *Hiſtory of St. George* is taken a little Pamphlet, intitled, *The Hiſtory of that moſt famous Saint and Soldier of St.* George *of* Cappadocia, &c. London 1661 in 7 ſheets in 4to. and another for the moſt part, intitled, *The Hiſtory of the Life and Martyrdom of St.* George *the titular Patron of England*, &c. London 1644 in eight ſheets in 4°, written in verſe by Thomas Lowick Gent. And many things are taken thence with due acknowledgment by Elias Aſhmole Eſq; in his *Inſtitution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the moſt noble Order of the Garter.* London 1672 in fol.

(14) Barnard, pag. 114.

(15) Barnard, pag. 124. *and* Wood, col. 279, 280.

(16) *Appendix to the Advertiſements on Sanderſon's Hiſtory.*

(17) *See* Sanderſon's *Poſt haſte. A Reply to Peter's Appendix to his Treatiſe, intitled,* Reſpondet Petrus, &c. London 1658 in 4to, pag. 13.

of Divinity (*s*) [*H*]. In 1636 he publiſhed his *Hiſtory of the Sabbath* [*I*], and his *Anſwer to the Biſhop of Lincoln's Letter to the Vicar of Grantham* [*K*], and wrote two other Tracts [*L*]; and the year following publiſhed his *Antidotum Lincolnienſe* [*M*]. Upon the ſuſpenſion and impriſonment of Dr. John Williams Biſhop of Lincoln, and Dean of Weſtminſter, he was choſen Treaſurer of the Church of Weſtminſter; and preſented by his brethren the Prebendaries to the Rectory of Iſlip near Oxford, worth about two hundred pounds *per ann.* (*t*), which in 1638 he exchanged for that of South-Warnborough in Hampſhire (*u*); and the ſame year was put into the Commiſſion of the Peace for that County (*w*). In 1639 he was employed by Archbiſhop Laud to tranſlate the Scots Liturgy into Latin; and on April the 10th 1640 he was choſen by the College of Weſtminſter their Clerk to ſit in Convocation (*x*); but was ſoon after brought into trouble by his old antagoniſt Biſhop Williams, and William Prynne [*N*]. He retired

(*s*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 258.

(*t*) Barnard, pag. 172, 173, 174.

(*u*) Idem, pag. 174. *and* Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 278.

(*w*) Wood, ibid.

(*x*) Barnard, pag. 177.

[*H*] *Took the degree of Doctor of Divinity.*] Upon this occaſion he maintained the affirmative of theſe three queſtions. I. *An Eccleſia habeat authoritatem in determinandis fidei controverſiis?* i. e. "Whether the "Church hath authority in determining Controverſies "of Faith?" II. *An Eccleſia habeat authoritatem interpretandi Scripturas ſacras?* i. e. "Whether the "Church hath authority of interpreting the holy "Scriptures?" III. *An Eccleſia habeat authoritatem decernendi Ritus & Ceremonias?* i. e. "Whether the "Church hath authority of appointing Rites and Ce-"remonies?" Our author tells us * that Dr. Prideaux "was as little pleaſed with theſe queſtions, and the reſ-"pondent ſtating of them, as he was with the for-"mer †. And therefore to create the greater odium, "he openly declared that the reſpondent had falſified "the public doctrine of the Church, and charged the "article with that ſentence, viz. *Habet Eccleſia Ritus ſive Ceremonias*, &c. which was not found in the "whole body of it. And for proof thereof he read "the article out of a book, which lay before him, be-"ginning thus, *Non licet Eccleſiæ quicquam inſtituere quod verbo Dei ſcripto adverſetur*, &c. To which "the reſpondent readily anſwered, that he perceived "by the bigneſs of the book, which lay on the Doctor's "cuſhion, that he had read that article out of the Har-"mony of Confeſſions, publiſhed at Geneva 1612, which "therein followed the edition of the articles in the "time of King Edward VI, anno 1552, in which "that ſentence was not found; but that it was other-"wiſe in the articles agreed on in the Convocation "anno 1562, to which moſt of us had ſubſcribed in "our ſeveral places. But the Doctor ſtill perſiſting "upon that point, and the reſpondent ſeeing ſome un-"ſatisfiedneſs in the greateſt part of the auditory, he "called on one Mr. Weſtly, (who formerly had been "his Chamberfellow in Magdalen College) to ſtep to "the next Bookſeller's ſhop for a Book of Articles; "which being obſerved by the Doctor, he declared "himſelf very willing to decline any further proſecu-"cution of that particular, and to go on directly to "the diſputation. But the reſpondent was reſolved to "proceed no further, *uſque dum liberaverat animam "ſuam ab iſta calumnia*, as his own words were, till "he had freed himſelf from that odious calumny. But "it was not long before the coming of the book had "put an end to that controverſy, out of which the "reſpondent read the article in the Engliſh tongue, "*in his verbis*, viz. *The Church hath power to decree "rites and ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of "faith*, &c. which done, he delivered the book to one "of the ſtanders-by, who deſired it of him, the book "paſſing from one hand to another till all men were "ſatisfied." But Mr. Anthony Collins remarks upon this §, *that* they were ſatisfied *with very little reaſon; for the Engliſh edition produced, which was in all probability the late edition ſet forth with the King's* Declaration, *ſeems very improper to determine the controverſy by, when the queſtion related to the Latin articles. If any Latin copy of the articles printed by authority had been brought into the ſchools, the aſſembly muſt have been* ſatisfied *of the contrary, if they had judged of the authority of the clauſe by a printed copy of the articles.* Dr. Prideaux, as Mr. Wood informs us (18), in the courſe of the diſpute, aſſerted, that, 1. *Eccleſia eſt mera Chimera.* 2. *Eccleſia nihil docet nec determinat.* 3. *Controverſiæ omnes melius ad Academiam referri poſſunt quam ad Eccleſiam.* 4. *Docti homines in Academiis poſſunt determinare omnes Controverſias, etiam ſepoſitis Epiſcopis*, &c. This being complained of to the King by Bp. Laud, Chancellor of the Univerſity, Dr. Prideaux was obliged to ſend up a proteſtation with letters to the Biſhop (19), in Auguſt following, but was ſo exaſperated at Dr. Heylin upon this account, that at the ſame time (the King being then at Woodſtock) he cauſed a paper to be ſpread about the court, relating to the affair in the laſt act; it very much tending to Dr. Heylin's diſgrace, who reſenting it, in October following, when his Majeſty's declaration concerning lawful ſports was publiſhed, and raiſed a great clamour againſt the King and Biſhop Laud, tranſlated Dr. Prideaux's *Lecture upon the Sabbath*, to which he prefixed a Preface, and publiſhed it in Hilary-Term 163¾; by which Lecture Dr. Prideaux loſt much of his character among the Puritans (20),

[*I*] *In* 1636 *he publiſhed his* Hiſtory of the Sabbath.] It was twice printed at London in 4to that year, and written to ſatisfy thoſe, who turned the obſervation of the Lord's Day into a Jewiſh Sabbath, not allowing themſelves or others the ordinary liberties, or works of neceſſity which the Jews never ſcrupled (21).

[*K*] *His* Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Lincoln's* Letter to the Vicar of Grantham.] Dr. John Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln having publiſhed *A Letter to the Vicar of Grantham*, againſt placing the Communion-Table in the manner of an Altar; our author wrote the tract abovementioned under this title: *A Coal from the Altar: or an Anſwer to the Biſhop of Lincoln's Letter to the Vicar of Grantham.* London 1636 in 4to. To which the Biſhop in 1637 returned an anſwer under this title; *The holy Table, Name, and Thing*, &c. pretending that it had been written long ago by a Miniſter in Lincolnſhire, in anſwer to Dr. Cole, a Divine in Queen Mary's reign.

[*L*] *Two other Tracts.*] The one intitled, *A brief Diſcourſe by way of Letter touching the Form of Prayer appointed to be uſed by Preachers before their Sermons*, *Can.* 55. written at the requeſt of the Biſhop of Winchester in 1636, and afterwards printed in the firſt part of his *Eccleſia vindicata*. The other is intitled, *A brief and moderate Anſwer to the ſeditious and ſcandalous Challenge of* Hen. Burton, *late of Friday-ſtreet, in two ſermons preached by him on the 5th of November* 1636, *and in the Apology ſet before them.* London 1637 in 4to.

[*M*] *His* Antidotum Lincolnienſe.] The whole title is as follows: Antidotum Lincolnienſe: *or an Anſwer to a book intitled*, The holy Table, Name, and Thing, &c. *ſaid to be written long ago by a Miniſter in Lincolnſhire, and printed for the Dioceſe of Lincoln, anno* 1637. *Written and inſcribed to the grave, learned, and religious Clergie of the Dioceſe of Lincolne. By* Peter Heylin, *Chaplaine in Ordinary to his Majeſtie.* London 1637 in 4to. It is dedicated to the King. The Imprimatur is dated May the 7th 1637. Another Anſwer likewiſe came out againſt the Biſhop's *Holy Table*, &c. intitled *Two Looks over Lincoln: or a View of his* Holy Table, &c. London 1641 in four ſheets and a half, written by Richard Day, who ſtiles himſelf a Miniſter of the Goſpel, but appears to be an enemy to the Ceremonies of the Church. In this Tract Dr. Heylin's *Coal from the Altar* is ſometimes animadverted upon.

[*N*] *Brought into trouble by his old antagoniſt Biſhop Williams, and William Prynne.*] The Doctor preaching on his courſe at Weſtminſter-Abby, and exhorting Chriſtians to moderation, love, and charity among themſelves, for the preſervation of the public peace, although

(19) Idem, *Hiſt. & Antiq.* ibid.

(20) Idem, ibid. and *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 278.

(21) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* ibid.

* *Appendix* to the 2d Part of his *Examen Hiſtoricum.*

† When Dr. Heylin took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1627.

§ *Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay on the thirty nine Articles of the Church of England*, Introduction, pag. 28.

(18) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 278. and *Hiſt. & Antiquit. Univerſit. Oxon.* lib. 1. pag. 340.

tired first to his living of Ailresford, and afterwards to Oxford; upon which in the beginning of 1643 the House of Commons voted him a Delinquent, and made an order for the sequestration of all his estate, and his excellent Library was carried to Portsmouth (*y*). At Oxford he was employed, by the King's command, in writing the *Mercurius Aulicus*, begun by Sir John Berkenhead. In 1645 he left Oxford, and travelled in disguise from place to place, himself and his family being in the greatest necessity (*z*); and the same year settled with them for some time at Winchester, till that city was taken; and in 1648 removed to Minster-Lovel in Oxfordshire, the seat of his elder brother, which he farmed for six years of his nephew Colonel Heylin; and cleared his

(*y*) Barnard, pag. 202, 203, 204. *and* Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* col. 278.

(*z*) Barnard, pag. 205, *& seqq.*

although they differed in some opinions, made use of these words: "Is it not that we are so affected with "our own opinions, that we condemn whatsoever "shall opine the contrary; and so far wedded to our "own wills, that when we have espoused a quarrel, "neither the love of God, nor the God of love shall "divorce us from it? Instead of hearkening to the "voice of the church, every man hearkens to himself, "and cares not, if the whole miscarry, so that himself "may bravely carry out his own devices. Upon "which stubborn height of pride what quarrels have "been raised? What schisms in every corner of this "our church? (to enquire no further,) some rather "putting all into open tumult, than that they would "conform to the lawful government, derived from "Christ and his Apostles to these very times." At the speaking of these words, the Bishop of Lincoln sitting in the great pew knocked aloud with his staff upon the pulpit, saying, *no more of that point, no more of that point, Peter.* To whom the Doctor readily answered, *I have a little more to say, my Lord, and then I have done*; which was as follows: "Others "coming into close and dangerous factions, because "some points of speculative Divinity are otherwise "maintained by some than they would have them. "Also regardless of the common Peace, that rather "than be quiet, we will quarrel with our blessed peace-"maker for seeking to compose the differences, tho' "to the prejudice of neither party. Thus do we "foolishly divide our Saviour, and rent his sacred "body on the least occasion, rarely conceiving that "a difference in a point of judgment must needs draw "after it a disjoining of the affections also, and that "conclude at last in an open schism. Whereas diver-"sity of opinions, if wisely managed, would rather "tend to the discovery of the truth, than the dis-"turbance of the church, and rather whet our indus-"try than excite our passions. It was St. Cyprian's "resolution, *Neminem, licet aliter senserit, a commu-"nione amovere*, not to suspend any man from the "communion of the church, although the matter then "debated, was, I take it, of more weight than any "of the points now controverted: which moderation "if the present age had attained unto, we had not "then so often torn the church in pieces, nor by our "frequent broils offered that injury and inhumanity "to our Saviour's body, which was not offered to his "garments." After the sermon was ended, Dr. Heylin took his friend Sir Robert Filmer and some other Gentlemen of quality, who were his auditors, to his house, where he immediately sealed up the book, which contained this sermon, and other notes, to which they also set their seals, that so there might not be the least alteration made in the sermon, nor any ground to suspect it, which was presently after sent to the Bishop, who kept it in his hands for some days, and then returned it untouched. This is the account of Dr. John Barnard (22); but Dr. Helyn himself relates the latter part of the story with some different circumstances (23), and tells us, that as soon as he was brought back to his stall, the Bishop calling on Dr. Wilson, another of the Prebendaries, to bear witness of what passed between them, required the Doctor to deliver a copy of the sermon, to which the Doctor chearfully yielded, and presently gave his Lordship the whole book of sermons, which he had then with him. The same day, as they came from the evening service, the Bishop sent one of his gentlemen to desire the Sub-Dean, Dr. Wilson, and Dr. Heylin, to come to his lodging; to which it was answered openly, and in a full cloyster, by Dr. Heylin, that he would not go; that he would meet his Lordship in either of the houses of Parliament, or either of the courts of Westminster-Hall, or the public Chapter of the Church, and would there answer any thing that he would charge him with; but that he would never shuffle up the business in the Bishop's lodging, or take a private satisfaction for a public baffle. He had scarce put off his church-vestment, when his friends the Bishop of Peterborough, and Sir Robert Filmer, who had heard all that had passed before, came to spend an hour with him; and not long after comes the Sub-Dean from the Bishop of Lincoln with the book of sermons, assuring him, that the Bishop meant him nothing but well; that he had read none of the sermons, but that which had been preached that morning; that he professed himself much beholden to him for committing into his hands so great a trust; and lastly, that since the Doctor would not come to receive the book, he had sent it to him. To which the Doctor made reply, that since the book was taken from him in the sight of hundreds; he would not otherwise receive it, than in the same place, or a place more public; that therefore he should carry back the book to him that sent it, to the end that he might read over all the rest of the sermons, and pick out of them what he could to the Doctor's disadvantage; that as he did not court his favours, or expect any thing from him, so neither did he fear his frown, or any further mischief, which he could do to him equal to what he had done already; and lastly that he was more ashamed of the poorness of this prostitution than at the insolencies of the morning: which being the best answer that the Sub-Dean could at that time obtain from him, he threw the book into the room, and so went his way. The Doctor understanding what reports had been spread abroad upon the accident, some saying that the Bishop had interrupted him for preaching against the Scots, some of whose commissioners were then present, others for preaching in defence of Transubstantiation, and others for Arminianism, he gave an account thereof to the King, and then transcribed a copy of the whole passage, which had been and was to have been spoken, and sent it in a letter to Mr. John White of the Temple, whom he observed to hear the sermon, desiring him to communicate it to the Committee, that when he was to appear before them the second time, they might be satisfied in all things touching that particular. This address took so good an effect, that Mr. White, though most eagerly bent against the Doctor at his first appearance, did the business for him, reading the whole passage to that Committee, and testified what he saw and noted when he was at the sermom; and thereupon it was declared by the unanimous voice of all then present, that there was nothing in that passage which did not become an honest man to speak, and a good Christian to hear; and not only so, but that the Bishop was transported beyond his bounds, and failed in his accustomed prudence. And this perhaps both smoothed the way unto the Doctor for his next appearance, where he found better entertainment than he did at the first; and drew the Bishop into gentler and more moderate counsels. About the same time he was summoned to appear before the Committee for the Court of Justice, on the complaint of Mr. Prynne, *who had joined him in a petition with the Lord Archbishop, as the chief agents and contrivers of all his sufferings* (24); but though it was resolved upon the question on Tuesday April the 20th, 1641, that the sentences against Mr. Prynne in the Star-Chamber were illegal, and it was ordered, that the charge against the Doctor should be transmitted to the Committee for religion, to be considered of with such other charges and complaints as were come against him; yet after that time the Doctor never heard more of this business, nor of any other, which did or might create any trouble to him from the houses of Parliament, or any of the Committees or Members (25).

(22) Pag. 192-196.

(23) *Extraneus Vapulans; or the Observator rescued from the violent but vaine Assaults of Hamon L'Estrange Esq; &c.* pag. 58, *& seqq.*

(24) Barnard, pag. 192-196.

(25) Id. *Extran. Vapul.* p. 57, 58.

his temporal eſtate from ſequeſtration by compoſition with the Commiſſioners at Goldſmith's Hall. Thence ſeveral years after he removed to Abingdon in Berkſhire, where he bought an houſe called *Lacies Court*. In 1657 he ſuffered in his eſtate by decimation. In 1660, upon his Majeſty's return to his Kingdoms, he was reſtored to his Spiritualties, but never roſe higher than the place of Sub-Dean of Weſtminſter [*O*]. His writings are very numerous [*P*]. He died May the 8th 1662, and was interred before the Sub-Dean's Stall within the Choir of St. Peter's Church at Weſtminſter, where he had a monument erected to him. Mr. Wood tells us (*aa*), that he was "a perſon endowed with "ſingular

(*aa*) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 279.

[*O*] *Never roſe higher than the place of Subdeacon of Weſtminſter.*] Mr. Wood obſerves (26), that this *was a wonder to many, and a great diſcontent to him and his; but the reaſon*, ſays that Hiſtorian, *being manifeſt to thoſe, that well know the temper of the perſon, I ſhall forbear to make mention of that matter any further.* Dr. Barnard tells us (27), that he happened to be preſent when Dr. Coſins, Biſhop of Durham, came to ſee Dr. Heylin, and ſaid, "I wonder, brother Hey-"lin, thou art not a Biſhop, for we all know thou "haſt deſerved it." To which he anſwered, *Much good may it do the new Biſhops I do not envy them, but wiſh they may do more than I have done.*

(26) Col. 279.

(27) Pag. 256.

[*P*] *His writings are very numerous.*] Beſides thoſe already mentioned he wrote the following. I. *Theomachia*, a Comedy, written in 1618, but never printed (28). II. *An Eſſay called Auguſtus*, printed in 1682, and ſince inſerted in his *Coſmography*. III. *An uniform Book of Articles to be uſed by all Biſhops or Archdeacons in their Viſitations*, London 1640 in 4to. IV. *De Jure Paritatis Epiſcoporum*, a manuſcript written in 1640, upon a propoſition in the Houſe of Lords, whether Biſhops ſhould be of the Committee for the preparatory Examinations in the cauſe of Thomas Earl of Strafford. It was afterwards printed and inſerted in his *Hiſtorical and miſcellaneous Tracts*, London 1681 in fol. V. *Reply to Dr.* Hakewill's *Diſſertation touching the ſacrifice of the Euchariſt*, London 1641 in 4to. VI. *An Help to Engliſh Hiſtory: containing a Succeſſion of all the Kings of England, and the Engliſh Saxons, the Kings and Princes of Wales, &c. As alſo of all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Dukes, Marquiſſes, and Earls within the ſaid Dominions, in three Tables*, London 1641 in 8vo. Publiſhed under the Name of Robert Hall, Gent. Several Additions to this Book were made by Chriſt. Wilkinſon, a Bookſeller living againſt St. Dunſtan's Church in Fleet-ſtreet, London; the firſt Edition of which Additions came out in 1670 in 8°, with the name of Pet. Heylin put to the book, who made uſe of Dr. Francis Godwin's *Commentary of the Biſhops of England*, in his ſucceſſion of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and of Ralph Brook's and Auguſtin Vincent's Catalogue of the Succeſſion of the Kings, Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, &c. Mr. Wood obſerves (29) that our Author is ſaid to have written and publiſhed in the ſame year 1641, a Book entitled, *Perſecutio Undecima*, &c. London 1641, 1648 in 4to and 1681 in fol. but that finding no ſuch thing in the Doctor's Diary, which he had ſeveral times peruſed, he cannot affirm him to have been the Author. VII. *Hiſtory of Epiſcopacy, in two parts*, London 1642 in 4to. Publiſhed under the name of *Theophilus Churchman*. This makes the *ſecond part* of his *Eccleſia Vindicata*, &c. London 1657 in 4to. VIII. *Hiſtorical Narration of Liturgies*, &c. written in 1642, and afterwards printed in the *firſt part of his Eccleſia Vindicata*. IX. *A Relation of Lord* Ralph Hopton's *Victory near to Bodmin in Cornwall, on the 19th of Jan.* 1642, Oxford 1642-3 in one ſheet in 4to. X. *A Brief Relation of the remarkable Occurrences in the Northern Parts*, viz. *the Landing of the Queen's Majeſty in the Bay of Burlington from Holland, and of the Repulſe given to the Rebels at the Town of Newark*, Oxford 1642 in 2 ſheets in 4to. XI. *A View of the Proceedings in the Weſt for a Pacification.* XII. *A Letter to a Gentleman in Leiceſterſhire about the Treaty at Uxbridge, ſhewing that all the Overtures, which have been made for Peace and Accommodation, have proceeded from his Majeſty only*, printed in 1643 in 4 ſheets in 4to. XIII. *The Roundheads Remembrances: or true and particular Relation of the great Defeat given to the Rebels by his Majeſty's Subjects of Cornwall, under the Command of Sir Ralph Hopton, on Tueſday 16th of May* 1643, printed 1643 in one ſheet in 4to. This Pamphlet is generally ſaid to have been written by Dr. Heylin (30). XIV. *A Relation of the Proceedings of Sir John Gell*, printed 1643 in 4to in a ſheet and an half. This is ſuppoſed by Mr. Wood (31) to be the ſame with a Pamphlet, intitled, *Thieves, Thieves; or a Relation of Sir Jo. Gell's Proceedings in Derbyſhire, in gathering up the Rents of the Lords and Gentlemen of that Country by pretended Authority from the two Houſes of Parliament*, printed 1643 in 4to. XV. *The black + Croſs; ſhewing that the Londoners were the cauſe of this preſent Rebellion.* XVI. *The Rebels Catechiſm, compoſed in an eaſy and familiar way to let them ſee the heinouſneſs of their Offence*, &c. printed in 1643, in 4 ſheets in 4to. XVII. *Diſcourſe in anſwer to the common, but groundleſs Clamour of the Papiſts nicknaming the Religion of the Church of England by the name of a Parliament Religion.* Written in 1644 at the requeſt of George Aſhwell of Magdalen College in Oxford. But when the Book was printed, it had the following title; *Parliament Power in Laws for Religion: or an anſwer to that old and groundleſs Calumny of the Papiſts nicknaming, &c.* Oxford 1645 in 6 ſheets in 4to. In another edition printed at London 1603, in 7 ſheets in 4to, it hath this title; *The way of Reformation of the Church of England declared and juſtified againſt the Clamours of our Adverſaries, reproaching the Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed by the name of a Parliament Religion*, &c. This was afterwards printed in the *firſt part* of our Author's *Eccleſia Vindicata*. XVIII. *A brief Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the moſt reverend and renowned Prelate the Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *with a copy of his Speech, and other paſſages on the Scaffold, more perfect than hath been hitherto imprinted.* Oxford 1644 in 4 ſheets in 4to. XIX. Bibliotheca Regia: or, *the Royal Library*, &c. London 1649, 1650, and 1659 in 8vo. Our Author's name is not put to it, but it is generally known to be his Collection from ſome of the works of King Charles I. In this Book is inſerted the Conference between that King and the Marquis of Worceſter at Ragland. XX. *Stumbling block of Diſobedience, &c. in anſwer to an Examination of the two laſt Sections in* Calvin's *Inſtitutions againſt Sovereign Monarchy.* Writtten in 1644, and printed at London 1658 in 4to with this title; *The Stumbling-block of Diſobedience and Rebellion, cunningly laid by* Calvin *in the Subjects way, diſcovered, cenſured, and amended.* XXI. *The Promiſed Seed*, written in Engliſh Verſe. XXII. *The undeceiving the People in point of the Tithes*, &c. London 1648, 1651. Publiſhed under the name of *Ph. Treleinie:* which is an Anagram for Peter Heylin. It was reprinted at London 1657 in the *firſt Part* of his *Eccleſia Vindicata*. XXIII. Theologia Veterum: *The Sum of Chriſtian Theology contained in the Creed, according to the Greeks and Latins*, &c. London 1654 and 1673 in fol. XXIV. *Full Relation of two Journies. The one into the main Land of France; the other into ſome of the adjacent Iſlands*, in 5 Books, London 1656 in 4to. To this is ſubjoined *A Survey of the Eſtate of the two Iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, with the Iſles depending*, &c. in *one Book*. London 1656 in 4to. Our Author publiſhed both the Books, becauſe a little before one William Leak, a Bookſeller, publiſhed a falſe copy of them under the title of *France painted to the Life*, fathered it upon Richard Bignall (32). XXV. *Obſervations on the* Hiſtory of the Reign of King Charles, *publiſhed by* Hamon L'Eſtrange, Eſq; *for Illuſtration of the ſtory*, &c. London 1656 in 8vo. upon the publiſhing of which *Obſervations* Mr. L'Eſtrange printed another Edition of the ſaid Hiſtory at London 1654 in fol. and at the end added a piece, intitled, *The Obſervator obſerved, or Animadverſions upon the* Obſervations *on the Hiſtory of King Charles*, &c. In anſwer to which Dr. Heylin publiſhed, XXVI. Extraneus Vapulans; *or the Obſervator reſcued from the violent but vain Aſſaults of* Hamon L'Eſtrange, Eſq; *and the*

(28) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 272. and *Hiſt. & Antiquit. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 204.

(29) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 281.

(30) Idem, ibid. col. 221.

(31) Col. 282.

(32) See Heylin's Preface to his *Extraneus Vapulans.*

" ſingular gifts, of a ſharp and pregnant wit, and ſolid and clear judgment . . . a bold " and undaunted man among his friends and foes, (though of very mean port and " preſence) and therefore by ſome of them he was accounted too high and proud for " the function he profeſſed. On all occaſions he was a conſtant aſſertor of the Church's " right and the King's prerogative, either in their afflicted or proſperous eſtate, a ſe- " vere and vigorous oppoſer of Rebels and Schiſmatics, a deſpiſer of envy, and in " mind not at all diſcouraged." Mr. Wood likewiſe obſerves (*bb*), that *in ſome things he was too much a party man to be an Hiſtorian, and equally* (*cc*) *an enemy to Popery and Puritaniſm.* Dr. Barnard informs us (*dd*), that he was of a middle ſtature, his face oval, his complection florid, his hair ſhort and curling, his eyes quick and ſparkling, before he loſt his ſight; that he had a prodigious memory, not uſually taking notes, or making

(*bb*) Ibid.

(*cc*) *See* Dr. Edw. Stillingfleet's *Several Conferences between a Romiſh Prieſt, a Fanatic Chaplain, and a Divine of the Church of England, &c,* in anſwer to *Tho. Godden's Dialogues,* London 1679, in 8vo.

(*dd*) Pag. 258, 259, & ſeqq.

the Back Blows of Dr. Barnard, *an Iriſh Dean. By a well wiſher to the Author of the* Obſervations on the Hiſtory of the Reign of King Charles, London 1656 in 8vo. The Preface ſigned by our Author is dated at Lacies Court in Abingdon June the 7th 1656. XXVII. Eccleſia Vindicata; *or the Church of England juſtified,* 1, *In the way and manner of her Reformation,* &c. 2. *In officiating by a publick Liturgy.* 3. *In preſcribing a ſet form of Prayer to be uſed by Preachers before their Sermons.* 4. *In her Right and Patrimony of Tithes.* 5. *In retaining the Epiſcopal Government, and therewithal the Canonical Ordination of Prieſts and Deacons,* London 1657 in 4to, dedicated to Mr. Edward Davys, Vicar of Shilton in Berkſhire, formerly his Maſter in the Free School of Burford in Oxfordſhire. It contains the ſeveral pieces abovementioned. XXVIII. Reſpondet Petrus; *or the Anſwer of* Peter Heylin, D. D. *to ſo much of Dr.* Bernard's *Book entitled,* the Judgment of the late Primate of Ireland, &c. *as he is made a Party by the ſaid Lord Primate in the point of the Sabbath,* &c. London 1658 in 4to. It was not burnt as it had been reported (33). XXIX. *An Appendix in anſwer to certain paſſages in Mr.* Sanderſon's Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of King Charles, &c. printed with *reſpondet Petrus.* Whereupon Will. Sanderſon, Eſq; publiſhed a Pamphlet, intitled, *Poſthaſte, a Reply to* Peter's Appendix *to his Treatiſe, intitled,* Reſpondet Petrus 1658 in 8vo in three ſheets in 4to. XXX. *Short View of the Life and Reign of King Charles (the ſecond Monarch of Great Britain) from his Birth to his Burial,* London 1658 in 8vo. This Life Mr. Wood (34) ſuppoſes to be the ſame with that, which was printed with and prefixed to *Reliquiæ ſacræ Carolinæ,* printed at the Hague 1649 in 8vo. XXXI. Examen Hiſtoricum; *or a Diſcovery and Examination of the Miſtakes and Defects in ſome modern Hiſtories, viz.* 1. In the Church Hiſtory of Britain, by Tho. Fuller. *To which is added,* An Apology of Dr. Jo. Coſin, Dean of Peterborough, in *anſwer to ſome paſſages in the Church Hiſtory* of Britain, in which he finds himſelf concerned. 2. *In the* Hiſtory of Mary Queen of Scots, and of her ſon King James VI; The Hiſtory of King James I. of Great Britain; and the Hiſtory of King Charles I. from his Cradle to his Grave, *by* Will. Sanderſon, *Eſq;* London 1658 in a large 8vo. To this is added, *An Appendix in an Anſwer to ſome paſſages in a ſcurrilous Pamphlet called* A Poſt-haſte Reply, &c. *by* Will. Sanderſon, Eſq; Soon after Dr. Thomas Fuller publiſhed a thin folio, intitled, *The Appeal for injured Innocence,* which was commonly bound up with the remaining Copies of his *Church Hiſtory* in Quires; and Mr. Sanderſon wrote a Pamphlet, intitled, *Peter purſued; or Dr.* Heylin *overtaken, arreſted, and arraigned upon his three Appendixes:* 1. Reſpondet Petrus, (35). 2. Anſwer to *Poſt-Haſte* Reply (36). 3. Advertiſements on three Hiſtories, viz. of Mary Queen of Scots, King James, and King Charles, 1658 in 8 ſheets in 4to. XXXII. *The Parable of the Tares, expounded and applied in ten ſermons, with three other ſermons by the ſame Author.* London 1659 and 1661 in 4to. XXIII. Certamen Epiſtolare: *or the Letter-Combat, managed by* Peter Heylin, *D. D. with* 1, *Mr.* Baxter *of Kidderminſter.* 2. *Dr.* Barnard *of Grays-Inne.* 3. *Mr.* Hickman *of Mag. C. Oxon. and* 4, J. H. (37) *of the city of Weſtminſter Eſq; With* 5, *An Appendix to the ſame, in anſwer to ſome paſſages in Mr.* Fuller's *late Appeal.* London 1650 in 8vo. The Epiſtle prefixed to it, and addreſſed to his *dear brethren, the poor remainders of the old regular and conformable Clergy of the Church of England,* is dated at Lacies-Court in Abingdon May the 2d 1659. XXXIV. Hiſtoria Quinqu- Articularis: *or a Declaration of the Judgment of the Weſtern Churches, and more particularly of the Church of England, in the five controverted Points, reproached in theſe laſt times by the name of* Arminianiſm. *Collected in the way of an Hiſtoricall Narration out of the public acts and monuments, and moſt approved Authors of thoſe ſeverall Churches. By* Peter Heylin. London 1660 in 4to. The Preface is dated at Lacies-Court in Abingdon December the 26th 1659. To this book is added *a Poſtſcript to the Reader, concerning ſome particulars in a ſcurrilous Pamphlet intituled,* A Review of the *Certamen Epiſtolare,* &c. dated at Lacies-Court December the 29th 1659. The ſame year was publiſhed a book, intitled, Fratres in malo: *or the matchleſs Couple repreſented in the Writings of Mr.* Edward Bagſhaw, *and Mr.* Henry Hickman, *in Vindication of Dr.* Heylin *and Mr.* Thomas Pierce. London 1660 in 4to. In the title-page it is ſaid to be written by *M. O.* Bachelor of Arts; but it was univerſally ſuppoſed at that time, that Dr. Heylin or Mr. Pierce, or both, had an hand in it (38). Mr. Hickman wrote *Animadverſions* upon our Author's *Hiſtoria Quinqu- Articularis;* the firſt edition of which was printed at London 1661, and the ſecond in the ſame city in 1674, with the following title. Hiſtoria Quinqu- Articularis Exarticulata; *or Animadverſions on Dr. Heylin's Quinquarticular Hiſtory: in which,* 1. *The Aſperſions caſt on foreign reformers are wiped off.* 2. *The Doctor's manifold Contradictions are manifeſted.* 3. *The Doctrine of the Arminians in the five points is proved to be contrary to the Doctrine of the Reformed Church of England. By* Henry Hickman, *B. D. The ſame Edition corrected and enlarged.* XXXV. *A Sermon preached in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's in Weſtminſter on Wedneſday the 29th of May* 1661, *on Pſalm xxxi.* 21. London 1661 *in* 4to. XXXVI. *Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England from the firſt Preparations to it made by King Henry VIII, until the legal ſettling and eſtabliſhing of it under Queen Elizabeth,* &c. London 1661, 1670, and 1674 in folio. It was anſwered in a book intitled *Plus Ultra:* or *England's Reformation needing to be reformed. Being an Examination of Dr.* Heylin's *Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England,* &c. *Wherein by laying together all that is there ſaid by the Doctor about the Reformation of the Church, and by many Teſtimonies of Reverend* Jewel, *Biſhop of Salisbury, and by ſeveral Obſervations made upon the whole, it doth evidently appear, that the preſent State of the Church of England is no way to be reſted in, but ought to proceed to a farther degree of perfection. Written by way of Letter to Dr.* Heylin *by* H. N. O. J. Oxon. in 7 ſheets in 4to. XXXVII. *Cyprianus Anglicus: or the Hiſtory of the Life and Death of* William [Laud] *Archbiſhop of Canterbury* &c. London 1668 and 1671 in folio. XXXVIII. Aerius Redivivus: *or the Hiſtory of the Presbyterians. Containing the Beginning, Progreſs, and Succeſſes of that Sect. Their Oppoſitions to Monarchical and Epiſcopal Government. Their Innovations in the Church; and their Imbroylments of the Kingdoms and Eſtates of Chriſtendom in the purſuit of their Deſignes. From the year* 1536 *to the year* 1647. *By* Peter Heylin, *D. D.* &c. London 1670 and 1672 in folio. It is dedicated by his ſon *Henry Heylin* to the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament aſſembled.* The Doctor aſſures us in his Preface, that he " adventures " upon nothing but what is warranted by the teſti- " mony of unqueſtioned authors, from whoſe ſenſe, " *ſays he,* I ſhall never vary, though I may find it " ſometimes neceſſary not to uſe their words. And " by ſo doing, I ſhall keep myſelf unto the rules of a " right

(38) Wood, col. 285.

(33) *See* H. Hickman's Preface to his *Juſtification of the Fathers and Schoolmen &c.* and Dr. Barnard's *Life of Dr. Heylin,* pag. 237.

(34) Col. 285.

(35) Mr. Sanderſon here means the *Appendix* to *Reſpondet Petrus.*

(36) This hath no *Appendix,* and therefore Mr. Sanderſon is miſtaken, ſince it is itſelf an *Appendix* to *Examen Hiſtoricum, or Advertiſements on three Hiſtories.*

(37) James Harrington, *Author of the* Oceana.

making collections out of authors, but committing what he read to memory; and that he was of great generosity and charity.

" right Hiſtorian, in delivering nothing but the truth, " without omitting any thing for fear, or ſpeaking " any thing in favour of the adverſe party, but as I " ſhall be juſtified by good authors." XXXIX. *Hiſtorical and Miſcellaneous Tracts*, London 1681 in folio. Several of theſe are mentioned before; as 1. *Eccleſia Vindicata*. 2. *Hiſtory of the Sabbath in two Parts*. 3. *Hiſtoria Quinq- Articularis*. 4. *Stumbling-Block*, &c. 5. *Tractatus de Jure Paritatis*, &c. Dr. Heylin's Life is prefixed to this volume, written by *George Vernon*, Rector of Bourton on the Water in Glouceſterſhire; which being *altered and mangled*, ſays Mr. Wood (†), *before it went to the preſs*, by the *Biſhop of Lincoln, T. Barlow, and the Bookſeller that printed it*, Henry Heylin ſon of our author made a proteſtation againſt it; and Dr. John Barnard, who married Dr. Heylin's daughter, wrote his Life to correct that of Vernon, who likewiſe drew up another Life, which he publiſhed at London 1682 in 8vo. Dr. Heylin wrote alſo *A Diſcourſe of the African Schiſm:* and in 1637 at Archbiſhop Laud's deſire, drew up *The Judgment of Writers on thoſe Texts of Scripture, in which the Jeſuits found the Popedom and the Authority of the Roman Church*; both which Pieces the Archbiſhop intended as materials towards his large *Anſwer* to *Fiſher* the Jeſuit, which was printed 1639 in folio. T.

(†) Col. 285. *See likewiſe*, col. 1025.

☞HICKES (GEORGE), the ſecond ſon of William Hickes, the youngeſt ſon of ——— Hickes of Neſſe near Nunnington in the pariſh of Stangrave in the Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire, Gentleman. His mother was a daughter of the Reverend Mr. Kay or Key Rector of Topcliffe in Yorkſhire. His parents ſettled upon a large farm at Newſham in the pariſh of Kirkby Wiſk near Thurſk in the North Riding, called Moorhouſe, where their ſon George was born on June the 20th 1642. He was educated in the grammar ſchool at North Allerton under Mr. Thomas Smelt, a very loyal man as well as a good ſchoolmaſter; and was admitted in April 1659 Batteler in St. John's College Oxford. Soon after the Reſtoration of King Charles II he removed to Magdalen College where Dr. Henry Yarborough was his Tutor, under whom he gave ſuch proofs of his great parts and progreſs in learning, that he had certainly been choſen Demy if he had been of a ſtatutable County. February 24th 166$\frac{2}{3}$ he proceeded Bachelor of Arts, and immediately removing to Magdalen Hall he compleated that degree by *determination*. On the 23d of May 1664 he was unanimouſly choſen Fellow of Lincoln College againſt three competitors, and one of them a Gentleman of the *Savil* Family. December the 8th in the year following he was admitted Maſter of Arts. And that Cambridge may have ſome ſmall ſhare in the honour of ſo great a man, he was July the 8th 1668 incorporated in the ſame degree at that Univerſity. June the 10th 1666, he was ordained a Deacon, and on December the 23d next following he was ordained a Prieſt, by Dr. Walter Blandford Biſhop of Oxford. He became an eminent Tutor ſoon after, taking his Maſter of Arts degree, and diſcharged this office with great diligence and reputation for ſeven years, till he endangered his health, and was thereupon adviſed to travel about the country for its recovery. Sir George Wheeler, who had been his Pupil and had always a filial affection for him, took this opportunity of inviting him to accompany him in his travels. They ſet out in October 1673 and made the grand tour of France; after which in the ſame month next year they parted, Mr. Hickes being obliged to return to take his Bachelor of Divinity's degree. At Paris where he ſtaid a conſiderable time he became acquainted with Mr. Henry [*A*] Juſtell, who in confidence told him many ſecret affairs, particularly that of the intended perſecution of the Huguenots in France, and of a deſign in Holland and England to extirpate the Royal Family of

[*A*] *Juſtell.*] Dr. Hickes has left behind him an account of theſe matters in a letter to a friend: " The " very obliging manner in which Mr. Juſtell received " me, and the particular reſpect he profeſſed for thoſe " of our nation, encouraged me to wait upon him a- " gain, when I found him alone. He then talked " with great freedom of his acquaintance in England, " moſt of which were great men, and of that party " which were accounted not well affected to the crown. " . . . As I acquainted him with the rout I intended to " take in making the tour of France, he would have " perſuaded me to wait upon the honourable Mr. Al- " gernoon Sydney, and young Mr. Hambden, who " lived both together ſome where in Guien or Lan- " guedoc, at a place, the name of which I have now " forgot, and who ſince have been unfortunately ſig- " nalized by their different fates. But knowing how " different my principles were from theirs, I told him " I had particular reaſons why I thought it not pro- " per for me to wait upon them, one of which was, " becauſe I was to travel in company with others. " . . . After my return to Paris, I never failed to viſit " him once a week . . . It happened once that talking " of the many temples or Proteſtant churches that I " obſerved were demoliſhed in ſeveral places, he told " me moſt of them were ſuch as had been irregularly " erected ſince the Edict of Nantes; and that the " King, though he had acted very ſeverely in razing " ſuch temples, yet he had not much violated the " privileges granted by that Edict, becauſe, as his " phraſe was, thoſe temples were *mal fondez*. Then " he proceeded to tell me, ... Alas, Sir, as I am " wont to talk in confidence with you, ſo I will tell " you a ſecret that almoſt none of us know beſides " myſelf: Our extirpation, meaning the Proteſtants, " is decreed, we muſt all be baniſhed our country or " turn Papiſts: I tell it you, becauſe I intend to come " into England, where I have many friends, and that " when I come to ſee you among the reſt, you may " remember that I told it you. Upon this I aſked " him how long it would be before this ſad perſecu- " tion would be put in execution; he anſwered with- " in four or five years at moſt, and remember, ſaith " he again, that I foretold the time . . . . Among " other things he told me how many and inveterate " enemies the King and Monarchy of England had in " Holland, where a ſecret deſign had been long ma- " naging with the diſaffected party in England, to " extirpate the Royal Family of the Stuarts; and when " I expreſſed my ſurprize and unwillingneſs to believe " ſo ſtrange and wicked a deſign, he told me again, " that it was not ſo ſtrange and incredible as I thought " it, and that I was young enough to ſee it brought " to paſs . . . . It was about the time the Bill of Ex- " cluſion was thrown out of the Houſe of Lords, and " the King had overcome the difficulties in which " he

of the Stuarts, and committed to him his father's manuſcript of the *Codex Canonum Eccleſiæ Univerſalis* to be preſented in his name to the Univerſity of Oxford; and when he delivered it to him he made him this complement, that he had long waited for a perſon to entruſt with one of the greateſt treaſures he had, and now had met with one according to his heart's deſire. After his return home May the 14th 1675 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, being about that time Rector of S. Ebbe's Church in Oxford. Not long after he received a letter from Dr. Jane Chaplain to Dr. Compton Biſhop of London to tell him the Duke of Lauderdale had aſked the Biſhop if he knew Mr. Hickes Fellow of Lincoln College, and if his Lordſhip thought he would accept of being his Grace's Chaplain. He was very cautious at firſt of complying with this offer, becauſe the Duke was then loaded by his enemies with moſt heavy reproaches, and ſaid to be guilty of the moſt enormous vices. But Dr. Fell Biſhop of Oxford aſſured him thoſe ſcandalous reports were only the lies and malice of the Preſbyterian and Republican Party; and upon his advice he returned anſwer to Dr. Jane, that he waited for his Grace's commands when he ſhould attend upon him, and accordingly he was made the Duke's Chaplain by letters under hand and ſeal dated September the 15th 1676. In May 1677, his Grace being to be made High-Commiſſioner of Scotland took his Chaplain with him into that Kingdom, where he was received by many of the Nobility, and particularly by the Biſhops with the greateſt reſpect. In April 1678 the Lord Commiſſioner ſent Mr. Hickes up to Court with Dr. Burnet Archbiſhop of Glaſgow to lay before the King the proceedings of the Faction in Scotland, which began then to be turbulent and audacious; as alſo to undeceive the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Engliſh Prelates as to the ſcandalous and falſe reports which the malice of the adverſe party had raiſed againſt the Duke. In the latter end of the next month he returned with the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow to Scotland, when he was deſired by the worthy Dr. Sharp Archbiſhop of St. Andrews to accept the degree of Doctor of Divinity in that Univerſity as a teſtimony of his and his country's great eſteem for him, and of the eminent and faithful ſervice he had done to the Church. Which requeſt of the Archbiſhop's the Duke approved ſo well, that Mr. Hickes was obliged to agree to it; and to do his Chaplain the more honour he ſent his ſon-in-law and ſervants with him thither, where he was dignified with that title in a full Convocation. After which when Dr. Hickes was returning with his Patron into England, the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews in his own name and that of all his Brethren preſented him with the eighteen volumes of Labbe's Councils as an acknowledgment of his ſervices to that Church. December the 17th 1679 he was actually created Doctor of Divinity of the Univerſity of Oxford. A little before viz. September the 13th he married Mrs. Frances Marſhal widow of Mr. John Marſhal Citizen of London and daughter of Mr. Charles Mallory of Raynham in Eſſex. She was perfectly of his own principles as well as of her father's, who had been a great ſufferer under Cromwell: and ſhe had the happineſs of a great both active and paſſive courage, which afterwards made her a very patient and cheerful fellow-ſufferer with her huſband. In March $167\frac{9}{80}$ he was promoted by the King to a Prebend of Worceſter, and was inſtalled on the 11th of June; and in Auguſt following he was preſented by Dr. Sancroft Archbiſhop of Canterbury to the Vicarage of All-hallows Barkin near the Tower of London, which obliged him to leave his good Patron the Duke of Lauderdale to the great regret of his Grace, and with all that concern on his part which the beſt men are wont to expreſs at parting with their deareſt friends. He alſo reſigned his Fellowſhip, being on December the 27th 1681 made Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty. In Auguſt 1683 the King advanced him to the [*B*] Deanery of Worceſter upon the recommendations of the Commiſſioners for diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, in the place of Dr. William Thomas Biſhop of St. David's, who kept that dignity in commendam with his Biſhoprick till he was tranſlated to Worceſter; and on October the 13th he was inſtalled.

The

" he was involved by his reſtleſs enemies, that Mr. " Juſtell came into England, and after he had been " ſome time in London, he came to viſit me at my " houſe on Tower-Hill, where preſently after the com- " mon forms of congratulating one another, he ſaid, " Sir, do not you remember what I told you of the " perſecution we have ſince ſuffered, and of the time " when it would begin, and now you ſee all has ac- " cordingly come to paſs. When I had anſwered I " was very ſorry for it .... I then put him in mind " of another thing he had foretold, which I hoped " would never happen, I mean, Sir, ſaid I, the ex- " tirpation of the Royal Family of the Stuarts .... " But to this he replied nothing, but with a ſhrug ſaid, " *Par Dieu, Monſieur, le Roy d'Angleterre c'eſt un* " *tres grand Roy*, and this was all the anſwer I could " get from him."

[*B*] *Deanery of Worceſter.*] Upon the vacancy the vogue of both town and country gave this Deanery to Dr. Hickes, but it was ſo far from his thoughts, that he went to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to ſollicit for Dr. Cave, who gave him then no other anſwer, but that he believed it would be hard to bring that about. All the Commiſſioners were for Dr. Hickes, except the Earl of Haliſax, who oppoſed it to the utmoſt, having been underhand ſet againſt him by Dr. Tillotſon and Dr. Burnet, by whom his Lordſhip had been always much influenced. But when he found all oppoſition fruitleſs, his Lordſhip propoſed that Dr. Hickes ſhould be promoted to this dignity, on condition of quitting all his other preferments, which was done with deſign to get him out of London, where about two years paſt he had had a greater intereſt than even Dr. Tillotſon himſelf. When the recommendation of the Commiſſioners was brought to the King, the Earl of Clarendon, with whom Dr. Hickes had not then the honour to be acquainted, ſtanding by the King and over reading the paper in his Majeſty's hand, obſerved that conditional clauſe in it, and ſaid thereupon to his Majeſty, Sir, by this clauſe the Commiſſioners take from the Doctor more than they give him. To which the King anſwered, I think ſo too; for which reaſon his patent paſſed the ſeals without taking notice of that additional clauſe.

3

The next year upon the death of Dr. Gulſton Biſhop of Briſtol the Duke of Beaufort went to his Majeſty to deſire him to promote the Dean of Worceſter to that See; but the King, in great reſpect to the Dean, ſaid he would not offer him that ſmall Biſhoprick, though if he would accept of it he ſhould hold his Deanery in commendam with it; and no doubt, if his Majeſty had lived long enough, he would have conferred upon him one of the beſt [C] Biſhopricks in the Church. In May 1686 he left the Vicarage of Barkin, and went to ſettle on his Deanery, the Biſhop of Worceſter having offered him the Rectory of All Church, but fourteen miles diſtant from that City. He was collated June the 24th and inducted two days after. Upon the Revolution, he with many other great and worthy men refuſing to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary, fell under ſuſpenſion Auguſt the 1ſt 1689, and was deprived February the 1ſt $16\frac{89}{90}$; but continued in poſſeſſion till the beginning of May following; when reading in the Gazette that the Deanery of Worceſter was granted to Mr. William Talbot, ſince ſucceſſively Biſhop of Oxford, Saliſbury, and Durham, immediately he drew up in his own hand writing a [D] claim of right to it directed to all the members of that Church, and May the 2d 1691 affixed it over the great entrance into the Choir, that none of them might plead ignorance in that particular. The Dean hereupon expecting the reſentment of the Government privately withdrew to London, where and near it he abſconded for many years, till on the 18th of May 1699 the Lord Somers, then Lord Chancellor, a Worceſterſhire man, and who had opportunities of being thoroughly acquainted with his great worth, procured, without his ſeeking, an Act of Council to order the Attorney General to cauſe a *Noli proſequi* to be entered to all proceedings againſt him. Soon after their deprivation the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Dr. William [E] Sancroft and his Collegues began to conſider about continuing the Epiſcopal ſucceſſion among thoſe who adhered to them; and having reſolved upon it, they ſent Dr. Hickes over with a liſt of the deprived Clergy to confer with King James II about the matter. The Doctor ſet out May the 19th 1693, and going by the way of Holland, by reaſon of many difficulties made it ſix weeks e'er he arrived at St. Germain's. He had ſeveral audiences of King James, who readily complied with all that was deſired, and taking his leave of the King on the latter end of July, he arrived at Rotterdam on the 7th of Auguſt, where he waited two months to return in a Fleet of Merchants; but when he ſhould have gone on board he was ſeized with an ague and fever, which detained him till January 24th, on which day he went from Rotterdam, and going on board the Packet the 26th, arrived at Harwich the 29th. At length he came to London the 4th of February, and on the Eve of St. Matthias the conſecrations were performed by Dr. William Lloyd Biſhop of Norwich, Dr. Francis Turner Biſhop of Ely, and Dr. Thomas White Biſhop of Peterborough at the Biſhop of Peterborough's lodgings at the Reverend Mr. Giffard's houſe in Southgate. Dr. Hickes * was conſecrated Suffragan Biſhop of Thetford, and Mr. Thomas Wagſtaffe Suffragan of Ipſwich; at which ſolemnity Henry Earl of Clarendon was preſent. The Dean had been recommended to the King by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Mr. Wagſtaffe

* The inſtrument of his Conſecration bears date 29 Feb. 1693.

[C] *Beſt Biſhoprics in the church.*] A few months after he was made Dean, the Lord-Keeper North told him the King had commanded him to acquaint him, that he did not intend he ſhould ſtay long at Worceſter, and therefore deſired he would apply himſelf to ſtudy the Parliament Rolls, becauſe the Biſhops, for want of more knowledge in that matter, were, ſince the Reformation, of the leaſt influence of any Members in the Houſe of Lords, whereas before that time they uſed to have the greateſt ſway there. Hereupon his Lordſhip preſented the Dean with Ryley's *Placita Parliamentaria*, which is the firſt volume of the Rolls, and told him when he had read that, he ſhould have the uſe of the reſt in order from him. The Dean had read over the firſt and ſecond volumes in MS. and half the third, when King Charles died, which made him give over that ſtudy, knowing he could not expect to be a favourite in the next reign.

[D] *Claim of right.*] The Earl of Nottingham, then Secretary of State, called it Dr. Hickes's Manifeſto againſt the Government; Dr. Francis Lee has publiſhed it in the Appendix, N°. IV. to his Life of Mr. Kettlewell, with this title, *The Proteſtation of Dr. George Hickes, and Claim of Right fixed up in the Cathedral Church of Worceſter.*

[E] *Sancroft and his collegues.*] Not long after the Revolution there was a report ſpread about the town, and it was not only reported but printed in ſeveral pamphlets, that the Archbiſhop was one of the Lords Spiritual who wrote to the Prince of Orange to invite him over into England. Dr. Hickes acquainted the Archbiſhop with this report, who abſolutely denied he had done any ſuch thing, and ſaid ſeveral things in his own juſtification. Laſt of all he ſaid, Mr. Dean, do you know Dr. Stanley, I refer you to him to juſtify me from this falſe and groundleſs report. He being ſatisfied with what his Grace had told him, did not think it needful to trouble Dr. Stanley at that time. But afterwards, May 17, 1715, at the requeſt of ſome friends he wrote to the Doctor, to deſire the favour of him to give an account of the conferences between the Archbiſhop and him upon the ſubject of the invitation. In anſwer to which Dr. Stanley returned the following letter.

" Sir, " Amen-Corner, May 26.
" I do not remember that ever I heard, that the " late good Archbiſhop Sancroft was thought to have " invited the Prince of Orange over into England. If " any one did charge him with it, I believe it was " without ground. All that I can ſay as to the mat- " ter is, that in 1687, when I came into England out " of Holland, I confeſs I did deſire the Archbiſhop " to write to the then Princeſs of Orange, on whom I " had the honour to attend, to encourage her ſtill to " give countenance to the Church of England, but he " was pleaſed not to write to her. And afterwards " when we were come over into England, and a re- " port being ſpread abroad that ſome of the Lords " ſpiritual as well as temporal had invited the Prince " of Orange into England, in my diſcourſing with the " Archbiſhop, I remember that he ſaid to me, I am " now glad that I did not write to the Princeſs as " you deſired, for if I had written to her, they would " have ſaid that I had ſent to invite them over. " This is true, and this is all that I can ſay of that " affair.

" I am, Sir,
" 22d of Feb. " Your moſt faithful Friend,
" 1693. " and humble Servant,
Will. Stanley.

Wagſtaffe by the Biſhop of Norwich. It has been lately averred in print, that the Doctor was once in the mind to take the oaths and ſave his preferments; but this is ſo contrary to his character all his life-time, that few people will believe ſuch a report, raiſed on purpoſe to aſperſe him after he had many years lain peaceably in his grave, where a generous adverſary would ſcorn to inſult him. Every body, I believe, will confeſs thus much of him, that he was a perſon of univerſal learning, and one of the greateſt ornaments of the age he lived in, as his immortal [*F*] works will bear witneſs for him to all future generations.

[*F*] *Works.*] He hath written and publiſhed the following pieces. 1. *A Letter ſent from beyond the ſeas to one of the chief Miniſters of the Nonconforming party, by way of reply to many particulars, which he ſent to the author in a letter of news, uſeful for theſe diſtempered times. By a lover of the Eſtabliſhed Government both of Church and State.* Ann. 1674, in 4to. It was afterwards reprinted under the following title. *The judgment of an anonymous writer concerning theſe following particulars. 1. A Law for diſabling a Papiſt to inherit the Crown. 2. The execution of penal laws againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters. 3. A Bill of comprehenſion, all briefly diſcuſſed in a Letter ſent from beyond the Seas to a Diſſenter ten years ago,* the ſecond edition, 1684. This Letter was in reality an anſwer to his elder brother Mr. John Hickes, a Diſſenting Miniſter, bred up in Cromwell's time at the College of Dublin, and deeply infected with the principles of thoſe times, whom the Doctor always endeavoured to convince of his errors, but without ſucceſs, the ſaid Mr. John Hickes perſiſting in them to his death, and at laſt, to the Doctor's great grief, ſuffering for his rebellion under the Duke of Monmouth; though upon the Doctor's unwearied application and petition, the King would have granted him his life, but that he had been falſely informed, that this Mr. Hickes was the perſon who adviſed the Duke of Monmouth to take upon him the title of King. Upon the Duke's landing the Dean knowing his brother's principles and inclinations, uſed the utmoſt diligence to get him ſecured by the Lieutenancy, but he could not be found. 2. *A Diſcourſe to prove the ſtrongeſt temptations conquerable by Chriſtians in a Sermon* on 1 Cor. x. 13, preached before Sir Thomas Davis, Lord Mayor of London, and Court of Aldermen, the 14th of January $16\frac{76}{77}$, and dedicated to them, being printed at their deſire, in 1677. It had a ſecond edition, 1683 4to. 3. *Ravillac Redivivus, being a narrative of the late trial of Mr. James Mitchel, a Conventicle Preacher, who was executed the 18th of January,* 1677, *for an attempt which he made on the ſacred perſon of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, to which is annexed an account of the trial of that moſt wicked Phariſee Major Thomas Weir, who was executed for adultery, inceſt, and beſtiality.* It was firſt printed in 1680, in 4to, the MS. copy being tranſmitted by the Author to Dr. Simon Patrick, then Prebendary of Weſtminſter, who ſent it to the preſs. The ſecond edition was in Folio, 1682, very much augmented and enlarged, and at the end there is added an *Appendix, containing an exact relation of the proceedings before the Lords of the Articles againſt Charles Maitland of Halton, Treaſurer-Depute, for perjury, having given a falſe teſtimony at the tryal of James Mitchel.* The writing of this book was occaſioned by his attending in quality of Domeſtic Chaplain upon the Duke of Lauderdale in Scotland, who to confute the many lies raiſed by the Fanatics about Mitchel's trial, deſired him to write the true narrative of that trial, which he did from the Records of the Criminal Court. 4. *The Spirit of Popery ſpeaking out of the mouths of fanatical Proteſtants; or the laſt Speeches of Mr. John Kid, and Mr. John King, two Preſbyterian Miniſters, who were executed for high treaſon at Edenburg, on the 14th of Auguſt* 1679. London 1680, Folio. To which is ſubjoined, *A Narrative of the Murder of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews from the records of the Privy Council.* The Doctor was ſtanding by his Patron, the Duke of Lauderdale, when he opened the Scotch packet which brought the news of that murder, the ſeveral relations of the barbarous manner whereof ſo affected him (the Doctor) that it made him ill for ſome time. The fact was ſo miſrepreſented by the faction in both Kingdoms, and particularly at London, by Dr. Gilbert Burnet, that Dr. Hickes deſired leave of his Grace to write the true narrative of it from the records of the Privy Council, as they were ſent up by order to his Grace. It was no ſooner publiſhed but all thoſe lying reports were ſilenced, though the diſperſers of them were not aſhamed. *Ravillac* and *the Spirit of Popery* were publiſhed privately, and under the diſguiſe of a Scotiſh Gentleman, ſo that it was ſome time before the Author was known, though the King, to whom the Lord Chancellor Nottingham firſt ſhewed and recommended the book, enquired of the Biſhop of London who was the Author of it: The Biſhop then could not tell. Soon after his Majeſty knowing it was Dr. Hickes, took a particular liking to him, and not long after made him Prebend of Worceſter againſt the powerful ſollicitations of the Duke of York, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Biſhop of London, for another very deſerving perſon. Theſe two pieces are with ſeveral additions, and ſome alterations prepared by the Author for another impreſſion. 5. *A Narrative of a ſtrange and ſudden apparition of an Archangel at the Old-Baily, on Monday March the 7th* 1680, *Engliſh Stile, betwixt the hours of three and five in the afternoon, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Court, and all that were preſent. Dedicated to all the Miniſters and Church-Wardens of the whole Nation. By an eye-witneſs of the Apparition. Printed in the year* $16\frac{80}{81}$, one ſheet Folio, *and dated* March 15 in the ſame year. The courage wherewith the Doctor preached againſt the diſaffected, put them upon contriving to blaſt his reputation, which in confederacy with his two Church-Wardens, both of that party, more particularly one Sherman, and with Sheriff Bethel, they attempted in the following manner. They employed one Whitaker to indict the Doctor of Idolatry in worſhipping St. Michael the Archangel, and to cover their deſign, they joined with him in the ſame indictment his two Church Wardens and the Lecturer. The Church-Wardens pleaded guilty, and then one of them, Sherman, went and told the Doctor they had done ſo, and that it was the opinion of his beſt friends that he ſhould do ſo too. To which the Doctor replied, for worſhipping St. Michael, pray where? In your Church, ſaith he. How, Mr. Church-Warden? For bowing to him, ſaith he, as you go up to the Communion-Table. Why, replied the Doctor, is St. Michael there? No, ſays the other, but the figure of him ſtands over it. To which the Doctor replied, that though he had been reſident about four months, he had never obſerved any ſuch figure. This made him deſire Sherman to deſcribe it, who told him it was a graven wooden image, gilt over, as big as a man, with a trumpet at his mouth, and a label on his breaſt, with theſe words, *Awake, ye dead, and come to judgment.* This, replied the Doctor, is a ſymbol of the Reſurrection, and not of St. Michael. But my brother and I, ſaith the Church-Warden, have pleaded guilty, and you had beſt do ſo too. To this the Doctor anſwered, I am a Doctor of Divinity, and a Miniſter of the Church of England, and will ſooner plead guilty to an indictment of treaſon, than to one of idolatry. You may take your courſe, and I will take mine. Afterwards the Doctor enquired when this image was made, and upon what occaſion; and he was informed it was firſt made and ſet up in Cromwell's time upon the Church clock, between the two figures of Time and Death, on the inſide of the tower; whence how it came to be afterwards removed and placed over the Altar, is related in this *Narrative*. The Doctor having got a copy of the indictment, went next day to the Old-Baily to plead not guilty; but before he went into the Court, he was informed that all the party were there, and Mr. Sherman with the image, waiting till he came in, when they intended to ſet up a loud laugh, and put him out of countenance But he diſappointed them, and came to the Court the next day, attended with ſome of the chief of his pariſh, and he was there received with great reſpect, and pleaded not guilty, and deſired time to traverſe till the next

generations. He was particularly remarkable for his ſkill in the old Northern languages, and has ſhewed how uſeful the knowledge of the Saxon tongue is both to Lawyers and Divines. And to uſe the words of that moſt excellent man his dear friend (a) Mr. Nelſon; " though he was admirably ſkilled in other parts of uſeful learning, yet he hath laboured " with

(a) In his *Life of Biſhop Bull*, pag. 512.

ſeſſions, which was granted. Here I muſt obſerve, that the party being diſappointed the day before, did however carry St. Michael into the Court and ſet up a loud laugh; and Sheriff Bethel made ſome reflections upon the idol, as they called it, which occaſioned the Doctor's writing this *Narrative*. At the firſt publication 1500 were ſold one morning; and it ſo confounded the party, that when the Doctor came the next ſeſſions, there was not one appeared to proſecute. But Bethel preſuming again to inveigh againſt the idol, the Doctor begged leave to anſwer him, and was heard very patiently. After which Sir Job Charleton, one of the Judges, ſtood up, and ſaid: Whether the image be an idol or not an idol, or whether the Doctor is guilty of idolatry or not, belongs to the Court Chriſtian to judge, and is not of the cogniſance of this Court. So the indictment was quaſhed. 6. *The Spirit of Enthuſiaſm exorciſed in a Sermon on* 1 *Cor.* xii. 4. *preached before the Univerſity of Oxford on Act Sunday, July* 11. 1680, printed in the ſame year, *at the requeſt of the then Vice-Chancellor Dr. Timothy Halton, and many others, who heard it preached, and dedicated to him.* It had three editions in quarto, and a fourth in 8vo, 1709, much enlarged, before two *other Diſcourſes occaſioned by the new Prophets*, viz. *the Hiſtory of Montaniſm*, wrote by Mr. Francis Lee, deprived Fellow of St. John's Oxon, *and the new pretenders to Prophecy examined* by Nat. Spinkes a deprived Clergyman. The plans of theſe two Diſcourſes were firſt deſigned by the Dean himſelf, but being diſabled by his infirmities, he prevailed upon the two learned Gentlemen already mentioned to write them for him; but he has prefixed a Dedication of his own to the whole Book to the Rev. Sir George Wheeler, D. D. and Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Durham. The deſign of this diſcourſe was to reſcue the holy Scriptures from the abuſive interpretations of Enthuſiaſts, and it was ſo acceptable to the world, at its firſt appearance, that the Dr. received the particular thanks of very learned men for it both by Letter and otherwiſe. 7. *Peculium Dei: a diſcourſe about the Jews as the peculiar people of God*, in a Sermon on Rom. ix. 4, 5. preached before the Aldermen of London, February 6. 1680-81. printed at their deſire ſoon after, and dedicated to Sir Patience Ward, Lord Mayor, and the Court of Aldermen. The deſign of this diſcourſe was to confute the many dangerous doctrines and opinions ancient and modern, grounded upon the miſunderſtanding the Jewiſh Oeconomy and the Moſaick Law. The Doctor firſt preached it in his courſe at St. Mary's before the Univerſity of Oxford when he was only B. D. and Dr. Alleſtree then Regius Profeſſor was ſo pleaſed with it, that he ſent for him next day, and gave him particular thanks for it. 8. *The true notion of Perſecution ſtated*, in a Sermon on 2 Cor. iv. 9. preached at the time of the late contribution for the French Proteſtants. Publiſhed at the earneſt requeſt of many that heard it 1681. The Author endeavours in it to remove the prejudices many had then taken againſt the French Refugees, as people altogether of the ſame ill principles with our Diſſenters both with reſpect to Church and State; and tho' it was the only Sermon preached in their favour upon that occaſion, yet he never received the leaſt thanks from any of them, which he could aſcribe to no other cauſe more probable, than becauſe about that time he had ſignalized himſelf againſt thoſe who diſturbed the peace of the Church and State. 9. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London upon Acts xvii. 7. at Bow Church on January 30. 1681-2, and then printed at their requeſt with a Dedication to Sir John Moor, Lord Mayor, &c. At the preaching of it, a knot of Gentlemen ſtanding in the middle Iſle were heard to curſe and threaten the Doctor, with which he was immediately after acquainted in the Veſtry by ſome loyal Gentlemen, who thereupon offered him their ſervice to conduct him home for fear of danger from thoſe threats; but the Doctor thankfully refuſed to give them that trouble, or betray the leaſt fear in a cauſe wherein God had given him the ſpirit of courage, which made him refuſe the like offer from the Lord Mayor the ſame Evening. The printing of this Sermon, which had afterwards ſeveral editions, was much oppoſed in the Court of Aldermen by Sir Patience Ward, who ſaid the Doctor had ſpoken many things in the pulpit concerning the principles of the Diſſenters which he could not prove, and that was the occaſion of his adding in the margin his proofs from their own writings. This Sermon did alſo ſo enrage the Party, that they employed Mr. Samuel Johnſon to write againſt it; and the Doctor in a Book, intitled, *Julian the Apoſtate*, which the Doctor anſwered in his *Jovian*, whereof hereafter. 10. *The moral Shechinah*, or, *a diſcourſe of God's glory*, in a Sermon on 1 Cor. x. 32. preached at the Yorkſhire Feaſt in Bow Church, June 11. 1682, and printed at the requeſt of the Stewards of that Feaſt, with a dedication to them. 11. *A Diſcourſe of the Sovereign Power*, in a Sermon on Rom. xiii. 4. preached at St. Mary le Bow November 28. 1682, before the Artillery Company: publiſhed at their requeſt, to whom and Sir William Prichard, Lord Mayor of London, it is dedicated. 12. *Jovian*, or, *an Anſwer to Julian the Apoſtate*; printed twice in 1683, 8vo. This excellent anſwer in defence of paſſive Obedience the Doctor wrote at the deſire of Archbiſhop Sancroft, tho' many artful endeavours were uſed with him from other hands to prevent the writing of it: particularly by Dr. John Williams of the Poultry, ſince Biſhop of Chicheſter, an enemy to the Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance. Of Mr. S. Johnſon's reply to this Book after the Revolution, and of the anſwer to that Reply by Dr. William Hopkins, Prebendary of Worceſter. Dr. Hickes has given an account in his preface to Dr. Hopkins's Sermons. This Book with many large additions the Author had prepared for another impreſſion. It is obſervable, that Dr. Kennet, tho' he mentions *Julian* in his compleat Hiſtory, takes no notice of this learned anſwer. 13. *The caſe of Infant Baptiſm in five Queſtions* 1683 in 4to. It is the fifth caſe in the ſecond Volume of a Book, intitled, *A Collection of Caſes and other Diſcourſes lately written to recover Diſſenters to the Communion of the Church of England* 1685 quarto. On this pious deſign the Clergy met ſeveral times at the Deanery of St. Paul's, Dr. Hickes being then Reſident upon his Prebend at Worceſter. At his return Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's, ſent to deſire to ſpeak with him, and told him what had been done in his abſence, and added ſmiling, they had left one caſe for him, that of infant Baptiſm, which ſeveral of them, and particularly Dr. Cave, had refuſed to undertake. To which Dr. Hickes replied, that then his was Hobſon's choice, but however he would not refuſe it. 14. *A Sermon* on Heb. xiii. 16. *preached at the Church of St. Bridget on Eaſter Tueſday, being the firſt of April* 1684, *upon the ſubject of Alms-giving*, before Sir Henry Tulſe, Lord Mayor of London, and the Court of Aldermen, at whoſe deſire it was printed, and to whom it is dedicated. 15. *A Sermon* on Pſal. xiv. 7. *preached in the Cathedral Church of Worceſter upon the* 29*th of May* 1684; publiſhed then at the joint requeſt of the Mayor and Aldermen of that City, and dedicated to them. 16. *The Harmony of Divinity and Law in a Diſcourſe* on Prov. XXX. 31. *about not reſiſting of Sovereign Princes* 1684 4to. This diſcourſe was the ſubject of three Sermons preached on January 30. and the two preceding Sundays at Allhallows Barkin upon occaſion of the dying Speech of Mr. Algernoon Sydney, and of the prevailing opinion then ſpread abroad by ſome Lawyers, upon the impeachment of the Earl of Danby, that the King could not pardon any perſon impeached by the houſe of Commons before his tryal, for that the impeachment of that Houſe had the nature of an appeal of Murder, which is at the ſuit of the Party. Of which and many other particulars relating to that buſy juncture, ſee more in the preface to this

(b) *Linguarum Vet Septentr. Theſaurus*, 2 vol. fol.

" with great ſucceſs in (*b*) untrodden paths, a certain mark of a great genius, whereby " the utmoſt parts of Europe will have an occaſion to celebrate his profound erudition. " But he excelled in his own profeſſion, having built his ſtudy of Divinity upon the " holy

this Diſcourſe. 17. *Speculum Beatæ Virginis, a Diſcourſe on Luke* 1. 28, *of the due praiſe and honour of the Virgin Mary, by a true Catholick of the Church of England* 1686, and reprinted with additions the ſame year. This was the ſubſtance of ſome Sermons preached in his pariſh Church, for that he had found diſperſed amongſt his pariſhioners ſome popiſh papers which aſſerted, that when the Romaniſts prayed to the Saints in heaven, they did no more than when they deſired their Brethren on earth to pray for them in the name and through the mediation of Jeſus Chriſt. 18. *An Apologetical Vindication of the Church of England in anſwer to her Adverſaries, who reproach her with the Engliſh Hereſies and Schiſms*, 1686. in 4to, reprinted with many additions, a large Preface and an Appendix of papers relating to the Schiſms of the Church of Rome, in 8vo 1706. This Diſcourſe was at firſt a Sermon preached in his Pariſh Church upon occaſion of his Majeſty's printing King Charles II's papers: the preaching of which occaſioned much talk in the town. The Sunday following being deſired by Dr. Sherlock to preach for him at his Lecture in St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt, the Dean preached the ſame Sermon there in a crouded audience, which very much increaſed the town-talk, and was by ſome ſpy moſt odiouſly repreſented to the King; who thereupon commanded the Biſhop of Ely to bring the Dean to him at an hour appointed, and as ſoon as his Majeſty had notice they were come, he came out and took them into his cloſet, where the Dean expecting ſome ſevere reproof from his Majeſty, carried with him ſeveral Popiſh Pamphlets to produce for his vindication. But his Majeſty only telling him he had been informed the Dean called King Charles's papers printed by his Majeſty's order, a ſcandalous libel, with other reproachful expreſſions, he reply'd, he hoped his Majeſty would not believe him capable of ſo treating any thing that came from his hands. Upon which the King immediately reply'd, that indeed he did not believe it: ſaying, Mr. Dean, perhaps you preached againſt thoſe papers becauſe you did not believe them to be my brother's: but to convince you they are, if you ſhould have any doubt of it, and that you may convince others, I will ſhew you the originals written and interlined with his own hand, to which you are no ſtranger; whereupon his Majeſty immediately fetched the papers and gave them into the Dean's hands, who upon the ſight of them told his Majeſty that he acknowledged that to be the late King his brother's hand. What his Majeſty ſaid to him farther upon this occaſion was to this effect; that as he reſolved to protect the Clergy of the Church of England, ſo he hoped, that according to their profeſſed principles they would be dutiful and loyal to him. Soon after this the Dean being invited by the Biſhop of Worceſter to accept the Rectory of Allchurch, he left London, and was no ſooner ſettled in his Deanery, but the Papiſts there began in all public meetings to aſk the people tauntingly, where the Church of England was, and bid them go aſk their Biſhop aud their Dean where to find it among ſo many ſects and ſchiſms. This news was brought daily to both their ears, which occaſioned the Dean at the requeſt of the Biſhop to enlarge the Sermon abovementioned into a juſt Diſcourſe upon that ſubject; after the firſt publication of which the adverſaries were never heard to mutter the leaſt word about the Engliſh Hereſies and Schiſms. 19. *The celebrated ſtory of the Thebæan Legion no fable: in anſwer to the objections of Dr. Gilbert Burnet's preface to his tranſlation of Lactantius de mortibus Perſecutorum, with ſome remarks on his diſcourſe of perſecution.* This piece was written in the year 1687 but not publiſhed, till 1714 in 8vo. The reaſon why it was then publiſhed, and not when it was firſt wrote, is given by the very Reverend Mr. H. Bedford in his preface to this treatiſe. 20. *Reflections upon a Letter out of the country to a member of this preſent Parliament, occaſioned by a Letter to a Member of the Houſe of Commons, concerning the Biſhops lately in the Tower, and now under ſuſpenſion*, in 4to, ſubſcribed A. Z. Theſe reflections were written, as appears by the occaſion of them, in the year 1689 by the Dean then at Worceſter. The author of that letter to which they are an anſwer, was generally preſumed to be Dr. G. Burnet, who is that *Butting* Divine pointed at in the *Reflections*. Soon after the publication of them a paper came out, wherein it was aſſerted, that Dr. Burnet was neither the author of that letter, nor had any hand in it, which whether true or no, was yet generally disbelieved. 21. *Inſtitutiones Grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ & Mæſo-Gothicæ, Authore G. Hickeſio Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Presbytero. Grammatica Iſlandicæ Runolphi, Ionæ, Catalogus librorum Septentrionalium. Accedit Edwardi Bernardi Etymologicum Britannicum.* Oxoniæ 1689 in 4to. While the Dean was writing the preface to this book, there were great diſputes every where, and particularly in the Houſe of Commons, about the original contract, which occaſioned him to inſert therein the ancient coronation oath of our Saxon Kings, wherein there is not the leaſt footſtep of any ſuch contract. A little before the book was publiſhed the Dean aſked leave of Archbiſhop Sancroft to dedicate it to him, when they were both under ſuſpenſion for not taking the new oath; and having the good Archbiſhop's leave, who had hitherto of his great modeſty refuſed almoſt all the requeſts of this nature which had been made to him, the Dean wrote a dedication and ſent it from Worceſter to Dr. Mill Principal of Edmund Hall, who had the care of the impreſſion. But he to the Dean's great diſſatisfaction did in compliance with the times ſuppreſs that dedication, and inſtead of it only inſcribed the book to the Archbiſhop as it now ſtands in print. 22. *A Letter to the author of a late paper, intitled, a Vindication of the Divines of the Church of England* &c. *in defence of the Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience*. 1689 in 4to. The author of the *Vindication* was Dr. Edward Fowler, though his name was not to it. Before the Dean publiſhed this anſwer he ſhewed it to Dr. Sherlock, telling him he feared one paſſage in it was too ſharp upon their old friend. But the Doctor reply'd, it ſhall go, for he deſerves it. 23. *A word to the wavering, in anſwer to Dr. Gilbert Burnet's Enquiry into the preſent State of Affairs.* 1689 in 4to. 24. An *Apology for the new Separation, in a Letter to Dr. John Sharp, Archbiſhop of York, occaſioned by his farewel Sermon preached at St. Giles's in the Fields* June the 28th 1691. The Apology is dedicated to the Gentlemen of the Veſtry of St. Giles's, to whom the Archbiſhop had dedicated his Sermon. Printed 1691 in 4to. 25. *A Vindication of ſome among ourſelves againſt the falſe principles of Dr. Sherlock, in a Letter to the Doctor, occaſioned by the Sermon which he preached at the Temple Church on the 29th of May* 1692. *In which Letter are alſo contained Reflections on ſome other of the Doctor's Sermons publiſhed ſince he took the oath.* 1692 4to. The ſecond edition of this Vindication, with a large Preface, was ſeized in the preſs. This book was a great mortification to Dr. Sherlock, who in that Temple Sermon had preached againſt his old brethren under the phraſe of *ſome among ourſelves*, with great diſreſpect, which occaſioned the Dean to expoſe him in ſuch a manner as he thought he deſerved and could never anſwer. All he had to ſay for himſelf to his friends was, that the author had betrayed the ſecrets of private converſation, which occaſioned the Dean to ſend him a letter written in another hand, and without a name, to challenge him to ſhew any one particular paſſage in the Vindication relating to himſelf, which he had not before that ſaid in ſeveral companies, and to many other of his old friends as well as to the author of the *Vindication*: but he never thought fit to make any anſwer thereto. 26. *Some Diſcourſes on Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotſon, occaſioned by the late funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter.* 1695 in 4to. To this piece Biſhop Burnet wrote an anſwer, intitled, *The Biſhop of Sarum's Vindication*, whereto the Dean made a reply, as the learned Editor of the abovementioned Treatiſe, intitled: *The celebrated ſtory of the Thebæan Legion, no fable*, informs us in his Preface, but for obvious reaſons never publiſhed it. 27. *The Pretences of the Prince of Wales examined and rejected, in a Letter to a friend in the Country*, dated November the 7th 1701. In this Treatiſe all the arguments againſt the birth are ridi-

" holy Scriptures, and the primitive Fathers of the Church, as the beſt Expoſitors of " thoſe ſacred Writings," and pointed out the way to his Brethren of the Clergy how to make themſelves maſters of the true Theology, by paying leſs regard to modern inconſiſtent

culed and confuted. 28. *Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Libri duo, quorum primus G. Hickeſii S. T. P. Linguarum Vet. Septentrionalium Theſaurum Grammatico-criticum & Archæologicum; Ejuſdem de antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis utilitate diſſertationem Epiſtolarem; & Andreæ Fountaine Equitis Aurati Numiſmata Saxonica & Dano-Saxonica complectitur. Alter continet Humfredi Wanleii Librorum Vet. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliæ Bibliothecis extant, Catalogum Hiſtorico-criticum; necnon multorum Vet. Cod. Septentr. alibi extantium notitiam, cum totius operis ſex Indicibus.* Oxoniæ 1705 in folio. This moſt extraordinary laborious and ſplendid work is juſtly celebrated by thoſe who have any reliſh for antiquities in all parts of the learned world, as may be ſhewn by numerous teſtimonies of both our own countrymen and foreigners who have declared their approbation of it. The Great Duke of Tuſcany's Envoy ſent a copy of it to his maſter, which his Highneſs looking into and finding full of ſtrange characters, called a Council of the *Dotti*, and commanded them to peruſe it, and give him an account of it. They did ſo, and told him it was an excellent work, worthy to be placed in his Highneſs's Library, and would be an ornament to it: and that they believed the author was *un huomo d'uno cervello particolari*, i. e. " A man of a particular head." This was the Envoy's compliment to the author when he went to him with a preſent from his maſter. 29. *Several Letters which paſſed between Dr. G. Hickes and a Popiſh Prieſt, with an Appendix containing ſeveral remarkable papers.* 1705 in 8vo. Reprinted 1715. The perſon on whoſe account this book was publiſhed, was the Lady Theophila Nelſon wife of Robert Nelſon Eſq;. 30. *A ſecond Collection of Controverſial Letters relating to the Church of England and the Church of Rome, as they paſſed between Dr. G. Hickes and an honourable Lady.* 1710 in 8vo. This Lady was the Lady Gratiana Carew of Haccombe or Hadcombe in Devonſhire near Exeter. Before this book there is a large Preface wherein he vindicates the doctrine of the Euchariſt's being a ſacrifice, and himſelf from the aſperſions caſt upon him by Dr. Kennet, Dr. Hancock and others upon account of that doctrine. 31. *Two treatiſes, one of the Chriſtian Prieſthood, the other of the dignity of the Epiſcopal Order, written to obviate the erroneous opinions in a late book intitled, The Rights of the Chriſtian Church with a large prefatory diſcourſe in anſwer to the ſaid book. With an Appendix whereto are added in this edition ſeveral new Tracts.* The third edition enlarged in two vol. in 8vo. 1711. About the latter end of 1714 he publiſhed a *Supplement of Additions* to this learned work. The occaſion of writing it was not only the general ignorance the author had obſerved among the laity of all ſorts, of the nature of the Sacerdotal Powers, and their duty to their Biſhops and Prieſts, but alſo a want of a due knowledge of theſe matters among too many of the Clergy themſelves, for whoſe ſake more eſpecially he wrote theſe two Tracts. While the Doctor was writing the prefatory diſcourſe in anſwer to the *Rights* &c. Dr. Thomas Turner Preſident of Corpus Chriſti in Oxford, ſent him notice in a Letter dated May the 5th 1707, that he was aſked by every one he met whether the Dean was writing againſt the Univerſity or no; for they had all been informed of it, and were confident it was ſo. " I am therefore, *ſays he*, deſired by ſome wiſe and " good men, and very good friends of yours and mine, " to lay the thing before you, to intreat you to con- " ſider what advantage you will give both to your " enemies and ours. You will force the Univerſity " to reply upon you, or to employ ſomebody to do ſo, " to ſhew you we ſay no more than Mr. Hooker, " Biſhop Andrews, Mr. Thorndike and ſeveral others " do, nay no more, as I am deſired to tell you, though " I cannot aſſert it upon my own knowledge, than you " yourſelf ſay of the French Proteſtants in your Sermon " about Perſecution: to which it is added, I cannot " tell certainly how truely, that you yourſelf commu- " nicated with them." The Dean thanked the Preſident May the 13th for his kind letter of advice, and thus proceeds. " To return you and my good friends " an anſwer, I am not writing againſt the Univer- " ſity, nor intend to write againſt it. In my anſwer " to the *Rights* I have been forced by my under- " taking to lay things which do not agree with your " letter to the *Genevenſes*, but without reflection, or " couching any reflection upon the Univerſity, or on " the Biſhop of London, whoſe letter to the Church " of Geneva I never ſaw till Friday laſt. And as I " had finiſhed my whole anſwer before I ſaw his Lord- " ſhip's Letter, ſo I had finiſhed that ſmall part of " it which relates to the other Proteſtant Churches, " excepting a few queries to a certain perſon, before I " ſaw the Univerſity's letter: and as the Univerſity's " letter ought not to be called an anſwer to what I " have written of the other Proteſtant Churches, ſo " what I have written on that ſubject neither is nor " ought to be eſteemed as an anſwer to it. Mr. Pre- " ſident, I was bred, I thank God for it, in the Uni- " verſity, and I hope I love and honour it as much as " any man that ever was bred in it, and will ever " thankfully acknowledge that I have received great " favours and kindneſſes from it: and theſe conſidera- " tions, and not all the others mentioned in your letter, " had I a mind to write an anſwer to the Univer- " ſity's letter, would effectually reſtrain me; and " therefore depend upon it, I ſhall neither write ſuch " an anſwer, or any ways encourage ſuch an anſwer " to be written. As to the conſiderations in your letter " which moſt nearly concern myſelf, I freely own that " when I was in France 34 years ago I went to *Charenton*, and once there received the Sacrament, and " afterwards at *Blois*; but when I came to *Montpellier*, " I declined the Sacrament though I went to the " Temple, having by reading and conferring about " the miſſion of the French Proteſtant Miniſters al- " tered my opinion, I ſhould have ſaid my *Irenicum* " opinion, for I had no other than *Irenicum* princi- " ples when I went into *France*, having not read ſo " much as St. *Ignatius*'s Epiſtles or any other father. " We went from *Montpellier* to *Lyons*, where I was a " month and never went to the Temple, thence we " went to Geneva, where once out of curioſity I went " to the great Church, and once to the Church at the " bridge, upon invitation to hear their moſt celebrated " Preacher, who preached one of Dr. Sanderſon's Ser- " mons in French. There alſo I was invited to the " Sacrament by Mr. Diodati, but not going, he told " me he believed I abſented as many Engliſh did who " queſtioned their miſſion, and afterwards he grew cold " and dry in his converſation with me. I believe the " Engliſh he meant was my Lord Chancellor Clarendon " and the Engliſh that were with him. I have now " made a frank confeſſion of my error, and I hope my " friends will allow a man to alter his opinion upon " better information once in 35 years. The great " compaſſion I had for the French Proteſtants made " me preach and publiſh my Sermon of Perſecution 25 " years ſince, in which I ſaid all I could for them to " remove a common objection againſt them that they " were of the ſame principles with our Preſbyterians, and " as much enemies to the Church of England. In that " Sermon I think I have ſaid nothing contrary to my " principle, or if any kind expreſſion leans or ſeems " to lean towards favouring or approving their Church " and Miniſtry, though I think there is none ſuch, it " muſt in equity paſs for an unguarded expreſſion, " which ſlipt from me while my eye was wholly di- " rected to the deſign I had to do them good." This ſatisfied Dr. Turner, who thanked him May the 26th for his great condeſcenſion, and ſays, " Indeed, Sir, " I did not intend to call you to that account you give " of yourſelf: after which I think it but juſt and " reaſonable you ſhould be allowed to alter your opi- " nion in ſo many years for the better, rather than as " a great many others have done for the worſe. If " men may be thus allowed to differ from them- " ſelves, much more ſure from others, eſpecially if " it be without offence to them, as I hear your book is. 32. *A ſeaſonable and modeſt Apology in behalf of the reverend Dr. G. Hickes, and other Nonjurors, in a Letter to* Thomas Wiſe, D. D. 1710, 8vo. This ſeems as if wrote by ſome friend, but it was his own performance.

conſiſtent ſyſtems, and more to the conſentient ſuffrage of the primitive Writers. And as no one better underſtood the Doctrine, Worſhip, Conſtitution and Diſcipline of the Catholick Church in the firſt and pureſt ages of Chriſtianity, ſo no one has proved the Church

ance. In this he vindicates himſelf and his friends from the weak arguments Dr. Wiſe had urged againſt the Euchariſtic Sacrifice, and from the calumny of their being inclined to Popery, which the ſaid Doctor had raiſed againſt them. Dr. Wiſe made ſome trifling reflections upon this Apology, in his book, intitled, *The Chriſtian Euchariſt rightly ſtated*, which were refuted by a friend of the Dean's, or rather, as I gueſs from the ſtile by the Dean himſelf, in a piece, intitled, 33. *A Vindication of the Reverend Dr. G. Hickes, and the Author of the ſeaſonable and modeſt Apology, &c. from the undeſerved Reflections of the Reverend Dr. Thomas Wiſe, &c.* 1712, in 8vo. 34. *A Collection of Sermons formerly preached by Dr. Hickes*, in two volumes, with a Preface by Mr. Spinckes, 1713, in 8vo. Of moſt of theſe Sermons I have given ſome account above; only I muſt add, they are dedicated by the Author to Dr. John Montague, the Dean and the Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Durham, wherein he expreſſes his great obligations to that Chapter: and that in the ſecond volume there are from pag. 135, ſeveral Sermons never before publiſhed; viz. Sermons 11, 12, on *John* xv. 14. *Shewing an univerſal obedience to the Divine Will, to be the only proper means of obtaining the favour of God.* 13. Upon the third verſe of the Epiſtle of St. Jude, entitled, *Earneſtneſs in contending for the Faith; preached at Worceſter at the triennial Viſitation of Dr. Thomas, Biſhop of that Dioceſe.* 14, 15, Upon James ii, 23. *Explaining the Doctrine of Juſtification.* 16. On Pſalm viii. 5. *preached upon the Feaſt of St. Michael the Archangel.* 17. Upon Pſalm lxxii. 8. *preached before the Maſter, Wardens, &c. of the Trinity-Houſe of Deptford Strond.* 35. A Letter in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 302, pag. 2076, entitled, *Epiſtola Viri Reverendi D. G. Hickeſii S. T. P. ad D. Hans Sloane, M. D. & S. R. Secr. de varia lectione inſcriptionis quæ in ſtatua Tagis exaratur per quatuor alphabeta Hetruſca.* 36. *Two Letters to Robert Nelſon, Eſq; relating to Biſhop Bull*; the firſt dated Hamſtead, Auguſt 5, 1712, and the other February 3, $17\frac{1}{13}$, publiſhed in the Life of that Biſhop, pag. 513, &c. 37. *Some Queries propoſed to Civil, Canon, and Common Lawyers*, in half a ſheet in Folio, 1712, printed after ſeveral editions with another title, in 8vo 1714, viz. *Seaſonable Queries relating to the Birth and Birth-right of a certain Perſon.* There was an anſwer to them in 1713, which helped rather to ſpread than confute them. The Anſwerer by miſtake ſuppoſes Mr. Leſley wrote them. 38. *A Diſcourſe wherein ſome account is given of Dr. Grabe and his MSS.* prefixed to a ſhort tract, found among his Engliſh MSS. and publiſhed by the Dean with this title, *Some inſtances of the defects and omiſſions in Mr. Whiſton's collection of teſtimonies from the Scriptures and from the Fathers, againſt the true Deity of the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, by Dr. Grabe*, 1712, 8vo. 39. He likewiſe reprinted and publiſhed *three ſhort Treatiſes.* 1. *A Modeſt Plea for the Clergy*, by Dr. Lancelot Addiſon. 2. *A Sermon of the Sacerdotal Benediction*, by Samuel Gibſon. 3. *A Diſcourſe publiſhed to undeceive the people in the point of Tythes*, by Dr. Heylin; and ſet a Preface before them in defence of the Prieſthood and true Rights of the Church, 1709, 8vo. Since his deceaſe were publiſhed the following pieces: 40. *The Conſtitution of the Catholick Church, and the nature and conſequences of Schiſm, ſet forth in a Collection of papers written by the late Right Reverend* George Hickes, D. D. 1716, 8vo. The Book begins with Letters which paſſed in King William's time, between the Doctor and a Serjeant at Law, Mr. T. Geers, Brother to Mrs. Suſanna Hopton, a Lady famous for her Piety and Charity. Two years before he died, or thereabouts, the Dean reviewed theſe Letters, and made ſeveral Alterations in them, as a man has a right to do with his own works: which is the reaſon of the difference between them as here printed, and the copy of them, which Dr. Nathaniel Marſhal, who endeavoured to anſwer them, had the uſe of, in order to ſhew the variations of them. Next come 40 Propoſitions concerning the polity of the Church, and the nature of Schiſm, which were ſent to the ſame Serjeant, who returned them with ſome objections; to anſwer which the author wrote a Vindication, dividing it into four parts, the two firſt of which were printed under the title of a diſcourſe concerning the *dignity of the Epiſcopal Order*; the two laſt are inſerted in this Book. The next paper is intitled, *A Letter written for the uſe of a Gentleman* (Robert Nelſon, Eſq;) *who lived in the Communion of the Nonjurors till the Death of the Rev. Father in God Dr. William Lloyd, Lord Biſhop of Norwich; but ſhortly after his Death, left it, and joined himſelf to the other oppoſite Communion of the Church of England before this Letter could be finiſhed.* On Thurſday before Eaſter, April 6. 1710, Mr. Nelſon being of opinion with Mr. Dodwell, that the Schiſm was at end by Biſhop Lloyd's death, acquainted the Dean by Letter, *that he found himſelf under an obligation of changing his practice, and that he thought he ought not to neglect thoſe advantages which attend the approaching Feſtival, however he thought it proper to acquaint him with his* Reſolution, *that if he had any thing farther to offer, he might conſider it before Eaſter, and tho' he differed from him in this point, yet no body could have a greater value and eſteem for him.* The Dean's anſwer, dated Good-Friday, is in theſe words, " Honoured Sir, You may remember I came to " you this day ſennight in the Morning to tell you, that " on the Wedneſday before a friend of mine came to me " to let me know, you had declared your reſolution of " going to church, and that it would be a reflection on " me if I did not do ſomething to prevent it if I poſſibly " could. Upon this I told you I had begun the " Thurſday Morning following to put ſomething in " writing for your conſideration, but that I was in- " terrupted by a long viſit, and diſcouraged to pro- " ceed, becauſe I had heard you had declared your " reſolution of leaving our Communion for the other, " and given a real proof of it by asking the benedic- " tion of one of their Biſhops, which you did not de- " ny nor ask me to go on; but on the contrary came " to me the day following in the Evening to pray me " not to give myſelf any farther trouble in writing " upon your account, becauſe you thought we had " talked all we could ſay upon that ſubject; to which " I replied, we had, I thought, talked but little, and " ſeldom together of it, and however that talk was at " beſt but talk, and had not the advantages of wri- " ting. This and what I often heard ſince of your " declaring your reſolution with all frankneſs in other " places made me think no more of my papers till " yeſterday, when I reſolved by God's aſſiſtance to " finiſh them, becauſe they may be of uſe to me in " confirming *other perſons*, who are undetermined: " but upon reflection of what I have to write I fear " it will take up ſome time with all my infirmities to " finiſh it; indeed more than at firſt I thought it would. " However, when it is finiſhed and fit to be read, I " will impart it to you, *if you can prevail with your " ſelf in the mean time to forbear going to the publick*; " though if it ſhould have no effect upon you after de- " claring yourſelf ſo often under an obligation of " changing your practice, it would occaſion ſuch " inſulting reflections upon me by many, as you " know are uſually made in ſuch caſes upon ſucceſs- " leſs endeavours to convince. Such at all times has " been my behaviour towards you, ſince I had the " honour of your acquaintance, and ſo much expe- " rience have I had of your candor, that I doubt not " in the leaſt of your continuing your eſteem for me, " of which I have had ſo many proofs. And I do " aſſure you, that your change ſhall never alter or di- " miniſh that reſpect and honour for you, of which I " have given the world publick Teſtimonies." On the ſame day Mr. Nelſon returned an anſwer, and aſſured the Dean, " he had ſome difficulty to ſatisfy " myſelf in a point which was not ſupported by his " accurate judgment, and if he could have reſigned " himſelf implicitly to the determination of another, " the great deference he had for him would quickly " have influenced his choice. He tells him the fre- " quent Converſations he had with him upon the " ſubject, and the peruſal of papers which he knew

Church of England to be perfectly conformable thereto in every thing of moment, with more ſolid and convincing arguments, and with greater clearneſs and vivacity of thought and expreſſion, againſt all her adverſaries, whether Infidel, Puritanical, or Popiſh. He was a perſon very ſtrict in his principles of morality, and did not allow himſelf a liberty of breaking the laws of Chriſt for his own convenience, or of bending or miſinterpreting them to ſerve any intereſt whatſoever. What he was convinced was his duty he cloſely adhered to, chooſing to ſuffer any thing rather than violate his conſcience. Tho' he wrote with ſome ſharpneſs againſt ſuch as he believed acted with a view to ſerve their own ambition and avarice; yet to others worthy of his acquaintance, though of different principles,

" paſſed through his hands, together with ſeveral par-
" ticulars diſcourſed over with him by Mr. Cherry,
" made him think it not neceſſary to trouble him up-
" on this occaſion, and he is confident none but the
" perſon who came to the Dean would have thought
" it any reflection upon him, if he had not given
" himſelf any farther trouble. But when the Dean
" had declared he had put pen to paper, in order to
" convince him the Schiſm was not at an end, he
" thought the reſpect which will always be paid him
" by him, obliged him, notwithſtanding the convic-
" tions of his mind, not to change his practice till
" had finiſhed his thoughts, which he hoped he would
" have concluded this week. He declares he ſhould
" be ſorry to draw any reflections upon the Dean by
" his conduct, and let him determine which way ſo-
" ever, his much ſuperior ſenſe ought not to ſuffer,
" tho' many too frequently inſult upon ſuch occaſions.
" Therefore, adds he, as you know the ſtate of my
" mind at preſent, I deſire you to judge whether or
" no I ſhould defer going to the publick. If you re-
" quire it, I will wait till you have finiſhed your pa-
" pers, tho' I muſt own to you, that the reaſons of thoſe
" who have already complied appear to me ſo con-
" vincing, that except you deſire the contrary, I
" ſhould think myſelf obliged to change my practice
" ſooner. —— The latter end of your Letter gives
" me great Satisfaction, for any coldneſs in your
" friendſhip would have been a load upon my mind,
" which would have oppreſſed me very much. I am
" ſure it is a great Inſtance of your goodneſs that you
" have given me ſo many publick and private teſti-
" monies of your favour; and it will be ſtill a far-
" ther proof of it, that the difference between us cre-
" ates no diminution in your kindneſs, which I ſhall
" always endeavour to cultivate to the beſt of my
" power; and I ſhall reckon it as a happy circum-
" ſtance of my life to be able to ſay of you, as ſome
" great man did of his friend: " *Ita diſſenſi ab illo,*
" *ut in disjunctione ſententiæ, conjuncti tamen amicitia*
" *maneremus.*" The next day, Eaſter Eve, April 8, the Dean replied as follows: " Honoured Sir, As you
" know I cannot in conſcience adviſe you to go to
" Church, or in the leaſt approve your going thither,
" ſo conſidering the declarations, I know you have
" made in ſeveral places, and I doubt not in ſeveral
" others, of which I have not heard, to go thither;
" I think I ſhould be juſtly cenſured for great im-
" prudence by my friends, and for great confidence
" and ſelf-ſufficiency by our enemies, ſhould I take
" upon me, after ſo many ſignal manifeſtations of your
" reſolution, by which you have raiſed the expecta-
" tions of the other communion, to require or deſire
" you to defer the putting of it in practice, when
" there are ſo little hopes of convincing you, who are
" ſo far gone towards the other ſide, and even ready
" to enter into the church, that were there no more
" than the expreſſions of your own letters, they are
" enough to make me think you are too much fixed
" to be reduced by any thing I can write; and if
" you were ſo far gone from us towards any other
" communion, I ſhould think the ſame. I believe,
" Sir, you would judge ſo of me were you in my con-
" dition and I in your's; and therefore prudence
" obliges me in this, as in my former letter, to leave
" you wholly to the liberty of your own judgment,
" eſpecially conſidering that ſhould I deſire you to for-
" bear going to church to morrow, where I have
" reaſon to preſume you are expected, it would give
" the expectants occaſion to enquire why you did not
" come, and oblige you to tell the reaſon, which be-
" ing known would ſoon become town-talk, and
" raiſe the expectations both of friends and enemies;
" and at laſt when you went thither, extremely expoſe
" me and our communion, and bring upon us, in the
" condition and criſis we are, and are like to continue
" in, all the indignation, ſcorn and deriſion of the world,
" which you, I am ſure, who underſtand the times ſo
" well, can better imagine than I can expreſs: I
" wiſh, Sir, you had written the letter which you
" wrote to me on Thurſday in the evening a month
" or ſix weeks ago, before you were ſo much deter-
" mined, and had made yourſelf expected at the other
" ſide, then the controverſy might have been ma-
" naged with more privacy between us, and without
" thoſe great inconveniencies and mighty prejudices,
" to which I believe you cannot but think it would
" now expoſe your moſt faithful, &c." The next day Mr. Nelſon went to church, and for this reaſon it is apparent the author never deſigned this letter for his view, although having begun it by way of letter to him, he ſtill continued to addreſs it to the ſame perſon. Theſe two worthy men, notwithſtanding their difference of ſentiments, conſtantly maintained the ſtricteſt friendſhip, which was never interrupted till Mr. Nelſon's death. 41. The Introduction and ſome part of Mr. Kettlewell's Life prefixed to his works in Folio 1719, which Life was about the ſame time printed alone in 8vo. 42. A volume of Poſthumous Diſcourſes publiſhed by Mr. Spinckes 1726. The titles and texts of the Sermons are, 1. *What willingneſs of mind is accepted by God*, upon 2 Cor. viii. 12. 2. *Confirmation of Divine Original*, upon Heb. vi. 2. 3. Upon Rev. xiii. 11, 12. *The Epiſcopal Character the Ordinance of Chriſt.* 4. Upon 2 Cor. iii. 1, 2, 3. *That people ſhould be tender of the reputation of their Paſtors.* 5. Upon St. Mark x. 14, 15. *The neceſſity of becoming like little children before we can be the diſciples of Chriſt.* 6, 7. Upon Phil. iv. 7. *Peaceableneſs the chief of virtues and a Preſervative againſt Hereſy.* 8. Upon Rev. ii. 4, 5. *Remiſſneſs in the love of God and decay of Zeal, preſage the loſing a light of the Goſpel.* 9. On Mat. v. 17. *Chriſtianity not the deſtruction, but the perfection of Judaiſm.* 10, 11. Upon Luke xi. 42. *Moral Laws to be preferred before poſitive, though the poſitive have a title to be obſerved.* 12. On Jam. ii. 10. *The whole Law ought to be obeyed.* 13. Upon 1 John iii. 7. The ſame ſubject as the former. 43. *Dr. Hickes's Determination of two Queſtions:* 1. *Whether there ought to be a true Sacrifice in the Church?* 2. *Whether there is any ſuch thing in the Church of England, ſince the preſent Liturgy eſtabliſhed at the Reformation?* It is printed from p. 51, to p. 67, in a book intitled, *Two Diſcourſes, wherein it is proved that the Church of England bleſſeth and offereth the Euchariſtic Elements, &c.* 1732, in 8vo. 44. *Some Propoſitions concerning Separation, &c. ſeriouſly tendered by a Miniſter to the conſideration of one of his Pariſhioners, who lived in full Communion with the Church by Law eſtabliſhed, and with thoſe who ſeparate from it in Congregational Meetings*, to which is annexed, *an Anſwer to a Popiſh Letter:* they are printed in a pamphlet entitled, *Three ſhort Treatiſes never before printed, the firſt and ſecond by the late very Reverend Dr. George Hickes:* the third, *A Letter againſt a Proteſtant's marrying a Papiſt*, by Mr. Kettlewell, 1732, in 8vo. Beſides theſe works there are extant many excellent Prefaces and Recommendations wrote by him, at the earneſt requeſt of the Authors or Editors of other works. 1. A ſhort recommendation to a *ſerious and pathetical contemplation of the mercies of God, in ſeveral moſt devout and ſublime thankſgivings*, 1699, in 12mo. 2. A Preface to *the Caſe of Sureties in Baptiſm, in which is ſhewn that Schiſmatics ought not to be admitted as Godfathers and Godmothers in the*

principles, he was remarkably affable and courteous; and he was much reſpected by men of all ranks and opinions, not only for his uncommon learning, but likewiſe for his agreeable and polite converſation. Some years before he died he was grievouſly tormented with the ſtone, a diſtemper to which the moſt ſtudious are ever liable. At length his conſtitution, though naturally ſtrong, being quite broke with age, and the frequent returns of racking pain, he gave way to nature December the 15th 1715, in the ſeventy fourth year of his age, and was on the 18th interred [G] in St. Margaret's Church-yard Weſtminſter by his fellow-ſufferer the very Reverend Mr. Nathaniel Spinckes.

the miniſtration of that holy Sacrament, by Dr. William Higden, 1701, in 4to. 3. Preface to Thomas à Kempis *of the Imitation of Jeſus Chriſt*, volume the ſecond 1707, and 1711, 8vo. 4. Dedication to Edward Hyde, Baron Clifton, of *the Gentleman inſtructed in the conduct of a virtuous and happy Life*. Third Edition, 1707, in 12mo. 5. Preface to a *Latin Letter of Dr. Morley, late Biſhop of Wincheſter, to the learned Janus Ulitius, made Engliſh by the Reverend* Mr. James Hope, depriv'd Curate of Eaſington, under Dr. Denys Granville, depriv'd Dean and Archdeacon of Durham, 1707, in 4to. 6. Preface to two Diſcourſes, viz. 1. *Of the ſtrict Obſervance of Aſh-Wedneſday*. 2. *A Defence of thoſe who keep Lent*, 1708, 12mo. 7. Dedication to the Ducheſs of Ormond, recommending *the Education of a Daughter*, by the Author of Telemachus, made Engliſh 1708, in 12mo. 8. Preface to *The Divine Right of Epiſcopacy aſſerted*, by —— Tremellier, 1708, in 8vo. 9. Preface to ſeventeen Sermons of Dr. William Hopkins, publiſhed by the Dean, *being an account of his Life and Works*, 1708, in 8vo. 10. Preliminary diſcourſe to *Spinoza reviv'd*, 1709, in 8vo. 11. Preface to the *Invalidity of Lay-Baptiſm*, in a Letter to the Author, by Mr. Roger Lawrence, 1709, in 8vo. 12. Recommendation to the very Reverend Mr. Hilkiah Bedford's tranſlation of *the Anſwer to Fontenelle's Hiſtory of Oracles*, 1709, in 8vo. 13. Preface to twelve Sermons of Mr. Cock, the depriv'd Vicar of St. Oſwald's Durham, with ſome account of his Life, 1710, in 8vo. 14. Preface to *Epiſcopal Ordination the only Apoſtolical Ordination*, by Archdeacon Hamilton, 1713, in 8vo. 15. Letter before Groome's *Dignity and Honour of the Clergy*, 1710, in 8vo. 16. Preface to the *Devotions in the antient way of Offices*, publiſhed by the Dean four times; the laſt edition, 1712, in 8vo. A farther account of the Reformation and Reformer of this book, Mrs. Suſanna Hopton, may be ſeen in the Preface to *the ſecond Collection of Controverſial Letters*. 17. A ſhort Recommendation to Sir John Hayward's *Paſſion Week*. 18. Judgment prefixed to Mr. Archibald Campbel's book entitled, *Some primitive Doctrines reviv'd*, 1713, in 8vo, and reprinted in Folio, 1721. Beſides the abovementioned Sermons, there are ſtill ſeveral in MS. in a private hand, from whoſe *accurate judgment* and *known impartiality*, it is not to be doubted but the world and the Dean's memory will receive equal juſtice.

[G] *Interred.*] The Inſcription on his Tomb-ſtone is, *Depoſitum Georgii Hickes, S. T. P. non ita pridem Coll. Linc. Oxon. Socii, & Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Wigornienſis Decani qui obiit* 15 *die Decembris* 1715: by his own direction, as appears from his Will, printed 1716, in 8vo.

HIEROCLES, the author of a book intitled, Φιλίστορες, *The Lovers of Hiſtory* (*a*). had related a great many fabulous ſtories, if we may judge of his book by the paſſages which Tzetzes has quoted from it. He aſſerted that the torrid Zone is inhabited by men whoſe ears ſerve them for an umbrella, and by others whoſe feet ſerved them for the ſame purpoſe when they lifted them up. He boaſted that he had ſeen it; and that he heard it reported that there are ſome men who have no heads, and others who have ten heads, four hands and four feet (*b*). It is not known at what time he lived, but it is not in the leaſt probable, that he is the ſame Hierocles, who from a Wreſtler turned Philoſopher, and who was a native of Hyllarima, a city of Caria (*c*).

(*a*) Steph. Byzant. Βραχμᾶνες & Ταρκυνία.

(*b*) Tzetzes, Chil. 7. *Hiſtor.* 146. *ex* Hierocle.

(*c*) Steph. Byzant. *Voce* Τλλάριμα.

HIEROCLES, a great perſecutor of the Chriſtians in the beginning of the fourth Century, was at firſt Preſident of Bithynia, and afterwards Governor of Alexandria. He was the chief promoter of the bloody perſecution, which the Chriſtians ſuffered under the Emperor Diocleſian. It was not ſufficient for him to cruſh them by the power he enjoyed by means of his employments, he would alſo deſtroy them with his pen; for which purpoſe he compoſed two writings which he addreſſed to them, and in which he endeavoured to prove, that the holy Scripture refutes itſelf by the inconſiſtencies with which it abounds, according to him. He railed againſt our Saviour, and againſt his Apoſtles, and he made a parallel between Jeſus Chriſt's miracles, and thoſe of Apollonius of Tyana, in order to ſhew that Apollonius was equal and even ſuperior to Jeſus Chriſt in that reſpect (*a*). Two Fathers of the Church have refuted him [*A*]. It is reported, that the

(*a*) *Taken from* Lactantius, cap. 2, 3. *Divin. Inſtitutionum.* See the remark [*A*].

[*A*] *Two fathers of the Church have refuted him.*] Namely, Lactantius and Euſebius. The former relates that at the time he was teaching rhetoric in Bithynia (1), and the Church of the Chriſtians was pulled down there, two authors undertook to write with a deſign to inſult the truth that was oppreſſed. One of theſe writers was a Philoſopher, whoſe work was deſpiſed, and ſoon neglected. The other was one of the Judges, and handled this ſubject with more malice. *Alius eandem materiam mordaciùs ſcripſit, qui erat tum è numero judicum, & qui auctor in primis faciendæ perſecutionis fuit, quo ſcelere non contentus, etiam ſcriptis eos, quos afflixerat, inſecutus eſt. Compoſuit enim libellos duos non contra Chriſtianos, ne inimicè inſectari videretur, ſed ad Chriſtianos, ut humanè ac benignè conſulere putaretur; in quibus ita falſitatem ſcripturæ ſacræ arguere conatus eſt, tanquam ſibi eſſet tota contraria; nam quædam capita, quæ repugnare ſibi videbantur, expoſuit, adeo multa, adeo intima enumerans, ut aliquando ex eadem diſciplina fuiſſe videatur . . . præcipuè tamen Paulum Petrumque laceraverit, cæteroſque diſcipulos, tanquam fallaciæ ſeminatores, quos eoſdem tamen rudes, & indoctos fuiſſe teſtatus eſt; nam quoſdam eorum piſcatorio artificio feciſſe quæſtum . . .* (2). *Ipſum autem Chriſtum affirmavit à Judæis fugatum, collecta nonlingentorum hominum manu latrocinia feciſſe. . . . Item cum facta ejus mirabilia deſtruerèt, nec tamen negaret, voluit oſtendere Apollonium vel paria, vel etiam majora feciſſe* (3).

(1) Lactant. *Divin. Inſtitut.* lib. 5. cap. 2.

(2) Idem, ibid. pag. m. 337.

(3) Idem, ibid. cap. 3. pag. 308.

i. e. "There was another who wrote upon the ſame ſubject more ſmartly: he was then one of the Judges, and had been the chief promoter of the perſecution, which the Chriſtians ſuffered; but not being ſatisfied with this crime, he attempted to abuſe them in his writings, whom he had already vexed as a Judge. He wrote therefore two ſmall books, not againſt the Chriſtians, leſt he ſhould ſeem to inveigh againſt them as an enemy, but addreſſed to the Chriſtians, that he might be thought to adviſe them kindly as a friend. In theſe books he endeavoured to prove that the holy Scripture is falſe, by ſhewing

the holy martyr Ædeſius, being acted by a very great zeal, approached him whilſt he was preſiding at the trial of ſome Chriſtians at Alexandria, and loaded him with ſhame both by words and deeds; I mean that whilſt Hierocles was upon his Tribunal, Ædeſius gave him a box on the ear, upbraiding him with his infamous cruelty [*B*]. I ſhall take notice of ſome blunders of Moreri and of Cardinal Baronius's [*C*].

HIEROCLES,

" that it is inconſiſtent with itſelf; he inſiſted upon " ſome points which ſeemed to contradict each other, " and he had collected ſo many ſecret particulars, that " he appears to have been for ſome time a Chriſtian " himſelf.... He abuſed chiefly Peter and Paul, " and the other diſciples, as though they had been " the contrivers of the cheat, and yet he confeſſed " at the ſame time that they wanted ſkill and learning; " for ſome of them gained their bread by being fiſh- " ermen... He aſſerted alſo, that Chriſt himſelf be- " ing baniſhed by the Jews, aſſembled nine hundred " men, at whoſe head he robbed and plundered the " country... And to evade the conſequence of Chriſt's " miracles, the truth of which he did not diſown, he " pretended to prove that Apollonius had performed " ſuch or even greater wonders."

We do not meet with that author's name in this paſſage; but we do not doubt but Lactantius meant the ſame Judge whom he calls Hierocles in another book. *Incidiſti... in Hieroclem ex Vicario præſidem, qui auctor & conſiliarius ad faciendam perſecutionem fuit* (4). i. e. " You fell into the hands of Hierocles, who from " a Lieutenant became a Magiſtrate, and was the " chief author and adviſer of the perſecution." In order to confirm this, we ſhall make two obſervations, the one concerning the title of the book which this great perſecutor of the Chriſtians wrote; the other concerning the name which Euſebius gives to the author of that book. *Auſus eſt libros ſuos nefarios, ac Dei hoſtes φιλαληθεῖς annotare.* i. e. " He dared to in- " title his abominable and impious books, *The Lovers " of Truth.*" Theſe are Lactantius's words (5). Now Euſebius calls the author of the book intitled Φιλαλήθης, *Hierocles* (6). It is therefore unqueſtionable, that the author whoſe name does not appear in Lactantius's 5th book, is the ſame who is called Hierocles in the treatiſe *de Mortibus Perſecutorum.* i. e. " Of the deaths " of the Perſecutors." Obſerve that Euſebius in his refutation of this author confines himſelf to the parallel between Jeſus Chriſt's miracles, and thoſe of Apollonius of Tyanea. He does not attempt to anſwer the other objections, and only obſerves, that Origen had refuted them beforehand in his book againſt Celſus, and that Hierocles only borrowed the thoughts and expreſſions of another. Obſerve alſo with regard to this parallel, that Euſebius only curſorily runs over Apollonius's Life written by Philoſtratus, and makes a few critical remarks upon it. It is certain that Euſebius has not done wonders in that refutation. Here follows what Dr. Cave ſaid of it. *Poſterioris hujus operis partem de comparatione Apollonii cum Chriſto refutandam in ſe ſuſcepit Euſebius libro contra Hieroclem; quod* & SATIS JEJUNE *præſtitit, cum potius Philoſtrati libros* de vita Apollonii *in eo opuſculo breviter percurrit & refellit* (7). i. e. " Euſebius undertook to confute in his book " againſt Hierocles the latter part of this work, " which contains a parallel between Apollonius and " Jeſus Chriſt: but he has done it very indifferently, " for he rather runs over and refutes Philoſtratus's " Life of Apollonius." Obſerve laſtly, that Lactantius did not deſign to make a particular anſwer to Hierocles; for he is ſo far from following him cloſely, that he never anſwers directly any objection tranſcribed from the work of that enemy of Chriſt. His deſign was to eſtabliſh the foundations of the Goſpel, and to ruin thoſe of Paganiſm: he thought that this would be anſwering at once all that the adverſaries of Chriſtianity had publiſhed, or would publiſh for the future. *Ii ergo, de quibus dixi, cum præſente me ac dolente, ſacrilegas ſuas literas explicaſſent, & illorum ſuperba impietate ſtimulatus, & veritatis ipſius conſcientia, & (ut ego arbitror) Deo, ſuſcepi hoc munus, ut omnibus ingenii mei viribus accuſatores juſtitiæ refutarem; non ut contra hos ſcriberem, qui paucis verbis obteri poterant, ſed ut omnes, qui ubique idem operis efficiunt, aut effecerunt, uno ſemel impetu profligarem. Non dubito enim, quin & alii plurimi, & multis in locis, & non modò Græcis, ſed etiam Latinis literis monumentum injuſtitiæ ſuæ ſtruxerint, quibus ſingulis quoniam reſpondere non poteram, ſic agendam mihi hanc cauſam putavi, ut & priores cum omnibus ſuis ſcriptis perverterem, & futuris omnem facultatem ſcribendi, aut reſpondendi amputarem* (8). i. e. " When " therefore, they, whom I have mentioned, had ex- " plained before me and to my grief, their ſacrilegious " opinions, I being provoked at their haughty impiety, " and animated by the knowledge of truth, and, as I " imagine, moved by God himſelf, have under- " taken to refute the enemies of religion, with all the " ſtrength I am capable of. I do not indeed deſign to " write againſt them who can be anſwered in a few " words, but to bear down with one ſtroke all thoſe who " any where undertake or have undertaken the ſame " taſk. For I do not doubt, but ſeveral others, in a " great many places have left monuments of their im- " piety not only in Greek, but alſo in Latin; and as " I could not make a particular anſwer to every one " of them, I thought it was proper thus to plead this " cauſe, that I might overthrow the former authors " with all their writings, and at the ſame time put it " out of the power of any future author both to write " any more (againſt our religion) and to anſwer me."

(4) Lactant. *De Mortib. Perſecutor.*

(5) Idem, *Divin. Inſtitut.* lib. 5. pag. 311. cap. 3.

(6) Euſeb. *contra Hierocl. init.* pag. 511, 514. Volum. *de Demonſt. Evangel.*

(7) Cave, *Hiſt. Liter. Script. Eccleſ.* Part 2. pag. m. 61.

(8) Lactant. *Divin. Inſtit.* lib. 5. cap. 4. pag. 311, 312.

[*B*] *It is reported, that... Ædeſius gave Hierocles a box on the ear, upbraiding him with his infamous cruelty.*] Euſebius does not expreſs himſelf clearly, but we ought to think that this circumſtance is implicitly meant by the words he made uſe of. Λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις τὸν δικαστὴν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ἀτιμίᾳ περιβαλών. i. e. " He " loaded the Judge with ſhame and diſgrace both by " his words and deeds (9)." Here follows Valeſius's note upon this paſſage (10). *In hoc Euſebii loco, ἀτιμία quidem deſignat verba, quibus judex affectus eſt ab Ædeſio. αἰσχύνη verò denotat convicia, quibus Ædeſius judicem ipſum appetiit. Utrumque autem indicat Euſebius his verbis:* λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις τὸν δικαστὴν, &c. i. e. " In this paſſage of Euſebius, the word ἀτιμία (diſ- " grace) relates to the blows which Ædeſius gave the " Judge; and the word αἰσχύνη (ſhame) ſignifies the re- " proaches he loaded him with. Euſebius gives us " both theſe particulars to underſtand in theſe words; " *By his words and deeds he loaded the Judge*, &c." Euſebius does not tell us the name of the Judge who was treated thus; it is from other writers that we learn his name was Hierocles. You will find this, with ſome other particulars, in the following words of Metaphraſtes: you will find there, that he ſtruck the Governor of all Ægypt, that he threw him down on the ground, and repeated his blows. *Poſt hanc calamitatem, incidit in Hieroclem, qui totam Ægyptum adminiſtrabat. Hunc cùm in Dei martyres injuria ſævientem animadverſiſſet, ſanctaſque Dei virgines tradentem lenonibus, nec tantam iniquitatem perferre poſſet, ſimile fraterno facinus aggreditur. Namque Divino repletus zelo procedit, & verbis ac factis Hieroclem confundit. Manu enim ſua plagas illi in os infligit, humique ſupinum proſternit & cædit: ac monet, ne audeat contra naturæ leges Dei ſervos offendere* (11). i. e. " After this calamity he met with " Hierocles, who was Governor of all Egypt. And " obſerving that this man unjuſtly raged againſt God's " Martyrs, and expoſed God's holy Virgins to the " panders, and not being able to ſuffer ſo great an in- " juſtice, he attempted an action like that of his bro- " ther; for being animated with a divine zeal, he " loaded Hierocles with ſhame both by words and deeds: " for he ſtruck him on the face with his hand, and " throwing him down he continued to beat him, warn- " ing him, never to venture any more to vex God's " ſervants againſt the laws of nature." Valeſius quotes the *Menæum* or Martyrology of the Greeks, in which it is aſſerted that Hierocles the Governor was ſtruck by Ædeſius at Alexandria (12).

(9) Euſeb. *de Martyr. Paleſtin.* cap. 5. pag. m. 326.

(10) Valeſius, *Not. in Euſebium*, ibid. pag. m. 177.

(11) Metaphraſtes, *apud* Valeſium, ibid.

(12) Αὐτοχείρως τὸν ἄρχοντα ἔτυψεν; i. e. " He ſtruck the " Governor with " his own hand.

[*C*] *I ſhall take notice of ſome blunders of Moreri and of Cardinal Baronius.*] I. He ſtiles our Hierocles a *Platonic Philoſopher*, though he was not ſo much as a Philoſopher, taking the word in a general ſenſe. I have not met with any author among the ancients, that makes him of that profeſſion; and I find that Dr.

HIEROCLES, the ſon of that Alypius, who had commanded the Roman Army in England,

Dr. Cave amongſt the moderns, doubts whether we ought to call him a Philoſopher (13). II. Moreri mentions another *Hierocles an Heathen Philoſopher, and one of the Judges of the Areopagus, who laboured to demonſtrate that Apollonius of Tyanea was the ſame with Jeſus Chriſt. Euſebius wrote againſt him*, adds he. This is multiplying beings without any neceſſity. For that Hierocles, who was refuted by Euſebius, does not differ from him, whom Moreri had given an account of in the preceding article, and whom he had called a Platonic Philoſopher. III. We know of no Hierocles who was a Judge of the Areopagus. Cardinal Baronius who has miſled Moreri in this particular, might very eaſily have avoided that miſtake; for he grounded his aſſertion on Lactantius's authority, whoſe very words he tranſcribes (14). Now Lactantius tells us expreſly, that the author who wrote againſt the Chriſtians, was one of the Judges in Bithynia. Since therefore Baronius ſuppoſed very rightly, that the name of this adverſary of the Chriſtians was Hierocles, he ſhould not have placed him among the Judges of the Areopagus. Take notice that he is in the right to obſerve, that Euſebius and Lactantius wrote againſt the ſame Hierocles; and yet Moreri, who only tranſcribes from Baronius, mentions two Hierocles's to us, the one refuted by Lactantius, the other by Euſebius. IV. Moreri did not underſtand theſe words of Baronius. *Nihil magis monſtrare conatus eſt* (Hierocles) *quam Apollonium æqualem fuiſſe Chriſto* (15). i. e. "The chief thing, which Hierocles "laboured to prove is, that Apollonius was equal to "Jeſus Chriſt." Moreri imagined that theſe words ſignify, that Hierocles pretended to prove that Apollonius was the ſame with Jeſus Chriſt (16). What I have ſtill to obſerve is rather againſt Cardinal Baronius, than againſt Moreri. We have ſeen above, that Lactantius mentions two Heathen authors, who wrote againſt the Chriſtians. Baronius pretends that our Hierocles is the ſecond of theſe authors, and that Porphyry is the firſt. Moreri tranſcribes this without making any critical remark upon it. He declares indeed that *in this particular he follows* Baronius's *opinion*. Let us therefore level our remarks againſt this Cardinal, and obſerve to him, that he would not have found Porphyry's character in that paſſage of Lactantius, had he examined it narrowly. The former of theſe Heathen authors was at Nicomedia at the ſame time with Lactantius, and publiſhed his invective againſt the Chriſtians in that very city (17). He was a man abandoned to all manner of vice; covetous, voluptuous, and exceſſively prodigal in his diet. He was very rich, and made his court very aſſiduouſly to the Judges, in order to inrich himſelf more and more; namely, by ſelling their verdicts, and ſtopping the proceedings that were carried on againſt him by his neighbours, whoſe eſtates he ſeized upon. The three books he publiſhed againſt the Chriſtians were very ſilly and ridiculous; he knew nothing of the matter, and knew not what he ſaid. The Chriſtians laughed at him, and he miſcarried moſt wretchedly in his deſign (18). Such is the character of this author and of his book, if we may credit Lactantius. How then could Baronius (19) imagine that Porphyry was hinted at in this deſcription? Where did he find that Porphyry continued a great while at Nicomedia? A man cannot court the favour of the Judges in order to keep poſſeſſion of the lands, on which he unjuſtly ſeizes about his country houſes; a man, I ſay, cannot do this, when he is a travelling; it is ſuch a conduct as requires a fixed abode, and a ſettled eſtabliſhment. If therefore Baronius were in the right, it muſt be ſuppoſed that Porphyry was thus ſettled at Nicomedia; now this is a circumſtance which no author ever mentioned. This Philoſopher ſpent the greateſt part of his life at Rome and in Sicily; and beſides, he was never charged with indulging himſelf in ſenſual pleaſures; and after all, he did not write in a ſilly manner againſt the Chriſtians. They complained indeed of his cavils, of his malice, and of his ſlanders; but they did not aſſert, that he wanted wit, or that his books were impertinent and ridiculous (10), or that they expoſed him to the cenſure of the heathens themſelves, inſtead of the reputation he expected. *Verum hic pro ſua inanitate contemptus eſt; qui & gratiam, quam ſperavit, non eſt adeptus, & gloria, quam captavit, in culpam reprehenſionis converſa eſt* (21). i. e. "But this author was "deſpiſed for his fillineſs; nor did he gain the fa-"vour of the heathens as he expected; and inſtead "of the reputation he aimed at, he was only blamed." Porphyry had been a Chriſtian, according to Baronius (22); he ought not therefore to have been ſo groſly ignorant of the ſubject he handled, as the perſon whom Lactantius mentions; for you muſt obſerve, that this father having aſſerted, that that writer examined ſeveral things in particular, adds immediately, *one would think that he had been formerly a Chriſtian, ut aliquando ex eadem diſciplina fuiſſe videatur* (23). This obſervation ought to have been of ſome weight with Baronius, not to miſtake Porphyry in the character, which Lactantius gives us of the Philoſopher, who wrote ignorantly and impertinently againſt the perſecuted Chriſtians.

To conclude, let us obſerve that the preface which this Philoſopher had prefixed to his Book, is proper to ſhew us how much the perſecutions carried on by the Heathen were like thoſe which the Chriſtians carry on. A ſelfiſh and flattering Author never fails to write againſt the perſecuted Party; he looks upon it as a fair opportunity to commend his Prince, and will be ſure to improve it. He expatiates on the ſervice that is done to God, and on the charity of the Teachers, who ought to make inſtruction go hand in hand with the authority of the laws, that they, who have the misfortune to err, being brought back to the knowledge of the truth, may thus eſcape the Puniſhment, which their obſtinacy would otherwiſe draw upon them. This voluptuous Philoſopher of Nicomedia omitted none of thoſe common-place Topicks; one would think that he was the model, which ſeveral French Authors copied after, who wrote whilſt the Proteſtants were perſecuted in France. You will find in the following paſſage, how he expreſſed himſelf. *Profeſſus ante omnia Philoſophi officium eſſe, erroribus hominum ſubvenire; atque illos ad veram viam revocare, id eſt, ad cultus Deorum; quorum numine ac majeſtate (ut ille dicebat) mundus gubernetur: nec pati, homines imperitos quorundam fraudibus illici; ne ſimplicitas eorum prædæ ac pabulo ſit hominibus aſtutis. Itaque ſe ſuſcepiſſe hoc munus, philoſophia dignum; ut præferret non videntibus lumen ſapientiæ; non modo ut ſuſceptis Deorum cultibus reſaneſcant, ſed etiam ut pertinaci obſtinatione depoſita, corporis cruciamenta devitent; neu ſævas membrorum lacerationes fruſtra perpeti velint. Ut autem appareret, cujus rei gratia opus illud elaboraſſet, effuſus eſt in principum laudes; quorum pietas, & providentia (ut quidem ipſe dicebat) cum in cæteris rebus humanis, tum præcipue in defendendis Deorum religionibus claruiſſet; conſultum eſſe tandem rebus humanis, ut cohibita impia & anili ſuperſtitione, univerſi homines legitimis ſacris vacarent, ac propitios ſibi Deos experirentur* (24). i. e. "He declared firſt of all, that it is "the Duty of a Philoſopher to undeceive men in "their Errors, and to lead them back into the road "of truth, that is to ſay, to the worſhip of the Gods, "by whoſe Providence and Power, as he pretended, "this World is governed; and not to ſuffer that un-"ſkilful Perſons be impoſed upon by the artifice of "others, leſt their innocence ſhould make them a "prey to crafty men. That he therefore undertook "this taſk, worthy of a Philoſopher, in order to "carry the light of wiſdom before thoſe that were "blind; not only that they might come to their "right ſenſe again and worſhip the Gods, but alſo "that by renouncing their obſtinacy, they might "avoid the cruel puniſhments that were deſigned "for them, and not expoſe themſelves any longer "in vain, to have their members tortured and "torn in pieces. And that it might appear with "what deſign he wrote that book, he expatiated on the praiſes of the Princes, whoſe piety and "wiſdom, as he ſaid, had been eminent not only in "the government of civil affairs, but alſo chiefly "in defending and promoting the worſhip of the "Gods. That the welfare of human kind was at "laſt provided for, by ſuppreſſing that impious and "ſilly ſuperſtition, and bringing all men to a lawful "worſhip, which would render the Gods kind and "propitious to them." It is eaſier to recede from the method of the perſecutor Dioclefian, than from that of his Panegyriſts.

(13) *Philoſophus, an ſolum homo politicus, non liquet.* i. e. "It is not "certain whe-"ther he was a "Philoſopher, or "only a Politi-"cian. Cave, *Hiſt. Liter.* Part 1. pag. m. 279. He ſtiles him a Philoſopher in Part 2. pag. 61. without telling us how his doubts were removed.

(14) Baron. *ad an.* 68. num. 31. pag. m. 654.

(15) Idem, ibid.

(16) This blunder has been corrected in the Dutch edition, and in that of Paris.

(17) Lactant. lib. 5. cap. 2, and 4.

(18) *Taken from* Lactant. ibid. cap. 2.

(19) Baronius, *ad ann.* 302. num. 51. pag. m. 730.

(20) *Ineptus, vanus, ridiculus apparuit.* i. e. "He "appeared to be "impertinent, "ſilly and ridicu-"lous." Lactant. *Divin. Inſtitut.* lib. 5. cap. 2. pag. 307.

(21) Idem, ibid.

(22) Baron. *ad ann.* 302. num. 53. *who quotes* Socrates, lib. 3. cap. 19. N. B. It is cap. 23. in Reading's edition, publiſhed at Cambridge 1720.

(23) Lactant. lib. 5. cap. 2.

(24) Idem, ibid. pag. 306.

England, and whom Julian the Apoſtate ſent to Jeruſalem to rebuild the Temple, was impeached together with his father, under the Emperor Valens, and tormented ſo cruelly, that they did no longer know which of his members to torture again, in order to extort from him by the violence of the rack, what they would have him declare (*a*). Orders were at laſt given to carry him to the place of execution; but whilſt he was going thither, the whole people addreſſed the Emperor in a body, and petitioned him ſo earneſtly for that man, that they obtained his pardon. This is what may be inferred from a paſſage in Ammianus Marcellinus, compared with another in St. Chryſoſtom [*A*]. Our Hierocles was a diſciple of Libanius, and had a great ſhare in his eſteem [*B*].

(*a*) *Omni laniena excruciato, ut verba placentia Principi, vel potius arceſſitori loqueretur; quo cum pœnis non ſufficerent membra, vivo exuſto, &c.* Amm. Marcell. lib. 29. cap. 1. pag. 556.

[*A*] *He obtained his Pardon. This is what may be inferred from a paſſage in Ammianus Marcellinus, compared with St. Chryſoſtom.*] The paſſage in Marcellinus is as follows. *Ipſe quoque Alypius, poſt multationem bonorum exulare præceptus, filium miſerabiliter ductum ad mortem, caſu quodam proſpero revocatum excepit* (1). i. e. "Alypius being ordered to go into baniſhment, "his eſtate being forfeited, did alſo by a lucky event "recover his Son who was unhappily going to be "executed." The paſſage from St. Chryſoſtom is in the third Homily on the incomprehenſible nature of God. This Father, in order to acquaint his audience with the powerful efficacy of a whole people's prayer, quoted to them an inſtance which they had ſeen ten years ago, when a certain malefactor, who was going to the place of execution with a gagg in his mouth, obtained his pardon at the requeſt of the whole people of Antioch, who went in a body to petition the Emperor for him. Valeſius (2) does not doubt but this Malefactor was Hierocles the ſon of Alypius.

(1) Amm. Marcellin. lib. 29. pag. 557.

(2) Hen. Valeſius, *in Marcellin.* lib. 29. pag. 557.

[*B*] *He had a great ſhare in the eſteem of Libanius.*] Libanius in a letter to Alypius (3) tells him, that his ſon being ſtill but a Child, appeared wiſer than grown perſons, and that there were ſeveral fathers, who when they reproved their children, propoſed to them the example of Alypius's ſon. Ammianus Marcellinus's character of him agrees upon the whole with that which Libanius gives him. *Citatus eſt cum Hierocle filio adoleſcente indolis bonæ.* i. e. "He was ſummoned "with his ſon Hierocles, a youth of a virtuous diſ-"poſition (4)."

(3) Lib. 4. Epiſt. 284. *apud* Valeſium, *ibid.*

(4) *Citatus eſt cum Hierocle filio, adoleſcente indolis bonæ.* Amm. Marcell. ibid. pag. 556.

HIEROCLES, a Platonic Philoſopher in the fifth Century, taught at Alexandria with great reputation, and was admired for the ſtrength of his mind, and the beauty of his noble expreſſions (*a*). He wrote ſeven books upon Providence and Fate, and dedicated them to the Philoſopher Olympiodorus, who by his embaſſies did the Roman Empire great ſervices, under the Emperors Honorius and Theodoſius the younger (*b*). Theſe books are loſt, and we know them only by the extracts which are to be met with in Photius. It appears from theſe extracts that Hierocles had ſhewed, that there is a perfect agreement between Plato's doctrine and that of Ariſtotle, and that they who denied it, did not well underſtand the opinions of theſe two great Philoſophers (*c*). He racked his brains a thouſand ways to remove the difficulties which occur in the doctrines of Providence, Fate, and Freewill; and he pretended that the ground or principle of all this conſiſted in the ſoul's paſſing from one body into another, and in the life which the ſouls had led before they entered into human bodies. He ſpent all his ſtrength upon this ſubject, ſo that he had none left to think of ſtrong arguments proper to eſtabliſh the doctrine he undertook to prove (*d*); and therefore Photius obſerves, that all his great ſhew of reaſoning came at laſt to nothing but trifles (*e*). We may obſerve ſomething very ſingular in this Philoſopher's doctrine; for he aſſerted that Plato taught, the world was made out of nothing [*A*].

(*a*) Photius, *Biblioth.* Cod. 242. pag. m. 1037.

(*b*) Idem, Cod. 214. pag. 549.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

(*d*) Idem. ibid.

(*e*) Εἰς λῆρον αὐτοῦ τὸ πολύμοχθον διαλύσται σπούδασμα. *In nugas operoſa illa machinatio abit.* Idem, ibid.

He

[*A*] *He aſſerted that Plato taught, the world was made out of nothing.*] Hierocles (1) refuted in a very ſtrong manner the Platonick Philoſophers, who aſſerted, that though God ſhould operate eternally by his power and wiſdom, he would yet be incapable of forming a world without the help of uncreated matter. Theſe Philoſophers maintained that God did not produce any thing but by co-operation of matter, the exiſtence or being of which did not depend on him. Every thing, added they, was potentially contained in that matter; God only extracted things from it, and put them in order. Hierocles argued with a great deal of judgment againſt this Hypotheſis; he aſſerted that ſuch a work of God would be the effect of an unneceſſary labour, rather than a proof of goodneſs. Ὁ περιεργία μᾶλλον ἂν εἴη ἀγαθότητος θεοῦ. *Quod ſupervacaneæ potius eſſet diligentiæ quàm bonitatis Dei* (2). For why ſhould he labour to put that in order which he has not made? Is not a being that is from all eternity ſelf-exiſtent ſufficiently regular? And is not every thing that happens to ſuch a being againſt the nature of it? And is it not therefore a defect? Τί γὰρ δὴ μαθὼν ἂ μὴ ὑπέστησε διατάττειν πειρᾶται, πάντως τι τῆς εὐταξίας αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀγενησίᾳ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φύσεως κειμένης; τὸ γὰρ ἀγένητος καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὑφεῖναί τι προσλάβοι, παρὰ φύσιν προσλήψεται. τὸ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν διατεθῆναι, κακὸν τῷ μεταστρεπομένῳ ὥστε μὴ ἀγαθὸν τῇ λεγομένῃ ὕλῃ τὰ κοσμεῖσθαι, εἴπερ ἀγένητος εἴη μὴ ἀπὸ χρόνου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ αἰτίου. i. e. "Why does he endeavour to put "that into order, which he has not created, ſince "things that are not created, are of their own na-"ture in a good order? For if any thing be added to "what is uncreated and ſelf-exiſtent, it is added a-"gainſt nature; now what is added againſt nature is "bad; ſo that it is not good to adorn the ſaid matter, "ſince it is uncreated, not only with regard to time, "but alſo with regard to the cauſe of its exiſting (3)."

(1) Photius, *Biblioth.* Cod. 251. pag. 1380.

(2) Photius, *Biblioth.* Cod. 251. pag. 1380.

(3) Idem. ibid.

He infers from thence that God could not have begun his work but by an evil action (4), namely, by undertaking to deprive a ſubſtance uncreated like himſelf and his own ſiſter, of her natural condition. Theſe are ſuch ſtrong arguments (5), that whoever weighs them duly, and is concerned for Plato's reputation, will endeavour to prove, that he did not admit two collateral principles, both eternal and independent from each other, viz. God and matter. This is no doubt the reaſon why our Hierocles aſcribed to him the doctrine of a Creation ſtrictly ſo called. I am apt to think, that he had read it in the writings of the Chriſtians, and that being ſenſible of the ſtrength of the arguments, which ſhew the abſurdity of an uncreated Matter, and adding to this the moſt exalted notions of a Creator, whoſe power and majeſty are infinite, he ſuppoſed, for the glory of his ſect, that its founder had known God under the notion of a being, who by a bare act of his will was capable of producing the univerſe. Ὅτι δημιουργὸν θεόν, φησι, προϋφίστησιν ὁ Πλάτων ἐφεξῆς τε πάσης ἐμφανοῦς τε καὶ ἀφανοῦς διακοσμήσεως, ἐκ μηδενὸς πρόϋποκειμένου γεγενημένης. ἀρκεῖν γὰρ τὸ ἐκείνου βούλημα εἰς ὑπόστασιν τῶν ὄντων. i. e. "Plato, *ſays he*, ſup-"poſed that God is the author of all, and that he "has produced this whole univerſe with all that is "viſible

(4) Τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς δημιουργίας ἀπό τινος κακοποιίας ἐνστησάμενος. i. e. "Beginning his "creation with "an evil action." Idem, ibid.

(5) Compare this with what is obſerved in the remark [*R*] of the article EPICURUS.

He married only with a design to get children [B]. His wife became poſſeſſed with the Devil (f). In vain did he uſe the moſt civil expreſſions to deliver her from that Devil; the evil ſpirit had no regard to his compliments: but Theoſebius (g), without underſtanding Magic, exorciſed her ſo effectually, that he forced the Devil to retire. Jonſius, who proves very ſtrongly that our Hierocles lived after Euſebius, is however miſtaken in other particulars [C], namely, in ſuppoſing that he was the author of an Hiſtory of Apollonius of Tyana, and that the ſeven books concerning Providence were refuted by a writer named Euſebius, different from him who wrote the Church Hiſtory, &c.

(f) Photius, Cod. 242. pag. m. 1037.

(g) He was a diſciple of Hierocles.

" viſible and inviſible in it out of nothing that exiſted " before; becauſe his will alone was ſufficient to pro- " duce whatever exiſts (6)." But it would be very eaſy to ſhew that this is an officious lie, ſince Plato does very clearly ſuppoſe the being of an independent and uncreated matter. We may therefore aſſert, that Hierocles made uſe on this occaſion of his ſkill as much as he had done in any other; I mean the ſkill of putting ſuch a ſenſe as one pleaſes upon an Author's words (7), or at leaſt of finding two or three different ſyſtems in his works. He underſtood this practice perfectly well; for the two explications he gave of Plato's Gorgias, were intirely different, and yet they ſeemed to agree with the Platonick Doctrine. Theſe are ſports of wit, but which require a moſt fruitful imagination. Ἀντιπαραβαλὼν τὰ πρότερα καὶ τὰ ὕστερα εὗρεν οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν· ἑκάτερα δὲ ὅμως, ὃ καὶ παράλογον ἀκοῦσαι, τῆς Πλάτωνος ἐχόμενα, καθόσον οἷόν τε, προαιρέσεως. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐπιδέδεικται, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡλίκον ἦν ἄρα τὸ τῶν φρενῶν πέλαγος. i. e. " When his two ex- " plications were compared together, they appeared, " if I may ſay ſo, very different; and yet, which " looks like a Paradox, both his explications ſeemed " to agree with Plato's Doctrine. Which ſhews how " fruitful this man's genius was."

(6) Photius, *Biblioth.* Cod. 251. pag. 1381.

(7) See the remark [C] in the article HEMMINGIUS.

(8) Photius, *Biblioth.* Cod. 242. pag. 1037.

[B] *He married only with a deſign to get children.*] Damaſcius makes the ſame obſervation with regard to Theoſebius a Diſciple of Hierocles, and this ſhews us that the moſt celebrated Platonick Philoſophers were perſuaded, that theſe were the true rules and real bounds of Matrimony, and that all that went beyond theſe limits, was a diſorder, or at leaſt a licentiouſneſs, in which wiſe men ought not to indulge themſelves. This Theoſebius finding that his wife was barren, made a ring of chaſtity, and gave it her. Formerly, ſaid he to her, I made you a preſent of a ring of generation (9), but now I give you a ring of continence, which will help you to lead conſtantly a chaſte life. Ἐπίκουρόν σοι παρεσόμενον ἀεὶ τῆς σώφρονος οἰκειρίας. i. e. " It will always be to you a help to " chaſtity (10)." You may continue with me, if you pleaſe, and if you can contain yourſelf; but if you do not like this condition, you may marry another man; I conſent to it, and the only favour I beg of you is, that we may part friends. She readily accepted the offer. Here my Author ſtops, and leaves us in the dark; for we do not know whether the woman accepted the former or the latter offer. The Author ſhould not have left his account thus ambiguous.

(9) Δακτύλιον ἁρμοσὴν παιδουργοῦ συμβιώσεως. i. e. " A ring " rendring the " union fruitful." Idem, ibid.

(10) Idem, ibid.

[C] *Jonſius, who proves . . . . . that our Hierocles lived after Euſebius, is however miſtaken in other particulars.*] His firſt Argument is, that Hierocles mentioned Plutarch the Athenian, who lived after Jamblichus (11). Now the latter flouriſhed under Julian the Apoſtate; we have ſtill ſome letters, which this Emperor wrote to him. The ſecond argument is, that Olympiodorus, to whom Hierocles's Books were dedicated, did not live before the reigns of Honorius and Theodoſius the Younger; for he wrote an Hiſtory which began with the ſeventh Conſulſhip of Honorius, and the ſecond of Theodoſius the Younger, and he continued it to the reign of Valentinian, or to the year 425 (12). Jonſius is in the right on this foot to maintain, that the ſame Euſebius, who wrote the *Church Hiſtory*, *the Evangelical Preparation*, &c. did not refute the writings of this Hierocles; but he is miſtaken when he aſſerts that they have been refuted by another Euſebius. Here follows the cauſe of his blunder. He imagined that the ſame Hierocles, who compoſed the ſeven books upon Fate, wrote alſo the Hiſtory of Apollonius of Tyanea, entitled, *Philalethes*, and of which there is a refutation amongſt the works of Euſebius. This is miſtaking Hierocles the Perſecutor of Chriſtians under the Emperor Diocleſian, for Hierocles a Philoſopher of Alexandria under Theodoſius the Younger. It is a little ſurpriſing that Jonſius, who had a very extenſive and exact Knowledge of the Authors who had the ſame name, knew nothing of the Preſident of Bithinya, and Governor of Alexandria, who vexed the Chriſtians ſo much, who wrote againſt them, and whoſe name was Hierocles. Let us infer from all this, that this learned man was miſtaken in believing that Euſebius refutes our Hierocles's opinions upon Fate. It is certain that Euſebius refuted only the opinion of Apollonius, ſuch as he had read it in Philoſtratus (13),

(11) Jonſius, *de Script. Hiſt. Philoſoph.* pag. 303.

(12) Idem, ibid. pag. 304. He quotes Photius, Cod. 80.

(13) Obſerve, that Dr. Cave, *Hiſt. Literar. Script. Eccleſ.* Part 1. pag. 131. cenſures theſe two blunders of Jonſius.

HIERO I King of Syracuſe was the ſon of Dinomenes and the brother of Gelon, who after he had invaded the ſovereign power at Gela, was ſo happy as to ſee the city of Syracuſe ſubmit to him, when he had no other deſign but to reſtore ſome citizens of that City, whom the populace had baniſhed. He was ſo well pleaſed with this new acquiſition, that of his own accord he reſigned Gela to his brother Hiero, and applied himſelf entirely to the government of Syracuſe, employing all poſſible means to put that city in the moſt flouriſhing condition (a). His reign was glorious and happy; he acquired a great reputation by his victories, and gained the love of his ſubjects by his equity and moderation (b). Hiero, who ſucceeded him, did not follow his ſteps; he was covetous and paſſionate, and was very far from imitating Gelon's virtuous conduct; for which reaſon ſeveral perſons had a mind to rebel againſt him; but the memory of his predeceſſor was ſo dear to them and ſo glorious, that it prevented their rebellion (c). He had a great mind to put his brother Polyzelus to death, whom the Syracuſans loved very much, and whom he ſuſpected to aim at the ſovereign power. He deſigned to ſend him to aſſiſt the Sybarites, who were beſieged by the Crotonians: he deſigned, I ſay, to ſend him thither, that he might be killed in battle; but Polyzelus, who perceived his wicked intention, refuſed the employment, and ſeeing that the King his brother was extremely exaſperated at his refuſal, retired to the Court of Theron, who reigned at Agrigentum. They were ſometime after reconciled by Theron's mediation (d). The latter might have made an advantage of this miſunderſtanding, but he was an honeſt man (e), and would reward one kind office with another [A]. His ſon Thraſydeus ſucceeded

(a) Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 155, 156.

(b) Diod. Siculus, lib. 10. cap. 67. *See alſo* Plutarch. *de Sera Numinis Vindicta*, pag. 551, 552.

(c) Idem, Diod. ibid.

(d) Idem, ibid. cap. 48.

(e) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 53.

[A] *Theron . . . . . would reward one kind office with another.*] Whilſt Hiero was making preparations to attack Theron, to whoſe court his brother was retired, the inhabitants of Himera ſent him Deputies

ceeded him, and was unfortunate in the war in which he engaged againſt the Syracuſans. Hiero invaded the country of the Agrigentines with a ſtrong army, and gained a victory which made Thraſydeus loſe his crown (*f*). Obſerve here the difference there is between Poets and Hiſtorians. The ſame Hiero, who is repreſented as a very accompliſhed Prince in Pindar's Odes [*B*], appears to be a very bad King in Diodorus Siculus's Hiſtory. I think, that if the Poet flatters him too much, the Hiſtorian does not treat him with a ſufficient impartiality; for he does not relate all that is to his honour; I mean, that Hiero became more moderate, and was very much improved in his morals by converſing with ſome men of wit [*C*], whom he loved and loaded with favours. He died in the city of Catana the ſecond year of the 78th Olympiad (*g*), after he had reigned near twelve years (*h*). It was a city which he had entirely changed, having driven the antient inhabitants out of it, and ſettled there in their ſtead a Colony of Greeks from Peloponneſus, and from Syracuſe (*i*). He changed its name of Catana into that of Ætna, and would himſelf be ſurnamed *Ætneus*, when he was proclaimed Conqueror at the Pythick Games (*k*). The ſolemnities of his burial were like thoſe that uſed to be celebrated for heroes (*l*). His brother Thraſybulus ſucceeded him, but his tyrannical actions forced the citizens of Syracuſe to revolt, and they reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that he was obliged to ſubmit to very hard terms. He retired into Italy in the country of the Locri, where he paſt the remainder of his days in a private life. He reigned but one year. The citizens of Syracuſe having reſtored the Republican Government, continued it till the time of Dionyſius's tyranny. This was an interval of threeſcore years (*m*). We may obſerve, that it is ſurpriſing that Dinomenes, Hiero's ſon, did not ſucceed him.

(*f*) Diod. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 53.

(*g*) Idem, ibid. cap. 66.

(*h*) Idem, ibid. cap. 38. pag. m. 397.

(*i*) Idem, ibid. cap. 49.

(*k*) *See* Pindar. *Pyth. Od.* 1. & ibid *Commentar. Joh. Benedicti.*

(*l*) Diod. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 66. Obſerve that the ancient inhabitants of Catana ſettled again in that city, and deſtroyed the monument raiſed to Hiero. *See* Strabo, lib. 6. pag. 185.

(*m*) Diod. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 67, 68.

He

to offer him their aſſiſtance, and even to let him know that they were determined to live under his Government. Thraſydeus, Theron's ſon, had been ſent to command them, and had made himſelf odious to them by his outrages and by his pride. Hiero took hold of this opportunity, not to proſecute his deſign of continuing the war, but to procure a pacification. He gave the King of Agrigentum notice of what the inhabitants of Himera contrived. This notice made Theron take neceſſary meaſures to make their plot miſcarry; and was the reaſon why he made peace with the King of Siracuſe, and reſtored a good underſtanding between the two brothers (1). Moreri, quoting the XIth Book of Diodorus Siculus, aſſerts, that Hiero *routed the tyrant of Agrigentum, who deſpiſed him.* I could not find the leaſt hint of this particular in Diodorus Siculus. Obſerve that the Hiſtorian Timæus had related, that Theron not being able to bear that his ſon-in-law Polyzelus ſhould be abuſed by Hiero, declared war againſt this King of Syracuſe; but it ended immediately, and before there was any act of hoſtility committed on either ſide (2). Let us obſerve by the by, that Demarata (3) Theron's daughter, was married to King Gelon, who on his death-bed ordered that ſhe ſhould marry Polyzelus (4).

(1) Diod. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 48.

(2) *See* Benedictus's *Commentary on Pindar*, Od. 2. Olymp. pag. 43.

(3) Concerning this woman, ſee Diod. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 26.

(4) *See* Benedictus's *Commentary on Pindar*, Od. 2. Olym. pag. 43.

(5) See the 1ſt Ode of his *Olympicks*, and the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d of his *Pythicks*.

(6) *See* Pauſanias, lib. 8. pag. 687.

(7) Jo. Benedictus, *in Pindar.* Od. 1. Olymp. pag. 2.

(8) Pindar. Od. 1. Olymp.

(9) Diod. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 38, 39.

[*B*] *Hiero . . . . is repreſented as a very accompliſhed Prince in Pindar's Odes.*] He carried the prize of the horſe-Race at the Olympick Games, and had the ſame advantage at the Pythick Games, and was alſo conqueror at the chariot-races. Theſe Victories were celebrated in a lofty ſtile by the Poet Pindar (5); and you may be ſure, that tho' his digreſſions fill up above three fourths of his Odes, yet he does not forget to obſerve, that Hiero had all the virtues of a good and brave King. Obſerve that the inſcription of Hiero's *ex Voto* (6), (or the offering he had vowed) ſhews, that he carried the prize three times at the Olympick Games, twice at the horſe-races, and once at the Chariot-races. John Benedictus (in French *Benoit*) who in his Commentary on Pindar aſſerts (7), that Hiero carried the prize of the horſe-races at the Olympick Games celebrated in the 73d Olympiad, is miſtaken; for Hiero was already King of Syracuſe when he carried that prize (8), and he did not begin to reign at Syracuſe till the 75th Olympiad (9). The ſame Commentator pretends that he died after he had gained ſuch another victory in the 77th Olympiad, which is ſuppoſing that he reigned above ſixteen years, and contradicting the beſt Hiſtorians without any reaſon.

[*C*] *Hiero became much more moderate, and was very much improved in his morals by converſing with ſome men of wit.*] He was one of the moſt ignorant men in the world, and as ruſtical as his brother Gelon; but having had a fit of ſickneſs, he ſpent the leiſure, which the weakneſs of his body gave him, in converſing with learned men, and became learned himſelf: and when he had entirely recovered his health, he continued to take a delight in thoſe converſations, and often diſcourſed with Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchilides (10). The Author, who acquaints us with this, adds, that he was a great lover of literature; that he was very generous; that he had an exalted mind; that he lived with his three brothers without any miſtruſt; that he loved them tenderly, and was alſo thus beloved by them; and that his inclination to make conſiderable preſents, determined Simonides, though he was then very old, to croſs the ſea, and to come to him (11). There are ſome Critics (12), who pretend that it is inconſiſtent with Chronology to ſuppoſe that Hieron had ſeen Simonides: but others ſhew that they are miſtaken (13). All the antient writers were fully perſuaded of their meeting, and converſing together. Xenophon ſuppoſes a dialogue between them (14), which is a very good piece. Hiero ſpeaks there as a man of wit, and of great judgment. The Hiſtorian Timæus had aſſerted, that Simonides was the mediator of the peace, that was concluded between Hiero and Theron (15). See alſo Athenæus (16) and Pauſanias (17); and obſerve, that though there were not the leaſt flattery in the praiſes which Pindar and Ælianus beſtowed upon Hiero, yet one could not infer from thence, that Diodorus Siculus gave a falſe account of him: for what he has obſerved concerning Hiero's covetouſneſs and paſſionate temper, might be true with regard to his conduct before he fell ſick. I do not obſerve this with a deſign to excuſe Diodorus in every reſpect: I ſtill blame him for not mentioning Hiero's converſion, and for hinting but too plainly that he never mended his morals. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἱέρωνος τελευτὴν παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν Θρασύβουλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑπερέβαλε τῇ κακίᾳ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσαντα (18). i. e. "Hiero being dead, Thraſybulus his brother reigned in his ſtead, and exceeded in wickedneſs his predeceſſor." This ſeems abſolutely falſe to me, and in my opinion we ought to give ſome credit to Ælian and to Plutarch (19), and to quote this Prince as an inſtance, which proves the truth of the following maxim of Horace:

Nemo adeo ferus eſt, ut non miteſcere poſſit,
Si modo culturæ patientem commodet aurem (20).

"The raſh, the lazy, lover, none's ſo wild,
"But may be tam'd and may be wiſely mild,
"If they conſult true virtue's rules with care,
"And lend to good advice a patient ear.

CREECH.

(10) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 4. cap. 15.

(11) Idem, ibid. lib. 9. cap. 1.

(12) Biſciola, tom. 2. *Hor. ſubciſ.* lib. 2. cap. 19.

(13) *See* Kuhnius's *Notes on Ælian.* lib. 4. cap. 15.

(14) Intitled, Ἱέρων, ἢ Τύραννικός. Hieron, *ſive Tyrannicus.*

(15) See Benedictus's *Commentary on Pindar*, Ode 2. Olymp. pag. 43.

(16) Athen. lib. 14. pag. 656.

(17) Pauſan. lib. 1. pag. 6.

(18) Diod. Sicul. lib. 19. cap. 67.

(19) Plutarch. *de ſera Numinis Vindicta*, pag. 551. & in *Apophthegm.* pag. 175.

(20) Horat. Ep. 1. lib. 1. ver. 39.

Let us obſerve that the diſtemper which gave our Hiero an opportunity to uſe himſelf to learned converſations, was the Gravel. The Scholiaſt on Pindar (21), quotes upon this occaſion a work of Ariſtotle which is loſt. Moreri was groſly miſtaken, when he aſcribed to Hiero II what relates only to Hiero I. I mean that learning acquired in bed, &c.

(21) *See* Jo. Benedicti *Comment. in Pindar.* pag. 260, 296.

He ſurvived him, as appears by an inſcription of the gifts which his father had vowed to Jupiter Olympius (*n*). The offerings which this King of Syracuſe conſecrated in the temple of Delphi were very ſplendid (*o*). He had no children by his firſt wife, who was the daughter of Anaxilaus King of Rhegium, and couſin of Theron (*p*). But by his ſecond wife, who was Niocles's daughter, he had Dinomenes, whom I have mentioned above (*q*). It is pretended that he made him Governor of the city of Catana with the title of King of Ætna [*D*]. I cannot tell to which of his two wives we ought to aſcribe the anſwer related by Plutarch (*r*).

(*n*) *See* Pauſanias, lib. 8. cap. 42. pag. 687. & lib. 6. cap. 12. pag. 479.

(*o*) *See* Athenæus, lib. 6. pag. 231, 232.

(*p*) *See* Benedictus's *Commentary on Pindar*, Od. 1. Pyth pag. 263.

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) Plutarch. in *Apophtheg.* pag. 175. See above. the remark [*E*] of the article DUELLIUS.

[*D*] *It is pretended, that he made* his ſon *Governor of Catana, with the title of King of Ætna.*] They who pretend this, ground their opinion on the following words of Pindar (22).

(22) Pindar. Od. 1. Pyth. pag. m. 262, 263.

Μοῖσα κὴ τὼς Δεινομένει κελαδῆσαι
πεῖθεό μοι ποινὰν τεθρίππων,
χάρμα δ' ἐκ ἀλλότριον νι-
καφορία πατέρ.
ἄγ' ἔπειτ' Αἴτνας βασιλεῖ
φίλιον ἐξεύρωμεν ὕμνον.
τῷ πόλιν κτίναν Θεοδμά-
τῳ σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ,
Ὑλλίδ. θάθμας Ἱέρων
ἐν νόμοις ἔκλισσε.

i. e. "Aſſiſt me, Muſe, to ſing to Dinomenes the "prize carried at the chariot-races, for it becomes "*a ſon* to rejoice for his father's victory. Let us "afterwards invent an hymn acceptable to the King "of Ætna, for whom Hiero has built a city, the "liberty of which is ſettled by the Gods, and in "which Hiero publiſhed the Doric Laws." Benedictus's note upon this is as follows. *Poſtquam Pœta laudavit Hieronem ab* εὐτεκνία, *& filium Dinomenem à ſtudio in patrem: ad alias ejuſdem Dinomenis laudes digreditur: quem Ætnæ regem appellat: nam illam à ſe conditam Hiero dedit filio adminiſtrandam: eumque ducem Ætnæorum conſtituit.* i. e. "After the Poet "has commended Hiero for his happineſs in his chil-"dren, and his ſon Dinomenes for his love and re-"ſpect for his father, he proceeds in a digreſſion to "praiſe Dinomenes upon other accounts, and he "ſtiles him King of Ætna, becauſe Hiero having "founded that city, gave the government of it to his "ſon, whom he made King or Commander of the Ætneans." This makes us wonder the more to ſee that Thraſybulus ſucceeded to Hiero. I am apt to think, that the Syracuſans favoured the brother rather than the ſon, in order to do more honour to Gelon's memory. For Dinomenes, Hiero's ſon, was only Gelon's nephew; whereas Thraſybulus was Gelon's brother. So that by raiſing them to the throne, who were Gelon's neareſt relations, the Syracuſans ſhewed very plainly, that they looked upon him as the chief foundation of any perſon's pretenſions to the crown.

HIERO II, King of Syracuſe, was deſcended from the family of Gelon, who had reigned in the ſame place; but his mother being a ſervant, his father Hierocles looked upon him as a child who was a diſgrace to his family, and therefore he abandoned him to the care of fortune (*a*), that is to ſay, that he expoſed him. The bees nurſed him for ſeveral days; and the Soothſayers declaring that this was a ſign that he would be a King, Hierocles had him brought home again, and took all poſſible care of his education. The child made a conſiderable progreſs, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſeveral ways. He became a perfectly handſome and ſtrong man, he ſpoke with a very good grace, and he fought very often with thoſe who challenged him, and was always the conqueror. He received as a reward a great many military gifts from Pyrrhus (*b*). When Pyrrhus was gone, the Syracuſans made him Prætor [*A*]; and as he acquitted himſelf of that office with a great deal of prudence, all the cities agree unanimouſly to chooſe him their Captain General againſt the Carthaginians, and they raiſed him afterwards to the Throne (*c*). Soon after he carried on a vigorous war againſt the Mamertines, whom he had already defeated on ſome occaſions; and he propoſed to drive them out of the city of Meſſana *, which they had ſeized againſt the Law of Nations. As they did not find themſelves in a condition to reſiſt him, they applied themſelves, ſome to the Carthaginians, and others to the Romans. The queſtion whether they ſhould be aſſiſted was ſtrongly debated at Rome, and at laſt paſſed in the affirmative; and this was the beginning of the Punic War. The Conſul Appius Claudius, who was ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Mamertines, landed with his army in Sicily, in the year 490 after the building of Rome. The Mamertines gave their city up to him, and obliged the Carthaginian General, who commanded

(*a*) *Ex Ancilla natus ac propterea à patre, velut deboneſtamentum generis, expoſitus fuerat.* Juſtin. lib. 23. cap. 4.

(*b*) *A Pyrrho rege multis militaribus donis donatus eſt*, Idem, ibid.

(*c*) Juſtin, lib. 23. cap. 4.

* Now *Meſſina*.

[*A*] *The Syracuſans made him Prætor.*] I have been contented with following Juſtin's compendious expreſſions; but I ſhall give here a more particular account of this fact, which is imperfectly related by that Author. I obſerve then, that there was a miſunderſtanding between the Citizens of Syracuſe, and their army; and that the army being encamped near Mergana, proceeded to the election of the Magiſtrates, and conferred that dignity on two Officers of the army, Artemidorus, and Hiero. The latter being introduced into the City by the ſecret intrigues of his friends, overcame all the oppoſitions of the contrary party, and behaved himſelf with ſuch moderation and generoſity, that the inhabitants conſented to own him for Prætor, though they looked upon thoſe aſſemblies as unlawful, in which the ſoldiers pretended to chooſe the Magiſtrates (1). Polybius, who is my voucher here, relates two inſtances of Hiero's policy. The firſt is, his putting a ſtop to a diſorder which was very prejudicial to the State. The Syracuſans, who continued in the City whilſt the army and the Prætors were in the field, raiſed a thouſand ſeditions, and laboured to make innovations in the Government: it was therefore neceſſary, that when the army was abſent, ſome perſon ſhould keep the Citizens in awe. Leptines was very proper for this deſign, for he had a great many clients in the City, and great credit with the people. Hiero therefore made ſure of him, by marrying his daughter, and by this means he provided for the public tranquillity at Syracuſe, whilſt he ſhould be abroad at the head of the army. His ſecond ſtroke of policy was his getting rid of the old foreign ſoldiers, who were mutinous and diſſolute. He took the field with a pretence of attacking the Mamertines (2); and when he came in ſight of the enemy, he divided his army into two bodies, the one compoſed of the ſoldiers who were Syracuſans, the other of the foreigners; he put himſelf at the head of the former, as though he deſigned to aſſault the enemy; and left the latter expoſed to the fury of the Mamertines, who cut them in pieces. He raiſed other troops, and attacked the enemies ſo opportunely, that he gained a glorious victory over them. He was choſen King after this great action (3).

(1) Polybius, lib. 1. cap. 8.

(2) This was the name which thoſe ſoldiers took who made themſelves maſters of the city of Meſſina by artifice. *See* Polyb. lib. 1. cap. 7.

(3) *Taken from* Polybius, lib. 1. cap. 8, 9.

commanded in their citadel to leave it. The Carthaginians beſieged Meſſina, and entered into an alliance with Hiero, who joined his army with theirs. The Roman Conſul reſolved to give them battle, and attacked firſt the Syracuſans; the fight was ſharp; Hiero behaved himſelf with a great deal of courage; but he was routed, and thought fit to return to Syracuſe. Appius Claudius having alſo gained a victory over the Carthaginians, was maſter of the country, and advanced to Syracuſe, and beſieged it. Hiero obſerving that all Sicily was under a conſternation, and that the army of the Carthaginians was very much weakened, made ſome propoſals of a peace to the Romans; his propoſals were accepted, and from that time till his death he continued faithfully attached to the intereſt of the Romans (*d*), and gave them all poſſible proofs of the moſt ſincere friendſhip [*B*]. If he had lived but five or ſix years, after he entered into an alliance with them, and if we ſhould judge of things according to the practice of this age, we ſhould

(*d*) *Ex* Polybio, lib. 1. cap. 10, *& ſeq.*

[*B*] *He gave the Romans all poſſible proofs of the moſt ſincere friendſhip.*] I ſhall relate what he did, when the affairs of the Romans were in very great confuſion after the battle, which Hannibal gained near the lake called Thraſymenus (4). This was the third battle they had loſt in Italy, ſince Hannibal entered that country, that is to ſay, in one year only. This would be more than ſufficient at this time, to make a Prince forſake his allies, and ſide with the conqueror; a Prince, I mean, whoſe dominions ſhould be ſituated, as Syracuſe was with regard to the Republic of Carthage. Yet Hiero followed only the rules of Generoſity; he continued a conſtant friend to the Romans, and ſent them a powerful ſupply. Read the following words of Livy (5). *Per eoſdem dies ab Hierone claſſis Hoſtium cum magno commeatu acceſſit. Legati Syracuſani in ſenatum introducti nunciarunt, cædem C. Flaminii conſulis exercituſque allatam adeo ægrè tuliſſe regem Hieronem, ut nulla ſua propria, regnique ſui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quamquam probè ſciat magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem propè adverſis rebus, quàm ſecundis, eſſe, miſſa tamen à ſe omnia, quibus à bonis fidelibuſque ſociis bella juvari ſoleant. Quæ ne accipere abnuant, magnoperè ſe* P. C. *orare, Jam omnium primum ominis cauſa victoriam auream pondo* CCCXX. *afferre ſeſe; acciperent eam, tenerentque & haberent propriam & perpetuam. Advexiſſe etiam trecenta millia modiûm tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deeſſent. Et quantum præterea opus eſſet, & quò juſſiſſent, ſubvecturos. Milite atque equite ſcire niſi Romani Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum: levium armatorum auxilia etiam externa vidiſſe in caſtris Romanis. Itaque miſiſſe mille ſagittariorum ac funditorum aptam manum adverſus Baleares ac Mauros, pugnaceſque alias miſſili telo gentes. Ad ea dona conſilium quoque addebant, ut prætor, cui provincia Sicilia eveniſſet, claſſem in Africam trajiceret, ut & Hoſtes in terra ſua bellum haberent, minuſque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Annibali ſummittenda. Ab ſenatu ita reſponſum regi eſt, Virum bonum, egregiumque ſocium Hieronem eſſe, atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluiſſe, ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munificè adjuviſſe: id, perinde ac deberet, pergratum populo Romano eſſe. Aurum & à civitatibus quibuſdam allatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepiſſe populum Romanum: victoriam, omenque accipere: ſedemque ei ſe divæ dare, dicare Capitolium, templum Jovis Optimi Maximi. In ea arce urbis Romæ ſacratam, volentem propitiamque, firmam ac ſtabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores, ſagittariique, & frumentum traditum conſulibus.* i. e. "At that time a "fleet, ſent by Hiero, landed at Oſtia, laden with a "great deal of proviſions. The Embaſſadors of Syracuſe being admitted into the Senate, declared that "Hiero was ſo much grieved at the death of the Conſul C. Flaminius, and at the ſlaughter of their army, "that no misfortune of his own or of his Kingdom "could afflict him more. And though he was ſenſible that the Majeſty of the Romans was in a "manner more wonderful in their adverſity, than in "their proſperity; yet he ſent them all the aſſiſtance "that is uſually expected in war from good and "faithful allies. And he earneſtly deſired the Fathers "not to refuſe that aſſiſtance. The Embaſſadors added, that they had brought with them, firſt of all, "as a good omen, a golden ſtatue of Victory, of "three hundred and twenty pound weight, which "they deſired the Senate to accept, and to keep for "ever as their own. That they had alſo brought "three hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat, and two "hundred thouſand of barley, that they might not "want proviſions; and if they had occaſion for more, "it ſhould be ſent to whatever place they ſhould order. That they knew the Romans never made uſe "of any foot-ſoldiers or horſemen, but ſuch as were "natives of Rome, or at leaſt of Latium: that Hiero "had however ſometimes obſerved auxiliary troops "lightly armed in the armies of the Romans, and "even ſuch auxiliaries as were foreigners; and therefore he ſent them a good number of archers and "ſlingers, whom they might oppoſe againſt the Baleārians, Mauritanians, and other nations who fling "offenſive weapons from a diſtance. To theſe gifts they "added a piece of advice, which was, that the Prætor, "who was to command in Sicily, ſhould ſail with a "fleet into Africa, that the enemy might have the "war in their own country, and be thus leſs capable "of ſending Hannibal freſh ſupplies. The Senate's anſwer to the King was, that Hiero was a good and "excellent ally to the Romans, who had conſtantly "been faithful to them, from the time he became a "friend to them, and had at all times and in all places "generouſly aſſiſted them: that the people of Rome "acknowledged this with pleaſure, as they ought to "do; that when ſome cities ſent them gold, they "were thankful for the favour, but would not accept "the gold. But yet they accepted the ſtatue of Victory as a good omen, and would give it a ſeat in "the Capital, which was the Temple of Jupiter the "Great God. That being conſecrated in that Temple of the city of Rome, the Goddeſs would for ever "be kind and propitious to the Romans; laſtly, "that the ſlingers, the archers, and the proviſions, "ſhould be committed to the care of the Conſuls." One can hardly meet with ſuch a generous behaviour in private men towards each other. Gelon, Hiero's ſon, was not capable of following this noble example; he left the vanquiſhed party, without minding in the leaſt how much his father would be grieved at it. You will find Livy's words in the following paſſage from Caſaubon. *Fides & vera & conſtantia ejuſdem* (Hieronis) *in conſervanda Po. Ro. majeſtate laudari ſatis pro merito non queat; quum præſertim ea mox & deinceps perſæpe ſecuta ſint tempora, quæ ejus conſtantiam eximie probarent. Quot & quantas clades populus Ro. bello Punico primo, & ſecundi initio ſit perpeſſus, nemo neſcit. Solent adverſa hominum voluntates & abdita mentium nudare. Hieronis propoſitum & conſtantiam in ſuſcepta ſemel amicitia Romanorum, non Reguli calamitas, non Claudii naufragium, non Thraſymenus, non Trebia, poſtremo ne Cannenſis quidem dies potuit labefactare. Manſit inconcuſſa illi fides, etiam tunc quum & in Italia & extra Italiam omnes Po. Ro. ſocii & amici ad Pœnos fortunam ſecuti inclinabant. Ne domus quidem Hieronis tota (verba ſunt Livii) ab defectione abſtinuit. Namque Gelo maximus ſtirpis contempta ſimul ſenectute patris, ſimul poſt Cannenſium cladem Romana ſocietate ad Pœnos defecit. Hiero tamen nihilo ſecius immotus ſtetit, ceu Marpeſia quædam cautes, eique etiam tunc fides conſtitit: quam etiam ad extremum vitæ conſtantiſſime ſervavit* (6). i. e. "One cannot ſufficiently commend Hiero's fide- "lity and conſtancy in ſupporting the Majeſty of the "Romans; eſpecially ſince there happened ſoon after, "and in ſucceeding times, ſuch exigences as put his "conſtancy to great trial. All the world knows how "many and what great misfortunes befell the Romans "in

(4) In the year 537. ſince the building of Rome.

(5) Titus Livius, lib. 22. pag. 340, 341. *See alſo* Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. cap. 8. num. 1. *in Extr.*

(6) Caſaubon, *Commentar. in Polyb.* pag. 151, 152.

ſhould have reaſons to wonder at his conſtancy. What then ought not our admiration to be, when we conſider that he lived near fifty years after he made that alliance? This long reign was very happy; for Hiero's conduct was attended with ſo much prudence, that he was ſafe amongſt his ſubjects, and gained great reputation abroad, and all his affairs, both public and private, ſucceeded according to his wiſh. He cultivated the friendſhip of the Greeks, and was proud of having his ſhare in the crowns they diſtributed (*e*). His ſons erected an equeſtrian ſtatue, and another on foot to him at Olympia (*f*). His ſubjects alſo raiſed ſtatues to him in the ſame city (*g*). The money he gave to the Rhodians, and the preſents he ſent them, after that great earth-quake, which had done a very conſiderable damage in their iſland, and thrown their Coloſſus down, are a very eminent proof of his generoſity and magnificence (*h*). He built a ſhip, which was one of the moſt famous veſſels of antiquity. Archimedes (*i*) had the direction of that work. You will find a deſcription of it in Athenæus (*k*), who quotes a book written on purpoſe upon this ſubject by a certain Moſchian. The 16th Idyl of Theocritus is addreſſed to this King of Syracuſe, and the author ſeems to complain that he praiſed him without receiving the leaſt reward from him. Hiero wrote ſome books of Agriculture (*l*), and died at the age of fourſcore and ten years [*C*], the ſecond year of the 141ſt Olympiad, and the 539th (*m*) ſince the building of Rome. He ſurvived his ſon Gelon (*n*), who had been married with Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus (*o*), and who had a ſon by her called *Hieronymus* (*p*). He obſerved that this Hieronymus had a great deal of pride, and he was afraid, leſt the good condition, in which he had ſettled his Kingdom, ſhould ſoon be altered under ſuch a Prince: he deſired therefore to reſtore the Syracuſans their liberty, but his daughters diſſuaded him from it [*D*]; and in his old age, he had not that ſtrength of mind which was neceſſary to reſiſt the careſſes and artifices of theſe two women, who were night and day about him. He was therefore obliged to leave his Kingdom to his grandſon, under the guardianſhip

(*e*) *See* Polyb. lib. 1. cap. 12.

(*f*) Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 12. pag. 480.

(*g*) Idem, ibid. cap. 15. pag. 489. But obſerve that he aſſerts, pag. 480. that his ſons raiſed two ſtatues to him; and, pag. 489. that they raiſed but one, and. the Syracuſans two.

(*h*) *See* Polyb. lib. 5. cap. 88.

(*i*) Concerning the care which Hiero took to have Archimedes's Geometrical Speculations applied to mechanical uſes. *See* Plutarch, *in Vita Marcelli*, pag. 305.

(*k*) Athen. lib. 6. pag. 206, &c. See the article ARCHIMELUS.

(*l*) See the remark [*C*].

(*m*) And not 529, as Moreri ſays.

(*n*) Calviſius, *ad ann.* Rome 538. ſuppoſes the contrary, but he is miſtaken.

(*o*) Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 12. pag. 479.

(*p*) Polybius, *in Excerpt. Legat.* cap. 1. T. Livius, lib. 24. pag. 382.

" in the firſt Punic War, and in the beginning of the " ſecond. Adverſity does generally diſcover men's " true inclinations, and their moſt ſecret thoughts. " But neither Regulus's unfortunate caſe, nor Claudi- " us's ſhipwreck, nor the battle of Thraſymenus, nor " that of Trebia, nor even the ſlaughter of Cannæ " were capable of ſhaking Hiero's conſtancy, or " weakening in the leaſt the friendſhip he once had for " the Romans. His fidelity continued firm, even " when all the allies and friends of the Romans, both " within and without Italy, were ready to join with " the Carthaginians, becauſe fortune favoured them. " Nay the very family of Hiero, as Livy tells us, " was not intirely free from defection. For Gelon, " the eldeſt of his children, in ſpite of his father's old " age, abandoned the Romans, and joined with the " Carthaginians, ſoon after the battle of Cannæ was " loſt. Yet Hiero ſtood unmoved, like a Marpeſian " rock, and even then he was faithful, and continued " ſo moſt conſtantly to the end of his life."

Let us add another obſervation; viz. that this Prince's fidelity for the Romans was ſometimes very burthenſome to him; for it happened on ſome occaſions, that the ſhips of the Carthaginians made great havock in his territories (7). Let us obſerve laſtly, that on his death-bed he recommended to the guardians of his grandſon, who was to ſucceed him, not to ſuffer any alteration to be made in the alliance, which he had ſo long and ſo faithfully kept with the Romans (8).

(7) *See* Tit. Liv. 22. pag. m. 349.

(8) Livius, lib. 24. pag. 381.

[*C*] *Hiero... died at the age of fourſcore and ten years.*] Livy aſſerts it, as you will ſee in the following remark. Lucian quotes (9) Demetrius Calliſtianus, who wrote that Hiero died of ſickneſs, aged fourſcore and twelve years, after he had reigned threeſcore and ten years. But let us keep to the even number mentioned by Livy and by Valerius Maximus. *Siciliæ rector Hiero ad nonageſimum annum pervenit* (10). i. e. " Hiero the Governor of Sicily lived to be ninety " years old." Let us take notice by the by of a little miſtake of Father Hardouin. *Hieron, Siciliæ Rex, quem inter ſcriptores de agricultura memorant Varro, & Columella l.* 1. *c.* 1. *cum Attalo Philometore Pergami rege. Multa de eo præclara habet Valerius Max. l.* 8. *c.* 13. *p.* 405 (11). i. e. " Hiero King of Sicily, " whom Varro and Columella (B. I. Ch. I.) mention " among the writers on agriculture, with Attalus Phi- " lometor King of Pergamus. Valerius Maximus re- " lates a great many honourable particulars of him." Conſult Valerius Maximus in the paſſage quoted by Father Hardouin; you will find nothing there concerning Hiero, but the ſeven words which I have tranſcribed; but you will find there a great many curious things concerning Maſſiniſſa King of Numidia. I am perſuaded that a falſe glance of the eye was the occaſion of Father Hardouin's being miſtaken. Having ſkipped one line, he imagined that the whole page in Valerius Maximus related to Hiero: this ſkip made him overlook the word Maſſiniſſa, which is in the following line; ſuch an overlooking is oftener the cauſe of miſtakes, than ſome perſons are apt to imagine. A writer who is to conſult a great many authors, dwells as little as he can upon every thing in particular; his eyes run ſwiftly over the pages, they ſlide ſometimes ſo nimbly over certain lines, that there is not the leaſt notion of it preſerved in the mind. In ſuch a caſe a man connects together in his writings facts which ſhould be ſeparated.

(9) Lucian. *in Macrobiis*, pag. 635. tom. 2. Oper.

(10) Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 13. num. 1. in Ext.

(11) Hardouin, in *Ind. Autor. Plinii*, pag. 115.

To conclude, remember that Hiero did not reign threeſcore and ten years, as Lucian aſſerts; for he was Prætor during ſeven years, before he was proclaimed King (12).

(12) *See* Caſaubon, *in Polyb. Librum* 1. pag. m. 99, 100.

[*D*] *He deſired to reſtore the Syracuſans their liberty; but his daughters diſſuaded him from it.*] It was becauſe they knew that they and their huſbands would have the chief management of the affairs of the Kingdom. Livy deſcribes this admirably well. *In Sicilia*, ſays he (13), *Romanis omnia mutaverat mors Hieronis, regnumque ad Hieronymum nepotem ejus tranſlatum, puerum vixdum libertatem, nedum dominationem modicè laturum. Lætè id ingenium tutores atque amici ad præcipitandum in omnia vitia acceperunt. Quæ ita futura cernens Hiero, ultima ſenecta voluiſſe dicitur liberas Syracuſas relinquere, ne ſub dominatu puerili per ludibrium bonis artibus partum firmatumque interiret regnum. Huic conſilio ejus ſumma ope obſiſtere filiæ: nomen regium penes puerum futurum ratæ, regimen rerum omnium penes ſe, viroſque ſuos, Andronodorum, & Zoilum: nam ii tutorum primi relinquebantur. Non facile erat nonageſimum jam agenti annum, circumſeſſo dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis liberare animum, & convertere ad publicam privatamque curam. Itaque tutores numero quindecim puero reliquit.* i. e. " Hiero's death had made a great alteration in the " affairs of the Romans in Sicily; Hieronymus his " ſon ſucceeding him, a child who would abuſe " liberty, and much more the ſovereign power. " His guardians and friends were very glad that this " character of his gave them an opportunity to throw " him headlong into all manner of vices. Hiero fore- " ſeeing this, had ſome deſign in his old age, they " ſay, to reſtore the Syracuſans to their liberty, leſt " the Kingdom, which had been eſtabliſhed by wiſdom " and prudence, ſhould again be imprudently ruined, " under the government of a child. But his daughters

(13) Titus Livius lib. 24. pag. 381.

guardianſhip of fifteen perſons. What the old man had foreſeen and dreaded, came really to paſs. Syracuſe was in the utmoſt confuſion after his death [*E*]. Pauſanias, who aſſerts that Dinomenes killed him (*q*), is miſtaken.

(*q*) Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 12. pag. 480.

" did all that was in their power to perſuade him from " that deſign. They knew that the child would have " the name of a King, but that all the power would " be lodged with them, and their huſbands, Androno- " dorus and Zoilus. For theſe were named the firſt " guardians to the young Prince. Nor was it an eaſy " matter for a man, who was fourſcore and ten years old, " and night and day beſet by the women, who cajoled " him continually, to have his thoughts free, and ap- " ply them to public and private affairs. So that he " left the child under the care of fifteen guardians."

[*E*] *Syracuſe was in the utmoſt confuſion after his death.*] The firſt thing that was done was, that they acquainted the people with Hiero's laſt will, and ſhewed them Hieronymus their new King, who was then but about about fifteen years old. Some perſons appointed on purpoſe to applaud, approved the laſt will; others were under the greateſt uneaſineſs, and conſidered the Kingdom as an orphan who had loſt his father. They proceeded afterwards to the King's funeral; and if he was interred in a ſolemn manner by the great number of perſons who attended his burial, it ought to be aſcribed to the people's affection for him, rather than to his family's care (14). It was afterwards ſeen that Andronodorus, the deceaſed's ſon-in-law, and one of Hieronymus's fifteen guardians, declared that the King was of age to govern the Kingdom, and that the guardianſhip was expired. By this means he got into his own hands and for himſelf alone the power of all the other guardians. A Kingly attendance was ſoon introduced; and whereas Hiero had always been dreſſed like the other citizens, his grandſon appeared in public dreſſed in a purple habit, with a diadem on his head, and ſurrounded with a life-guard. Pride, cruelty, and diſſoluteneſs were ſoon anſwerable to this pompous appearance, and one would have thought that Hieronymus made it his buſineſs, that his ſubjects might bewail the loſs of his grandfather. The Syracuſans had loved him to ſuch a degree, that had his grandſon been poſſeſſed of all the good qualities of the beſt Princes, they would hardly have been ſufficient to ſatisfy them. How great therefore muſt their diſcontent have been, under a ſucceſſor, who was ſo different from Hiero? I cannot ſufficiently admire the noble expreſſions, which Livy makes uſe of to repreſent this. *Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracuſanos, ſuccedenti tantæ charitati Hieronis. Verùm enim vero Hieronymus, velut ſuis vitiis deſiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo ſtatim conſpectu omnia quàm diſparia eſſent, oſtendit. Nam qui per tot annos Hieronem, filiumque ejus Gelonem, nec veſtis habitu, nec alio ullo inſigni differentes à cæteris civibus vidiſſent, conſpexere purpuram, ac diadema ac ſatellites armatos: quadrigiſque etiam alborum equorum interdum ex regia procedentem, more Dionyſii tyranni. Hunc tam ſuperbum apparatum habitumque convenientes ſequebantur mores, contemptus omnium hominum, ſuperbæ aures, contumelioſa dicta: aditus non alienis modo, ſed tutoribus etiam difficiles: libidines novæ, inhumana crudelitas* (15). i. e. " It was " hardly poſſible for any good and modeſt Prince to " gain the people's favour, coming to the throne after " Hiero, who had been ſo much beloved. But Hiero- " nymus, as though he would have made his ſubjects " wiſh again for his grandfather's reign, ſhewed by his " firſt appearance in the world, the great difference " there was in every reſpect between their characters. " For they who for ſo many years had obſerved that " Hiero and his ſon Gelon did not in the leaſt differ " from the other citizens in their dreſs, nor in any other " mark of diſtinction, beheld now the Prince dreſſed " in a purple habit with a diadem on his head, and " attended by a numerous guard; and coming ſome- " times from his palace in a chariot drawn by four " white horſes, after the manner of Dionyſius the " Tyrant. His morals anſwered his haughty appear- " ance and his dreſs; he ſcorned all men, heard them " with pride, and gave them opprobrious language: it " was difficult not only for ſtrangers, but even for his " guardians to have acceſs to him; his licentiouſ- " neſs was unheard of, and his cruelty beyond ex- " preſſion." This young King preferred the alliance of the Carthaginians before that of the Romans (16). But he had not time to do the former any ſervice; there was a conſpiracy againſt him, and he was killed (17). Andronodorus ſheltered himſelf as well as he could in the ſtrongeſt places of Syracuſe, and yet notwithſtanding the advice of Demarata (18) Hiero's daughter, he ſubmitted to the new republican government, and was made Prætor. But new troubles ariſing, he endeavoured to make an advantage of them, being tired with the repeated inſtigations of his wife (19). He adviſed about his undertaking with Themiſtius, the huſband of Harmonia Gelon's daughter, and truſted a player with his deſign, who betrayed him; ſo that he and Themiſtius were killed, as they were entering into the Senate-houſe (20). In order to juſtify this murther it was neceſſary to acquaint the people with the crime of theſe two men. The orator who was ordered to do it, obſerved amongſt other things, that their wives had inſpired them with ambition. Hereupon a great outcry was made in the aſſembly, the people declaring that theſe women muſt be put to death, with the whole family of the tyrants. Orders were given for it immediately, and the thing was done accordingly. Livy, who relates this ſtory, adds to it a reflection concerning the capricious and changeable temper of the populace. *Sub hanc vocem ex omnibus partibus concionis clamor oritur, nullam earum vivere debere, nec quenquam ſupereſſe tyrannorum ſtirpis. Hæc natura multitudinis eſt: aut ſervit humiliter, aut ſuperbè dominatur; libertatem, quæ media eſt, nec ſpernere modice, nec habere ſciunt, & non fermè deſunt irarum indulgentes miniſtri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad ſanguinem & cædes irritent: ſicut tum extemplo Prætores rogationem promulgarunt. Acceptaque penè prius quàm promulgata eſt, ut omnis regia ſtirps interficeretur. Miſſique à Prætoribus Demaratam Hieronis, & Harmoniam Gelonis filias, conjuges Andronodori & Themiſtii, interfecerunt* (21). i. e. " At this word the whole aſſembly " cried out, that none of theſe women ought to live, and " that whole family of the tyrants ought to be put to " death. For ſuch is the character of the multitude, " they either obey ſlaviſhly, or proudly command. " Liberty, which is a medium between both, they " know not how to enjoy with moderation, nor how " to uſe rightly; nor are there wanting ſome perſons " who make it their buſineſs to indulge the people's " paſſion, and who provoke their eager and immo- " derate minds to ſlaughter and bloodſhed, as it hap- " pened on this occaſion: for the Prætors put the " queſtion immediately, and it was carried in the affir- " mative almoſt before it was propoſed, the whole " people voting that all the royal family ſhould be put to " death. And the Officers ſent by the Prætor killed " Demarata Hiero's daughter and wife to Andronodo- " rus, and Harmonia Gelon's daughter, and The- " miſtius's wife." There was another of Hiero's daughters named Heraclea. As ſoon as ſhe knew that the Officers came to put her to death, ſhe took ſanctuary in the chapel of her houſe, and ſtayed with her houſhold Gods, and employed the moſt moving ſupplications and the ſtrongeſt arguments to ſave her life, or at leaſt her daughters; but it was in vain; they dragged her out of the chapel, and cut her throat; her two daughters, who had made their eſcape out of the houſe, were killed in the ſtreets (22). See the margin (23).

(14) *Funus ſit regium magis amore civium, & charitate, quam cura ſuorum celebre.* Tit. Livius, lib. 24. pag. 381.

(15) T. Livius, lib. 24. pag. 381.

(16) Idem, ibid. pag. 381. *See alſo* Polyb. *in Excerpt. Legat.* cap. 1.

(17) Livius, ibi'.

(18) What ſhe told him is related in the remark [*F*] of the article PERIANDER towards the end.

(19) *Feſſus tandem uxoris vocibus monentis, nunc illud eſſe tempus occupandi res, dum turbata omnia nova atque incognita libertate eſſent, dum regiis ſtipendiis paſtus obverſaretur miles: dum &c.* Livius, lib. 24. pag. 391.

(20) Idem, ibid.

(21) Idem, ibid. pag. 392.

(22) Idem, ibid. pag. 193.

(23) I ſhall make ſome reflections upon this in the remark [*C*] of the article HOBBES.

HIERO, a great friend of Nicias, and the Chief or Leader of the Colony that reſtored Thurium (*a*), pretended to be the ſon of Dionyſius ſurnamed Χαλκὸς [*A*], that is to

(*a*) A city in Italy.

[*A*] *The ſon of Dionyſius, ſurnamed* Χαλκὸς.] This Dionyſius was a Poet, and ſome of his poems were ſtill extant in Plutarch's time (1), His elegies have been quoted by Athenæus (2), and by Ariſtotle (3). He

(1) Plutarch. in *Nicia*, p. 526.

(2) Ath. lib. 10. p. 443. & lib. 15. pag. 668.

(3) Ariſtot. *Rhetor.* lib. 3. cap. 2.

to ſay, *made of Braſs*, *Æneus*. He had been educated at Nicias's houſe, who himſelf taught him polite Literature and Muſic; and Hiero, in return, had recourſe to a great many artifices to ſupport Nicias's intereſt (*b*). I have met with an error in Amiot, and in ſome Dictionaries (*c*).

(*b*) *Taken from* Plut. *in Vita Niciæ.*

(*c*) See quotation (5).

He was alſo an orator; for he was ſurnamed Χαλκὸς only becauſe the Athenians made uſe of braſs money, being perſuaded to it by his oration (4). See the margin (5).

(4) Callimachus, *in Tract. de Rhetoribus, apud* Athen. lib. 15. pag. 669.

(5) Obſerve that Amiot pretends that this Dionyſius was at the Head of the Colony that ſettled at Thurium. But Plutarch aſcribes this to Hiero. Obſerve alſo, that Charles Stephens, Lloyd and Hoffman aſſert that the Poems which were extant in Plutarch's time, were written by Hiero, which is falſe.

HIEROPHILUS a Phyſician, of whom I can ſay nothing, but that he taught Phyſic to a certain Maiden called Agnodice. She was obliged to diſguiſe herſelf in men's cloaths; for there was a Law amongſt the Athenians, by which the women and the ſlaves were forbidden to ſtudy Phyſic (*a*). Agnodice, who ſet up for a midwife, was the occaſion of the altering of that Law. This ſtory is too curious not to be related in a note [*A*].

(*a*) *Athenienſes caverant ne quis ſervus aut fœmina artem Medicinam diſceret.* Hygin. cap. 274.

HILDEBERT

[*A*] *This ſtory is too curious, not to be related in a remark.*] Hyginus tells us, "that as there were no "midwives amongſt the ancients, a great many women "died in labour, becauſe they were aſhamed to ſend "for a Phyſician; and that there was a law amongſt "the Athenians, by which the women were forbidden "to meddle with Phyſick. Wherefore a young maiden "who had a ſtrong inclination for that ſcience, diſ-"guiſed herſelf in men's cloaths and ſtudied it. She "went afterwards to the women who were in labour, "and to remove all their ſcruples, ſhe ſhewed them "firſt of what ſex ſhe was, and then delivered them. "The Phyſicians obſerving that this made them loſe "their practice amongſt the women, impeached Ag-"nodice, and charged her with a criminal converſation "with the women; they complained even of a certain "colluſion between them, as though the women pre-"tended ſome indiſpoſitions in order to favour their "gallant. In a word, they had her condemned by "the Areopagites, but Agnodice gave in a full court "ſuch evident proofs of her innocence in that reſpect, "that the Phyſicians were obliged to play another "game; they pleaded the Law, by which all perſons "of her ſex were forbidden to practiſe Phyſick. Here-"upon the Athenian Ladies became parties in the "cauſe, and at their requeſt the Law was amended; "ſo that it was afterwards lawful for the women to "learn that art (1)." The author from whom I have borrowed this paſſage makes an obſervation againſt Hyginus. "Theſe words of Hyginus, *ſays he* (2), "are a little inaccurate; for one might infer from his "diſcourſe, that ſince Agnodice had begun to de-"liver the women, they did no longer ſend for Phy-"ſicians, when they were in labour, which would "prove againſt this author's own obſervation, that be-"fore that time they were wont to make uſe of the "Phyſicians aſſiſtance. But if he wanted accuracy, "we may however clear him from contradiction, by "ſuppoſing his meaning was, that the women finding "themſelves eaſed in their labour by Agnodice, would "no longer employ any other but her, in their other "diſtempers, in which they had no reaſon to be "aſhamed to ſend for a Phyſician." This author makes another reflection concerning Hyginus's obſerving that before Agnodice practiſed the art of midwifry, ſeveral women died becauſe they were aſhamed to ſend for a Phyſician (3). "It muſt be confeſſed, "*ſays the author of the Nouvelles de la Republique des* "*Lettres* (4), that modeſty is not much leſs ſubject "than other things to the whimſical changes of the "faſhion. There was a time when it was the faſhion "to be aſhamed of ſending for a man-midwife, and "we read in a book of Louiſa Bourgeois, a very un-"derſtanding midwife, that Henry IV recommended "her to do her duty ſo well in delivering Queen Mary "de Medicis, that there might be no occaſion to ſend "for a man, which, added he, would make her mo-"deſty ſuffer too much. It is now the faſhion not to "have that modeſty; our age is truly much more "knowing than the former ages were." This raillery againſt our age is not well grounded; for if on the one hand there be leſs modeſty now in ſome reſpects, than there was formerly, on the other hand impudence is not ſo great amongſt us, as it was at Athens. Are there any honeſt women to be met with now-a-days, who in a full court would dare to lift up their ſhift in order to ſhew the Judges of what ſex they are? And yet this is what Agnodice did in the Areopagus, the moſt grave and moſt venerable tribunal that was then in the world. *Quod cum vidiſſent medici, ſe ad fœminas non admitti, Agnodicen accuſare cœperunt, quod dicerent eum glabrum eſſe & corruptorem earum, & illas ſimulare imbecillitatem. Quo cum Areopagitæ conſediſſent, Agnodicen damnare cœperunt. Quibus Agnodice tunicam allevavit, & ſe oſtendit fœminam eſſe* (5). i. e. "The Phyſicians ſeeing "that they were no longer called by the women, be-"gan to impeach Agnodice, ſaying ſhe was a man with-"out a beard, who debauched the women; who pre-"tended to have diſtempers, that they might have an "opportunity to ſend for him. The Areopagite "being met again to condemn her, Agnodice "took her gown up, and ſhewed them ſhe was a wo-"man." Can one imagine greater impudence than this was? Had ſhe not already given before this ſufficient proofs of her want of ſhame? Could ſhe not diſcover her ſex in a more modeſt manner than that ſhe made uſe of with the women? *Quæ cum credere ſe noluiſſet, æſtimans virum eſſe, illa tunica ſublata oſtendebat ſe fœminam eſſe* (6). i. e. "A woman, in la-"bour, refuſing to truſt herſelf in Agnodice's hands, "the latter took up her gown to ſhew that ſhe was a "woman." Thoſe Prelates, who in order to prove their innocence ſhewed their nakedneſs to whole Councils (7), were not by far ſo impudent as this Athenian Lady.

I have obſerved in another place, that Albertus Magnus pretended to midwifry, if we may depend upon ſcandalous reports (8). If it be ſo, it is a long while ſince the modeſty of the Athenian Ladies is out of date. And as Albertus Magnus's reputation was very well eſtabliſhed, who knows but there were ſome women who took a pride in being delivered by him? as the affected Ladies in Moliere would have every thing belonging to them, even to their very drawers, made by the beſt workmen.

Since the firſt edition of this Dictionary was printed, I have met with an obſervation in the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipſic, which will furniſh me with a Supplement to this Article. It muſt be confeſſed, ſay the Authors of that Journal, that the French are more proper than any other nation, to teach us the method of aſſiſting the women who are in labour. Not becauſe the French have a more happy genius, but becauſe they have often an opportunity to be preſent at a woman's delivery. It is now the faſhion in France, that even new-married women are not at all aſhamed to be ſeen and handled by the Chirurgeons without the leaſt ſcruple, and women of all conditions deſire that a Chirurgeon be with them, and aſſiſt them when they are near their time. There is a quite different cuſtom amongſt the other nations, for the women generally ſpeaking, and eſpecially thoſe that have been but lately married, are ſo baſhful and ſcrupulous, that they can hardly be perſuaded to ſuffer themſelves to be examined by their Midwives, or by their female friends; they are determined to it only in caſe of neceſſity, and when their pains are ſo violent that it overcomes their reluctancy. As I have not tranſlated the

(1) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for Jan. 1686, p. 28, 29.

(2) Ibid. pag. 30.

(3) *Antiqui obſtetrices non habuerunt, unde mulieres verecundia ductæ interierant.* Hygin. cap. 274.

(4) Jan. 1686, Pag. 30.

(5) Hyginus, cap. 274. pag. m. 329.

(6) Ibid. pag. m. 328.

(7) Concerning Dionyſius, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, ſee the *Nouvelles Lettres contre Maimbourg*, pag. 686. and add the following paſſage to it: *Atteſtantibus Nicephoro & Zonara, quum Macedonius Epiſcopus Conſtantinopolitanus, ſub Anaſtaſio, falſo atque factionibus Arrianorum & Manichæorum ab adoleſcentulis, impuræ Veneris; & Methodius Patriarcha, ſub Michaele, ſtupri accuſati eſſent; amboſ ut convincerent mendacium, tunicâ ſublatâ oſtendiſſe, virilibus ſe carere: & exinde à criminibus illis liberos atque immunes fuiſſe pronunciatos.* Salmuth. *in Pancirolum*, Part 2. pag. 88.

(8) See his article remark [*B*].

HILDEBERT, Biſhop of Mans, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Tours in the 12th Century, had led a very diſſolute life before he was raiſed to the epiſcopal character [*A*]. It is to no purpoſe that ſome perſons pretend to diſpute it againſt the Annaliſt of the Church of Rome [*B*], and object to him the diſcoveries of a critic. Father Maimbourg ſucceſsfuly expatiated upon an action of this Prelate [*C*], with a deſign to abuſe the few Biſhops,

the paſſage from the Journal of Leipſic word for word, I ſhall tranſcribe it here that the reader may ſee I have given the ſenſe of it with all the fidelity that is requiſite. *Non eſt negandum, de adjuvandis parturientibus Gallos præ cæteris nationibus nos inſtruere poſſe, non ingenio, ſed occaſione, qua licet illis quam frequentiſſime partui adeſſe, feliciores. Ita enim moris apud ipſos eſſe, ut poſito pudore, etiam recens nuptæ ad tactum atque explorationem omnem chirurgos admittant faciles, & partus tempore præſentes atque adjutores fæminæ quælibet eos expetant. Quod longe ſit aliter apud cæteras nationes, ubi plerumque vix perſuaderi poſſunt uxorculæ, imprimis nuper in matrimonium ductæ, ut obſtetricibus propriique ſexus amicis ſuis faciant copiam, niſi doloribus ac neceſſitate victæ* (9). Thus the Authors of the Journal of Leipſic ſpeak in the beginning of their account of a Book publiſhed by a Chirurgeon of Paris (10) in the year 1694 with this title, *La Pratique des Accouchemens.* i. e. "The Practice of Midwifry." This Chirurgeon did not publiſh his Obſervations till after a long courſe of Experience; for he had been preſent at the delivery of four or five thouſand women. Another chirurgeon of the ſame city (11) publiſhed the next year a Book entitled, *Obſervations ſur la Groſſeſſe & l'Accouchement des Femmes.* i. e. "Obſervations upon the women's pregnancy and delivery." This work contains ſeven hundred choice obſervations out of about three thouſand more which the Author had made (12). This is ſufficient to prove that it is very much the faſhion at Paris to ſend for men-midwives inſtead of women. Time will come perhaps, when the ſame faſhion will prevail almoſt through all Europe; ſhame and modeſty will have the fate of a thouſand other things, which are ſubject to the fantaſtical and inconſtant laws of cuſtom.

(9) *Actor. Erud.* Supplem. tom. 2. Sect. 10. pag. 470.

(10) Called *Philip Peu.*

(11) Named *Francis Mauriceau.*

(12) See the *Acta Eruditor.* for Jan. 1695, pag. 42.

[*A*] *He had led a very diſſolute life before he was raiſed to the epiſcopal character.*] Even after he was promoted to the dignity of an Archdeacon, he took ſo many concubines that he had a very great number of baſtard ſons and daughters. This is what Ivo Biſhop of Chartres wrote to him (1). *Dicunt quidam de majoribus Cenomanenſis Eccleſiæ, qui anteactam vitam tuam ſe noſſe teſtantur, quod ultra modum laxaveris fræna pudicitiæ, in tantum ut poſt acceptum Archidiaconatum accubante lateribus tuis plebe muliercularum, multam genueris plebem puerorum & puellarum.* i. e. "Some of the moſt ancient Perſons of the Church of "Mans, who declare that they are very well acquainted with your former way of living, aſſert, "that you indulged yourſelf in ſenſual pleaſures to "that degree, that after you was made an Archdeacon, you uſed to lie with a whole tribe of Concubines, by whom you have got a vaſt number of "boys and girls."

(1) This letter is the 277th. *See* Menage, *Hiſt. de Sable*, pag. 107.

[*B*] *. . . . . It is to no purpoſe, that ſome perſons pretend to diſpute it againſt the Annaliſt of the Church of Rome.*] Juret (2) cenſures Baronius *for aſſerting in his Annals upon the authority of this Letter of* Ivo of Chartres, *that Ildebert was given to women before he was a Biſhop, and he pretends that this letter was written to one Aldebert, and not to Ildebert.* Aldeberto Cenomanenſis Eccleſiæ electo. i. e. "To Al"debert Biſhop elect of Mans." *Thus that letter is intitled at the end of the manuſcript of Ivo of Chartres's Letters which is lodged in St. Victor's library . . . . . But father Sirmond has very well cleared Baronius, in his Notes upon Geofrey de Vandôme. Here follow his words.* Ildebertus, vir in Epiſcopatu eximius: ante illum vitæ ſolutioris, ut indicat Ivonis epiſtola 277. Quam quidem, qui de Ildeberto, de quo agimus, ſcriptam, pertinacius neget, is opinor, clauſis oculis ſibi credi velit. Ecquæ enim alia Ivonis tempore Cenomanenſis Epiſcopi electio fuit, quàm Ildeberti? quem præterea ſcimus ex Archidiacono, quod Ivo notat, ad Epiſcopalem Cathedram evectum. Neque tamen hæc ita diſſero, ut viri docti, qui contra ſenſit, nomini obtrectem: ſed quia immortalis memoriæ Cardinali Baronio me debere judico, ut quæ rectè & verè ab eo dicta ſunt, ea ut pro veris habeantur, enitar quoad poſſum (3). i. e. "Ildebert, a man eminent in his Epiſcopal func"tions, had led a diſſolute life before he was made a "Biſhop, as appears from Ivo's 277th Letter. For "they who obſtinately deny that our Ildebert is men"tioned in that letter, muſt pretend, in my opinion, "that we ſhould blindly believe them upon their "word. For what other perſon was elected Biſhop of "Mans, in Ivo's time, but Ildebert? who, we know, "was raiſed from an Archdeacon to the Biſhop's ſee, "which Ivo alſo obſerves. I do not obſerve this with "a deſign to aſperſe the Author, who is of a contrary "opinion, but only becauſe I think I owe that juſtice "to Cardinal Baronius of immortal memory, to prove, "as much as lays in my power, that to be really "true, which he has aſſerted with reaſon and truth." Monſieur Menage adds ſeveral very good obſervations to theſe Arguments of Father Sirmond. "Ildebertus, "*ſays he* (4), is the ſame name with Aldebertus; and "Ildebert, Biſhop of Mans, calls himſelf Aldebertus "in one of his Letters printed in the 13th Volume of "the *Spicilegium. Ranulpho, Dei gratia, Dunelmenſi "Epiſcopo, omni honore & gratia ſublimando, Aldebertus humilis Cenomanorum Sacerdos.* i. e. To Ranulphus, by the Grace of God, Biſhop of Durham, "worthy of all honour and grace, Aldebert, an humble Prieſt of Mans. Thus he is alſo called in a "Record of the Abby of Etival, quoted by Monſieur "Pavillon in his Notes on Arbriſſel's Life. *Aldeberto Epiſcopo Cenomanenſi*, for thus we ought to "read his name in that paſſage, and not *Alberto* * *Epiſcopo Cenomanenſi*, for there never was a Biſhop of "Mans named Albertus. In a Record of the Abby "of Frontevaux, cited by Colnier in his notes on Arbriſſel's Life, he is alſo called *Audebertus*, which is "the ſame as *Aldebertus*. Courvaiſier in his Life of "Ildebert ſupport Ivo of Chartres's aſſertion by the "following paſſage of the *Necrologus* † of St. Peter de "la Cour du Mans. *Tertio Idus Auguſti, obiit Gervaſius, Hildeberti Præſulis filius; matris Eccleſiæ canonicus, qui vivens ad hujus Eccleſiæ ſervitium quandam contulit Bibliothecam; cujus anima quiete fruatur æterna.* i. e. Auguſt the 11th died Gervaſe, "Biſhop Hildebert's ſon, and a Canon of our mother "the Church; who in his life-time beſtowed a Library "for the uſe of this Church. May his ſoul enjoy eternal "reſt. Courvaiſier pretends that this Gervaſe was the Biſhop's baſtard; Bondonnet maintains that he was only "his ſpiritual ſon. But this Prelate's *delicta juventutis* "(i. e. The Sins of his Youth) are mentioned, in the "Lives of the Biſhops of Mans, publiſhed by Dom. "Mabillon in the third volume of his *Analecta*, which "again confirms the account given in Ivo of "Chartres's Letter." Monſieur Menage quotes in his additions (5) two records cited by Father de la Mainferme (6), in which our Hildebert is called *Audebertus*. So that Juret's cenſure (7) falls to the ground with all the commendations which Father Maimbourg beſtows upon him. See the following Remark.

(2) *Notis in Ep. 277. Ivonis Carnutenſis.*

(3) Menage, *Hiſt. de Sablé*, pag. 107, 108.

(4) Ibid. pag. 108.

* But *Alberto* has perhaps been put there by abbreviation for *Aldeberto*, and *Albertus* is perhaps the ſame name with *Aldebertus*.

† A catalogue of the dead, or bill of mortality.

(5) Page 310.

(6) In *Clypeo naſcentis Fontebraldenſis Ordinis*, pag. 62, 63.

[*C*] *Father Maimbourg ſucceſsfully expatiated upon an action of this Prelate.*] He firſt commended this Biſhop; the bleſſed Hildebert, ſaid he (8), Biſhop of Mans, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Tours, has been one of the moſt holy and moſt learned Prelates the Gallican Church ever had. "We have ſome Letters "and ſome other beautiful works of his in the col"lection of the Fathers. St. Bernard ſtiles him the "excellent Pontiff and the chief ſupport of the Church; "whom the moſt celebrated writers mention with "great elogium, and whoſe Holineſs God himſelf was "pleaſed to ſhew, and to honour by the miracles which "were performed at his tomb. And on this occaſion, "I think that to do his memory the Juſtice it deſerves, I am obliged to obſerve, that they, who on "the credit of a letter of Ivo of Chartres, have aſſerted, "that when Hildebert was made Biſhop of Mans, "he

(7) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Latin.* pag. 404. and Moreri after him have admitted that cenſure.

(8) *Hiſt. du Lutheraniſme*, liv. 2. pag. m. 192.

ſhops, who ſtill oppoſed the extenſion of the Regale. The remark I ſhall make upon this ſubject, will contain ſome particulars of our Hildebert's life. Illyricus has placed him amongſt the witneſſes of the truth, becauſe he wrote a very ſmart letter againſt the Court of Rome [*D*]. He was not of a diſtinguiſhed family [*E*].

" he led a very ſcandalous life, have miſtaken him " for another, being miſled by the inſcription of that " letter, in which they found *Hildeberto*, inſtead of " *Aldeberto*, which is in the antient manuſcripts, as " Monſieur Juret, to whom we are obliged for this " important obſervation, proves in his learned notes " on Ivo of Chartres's life." Father Maimbourg relates afterwards how Hildebert was tranſlated from the Biſhoprick of Mans to the Archbiſhoprick of Tours by Pope Honorius II. in the Year 1125; and he obſerves that this prelate finding that King Lewis the Big had given two Canonſhips in his dioceſe during the vacancy of that ſee, *he went himſelf to court to make his humble repreſentations to the King* (9). His Majeſty heard him, but as he would not be ſatisfied with the ſentence that was given, and demanded a canonical judgment, all the income of his Archbiſhopriek was ſeized upon becauſe of his obſtinacy. This made him have recourſe to the moſt humble petitions, and he recommended his caſe to a Biſhop, for whom the King had a great eſteem. *I do not write to you, ſays he* *, *with a deſign to complain of the King's proceedings againſt me; nor to rouze you by my expoſtulation, nor to raiſe clamours, troubles, ſeditions, and ſtorms againſt the Lord's anointed, nor to demand that the ſeverity and cenſures of the Church be made uſe of againſt him. Far from it; I only beg of you, that by your kind and charitable offices, you would prevail upon his Majeſty, not to exert the weapons of his anger and indignation againſt a poor Biſhop, full of years, and who deſires nothing but reſt.* Father Maimbourg does not omit to obſerve, that *the King kept the upperhand, and had the full enjoyment of his right, and that Honorius a very holy Pope, and this Archbiſhop's great protector, did not find fault with it.* Thus you ſee how this Hiſtorian found an opportunity to inſert in his Hiſtory of Lutheraniſm an epiſode concerning the affairs of the *Regale*, with a deſign to pay his court to the King, by rendering the conduct of the Biſhop of Ponniers and that of Pope Innocent XI odious. He did the ſame with regard to all the affairs of his time, as it is objected to him in the fourth and fifth letter of the general cenſure of his hiſtory of Calviniſm †.

(9) Ibid. pag. 193.

* *Nec tamen hæc loquor tanquam vobis clamorem ſuper Chriſto Domini deponens, tanquam poſtulans Eccleſiaſticæ rigorem diſciplinæ. Subvenire Eccleſiæ & mihi per veſtrum deprecor interventum, & Regi ex charitate ſuggeri, ne ſagittas ſuas in ſene compleat ſacerdote.* Hildebert. *Epiſt.* 6. *apud* Lucam Dacherium, tom. 13. *Spicilegii.*

† *Critique generale du l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme*, written by Mr. Bayle himſelf.

[*D*] *He wrote a very ſmart Letter againſt the Court of Rome.*] The deſcription he makes of the vices of that court is very lively, and I think it loſt nothing of its ſtrength in the French tranſlation, which Monſieur Du Pleſſis Mornai made of it (10). Hildebert was ſtill but Biſhop of Mans when he wrote that letter; but when he wrote another to Honorius II, complaining that all the cauſes were carried to Rome by way of appeal, he was Archbiſhop of Tours. He wrote a deſcription of Rome in verſe, which ends with theſe two lines.

(10) In pag. 280, of his *Myſtere d'Iniquité.*

Urbs fælix, ſi vel dominis urbs illa careret,
Vel dominis eſſet turpe carere fide.

" Happy city, if it had no Maſters; or if its maſ-
" ters were aſhamed to want faith."

Coeffeteau (11) does not deny that the Letter to Honorius was written by Hildebert, but he has not the ſame opinion of the other. *It is not at all probable*, ſays he, *that Hildebert wrote that letter, conſidering not only, that it is not to be found, either amongſt thoſe that are printed, or amongſt thoſe that are manuſcript, which I got with ſeveral other ſcarce books from Meſſieurs Du Puy . . . . . but alſo becauſe if we except the follies of this Prelate's youth, we find that he was always very modeſt, and had conſtantly a very great reſpect for the holy ſee, as we ſhall ſhew immediately* (12). *Let us obſerve further, that neither Vignier, nor Illyricus, nor du Pleſſis tells us upon what ſubject that letter was written. They give us only a fragment of it without any title, or any other mark by which we may diſcover the true Author of it.* It is reaſonable to relate what was anſwered to this. " If this way of reaſoning is good, " we ſhall get a double advantage by it, and we ſhall " inſiſt with much more reaſon, and better vouchers, " upon his party's baſe impoſition in forging of new " pieces, and falſifying the antient writings. Illyricus " having met with this letter amongſt the others, " publiſhed the very words of it, which appear very " plainly not to be of his invention. If he, and the " others after him, quote it without mentioning the " title or ſubject of it, this ought not to appear new " to thoſe who have ſeen his printed Letters, amongſt " which there are a great many, concerning which it " is impoſſible to gueſs to whom they were written, " and to know particularly upon what ſubject (13)." Thus ſpeaks Rivetus. He obſerves a little lower, that " Gretſer (14) *cannot believe that the* 82*d Letter, which* " *ſpeaks of ſuppreſſing or regulating the appeals to Rome,* " *came from Hildebert*, though Coeffeteau aſſerts, " *it is really his.*" The curious may conſult Father Hommey's *Supplementum Patrum*, which contains ſeveral pieces of Hildebert, with notes on his Letters, and an addition of the name of the perſons, to whom they were written (15).

(11) *Réponſe au Myſtére d'Iniquité*, pag. 757.

(12) He obſerves in the next page, that Hildebert being perſecuted by the King of England in the year 1107, went to implore Pope Paſcal's advice and aſſiſtance, and that having held a Synod at Nants under Honorius, he ſent that Pope the acts of it.

(13) Rivet, *Remarques ſur la Réponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité*, Part 2. pag. 240.

(14) In *Examine Myſterii Pleſſæani*, pag. 376.

(15) See the *Acta Erud. Lipſ.* 1685, pag. 465.

[*E*] *He was not of a diſtinguiſhed family.*] " There " is near Montoire in the Province of Main a place " called *Lavardin*, from which a very illuſtrious fa- " mily of the Vandômois take their name . . . . . La " Croix du Main aſſerts in his *Bibliotheque*, in the " Article of James Lavardin, that Hildebert Biſhop " of Mans was of that family, which is not true. He " was a native of the place called Lavardin, but not " of the family of that name; he was a man of great " learning and merit, but of a mean extraction (16)." Here follow la Croix du Maine's words (17). *This family of the Lavardins* (18) *has uſually produced learned men even from the remoteſt antiquity. For Hildebert, Biſhop of Mans and afterwards Archbiſhop of Tours above five hundred years ago, was of that family, and was ſurnamed of Lavardin, and in his time he was reckoned the moſt learned Poet and Orator, as appears alſo from his Latin Epiſtles and Poems.*

(16) *Suite du Menagiana*, pag. 103. of the Dutch edition.

(17) *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, p. 190.

(18) He ſpeaks of the family of the Lavardins near Montoire in the Vandômois: which is different from that of Lavardin ſix leagues diſtant from Mans, the Lords of which family bore the ſurname of Beaumanoir, and are originally come from Brittany.

HILTEN (JOHN) a German Cordelier, pretended to ground his predictions on the Prophet Daniel's Book in the year 1485 [*A*]. Melanchthon, who had ſeen the original of this work, relates, that the author foretold that the Pope's power would begin to decline in the year 1516, and that afterwards it would draw nearer and nearer to its ruin, and be

[*A*] *He pretended to ground his predictions on the Prophet Daniel's book in the year* 1485.] I met with this date in a paſſage quoted by Melchior Adam, in which we ſee in what Univerſity this Cordelier ſtudied. *Ego olim juvenis*, it is Hilten that ſpeaks (1), *almæ matris Univerſitatis Erphurdenſis alumnus, ardens philoſophus: nunc ſenex exuli ſolitudini deditus ab anno Chriſti milleſimo quadringenteſimo ſeptuageſimo primo, in hunc annum milleſimum quadringenteſimum octogeſimum quintum ejuſdem Domini Jeſu Chriſti voluntate: qui & me inſtigavit ex ſuo libro cognoſcere veritatem, contra vacuos errores de futuro tempore nunc volantes. Quam me ſolum ſcire amor Dei & proximi non ſinit, ſed & aliis piis & benevolis impertiri admonet.* i. e. " I who in my youth " have been educated in the Univerſity of Erford, " and who was a zealous Philoſopher, have now in " my old age been confined to a ſolitary baniſhment " from the year of our ſalvation 1471, to this year " 1485 by Chriſt's will, who alſo has prompted me " to ſtudy the truth from his book, againſt the idle " errors, which are ſpread abroad concerning future " events; nor does the love of God and of my neigh- " bour ſuffer me to keep the truth to myſelf, but " commands me to impart it to all pious and well- " diſpoſed perſons." Notwithſtanding this paſſage, Melchior Adam aſſerted a few lines before he tranſcribed it, that Hilten lived in the XIVth Century. This is a want of attention very common with writers.

(1) *Apud* Melchior Adam, *in Vitis Theol.* p. 3.

be never reſtored; and that about the year 1600 the Turks would reign in Italy and in Germany (*a*) [*B*]. Some relate (*b*), that he foretold that the world would ſee a very cruel man in the year 1600, and that Gog and Magog would reign over all Europe in the year 1606. After he had endeavoured with a great deal of labour to find when the world would end (*c*), he concluded at laſt that it would be in the year 1651 (*d*). Monſieur du Pleſſis-Mornai extracted from theſe predictions only what ſerved his purpoſe [*C*]. Hilten imagined that charity would not ſuffer him to conceal the knowledge of futurity, which God had communicated to him (*e*). It is ſaid he died in the year 1502 (*f*).

(*a*) Taken from a *Letter of Melanchthon to Matheſius*. It is the 65th of the 2d book, pag. 259. of the London edition 1642.

(*b*) *See* Freher. *Theatrum*, p. 97.

(*c*) *Multus fuit in exquirendo fine mundi.* Melchior Adam, *in Vitis Theolog.* pag. 5.

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

(*e*) See the remark [*A*].

(*f*) Freherus, *in Theatro*, pag. 97.

[*B*] *He foretold that the Turks would reign in Italy and in Germany.*] He ſeemed to promiſe that the Turks would, by the means of a very great reformation, be the ruin of Popery: but thoſe that had reformed themſelves were afterwards to deſtroy Mahometiſm, and then the Emperor of the Romans was to reſign his Crown to Jeſus Chriſt, never to recover it any more.

Ita digerit omnia Calchas (2).

" Thus Calchas ordered every thing.

(2) Virg. *Æn.* lib. 2. ver. 128.

It appeared from the event, that John Hilten was not much better acquainted with futurity, than this Soothſayer of the Greek army. Let us tranſcribe his own words (3). *Plures gloriantur Romanum Papam eſſe monarcham, quia Jeſus omnia dedit Petro & ejus ſucceſſoribus. Fateor, verùm quamdiù ſunt ejus vicarii. Sed legantur revelationes S. Brigittæ: & videbitur querela Chriſti de perverſione illius vicariatûs. Quapropter Deus dedit gladium Mahometo: quo monarchiam illam à vicario ad ejus Dominum Jeſum Chriſtum compellit, vicarium & omnes Chriſtianos reformando. Qui plenè reformati exurgent: & delebunt ſectam Mahometi. Quo facto, ultimus Imperator Romanus reſignabit cum effectu Jeſu Chriſto coronam regalem, & omne jus Imperiale; non recepturus, ut Conſtantinus.* i. e. " Several perſons " boaſt that the Pope of Rome is a Monarch, becauſe " Chriſt gave Peter and his ſucceſſors all power. I " grant it is true, as long as they are really Chriſt's " Vicars. But read St. Briget's Revelations, and you " will ſee how Chriſt complains of the corruption " of that Vicarſhip. For which reaſon God put a " ſword into Mahomet's hand, who will reſtore that " Monarchy from the Vicar to his Lord Jeſus Chriſt, " by reforming both the Vicar himſelf and all the " Chriſtians. Who being perfectly reformed will " riſe againſt Mahomet's ſect, and deſtroy it; after " which the laſt Roman Emperor will effectually re- " ſign to Jeſus Chriſt his royal Crown, and all his im- " perial rights, not to recover them any more, as " Conſtantine did."

(3) *Apud* Melchior Adam, *in Vitis Theol.* p. 4.

[*C*] *Monſieur du Pleſſis extracted from Hilten's predictions only what ſerved his purpoſe.*] " John Hilten, " a Monk of Henac in Thuringia, who notwithſtanding all human foreſight, was impriſoned becauſe he " had cenſured ſome monaſtical abuſes, being very " ill, called for the Keeper, and told him, *I have " not ſaid much againſt the Monks, but there will " ariſe a perſon in the year* 1516, *who ſhall over- " throw them all, and whom they will not be a- " ble to reſiſt.* And that ſame year Luther began " to preach (4)." He is miſtaken in one year; for the Lutheran Æra begins only with the year 1517. I believe alſo that he does not write well the name of the place, and that he ſhould have ſaid *Eiſenac* inſtead of *Henac*. He ought alſo to have obſerved, that this happened about the year 1500, according to Melanchthon (5).

(4) Du Pleſſis Mornai, *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 573. *He quotes* Philip Melanchthon, *in Apolog. Cap. de Votis Monaſticis.*

(5) *See* Micræli-us, *Syntagma Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 647.

HIPPARCHIA, the Philoſopher Crates's wife, had been ſo charmed with this Cynic's diſcourſes, that ſhe would abſolutely marry him at any rate. She was courted by a great many lovers who were handſome men, and diſtinguiſhed by their rank and riches; her relations preſſed her to chooſe an huſband amongſt all theſe rivals, but nothing was capable to withdraw her affection from Crates. She declared that Crates was to her inſtead of every thing, and that if they would not marry her to him, ſhe would ſtab herſelf. Upon this declaration her friends applied themſelves to Crates, and deſired him to exert all his eloquence, and to make uſe of all his authority with this maid, in order to cure her of her paſſion. He exerted all his ſkill, but ſhe was ſo obſtinate, that he loſt his labour. At laſt, when he found that both his arguments and his advices proved ineffectual, he diſplayed his poverty before her [*A*], he ſhewed her his crooked back, his bag and his cloak, and told her: *This is the man you will have; this is all the furniture you will meet with at his lodgings; conſider of it ſeriouſly; you cannot become my*

[*A*] *Crates diſplayed his poverty before her.*] There is no Author who gave a more accurate account of this than Apuleius: he aſſerts, that Hipparchia anſwered, ſhe had ſufficiently conſidered this affair, and was perſuaded, it was impoſſible for her to find either a more handſome, or a richer huſband than Crates was, and that he might lead her whitherſoever he pleaſed. He led her to the portico, which was one of the moſt ſtately public buildings that could be ſeen at Athens, and where the greateſt number of people continually reſorted. There Crates conſummated his marriage. All the world would have ſeen it, and the bride was determined to entertain them with that ſhew, but one of Crates's friends ſpread his cloak about them, and made them thus a kind of curtains, which prevented the people from ſeeing them. That the reader may ſee I do not aſcribe any thing to my author, but what he relates, I ſhall tranſcribe his own words. *Adeoque is* (Crates) *cupiebatur, ut virgo nobilis, ſpretis junioribus procis, ultro eum ſibi optaverit. Cumque interſcapilium Crates retexiſſet, quod erat aucto gibbere, peramque cum baculo & pallium humi poſuiſſet, eamque ſuppellectilem ſibi eſſe puellæ profiteretur, eamque formam quam viderat: proinde ſedulò conſuleret, ne poſt querelæ cauſam caperet: enimverò Hipparche conditionem accipit. Jamdudum ſibi proviſum ſatis, & ſatis conſultum reſpondit: neque ditiorem maritum, neque formoſiorem uſpiam gentium poſſe invenire. Proinde duceret quo liberet. Ducit Cynicus in porticum. Ibidem, in loco celebri, coram luce clariſſimâ accubuit: coramque virginem imminuiſſet, paratam pari conſtantiâ; ni Zeno procinctu palliaſtri, à circumſtantis coronæ obtutu magiſtrum in ſecreto defendiſſet* (1). Monſieur Menage (2) aſſerts, that St. Clemens of Alexandria relates, that the nuptials of Crates and Hipparchia were celebrated in the Portico, which was ſirnamed Ποικίλη (*variegated*): but it is certain that Clemens of Alexandria does not ſay this; it can only be inferred from theſe words of his: *The Cynogamia*, ſays he (3), *were celebrated in the Pœcile on Hipparchia's account.* The word *Cynogamia* ſignified, according to the ſame Monſieur Menage (4), a feſtival, which the Cynics celebrated to the honour and memory of Crates's nuptials. He adds, that Monſieur Petit the Phyſician had made a very beautiful poem on the amours and wedding of this Cynic. This poem is intitled *Cynogamia*. Several readers will remember here a French verſe tranſcribed by Furetiere (5):

Voulurent chauds de reins faire noces de chiens.

" Being full of luſt they would make a Cynic wed- " ding."

(1) Apuleius, *in Floridis.* pag. m. 350.

(2) In *Hiſtoria Mulierum Philoſopharum, ad calcem* Diog. Laert. pag. 497.

(3) Ἐφ' ᾗ καὶ τὰ κυνογάμεια ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ ἐτετέλεστο. i. e. " For " whoſe ſake " (*namely Hipparchia's*) the Cy- " nogamia were " celebrated in " the Poecile."

Clem. Alexand. *Stromat.* lib. 4. pag. 523.

(4) In Laert. lib. 6. num. 96.

(5) Under the word *Reins*; this verſe is Reigner's and relates to the fights of Lapithæ, a people of Theſſaly.

my wife, without leaaing ſuch a life as our ſect preſcribes us. He had hardly done ſpeaking, but ſhe declared that ſhe was infinitely pleaſed with the propoſal. She took the habit of the Order; I mean the Cynic's dreſs, and ſhe loved Crates to ſuch a degree, that ſhe rambled every where with him, went to entertainments with him [*B*], and did not even ſcruple to pay him conjugal duty in the open ſtreets [*C*]. It was one of the tenets of this Sect, that we ought not to be aſhamed of any bodily exerciſe which nature requires of us [*D*]. Hipparchia dining once at Lyſimachus's houſe with Theodore the

[*B*] *She went to entertainments with him.*] This and her rambling up and down with Crates, were what the other Grecian Ladies never did. They were ſhut up in the inner rooms of the houſe, none were admitted to ſee them but their relations, nor did they ever go to any entertainment, but at their relations houſes. Cornelius Nepos, who relates this, obſerves that the manners of the Romans were quite different from theſe. The women lived then at Rome, as they do now at Paris. The faſhion of Italy has been very much changed ſince that time. It has been long ago like that of antient Greece. *Altri tempi, altri coſtumi.* Other times, other faſhions. Let us tranſcribe Cornelius Nepos's words (6). *Quem Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? aut cujus materfamilias non primum locum tenet ædium, atque in celebritate verſatur? Quod multo fit aliter in Græcia. Nam neque in convivium adhibetur, niſi propinquorum: neque ſedet niſi in interiore parte ædium, quæ γυναικωνῖτις appellatur: quò nemo accedit niſi propinquâ cognatione conjunctus.* i. e. "Who "is there amongſt the Romans, that is aſhamed to "lead his wife to an entertainment? Or is there a "mother of a family, who does not reſide in the beſt "part of the houſe, and ſee a great deal of company? "It is quite otherwiſe in Greece. The women are "not ſuffered at an entertainment, except it be with "their relations; and they keep in the inner-rooms of "the houſe, which are called the women's apartment; "and none are admitted to ſee them but their neareſt "relations."

(6) *In Præfat.*

[*C*] *She did not ſcruple to pay him conjugal duty in the open ſtreets.*] The reader will not wonder that the Woman-Philoſopher, Hipparchia, acted againſt the cuſtom of her ſex with regard to the two articles, which I have juſt now mentioned, ſince ſhe was capable to trample under her feet the principles of decency and modeſty with regard to this third particular. It is impoſſible to carry the contempt for cuſtom farther. This was love's grand triumph: that virtue was made a ſacrifice to it, which is the moſt natural to the fair ſex; I mean, that ſhame, that baſhfulneſs, which is a thouſand times more deeply rooted in the women's hearts than even chaſtity itſelf. And what is more ſurprizing ſtill, Hipparchia was from the very firſt time fully prepared for this piece of impudence; there was no occaſion to perſuade her to it by little and little and by degrees. Juvenal obſerves that nothing is difficult for the women, when they have a mind to gratify their love. Muſt they embark with an huſband, againſt whom they have taken a diſguſt; they cannot be perſuaded to it; the inconveniencies of the ſea are too great for them: but are they to follow a gallant on board a ſhip, they have the beſt ſtomach in the world; nothing is more agreeable than a ſailor's life.

Fortem animum præſtant rebus quas turpiter audent,
Si jubeat conjux, durum eſt conſcendere navim,
Tunc ſentina gravis, tunc ſummus vertitur aër:
Quæ mœchum ſequitur, ſtomacho valet. Illa maritum
Convomit, hæc inter nautas & prandet & errat
Per puppim, & duros gaudet tractare rudentes (7).

(7) Juv. Sat. 6. ver. 97.

"But womankind, in ills, is ever bold.
"Were ſhe to follow her own Lord to ſea,
"What doubts and ſcruples would ſhe raiſe to ſtay?
"Her ſtomach ſinks, and her head giddy grows;
"The tar and pitch are nauſeous to her noſe.
"But in love's voyage nothing can offend;
"Women are never ſea-ſick with a friend.
"Amidſt the crew, ſhe walks upon the board;
"She eats, ſhe drinks, ſhe handles every cord;
"And if ſhe ſpews, 'tis thinking of her Lord.

DRYDEN.

Hipparchia proves the truth of this obſervation: ſhe was exceſſively in love with Crates; his ſyſtem was, that we ought to give up all manner of ſhame; *non aliter hæc ſacra conſtant*, i. e. "theſe myſteries cannot "otherwiſe be celebrated," he probably ſaid to her; and ſhe conſented to it in order to pleaſe him. This particular is related by ſeveral authors. Sextus Empiricus (8), and Theodoret (9) aſſert it, and I have already quoted two other writers. But St. Auguſtin had a particular opinion concerning this ſubject. He imagined that the Cynics only uſed poſtures and fruitleſs endeavours. But the Latin tongue is much more proper to repreſent his opinion than our language. *Illum* (Diogenem) *vel eos qui hoc feciſſe referuntur, potius arbitror concumbentium motus dediſſe oculis hominum neſcientium quid ſub pallio gereretur, quàm humano premente conſpectu potuiſſe illam peragi voluptatem. Ibi enim Philoſophi non erubeſcebant videri ſe velle concumbere, ubi libido ipſa erubeſceret ſurgere* (10). i. e. "I ſhould be apt "to think that Diogenes and the others, who are ſaid "to have done this, did only expoſe ſome motions to "men's view, who were ignorant of what was done "under the cloak, rather than I could believe that "ſuch a pleaſure can be taſted when other perſons "are lookers-on. For theſe Philoſophers did not bluſh "to ſeem to do what luſt itſelf bluſhed to per"form. A modern author has acted the Cato againſt this father of the Church, and cenſures him very ſeverely for that reflection. "As for what he adds, that "he cannot believe that Diogenes nor his followers, "who, as it was reported, did every thing in public, "found any true and real pleaſure in it, imagining, that "they only imitated under the Cynic cloak the motions "of thoſe who embrace each other, thus deceiving the "ſpectators, though in reality they could not do any "thing to the purpoſe before witneſſes; this, I ſay, is "what I am aſhamed to relate, and which I deſire you "to read in his own words (11).... Is it poſſible that "ſo great a man ſhould ſuffer his imagination to dive "into theſe Cynic myſteries, and that St. Auguſtin's "hand did not ſcruple to lift up Diogenes's cloak, in "order to ſhew us motions under it, which ſhame "(though this Philoſopher pretended to have none) "made even him hide under his cloak (12)."

(8) *Pyrrhoniarum Hypotypoſeon*, lib. 1. cap. 14. pag. m. 31; & lib. 3. cap. 24. pag. 152.

(9) *Sermon.* 12. *de Virtute Activa.*

(10) Auguſt. *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 14. cap. 20.

(11) Here he tranſcribes the paſſage from St. Auguſtin.

(12) La Mothe le Vayer, in the *Hexameron ruſtique*, pag. 63, 64, 65.

[*D*] *That we ought not to be aſhamed of any bodily exerciſe, which nature requires of us.*] See what we have obſerved above in the remark [*L*] of the article DIOGENES. Some perſons think that the Cynics were ſo called, becauſe, after the example of the dogs, they lay with their wives in the open ſtreets. *Nam quid ego de Cynicis loquar; quibus in propatulo coïre cum conjugibus mos fuit. Quid mirum ſi à canibus, quorum vitam imitantur, etiam vocabulum nomenque traxerunt* (13). i. e. Why ſhould I mention the Cynics, "who are uſed to lye with their wives in the open "ſtreets. Why ſhould we wonder that ſince they imi"tate the dogs, they ſhould have their names from "them." The Cynics pretended to have reaſon on their ſide. For, ſay they, if it be lawful to know one's wife, it is lawful therefore to know her in public. *Hoc illi canini Philoſophi, hoc eſt Cynici, non viderunt, proferentes contra humanam verecundiam, quid aliud quam caninam, hoc eſt immundam impudentemque ſententiam, ut ſcilicet quoniam juſtum eſt quod fit in uxore, palam non pudeat id agere, nec in vico, nec in platea qualibet conjugalem concubitum devitare* (14). i. e. "The canine Philoſophers, that is to ſay, the "Cynics, did not ſee this; who aſſerted, againſt all "human modeſty, this obſcene and impudent, and "dog-like opinion, namely, that becauſe what a man "does with his wife is lawful, they muſt not be "aſhamed to do it publicly, nor to come to conjugal "embraces even in the open ſtreets." I have quoted elſewhere (15) an argument of Diogenes much like this. This is the pitiful ſophiſm, *a dicto ſecundum quid, ad dictum ſimpliciter*, that is to ſay, "drawing a gene"ral and abſolute inference from what is ſaid with re"gard

(13) Lactant. lib. 3. cap. 15. *Divin. Inſtitut.*

(14) Auguſt. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. 14. cap. 20.

(15) Above, in the beginning of the remark [*E*] of the article DIOGENES the Cynic.

the Atheiſt, propoſed him a ſubtle objection, to which he made no verbal anſwer,

" gard to ſome particular caſe or circumſtance." It is, as though a man ſhould argue thus. *It is wholeſome to drink wine; it is therefore wholeſome to drink it when a perſon has a fit of the ague.* Theſe Philoſophers did not know that there are ſeveral actions which are good only in ſome circumſtances; ſo that the want of theſe circumſtances is ſufficient to make an action bad which otherwiſe had been good. To lend money to a friend, that he may pay his creditors, is a very commendable action; but to lend him money that he may get drunk, or that he may game, is a very ill action. There are ſome actions which are bad in their own nature; no circumſtances in the world can ever render them good and lawful; but there are other actions which are ſometimes good and ſometimes bad, according to the times, places, and other circumſtances, in which they are done. I confeſs that this is not ſufficient to ſilence the Cynics; for they might urge their argument after this manner: when an action is good and lawful in its own nature; we ought not to be aſhamed to commit it: now the conjugal duty is an action good and lawful in its own nature, we ought not therefore to be aſhamed to perform it; it may therefore be lawfully performed in public: if any thing could make this public action unlawful, it would be only the want of ſhame and modeſty in ſuch circumſtances, in which men ought to be baſhful and modeſt. The whole difficulty would then be reduced to this ſingle queſtion. *Muſt we be aſhamed to perform the conjugal duty in the ſight of the public?* This is a fine queſtion indeed, will ſome ſay, and who is there that doubts of it? I, would Diogenes anſwer, I doubt of it; and ſhew me that I am in the wrong. We might reply to him, that ſhame, with regard to thoſe actions, is a natural ſenſe, and therefore that the want of ſhame on thoſe occaſions is againſt nature. But, would Diogenes reply, if ſhame were a natural ſenſe, the brutes, who follow the inſtinct of nature ſo exactly, would alſo chooſe ſecrecy and darkneſs, when they want to propagate their ſpecies. Now this is abſolutely falſe; all men, at leaſt, would in ſuch a caſe look for the darkeſt and moſt hidden receſſes, which again is falſe; for there are ſome nations in the Indies, who perform the act of generation in the ſight of all them that happen to go by. This is what the famous Pyrrhonian Empiricus obſerves (16), in order to ſhew, that the ordinary practice is not grounded on an immutable and eternal law of nature, but only upon cuſtom, and that is a mere effect of education. He might have alledged the cuſtom of the MOSYNIANS of whom I ſhall give an article hereafter. A modern author has obſerved that certain nations uſed to make love in the *very temples*, and that they ſaid, *that if the Gods were diſpleaſed with this action, they would not ſuffer it in the other animals* (17). He adds that there *is a ſect amongſt the Mahometans, which ſtill practiſes this*, and that *we found the inhabitants of the new world in this ſtate of innocency*. One might reply to Diogenes, that it is ſufficient that the civilized nations are ſubject to ſhame, and that we ought not to mind the conduct of the barbarous nations; but he would reply in his turn, that the nations we ſtyle barbarous and wild, have much leſs ſwerved from the rules of nature, than thoſe nations, who by their niceties and ſubtleties have ſo much multiplied the laws of decency and civility; and that after all, there being no *preſcription* againſt the law of nature, every one has a right to claim it at any time and in any place whatſoever, without any regard to the arbitrary yoke of the cuſtoms and opinions of his countrymen.

(16) Τὸ δημοσίᾳ γυναικὶ μίγνυσθαι καίτοι παρ' ἡμῖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι δοκοῦν, παρά τισι τῶν Ἰνδῶν οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νομίζεται· μίγνυνται οὖν ἀδιαφόρως δημοσίᾳ καθάπερ καὶ περὶ τοῦ φιλοσόφου Κράτητος ἀνηκόαμεν. Sext. Empiricus, *Pyrrhon. Hypot.* lib. 3. cap. 24. pag. 152.

(17) La Mothe le Vayer, *Dialog. d'Oraſius Tubero*, pag. m. 165. He quotes Herodotus, lib. 2.

A REFLECTION upon the weakneſs of human reaſon.

Let this be obſerved in order to ſhew how much human reaſon is capable to miſlead us. It has been given us with a deſign to direct us to the right way, but it is an uncertain, changeable and flexible inſtrument, which may be turned on every ſide like a weather-cock. See what uſe the Cynics made of it, in order to vindicate their abominable impudence. I may add for the honour and glory of the true religion, that ſhe alone furniſhes us with arms that are proof againſt all the ſophiſms and fallacious reaſonings of theſe men; for though we could not meet in the Holy Scripture with a direct commandment concerning the ſecrecy with which the pleaſures of the marriage-bed ought to be enjoyed, it is ſufficient to obſerve in the firſt place, that the nature of the Goſpel obliges us to avoid all that is capable to weaken the impreſſions of modeſty and ſhame: ſecondly, that there are clear and poſitive paſſages, in which we are forbidden to to do any thing inconſiſtent with decency, or which may give offence to our neighbours. I do not know whether any of thoſe caſuiſts, who have ſo much miſpent their leiſure hours in examining ſuch caſes of conſcience, as are in a manner only metaphyſical, ever thought of examining to what kind of crimes the impudence of a Crates and of a Diogenes ought to be referred. Theſe Philoſophers did not believe there was any divine law upon this ſubject, nor that men were obliged to conform to the cuſtoms of their country; they imagined that by not conforming to them, all the blame they could draw upon themſelves was that of ruſticity, and want of complaiſance for a received cuſtom. To be unpolite and ruſtical, and an ill obſerver of the cuſtoms and uſages of one's country, is not a crime, or an evil action morally ſpeaking. What could one therefore object againſt the Cynics, ſuppoſing they were not condemned by the revealed truth? I never read any thing whatſoever upon this ſubject, nor do I know that any perſon ever aſſerted, that a Cynic action would be criminal at preſent only for theſe reaſons; 1. becauſe of the offence given to one's neighbours: 2. becauſe it is ſhewing a contempt for the cuſtoms of one's country: 3. becauſe of the neglect in preſerving the limits of chaſtity. I ſuppoſe here a man, who is perſuaded that the action conſidered in itſelf has not been expreſly forbidden in the Scripture, and that it is not againſt the law of nature. If it were againſt it, thoſe ſentences, by which the Judges appoint a congreſs, would be ſo many crimes, for which the Judges themſelves would be anſwerable.

There are, no doubt, ſome caſuiſts, who would think that ſelf-pollution, which Diogenes committed in a full market (18), are greater crimes, than Crates's and Hipparchia's meeting. It is a ſtrange and moſt ſcandalous thing, to ſee Chryſippus, that celebrated and ſevere Stoic, commend Diogenes's action. Ἐπαινεῖ τὸν Διογένην τὸ αἰδοῖον ἀποτριβόμενον ἐν φανερῷ, καὶ λέγοντα πρὸς τὰς παρόντας, εἴθε καὶ τὸν λιμὸν οὕτως ἀποτρίψασθαι τῆς γαστρὸς ἠδυνάμην. *Diogenem laudat, qui in publico maſturbaſſet, dixiſſetque adſtantibus, utinam liceret ſic etiam famem attrito ventre pellere* (19). This Cynic could not have cleared himſelf by his ſophiſm. *It is lawful to perform the conjugal duty; it is therefore lawful to perform it in the ſtreet*; for his action is bad both in private and in public. Sextus Empiricus confeſſes, that it was looked upon as abominable, though Zeno the founder of the Stoic ſect had approved it, and ſeveral others had practiſed it as a very good action. Τότε αἰσχρεργεῖν ἐπόρατον ὃν παρ' ἡμῖν, ὁ Ζήνων ἐκ ἀποδοκιμάζει καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ ὡς ἀγαθῷ τινὶ τούτῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ καλῷ συνδανόμεθα. *Quum præterea deteſtabile ſit apud nos αἰσχρεργεῖν, Zeno approbat, & alios quoſdam ut bono quodam hoc uſos malo accepimus* (20). Diogenes had recourſe to another ſophiſm: he pretended that what ſome fiſhes do is a leſſon of nature to us (21); but this ſophiſm is not better than that, which might be borrowed from the practice of the Lydians. To conclude, though the Cynics endeavoured to find out arguments to palliate their abominable impudence, yet they dared to continue in that practice. The general indignation which it drew upon them, was probably a ſtronger curb on them than the notions of decency. St. Auguſtin obſerves that natural modeſty got the aſcendant at laſt even in theſe men. *Vicit tamen pudor naturalis opinionem hujus erroris, nam etſi perhibent, hoc aliquando gloriabundum feciſſe Diogenem, ita putantem ſectam ſuam nobiliorem futuram, ſi in hominum memoriam inſignior ejus impudentia figeretur, poſtea tamen à Cynicis fieri ceſſatum eſt; pluſque valuit pudor, ut erubeſcerent homines hominibus, quàm error, ut homines canibus eſſe ſimiles affectarent* (22). i. e. " Yet natural modeſty got at laſt the " advantage over this erroneous opinion; for though " it be reported that Diogenes did it ſometimes with " boaſting, imagining that his ſect would thus gain a " greater reputation, if his notorious impudence was " deeply

(18) See his article remark [L].

(19) Plutarch. *de Stoicor. Repugnant.* pag. 1044.

(20) Sext. Emp. *Pyrrhon. Hypot.* lib. 3. cap. 24. pag. 153.

(21) See his article quotation (73).

(22) *De Civit. Dei*, lib. 14. cap. 20.

anſwer [E], but only made uſe of his hands; and whatever he could ſay or do afterwards, he found her ſo bold and reſolute, that nothing could daunt her (a). She wrote ſome books which have not been tranſmitted down to us [F]. Moreri has committed ſome errors in this article [G], and Lorenzo Craſſo

(a) *Taken from* Diogenes Laertius, in *Hipparchia*, lib. 6. num. 96, & *ſeq.*

" deeply rooted in the memory of men; yet the Cynics " have ſince left it off; and the ſhame which made " men bluſh before men had a greater influence over " them than that error, by which they would make men " act like dogs." But as the moſt general rules are always liable to ſome exceptions, we meet in Lucian with the Cynic Peregrinus, who begins again to imitate Diogenes's conduct. Ἐν πολλῷ δὲ τῶν περιεστώτων δήμῳ ἀναφλῶν τὸ αἰδεῖον, καὶ τὸ ἀδιάφορον δὴ τοῦτο καλούμενον ἐπιδεικνύμενος. *Multa autem in corona populi pudenda contrectabat, & hæc indifferentia vocans oſtentabat* (23).

(23) Lucian. *de Morte Peregr.* pag. m. 767. tom. 1.

Thoſe who may think it ſtrange that I ſhould relate ſuch horrid obſcenities as theſe are, want to be told, that they do not ſufficiently conſider either the privileges or the duty of an Hiſtorian. Any man, who at this time writes the Hiſtory either of an ancient Philoſopher, or of ſome other perſon who gained ſome reputation in former ages, has a right to relate all that the books acquaint him with, whether they be commendable actions, or ſuch as deſerve the reader's horror and execration; if he collects only what is praiſeworthy, he acquits himſelf very ill of the duties, which the nature of his work requires of him. One has more liberty in writing the Life of a modern perſon; for if he has committed ſome very obſcene actions, which the public is not acquainted with, they may be omitted, if it be found neceſſary to obviate ſome inconveniences, which might ariſe from the publication of ſuch things. But as to a fact related by an hundred authors, one is not free to uſe ſuch a diſcretion; and if an Hiſtorian ſhould chooſe to omit ſome particulars, he yields to a very inſignificant and uſeleſs ſcruple; for the readers will eaſily find by other means, what is thus concealed from them. All the world is ſo well acquainted with Diogenes the Cynic's impudence, that there are even ſome ſayings ſpread abroad concerning him, which are not related by any ancient writer whatſoever. *Du Mouſtier put me in mind of a book of the Orleans, intituled* The Human Plant to the Queen; *which is a ridiculous title: this made me remember Diogenes's ſaying:* Planto hominem. *I plant a man* (24). Theſe are Cardinal Du Perron's words. There are numberleſs perſons, who relate the ſame ſtory in their private converſations: it is to be met with in ſeveral books, in which it is aſſerted, that Diogenes embracing a woman in the public ſtreets, was aſked *what he was doing?* and that he anſwered, φυτεύω ἄνθρωπον: *I plant a man.* None of the ancients, as far as I know, have related this ſtory, and Monſieur Du Rondel, whom I have conſulted upon it, anſwered me, that he never met with it but in modern authors. Since therefore ſuch an ill-grounded ſtory has been ſpread abroad concerning this ancient Philoſopher's impudence, it is impoſſible but the world muſt know what is really related by the authors whoſe words I quote. To what purpoſe ſhould I then conceal or ſuppreſs thoſe particulars? But then, you will ſay, I ought to have choſen ſuch expreſſions, as might cover thoſe obſcenities with a thick veil. I reply, that this would have been a proper method to leſſen the horror with which they ought to ſtrike us; for thoſe nice and dark expreſſions, which are uſed now about ſmutty ſubjects, do not diſguſt the reader ſo much, as a more natural and ſtronger ſtyle would do, which would ſo much the more fill the reader with indignation, as the author does not loſe his time in inventing indirect expreſſions, which after all, and to ſpeak the truth, are nothing but mere varniſh. I add, that it is more uſeful and more important than people are apt think, thus to repreſent with ingenuity thoſe wickedneſſes and abominations, which the Heathen Philoſophers approved. This is proper to humble and mortify our reaſon, to convince us of the infinite depravation of man's heart, and to teach us a truth, which ſhould never be out of our mind, namely that men wanted a light from heaven, a revelation, to ſupply the defects of the Philoſophical light; for you ſee that the Stoics (25), who applied themſelves more than any other Philoſophers, to moral Philoſophy and Ethics, approved Diogenes's impudent obſcenities: ſo that we may apply to them particularly St. Paul's general aſſertion againſt the Heathens, *profeſſing themſelves to be wiſe, they become fools* (26).

(24) *Perroniana*, under the word *Orleans*, pag. m. 225.

(25) Above, quotations (19), (20).

(26) Epiſtle to the Romans, ch. 1. ver. 22.

[E] *Hipparchia . . . . . propoſed an objection . . . . . to which Theodorus the Atheiſt made no verbal anſwer.*] It was a Sophiſm which might be eaſily ſolved, and urged againſt her. *If I*, ſaid ſhe to him, *ſhould commit the ſame action, which you had lawfully committed, I coula not be charged with committing an unlawful action. Now if you ſhould beat yourſelf, you would act lawfully; if therefore I ſhould beat you, I could not be charged with committing an unlawful action.* Theodorus did not loſe his time in anſwering her like a Logician, but fell upon her and untied her gown. Conſidering the dreſs, and manner of ſpeaking of this time, we ſhould ſay, that *he took up her petticoats.* Thus Monſieur Menage explains theſe words of Diogenes Laertius; ἀνέσυρε δ' αὐτῆς ἱμάτιον. This is a very merry and galant way of anſwering a woman. Hipparchia was not put out of countenance: and when Theodorus had repeated to her ſome verſes from a Tragedy, which gave the Character of a woman, who left her ſpinning-wheel and her diſtaff, ſhe replied, I know myſelf under that character, I am that woman, but do you think that I made a bad choice, in chooſing to ſpend my time in philoſophizing rather than in ſpinning? Let us ſee now what Theodorus might have anſwered, if he would have taken that trouble. To make a direct anſwer, he might have obſerved, that the action of Theodorus's beating himſelf, and the action of Hipparchia's beating Theodorus, were two different actions, and not actions of the ſame kind: ſo that there were four terms, or propoſitions in Hipparchia's ſyllogiſm. In order that two actions may be like each other, there muſt be the ſame relation between the agent and the patient in the one, as there is in the other. Now there was not ſuch a relation in the actions mentioned in Hipparchia's ſuppoſition. If Theodorus had had a mind to turn the argument againſt Hipparchia, and to puzzle her, he might have argued thus: If I ſhould commit the ſame action, which your huſband may do lawfully, I could not be charged with committing an unlawful action. Now your huſband acts lawfully when he kiſſes you, &c. Therefore, if I ſhould kiſs you, &c. I could not be charged with committing an unlawful action. One might have ſeen, whether Hipparchia, who was very impudent, would have dared to anſwer before witneſſes, with a *concedo totum:* I grant the whole Argument.

(27) *Notis ad Laert.* lib. 6. num. 97. pag. 266.

[F] *She wrote ſome Books which have not been tranſmitted down to us.*] Suidas aſſerts, that ſhe wrote *Hypotheſes Philoſophicas: Epicheremata quædam, & quæſtiones ad Theodorum cognomento Atheum.* i. e. " Philoſophical Hypotheſes or Suppoſitions: ſome Reaſonings, and Queſtions propoſed to Theodorus ſurnamed the Atheiſt." Monſieur Menage's conjecture is very probable; namely, that we muſt not read in Diogenes Laertius (28), Φέρεται δὲ τοῦ Κράτητος βιβλίον ἐπιστολαί. i. e. " There is a Book of epiſtles to " Crates extant;" but φέρεται δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κράτητα βιβλίον ἐπιστολαί. i. e. There is a Book of epiſtles to Cra- " tes extant." According to this conjecture, we may aſſert, that Hipparchia publiſhed Letters, which ſhe wrote to her huſband, and in which ſhe philoſophized nobly, and in a ſtile like that of Plato. We muſt ſay alſo that ſhe wrote ſome Tragedies, in which ſhe employed the lofty ſtile of Philoſophy. It would be very ſtrange that Diogenes Laertius, who wrote Crates's life, ſhould have mentioned this Philoſopher's writings in Hipparchia's Life. It is in order to clear him of this blemiſh and irregularity, that Monſieur Menage made the conjecture we have mentioned above.

(28) In *Hipparchia*, lib. 6. num. 98.

[G] *Moreri has committed ſome errors in this Article.*] He ought not to have ſaid, that Hipparchia's love for the ſciences made her prefer Crates before all the other perſons that courted her with a deſign to marry her. She loved Crates's perſon, and it was for his ſake that ſhe began to philoſophize. It is true that ſhe had been charmed with his beautiful and learned diſcourſes; but this is not a ſufficient ground for aſſerting that the reaſon why ſhe choſe this Philoſopher

Craſſo alſo [*H*]. I forgot to obſerve, that Hipparchia, and her brother Metrocles, who was a diſciple of Crates (*b*), were born at Maronea (*c*). They flouriſhed in the time of Alexander. From Hipparchia, and Crates's marriage, came a ſon named Paſicles (*d*).

(*b*) Diog. Laert. in *Hipparchia*, lib. 6. num. 94, and 96.

(*c*) A city in Thrace, which has alſo been called *Hipparchia*. Menag. *Not. ad Diog. Laert.* lib. 6. num. 96.

(*d*) Diog. Laert. *in Cratete*, lib. 6. num. 88.

rather than any other man was, that ſhe loved the ſciences. There have been maidens and women, who fell in love with ſome Miniſters by hearing them preach; and who choſe to marry them rather than any other men, though they might have made a more advantageous match. The learning and eloquence of theſe Miniſters was indeed the cauſe of thoſe Ladies falling in love with them, but it was not the love for the ſciences or for books that made them marry thoſe Gentlemen. If Moreri had mentioned the correction (29) of the Paſſage in Diogenes Laertius, he might have obſerved, that according to this Hiſtorian, Hipparchia's ſtile was very much like Plato's, and that ſhe wrote Tragedies: but as he did not mention that correction, he could not reaſonably aſſert the reſt.

(29) It is that of Mr. Menage, which I have mentioned in the foregoing remark.

[*H*] . . . . . *And Lorenzo Craſſo alſo.*] He quotes only Diogenes Laertius; he is therefore in the wrong to obſerve, 1. That Hipparchia ſtudied firſt under her brother Metrocles. 2. That ſhe was courted by ſeveral lovers on account of her youth, her riches, and her beauty. *Quantunque come giovane ricca, e bella deſiderata veniſſe da molti, con tutto ciò ricuſar volle ogni altro per Crate vecchio, povero, et mal d'apparenza* (30). i. e. "Though ſhe being a rich and beauti- "ful young lady was courted by a great many men, "yet ſhe refuſed them all, and choſe Crates, an old, "poor, and ill-looking Man. 3. That ſhe dreſſed in men's clothes in order to follow Crates every where. 4. That having diſputed with Theodorus, who denied a Providence, ſhe convinced him by very ſtrong proofs and unqueſtionable arguments. *Riuſci coſì dotta che in diſputa convinſe con ſodiſſime prove e incontraſtabili ragioni, e con ſomma ſua gloria Theodoro che niegava la divina providenza* (31). Read the text of this Article, and you will find that Lorenzo Craſſo has miſtaken the ſenſe of Laertius's words. The riches, beauty, and nobility which Laertius mentions, belong only to Hipparchia's lovers. She did not dreſs in men's clothes in order to follow Crates, but becauſe he declared to her, that he would not marry a woman but who would ſubmit to the rules of the Cynic Sect. Laſtly, you have ſeen that her diſpute with Theodorus was not about Providence, nor about any point of religion. One cannot imagine how much Authors miſlead their Readers.

(30) Lor. Craſſo, *Iſtoria di Poeti Greci*, pag. 296.

(31) Idem, ibid.

HIPPARCHUS a great Aſtronomer born at Nice in Bithynia (*a*), flouriſhed between the 154th and the 163d Olympiads [*A*]. There is one of his works ſtill extant, it is his Commentary on Aratus's Phænomena [*B*]. Monſieur Rohault was very much miſtaken [*C*], when he aſſerted that this Aſtronomer was not acquainted with the particular motion of the fixed ſtars from Weſt to Eaſt; by which motion their Longitude changes. Pliny mentions Hipparchus pretty often, and with great commendations. He places

(*a*) Suidas, pag. 1264.

[*A*] *He flouriſhed between the* 154*th and the* 163*d Olympiads.*] The proof of this is as ſtrong as can be deſired, for it is taken from the aſtronomical obſervations he made in that ſpace of time. Ptolemy has given us ſome of them (1). Voſſius was in the right to place Hipparchus under the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, and under that of Ptolemy Euergetes, and to cenſure Suidas who only obſerves, that this Aſtronomer lived in the time of the Roman Conſuls; he ſhould have mentioned a more particular time; that of the third Punic War, and that of the War againſt the Numantines. Thus far Voſſius is in the right: but when he aſſerts that he agrees with Suidas about the time when Hipparchus lived (2), he forgets himſelf, and aſſerts a falſity; for Suidas does not agree better with Voſſius upon this point, than with an Author, who would have placed Hipparchus at the beginning of the fourth century of Rome, or at the end of the fifth. Calviſius (3) was in the wrong to aſſert, that Suidas places Hipparchus 130 years after the firſt Ptolemies. A French Author (4) is not leſs evidently miſtaken, who aſſerts that *Hipparchus* lived *in Plato's time*. Moreri, who had no guide in this Article but Voſſius, ought to have found in that Author a powerful preſervative againſt all the blunders which he has committed. He places Hipparchus in the years *of Rome* 570 *and* 80 *under the reigns of Ptolemy and Philometor Euergetes Kings of Egypt*. Ought he not to have made the Olympiads mentioned by Voſſius (5) agree with the time that paſſed from the year 589 ſince the building of Rome, to the year 625? Further, when one mentions Ptolemy without any addition to his name, it is a ſign that one means the firſt King of that name who reigned in Egypt; and there are few accurate writers, who do not diſtinguiſh him more particularly. It is therefore a very groſs blunder, to make uſe of the word Ptolemy abſolutely and without any addition, when one does not intend to ſpeak of the Prince, who had Egypt for his ſhare after Alexander's death. Now it is plain that Moreri does not mean that Prince, or if he does, he is greatly miſtaken; for a man, who lived *in the Year* 570 *and* 80 *of Rome*, could not flouriſh under the firſt Ptolemy, who died in the year 468 ſince the building of Rome. Moreri has been miſtaken in another particular; he ſuppoſes that there was a King of Egypt, whoſe name was *Philometer Euergrees*.

(1) Eight; one in the 2d book, and the ſeven others in the 3d. *See* Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathem.* pag. 159.

(2) *Convenit de ætate Suidas.* Voſſius, ibid.

(3) *Ad annum Mundi* 3665.

(4) Coutel, *du Calcul Eccleſiaſtique*, pag. 189.

(5) The 154th and 163d.

[*B*] *There is . . . . . extant . . . . . his Commentary on Aratus's Phænomena.*] It is properly a criticiſm on Aratus; for Hipparchus charges him with having plundered Eudoxus's Books, and tranſcribed even thoſe obſervations in which Eudoxus was miſtaken. He makes the ſame remarks againſt Aratus the Grammarian, who wrote a Commentary on Aratus. Peter Victorius is the firſt that publiſhed this Commentary of Hipparchus. Father Petavius gave afterwards a more correct edition of it, to which he added a Latin Tranſlation which he made himſelf (6). Hipparchus's other works were, *de Conſtitutione Stellarum inerrantium, & ſtatione immota, deque menſtruo Lunæ motu ſecundum latitudinem, &c.* (7). i. e. "Of the order "and conſtant ſituation of the fixed Stars, as alſo of "the Moon's monthly motion in longitude, &c."

(6) Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathem.* pag. 160.

(7) Idem, pag. 159. *ex Suida.*

[*C*] *Monſieur Rohault was very much miſtaken.*] Such great Mathematicians as he was, have not, generally ſpeaking, a very exact knowledge of facts; and they often commit unawares hiſtorical blunders (8). However it be, let us ſee what this learned Carteſian tells us, who by his very ſpelling of Hipparchus ſhewed that he did not underſtand Greek.

(8) Compare this with what is obſerved in the remark [*R*] of the article of the 3d Duke of GUISE.

Hyparchus, ſays he (9), *ſpent the greateſt part of his life, without obſerving any thing elſe concerning the fixed Stars, but that they move from Eaſt to Weſt, in circles, which ſeemed to him to be exactly parallel to the Equator, from which he inferred, that they are all fixed in the ſolid ſubſtance of the ſame heaven (which is called the Firmament,) and which he placed beyond all the Planets; and as he was of opinion, that it was not neceſſary this Heaven ſhould borrow its motion, which is ſimple, from any other Heaven above it, he aſſerted, that this was the laſt of all the Heavens; that it was this which moved all the others the ſame way as it moved itſelf; and that it was thus the* Primum Mobile, *or Firſt Mover. Hyparchus being therefore of opinion, that the fixed Stars did not change their place in the Heavens, he imagined that they might ſerve to determine the courſe of the Planets; juſt as one might make uſe of ſeveral rocks in the ſea, to mark the courſe of the ſhips, which leave no tracks behind them as they ſail along. With this view he exerted his ſkill in meaſuring the diſtance there is between every fixed Star, and the Ecliptick in which the Sun moves; and this he calls the latitude of a Star. He endeavoured afterwards to determine the number of degrees and minutes on the Ecliptick, which are reckoned from Weſt to Eaſt, from the firſt point of Aries to the Point overagainſt which each fixed Star*

(9) Rohault, *Traité de Phyſique*, tom. 2. Part 2. chap. 8. pag. m. 35.

WHAT is meant by the Longitude and Latitude of the Stars.

places him amongſt thoſe men of a ſublime genius, who by foretelling the Eclipſes taught mankind that they ought not to be frightened at theſe Phænomena [*D*], and that even the Gods

Star correſponds, which is called its longitude; but death having interrupted his deſign, it could not be carried on but by his ſucceſſors. Ptolemy, who came about two hundred years after Hyparchus, deſigned to give an account of the motion of the Planets, and being curious to examine, whether his predeceſſor had exactly marked the longitude and latitude of the fixed Stars, he found that their latitude was indeed ſuch as he had marked it, but that their latitude was increaſed two degrees. He inferred from thence, that the fixed Stars, beſides their motion from Eaſt to Weſt in twenty four hours, had alſo another motion from Weſt to Eaſt in circles parallel to the Ecliptick; by which motions they were to finiſh a whole revolution in the ſpace of thirty ſix thouſand years, ſince they advanced two degrees in two hundred years. And as the Firmament could have but one motion proper to it, Ptolemy aſcribed to it the motion from Weſt to Eaſt in thirty ſix thouſand years, and aſſerted that its diurnal motion from Eaſt to Weſt was borrowed from another Heaven, which muſt be beyond it. And thus men began to believe that the Primum Mobile, *or Firſt Mover, is a Heaven, which contains no Stars, and ſurrounds the Firmament.*

(10) *Regis, Syſteme de Philoſophie*, tom. 3. pag. 42, 43. of the Lyons editions 1691, in 12mo.

Monſieur Regis (10), who is another very learned Carteſian, aſſerts the ſame thing in fewer words. But Monſieur Gadroys, an excellent Carteſian, very well knew, that the diſcovery of the particular motion of the fixed ſtars from weſt to eaſt, muſt be aſcribed to Hipparchus (11). He had probably conſidered with more attention than the others, a particular related by Gaſſendi, which is as follows. The Chaldeans, the Egyptians, and the Greeks, imagined that all the fixed ſtars were placed in the concavity of the laſt Heaven, and conſequently of the firſt mover, and that therefore they moved only from eaſt to weſt, on the poles of the equator. But at laſt Hipparchus found, 130 years before Chriſt, that this hypotheſis could not be true: for having conſidered, that according to Timocharis's obſervation, made two hundred years before, there were eight degrees weſt between the *Spica Virginis*, and the point of the autumnal equinox, and that he could find but ſix degrees between that ſtar, and that point of the firmament, he inferred from thence, that the fixed ſtars muſt have a proper motion from weſt to eaſt on the poles of the ecliptic; and that if Timocharis's obſervation were exact, the progreſs of the fixed ſtars by this particular motion was one degree every hundred years. He wrote two treatiſes upon this new doctrine, the one intitled, *Of the Motion of the Equinoxes and Solſtices*; and the other *Of the length of the year. Quare & intellexit, ſi Timocharis quidem rite obſervaſſet, ac Stellæ moveri ſic perſeverarent, peragi hoc motu unum gradum intra annos proxime centum. Intellexit præterea debere hunc motum fieri ſecundum Zodiacum, ſeu ſuper Eclipticæ Polis; idque prodidit tam in Tractatu, quem inſcripſit* de tranſgreſſu Æquinoctialium, Solſtitialiumque punctorum, *quam in eo, quem conſcripſit*, de Anni magnitudine, *ut apud Ptolemæum habetur* (12), Obſerve that Gaſſendi does not exactly ſet down the time when Timocharis lived, for this Aſtronomer flouriſhed about the CXXIſt Olympiad, and only 130 years before Hipparchus made the firſt obſervations, which Ptolemy mentions. But this error of Gaſſendi is much more pardonable than that of Monſieur Gadroys (13).

(11) Gadroys, *Syſtéme du Monde*, chap. 2. pag. 27.

(12) Gaſſendus, *Phyſicæ*, Sect. 2. lib. 3. pag. m. 596. *primi Volum. Operum, ex* Ptolemæo 7. *Almag.* 2, & 3.

(13) He ſuppoſes but 200 years between Timocharis and Ptolemy the Aſtronomer. *Syſt.* pag. 30. whereas there were above 400 years between them. Rohault, who puts but two centuries between Hipparchus and Ptolemy, tom. 2. Part 2. pag. 36. of his *Phyſique*, ought at leaſt to have imitated Gaſſendi, who puts 260 years between theſe two Aſtronomers.

[*D*] *Pliny . . . . places him amongſt thoſe . . . . who by foretelling Eclipſes taught mankind, that they ought not to be frightened at theſe Phænomena.*] Thales was the firſt amongſt the Greeks, who could diſcover when there was to be an eclipſe. Sulpitius Gallus amongſt the Romans began to ſucceed in this kind of predictions, and gave an eſſay of his ſkill that way very ſeaſonably the day before the battle was fought, in which Perſius was vanquiſhed (14). After theſe two Hipparchus improved that ſcience very much; for he made *Ephemerides*, or Catalogues of Eclipſes for ſix hundred years. *Poſt eos utriuſque ſideris curſum in ſexcentos annos præcinuit Hipparchus, menſes gentium, dieſque & horas, ac ſitus locorum & viſus populorum complexus, ævo teſte haud alio modo quam conciliorum naturæ particeps* (15). i. e. " After them came Hipparchus, who foretold the courſe of the ſun and moon " for ſix hundred years, calculated according to the dif- " ferent manner of reckoning the months, days, and " hours uſed by ſeveral nations, and for the different " ſituations of places and nations: the ſucceeding " ages witneſs, that he ſeems to have been admitted " in Nature's privy-council." Thus Pliny calls him upon this account Nature's Confident. The elogiums, which he on this occaſion beſtows upon the Aſtronomers, are, in my opinion, very well grounded. *Viri ingentes ſupraque mortalium naturam, tantorum numinum lege deprehenſa, & miſera hominum mente abſoluta in defectibus ſtellarum ſcelera, aut mortem aliquam ſiderum pavente . . . . Macti ingenio eſte cœli interpretes, rerumque naturæ capaces, argumenti repertores, quo Deos homineſque viciſtis. Quis enim hæc cernens, & ſtatos ſiderum (quoniam ita placuit appellare) labores, non ſuæ neceſſitati mortalis genitus ignoſcat* (16)? i. e. " Moſt (16) Idem, ibid. " eminent men, who are raiſed above the condition of " mortals; you have diſcovered the laws, by which " the great Gods rule this univerſe; and thus you " have delivered the wretched minds of men from " the terror under which they laboured at the ſight " of an eclipſe, dreading either ſome great misfor- " tune, or the death (if I may ſay ſo) of the ſun " or moon . . . . Let the reputation of your great ge- " nius be ſpread more and more, O interpreters of " Heaven, who underſtand the nature of things, and " found means to explain it; by which you excell " the Gods and men. Who, though born a " mortal, would not excuſe fate, when he con- " ſiders theſe Phænomena, and reflects upon the " regular returns of the labours (ſince men were " pleaſed to call the eclipſes thus) of the ſun and " moon."

This elogium in proſe is full as good as the following one in verſe.

Felices animos, quibus hæc cognoſcere primis,
Inque domos ſuperas ſcandere cura fuit!
Credibile eſt illos pariter vitiiſque luciſque
Altiùs humanis exſeruiſſe caput.
Non Venus & vinum ſublimia pectora fregit;
Officiumve fori, militiæve labor.
Nec levis ambitio, perfuſaque gloria fuco;
Magnarumve fames ſollicitavit opum.
Admovêre oculis diſtantia ſidera noſtris;
Ætheraque ingenio ſuppoſuêre ſuo.
Sic petitur cœlum: non ut ferat Oſſan Olympus;
Summaque Peliacus ſidera tangat apex (17).

(17) Ovid. *Faſt.* lib. 1. ver. 297, *& ſeq.*

" Happy minds, who firſt endeavoured to know this, " and who firſt attempted to aſcend into Heaven, if I " may ſay ſo. It is probable that they raiſed them- " ſelves higher than other men, above all human vices " and pleaſures: neither love nor wine ſubdued their " lofty ſouls; nor was their time taken up in civil or " military employments; vain ambition did not fill " their hearts, nor were they fond of empty glory; " nor was their breaſt poſſeſſed with an eager deſire " after riches. They brought the diſtant ſtars nearer " to our view, and ſubjected the very ſky to their " inquiries. This is the way, that leads to Heaven; " nor is it neceſſary to heap up mountains upon moun- " tains to reach the ſky."

Hipparchus had ſo carefully examined what relates to eclipſes, that he had marked the proportion there is between the ſeveral intervals of time, at which they happen (18). He had obſerved that the eclipſes of the moon might return after five months, and thoſe of the ſun after ſeven months, and that the ſun may be eclipſed twice within the ſpace of thirty days, with regard to different parts of the earth. *Intra ducentos annos Hipparchi ſagacitate compertum eſt, & lunæ defectum aliquando quinto menſe à priore fieri, ſolis vero ſeptimo: eundem bis in triginta diebus ſupra terras occultari, ſed ab aliis atque aliis hoc cerni.* Some have miſunderſtood theſe words of Pliny; there is a very learned man, who imagined that by the words *intra ducentos annos* we muſt underſtand, that two centuries muſt be paſt, before one eclipſe of the moon can ſucceed another at five month's diſtance (19); whereas

(18) Plin. lib. 2. cap. 13.

(19) *Neque vero ſenſus eſt, ut exiſtimavit vir alioqui extra ingenii aleam poſitus, expectandos eſſe annos ducentos ut recurrat Lunæ defectus quinto menſe, cum vel intra annos decem animadverſum fuerit noſtra ætate geminam ita recurrere.* Harduinus, *in Plinium*, lib. 2. cap. 13. pag. 159, 160.

Gods were bound by laws [*E*]. He admires him for making a review of all the ſtars, for reckoning them, and for acquainting us with the ſituation and bigneſs of every one of them; by which his deſcendants will be enabled to diſcover, not only whether they are born and die, but alſo whether they change their place, and whether they increaſe or decreaſe. We learn from this paſſage of Pliny, that Hipparchus aſcribed a celeſtial origin to our ſouls [*F*]. Strabo (*b*) charges this Aſtronomer with loving too much to find fault, and to have pretty often criticiſed in ſuch a manner, as ſavoured more of cavil, than of an accurate genius. Pliny judges more favourably of him (*c*).

(*b*) Lib. 1, 2. *paſſim.*

(*c*) *Hipparchus in coarguendo eo* (Eratoſthene) *& in reliqua omni diligentia mirus.* Plin. lib. 2. cap. 108.

Pliny's meaning is, that Hipparchus had diſcovered that proportion two hundred years ago. Pliny's Chronology is exact; there were two hundred years between him, and that famous Aſtronomer.

[*E*] . . . . *and that even the Gods were bound by laws.*] There is no inconvenience in aſſerting that God loves and approves what is regular and good, by a neceſſary and indiſpenſible law; for on the contrary, the being capable to act againſt this law would be an imperfection. But to be ſubject to an order, by which the exerciſe of our functions is ſtopped or weakened, is certainly a defect. So that they, who pretended that the ſtars are Gods, if they deſigned to reaſon coherently, ought to have ſaid, that the Aſtronomers found out the blind ſide of the divine nature, her dependency on a very oppreſſive law, which ſubmitted her to a kind of death, or to a fainting fit, or to ſlavery. It will be objected, that the ſun is not leſs bright in itſelf during an eclipſe, than either before or after it: but may not I anſwer, that a meſſenger, who is arreſted, does not loſe for all that, any thing of his ſtrength and health? And yet this is a proof of his being ſubject to a burdenſome law; in a word, it is a ſign of weakneſs to ſee that he cannot continue his journey. Apply this to the ſun, and you will find, that the eclipſes are a proof of its imperfection: they prevent it from ſhining on the earth. The ſun in this caſe is a Prince whoſe meſſengers are ſtopped, and whoſe functions are ſuſpended. If Pliny had deſigned to reaſon, he would not have drawn from this phænomenon the conſequence he mentions; he would not have ſaid, that this phænomenon of eclipſes ought to make us eaſy in this ſtate of mortality (20); but he would have ſaid that this proves the ſtars are not a divine nature.

(20) This conſideration would have more weight than that which Lucretius urges above quotation (8) of the article BAUTRU (William).

[*F*] *We learn from a paſſage in Pliny, that Hipparchus aſcribed a celeſtial origine to our ſouls.*] It is ſo beautiful, that by tranſcribing it at length, I am ſure to pleaſe thoſe, who do not like to turn from one book to another, in order to gratify their curioſity. *Idem Hipparchus nunquam ſatis laudatus, ut quo nemo magis approbaverit cognationem cum homine ſiderum, animaſque noſtras partem eſſe cœli; novam ſtellam & aliam in ævo ſuo genitam deprehendit: ejuſque motu, quia die fulſit, ad dubitationem eſt adductus, anne hoc ſæpius fieret, moverenturque & eæ, quas putamus affixas. Idemque auſus, rem etiam Deo improbam, annumerare poſteris ſtellas, ac ſidera ad normam expangere* (21), *organis excogitatis, per quæ ſingularum loca, atque magnitudines ſignaret: ut facile diſcerni poſſet ex eo, non modo, an obirent, naſcerenturve, ſed an omnino aliqua tranſirent, moverenturve; item an creſcerent, minuerenturque, cœlo in hæreditate cunctis relicto; ſi quiſquam, qui rationem eam caperet, inventus eſſet* (22). i. e. "The ſame "Hipparchus, who can never be ſufficiently commended, ſince he ſhewed how nearly men are related to the celeſtial bodies, and that our ſouls are a part of Heaven; Hipparchus, I ſay, obſerved a new ſtar, which firſt appeared in his time; the motion of which, the day it ſhined, made him doubt, whether ſuch ſtars aroſe often, or whether even thoſe ſtars, which are thought to be fixed, did alſo move. He alſo dared, which is a great work for the Gods themſelves, to give poſterity an account of the number of the ſtars, and of the ſituation of the celeſtial bodies, having contrived a machine, in which he marked their places, and their bigneſs; by this means it was eaſy to obſerve, not only whether any ſtar periſhed, or whether there aroſe any new one, but alſo whether they changed their ſituation, and had any proper motion; and alſo whether they grew larger or ſmaller: thus he left the Heavens as a legacy to his ſucceſſors, in caſe there ſhould be any perſons capable of underſtanding that ſcience."

(21) In Father Hardouin's edition we read *ad nomen expungere.*

(22) Plin. lib. 2. cap. 26. pag. m. 182, 183.

HIPPOMANES. There is in the plan of this Dictionary a long article upon the Hippomanes. I do not inſert it in this place, becauſe I have altered the deſign I had at firſt of giving indifferently real and perſonal articles. But I ſhall give it in the form of a diſſertation at the end of this work.

HIPPONAX, a Greek Poet, born at Epheſus, lived, not in the 23d Olympiad, as Euſebius has aſſerted [*A*], but in the 60th, as Pliny teſtifies it (*a*). Being baniſhed from Epheſus, by the tyrants Athenagoras and Comas (*b*), he ſettled at Clazomenæ [*B*]. He was deformed, ſhort and thin (*c*). But his deformity has been accidentally the cauſe of his immortality; for he is little known but by the ſatyrical verſes, which he wrote againſt two

(*a*) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5.

(*b*) Suidas, *in* Ἱππώναξ.

(*c*) Ælian. *Div. Hiſt.* lib. 10. cap. 7.

[*A*] *He lived not in the XXIIId Olympiad, as Euſebius aſſerted.*] Scaliger (1) refutes him by a paſſage from Pliny; he thought therefore that Pliny was not miſtaken. This is right: but then he adds that Euſebius followed Tatian, and he refers us to his Notes upon *Number* 908, in which Notes there is not a word relating to Hipponax. This is not being very exact. Euſebius may alſo be refuted by Proclus's authority (2), who aſſerts that Hipponax flouriſhed under the reign of Darius. He means no doubt the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, who began to reign in the LXIVth Olympiad.

(1) Pag. 79.

(2) *Apud* Photium, *Biblioth.* pag. 983.

[*B*] *He ſettled at Clazomenæ.*] Hence it is that the Poeteſs Sulpitia deſcribes him after this manner:

Nec trimetro jambo, nec qui pede fractus eodem
Fortiter iraſci diſcit duce Clazomenio (3).

(3) *De Edicto Domitiani*, inter *Catalecta Virgilii*, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1617, pag. 247.

"Neither he, who writes ſatires in Iambic verſes of ſix feet, nor he, who being exaſperated by the ſame kind of ſatires, learns to rail ſtoutly after the example of the Clazomenian."

If what Monſieur le Fevre relates be true, namely, that Hipponax lived at Epheſus when he revenged himſelf of thoſe, who had inſulted him on account of his deformity, it will follow from thence, either that he returned into his native country, or that his baniſhment was not occaſioned by this ſtory. I have not met with any thing in Pliny, that ſhews that Hipponax was or was not of Epheſus, or that he and the Statuaries whom he ſatarized, did or did not live in that city. And yet Monſieur Dacier (4) would perſuade us that Pliny is of the ſame opinion with thoſe who aſſert, that our Poet's verſes obliged his enemies to retire from Epheſus. Lloyd and Hoffman ſay, that Bupalus lived at Clazomenæ (5). I imagine this is only an inference drawn from the following particulars. They have obſerved on the one hand, that Hipponax retired into that City, and on the other, that Bupalus made a ridiculous and comical ſtatue to repreſent him; from theſe two facts they inferred, that Bupalus lived at Clazomenæ.

(4) *Rem. ſur Horace*, tom. 5. pag. 151.

(5) Charles Stephens ſays the ſame under the word *Bupalus.*

two Statuaries [C], who had made the moſt ridiculous figure of him that was in their power (d). He ſent out againſt them a thundering legion of iambic verſes, which vexed them to ſuch a degree, that it was reported they hanged themſelves out of ſpite. Pliny maintains that this is falſe, and proves it ſo, by a great number of ſtatues which they made ſince that time in the neighbouring iſlands. Some authors write, that they only *left Epheſus where Hipponax lived* (e). However it be, this author was, and is ſtill very much diſtinguiſhed by his ſatyrical humour and verſes [D]. His ſlanders did not even ſpare thoſe to whom he owed his life (f). Some writers pretend, that he was ſtarved to death [E]. It is obſerved, that though he was ſhort and thin, yet he was very ſtrong, and could throw an empty veſſel farther than any other man could do (g). He was not the firſt nor the only perſon, who by his invectives have been the cauſe of other people's death [F].

(d) Plinius, lib. 35. cap. 5.

(e) *Apud* Tanaq. Fabrum, *Vie des Poetes Grecs.*

(f) Ὁ καὶ τεκόσαν ἐο βαύξας. i. e. "Who barked "even at his "own parents." Anthol. lib. 3. cap. 30. num. 22. pag. m. 655.

(g) Metrodor. Scepſius, *apud* Athenæum, lib. 12. pag. 552.

HIRPINI,

[C] *Againſt two Statuaries.*] They were two brothers, the one called Bupalus, and the other Athenis; they were of the iſle of Chios, and the ſons of Anthermus, whoſe father was named Micciades, and his grandfather Malas. All theſe perſons had practiſed Sculpture in that iſland from father to ſon, ſo that this art might be as antient there as the Olympiads. *Si quis horum familiam ad proavum uſque retroagat, inveniet artis ejus originem cum Olympiadum origine cœpiſſe* (6). i. e. "If you will trace this family up to the great-"grandfather, you will find that this art began with the "Olympiads." Pauſanias (7), ſpeaking of the ſtatue of Fortune, and of that of the Graces, which were to be ſeen at Smyrna, and which Bupalus had made, commends him on that account. He makes him more antient than Pindar; two witneſſes like Pauſanias and Pliny, deſerve more credit than the Scholiaſt on Horace (8), who aſſerts that Bupalus was a Painter, wherein he has been followed by Meſſieurs le Fevre (9) and Dacier (10), and by almoſt all the writers of Dictionaries (11). Suidas makes both the brothers Sculptors; and becauſe he calls the latter Athenis, Father Hardouin imagined, that the paſſage in Pliny, where this Sculptor is named *Anthermus*, was corrupted; and therefore he put the word *Athenis* inſtead of that. See the remark [E], and the article BUPALUS.

(6) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5.

(7) Pauſan. lib. 4. pag. 140. and lib. 9. pag. 309.

(8) In VI Epod.

(9) *Vie des Poetes Grecs.*

(10) *Remarques ſur Horace*, tom. 5. pag. 151.

(11) See the remark [A] of the article BUPALUS.

[D] *He was diſtinguiſhed by his ſatyrical humour and verſes.*] This gave riſe to ſome proverbs, which we meet with in Cicero (12). *Eum addictum jam tum puto eſſe Calvi Licinii Hipponacteo præconio.* i. e. "I "take him to be already ruined in his reputation by "Calvus Licinius's Hipponactean commendation of "him." Horace joins Hipponax with Archilochus, as the two greateſt patrons for ſlander:

(12) *Epiſt.* 24. lib. 7. *ad famil.*

——— —— *In malos aſperrimus*
Parata tollo cornua.
Qualis Lycambæ ſpretus infido gener,
Aut acer hoſtis Bupalo.

(13) Horat. 6. *Epod.* See alſo Cicero, *de Nat. Deorum*, lib. 3.

——— —— "To rogues a deadly foe,
"I'm ſtill prepar'd to ſtrike the blow:
"As ſharp as fierce Archilochus his ſong,
"Like Hipponax revenge a wrong.
CREECH.

Here follow Pliny's words: *Hipponacti notabilis vultus fœditas erat: quamobrem imaginem ejus laſcivia jocorum ii propoſuere ridentium circulis. Quod Hipponax indignatus amaritudinem carminum diſtrixit in tantum, ut credatur aliquibus ad laqueum eos impuliſſe: quod falſum eſt.* i. e. "Hipponax's face was remarkably "ugly; wherefore theſe Statuaries made a figure of "him out of joke, which they expoſed to the laughter "of a multitude of people. Hipponax was ſo exaſpe-"rated at this, that he laſhed them very ſeverely in "his verſes, which vexed them to that degree, that "ſome think they hanged themſelves; but this is "not true." There are three or four epigrams in the Anthology (14), in which Hipponax is repreſented as being ſtill dreadful even after his death. The paſſengers are adviſed to run from his tomb, becauſe it was a place where there fell a terrible hail. Φεῦγε τὸν καλαζεπῆ τάφον, τὸν φριχτὸν, *fuge grandinantem tumulum horrendum* (15).

(14) Lib. 3. cap. 25.

(15) Ibid. num. 24. pag. m. 566.

[E] *Some writers pretend, that he was ſtarved to death.*] I do not think there is any ground for this aſſertion but the two following lines.

Utque parum ſtabili qui carmine læſit Athenas
Inviſus pereas, deficiente cibo (16).

(16) Ovid. *in Ibid.* ver. 525.

i. e. "May you periſh for want of bread, and hated "by all, like him, who injured Athens *(or Athenis)* "by his lame verſes."

Some writers pretend, that Ovid did not write *Athenas* but *Athenim*, whence it would follow that he meant Hipponax here. *Qui primus iambum claudicare fecit, & ſcazonta in Bupalum & Athenin compoſuit, ut eſt apud Suidam, ut recte Ovidius, parum ſtabile, id eſt claudum carmen ei tribuat.* i. e. "Who firſt made lame "Iambic verſes, and wrote ſatyrs in that kind of "verſe againſt Bupalus and Athenis; whence Ovid "aſcribes to him an *unſteady*, that is a *lame* poem." Thus ſpeaks Alciat in the XVIIIth Chapter of the fifth Book of his *Parerga*. Turnebus does not diſlike this opinion. *Videtur*, ſays he (17), *de* Hipponacte *hoc intelligi, qui claudicante & parum ſtabili verſu, id eſt ſcazonte in Bupalum & Athenim invectus eſt Athenienſes: quo in carmine ne Athenis quidem pepercerat. Quid tamen ſi pro* Athenas, Athenin *ſcribamus, quem ab eo probris oneratum accepimus? ne hanc quidem lectionem improbarem, etſi alteram delere non auſim.* i. e. "It "ſeems that this muſt be underſtood of Hipponax, who "in his lame Iambic verſes inveighed againſt Bupalus "and Athenis two Athenians; in which poem he did "not ſpare even the city of Athens: but what, if inſtead "of *Athenas* we ſhould write *Athenim*; for we are told "that he loaded Athenis with injuries? I cannot diſ-"prove this reading, though I ſhould not dare to ex-"punge the other." Monſieur Boiſſieu (18), who tranſcribes theſe two paſſages, obſerves that Sanctius and Valerius approve them. And for his part, he admits that opinion with all his heart, and thinks it very probable, that Ovid ſhould have mentioned the two inventors of the Iambic verſe one after the other. Now, he had juſt mentioned Archilochus, and we know from Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus (19), from Clemens of Alexandria (20), from Rufinus (21), and from the Poeteſs Sulpitia (22), that Hipponax invented the *Scazons*. Monſ. Boiſſieu might have cenſured Turnebus for aſſerting, that Hipponax's two adverſaries were of Athens: for Pliny expreſly obſerves that they were of the iſle of Chios, and that they were uſed to mark it upon their works. *Quibus ſubjecerunt carmen non vitibus tantum cenſeri Chium, ſed & operibus Anthermi filiorum* (23). i. e. "On which (their works) they ingraved an in-"ſcription, declaring that the iſle of Chios was famous "not only for her wine, but alſo for the works of An-"thermus's ſons." What Turnebus aſſerts, namely that Hipponax did not ſpare the city of Athens in his verſes againſt thoſe two Sculptors, is intirely groundleſs, and ſaid at random. A German Miniſter (24), having applied the two verſes in Ovid to Hipponax, continues thus. *Ex Plinio nimirum compertum eſt Athenim vel Athenam ſculptorem in Hipponactis ſcripta incurriſſe, carmina ejus ſuſtuliſſe maledica, authorem verò lethali inedia fuiſſe confectum.* i. e. "For we know "from Pliny, that Athenis or Athenas the Sculptor "fell upon Hipponax's writings, and demoliſhed his "ſlandering verſes; and that the author of them died "for want." Pliny ſays no ſuch thing.

(17) *Adverſar.* lib. 9. cap. 25.

(18) *Comment. in Ibid.* pag. 100, 101.

(19) Lib. *de Interpr.*

(20) Stromat. lib. 1.

(21) *De Metris Comicis.*

(22) Her verſes have been quoted in the remark [B].

(23) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5.

(24) Spizelius, *in Fel. Literat.* pag. 718.

[F] *He was not the firſt nor the only perſon, who by his invectives have been the cauſe of other people's death.*] Before him, Archilochus had wrote ſatires, which obliged two or three perſons to hang themſelves (25). Poliagrus being abuſed in a Comedy hanged himſelf (26). We ought not to wonder that a ſatire ſhould make a man deſperate, ſince we find that a mere cenſure produced ſometimes that fatal effect. Pythagoras having reproved one of his diſciples ſomewhat ſeverely before ſeveral

THE deadly effects of ſlanders or cenſures.

(25) See the article ARCHILOCHUS, remark [C].

(26) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 5. cap. 8.

HIRPINI, a Nation of Italy in the country of the Samnites. They were ſo called, becauſe they had a wolf (*a*) for their leader, when they went to ſettle a colony. Some authors relate, that on a certain day, when they celebrated a great ſolemnity, they walked upon fire without burning themſelves [*A*]; but it is probable that theſe authors aſcribe to them, what belongs only to the *Hirpii* [*B*], who lived in another part of Italy. They were

(*a*) A *Wolf* was called *Hirpus* in the language of the Samnites. Strabo, lib. 6. pag. 173.

ſeveral perſons, threw him into ſo diſmal a melancholy, that it obliged him to ſtrangle himſelf; and after that time this great Philoſopher never reproved any perſon but privately. Πυθαγόρᾳ δὲ τραχύτερον ἐν πολλοῖς γηραίῳ προσενεχθέντι, ἀπάγξασθαι τὸ μειράκιον λέγουσιν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ μηδέποτε τὸν Πυθαγόραν αὖθις ἄλλῳ παρόντι. ἄλλον νουθετῆσαι. *Ferunt, adoleſcentulum quendam à Pythagora, cui operam dabat, multis præſentibus compellatum aſperius, ſuſpendio vitam finiſſe, atque ab eo tempore Pythagoram numquam alio præſente quenquam corripuiſſe* (27). Diodorus Cronus died with grief, being ſeverely reproved by a King of Egypt, becauſe he could not ſolve thoſe difficulties in Logic, which Stilpo propoſed to him at the King's table (28). There have been cenſures, which tho' they did not occaſion the death of the perſons cenſured, yet vexed them to ſuch a degree, that they made them attempt the reprover's life. Apollodorus the Architect loſt his life, becauſe he had made the Emperor Hadrian obſerve ſome defects in a temple which this Prince had ordered to be built (29). Theſe latter ages afford us ſeveral inſtances of all theſe effects of cenſure. Muret had been acquainted with a man, whom ſome verſes, that had been written againſt him, threw into ſo deep a melancholy, that it carried him to the grave. And hereupon that writer quotes Plato, who adviſes thoſe, that are concerned for their reputation, to take care not to exaſperate the Poets. *Laceſſiti* (poetæ) *ita ſe ulſciſcuntur, ut interdum eos à quibus offenſi erant, ad mortem adegiſſe narrentur. Nam præter id quod de Archilocho accepimus, novi ego, qui hâc ætate tantum verſibus ſuis inimico dolorem inuſſerit, ut ex eo ille ſit mortuus . . . quocirca Plato in Minoe præcipit iis, qui bonæ famæ ſtudioſi ſunt, ut diligenter caveant, ne cum poëtis inimicitias ſuſcipiant* (30). i. e. "When the Poets are provoked, they know how to revenge themſelves ſo, as "to force ſometimes thoſe that exaſperate them to "kill themſelves. For beſides what we read of Archi"lochus, I know a Poet, who at this time did by his "verſes give his enemy ſo much pain, that it proved "his death. . . Wherefore Plato, in his Minos, ad"viſes thoſe who are tender of their reputation, to "take care not to draw upon them the reſentment of "the Poets." It is reported that George of Trebizonde died with grief, when he ſaw that the blunders, which he had made in his tranſlation of Ptolemy, were cenſured by Regiomontanus, and that the ſons of the deceaſed poiſoned the Critic (31). I have obſerved in another place (32), that it was thought John Denores would have died with grief, at the reading of Guarini's Reply, had he lived long enough to ſee that work publiſhed. *The zealous Calviniſts . . . publiſhed ſo outragious a libel againſt Quintin . . . that this Doctor, who was too eaſily vexed, went to bed after he had read that libel, and never got up any more* (33). He had harangued in favour of the Clergy at the meeting of the States of the Kingdom in the year 1560: the criticiſm on his oration was the occaſion of his death. Gregory of Valencia having read before Pope Clement VIII (34), a paſſage from St. Auguſtin otherwiſe than he ſhould have done, was convicted of a falſification; upon which the Pope told him (35). *Is it thus you pretend to impoſe upon the Church of God?* "Theſe words "were like a thunderbolt, which ſtruck Valencia "down: he ſwooned away in the Pope's preſence, and "died two days after." See in the article CERASI another ſtroke of the ſame Pope. "Monſieur de l'Etoile "uſed to cenſure boldly, bluntly, and with the utmoſt "ſeverity all that he diſliked in thoſe things, upon "which he was aſked his opinion. He is charged "with occaſioning a young man to die with grief and "ſorrow, who came from Languedoc, bringing a "Play with him, which he thought a maſterpiece "in its kind, and in which he was ſhewn very "clearly a thouſand faults." I borrow theſe words from Monſieur Peliſſon (26). Philip II King of Spain did not cenſure in a leſs killing manner than the King of Egypt, whom I have mentioned above. "Cardi"nal Eſpinoſa died, becauſe he heard Philip II "ſpeak only theſe ſingle words, by which he perceived "that he had loſt the King's favour. *Cardinal yo "ſoy el Preſidente. Cardinal I am the Preſident of "the Council.* And the ſame King, telling a Secre"tary, who had ſpilt ink inſtead of ſand upon ſome "writings. *Eſte es el tintero, y eſtotra* (37) *la ſal"vadera*; theſe few words went ſo deep to the poor "Secretury's heart, that from the King's preſence he "retired to his bed, and died (38)." There are inſtances of ſome authors, who have murthered, or attempted to murther their Cenſors. Murtola being mad to ſee that the Cavalier Marino had ruined his reputation in a ſatire, let off a piſtol at him in the ſtreets of Turin; he miſſed him, though he had loaded his piſtol with five balls, and had fired very near him; he confeſſed that his deſign was not to wound but to kill Marino (39). Here follows what we read in Monſieur Baillet (40). "Francis Robortel having "criticized ſome words of Baptiſt Egnacio, a Vene"tian, was like to be killed with a bayonet, which "this Egnacio ſtuck into his bowels, in anſwer to his "critic." Baillet quotes *Joh. Imperial. Muſæi hiſtor. pag.* 61, & *Theoph. Spizel. de felic. literat. comment.* 4. *p.* 485. Here follow Imperialis's words. *Cum Alciato pariter, aliiſque clariſſimis ejus ævi luminibus, internecinas prope ſimultates exercuit* (Robortellus) *quo factum ut ſemel Venetiis Baptiſta Egnatius optimus ac doctiſſimus vir crebris ab eo laceſſitus injuriis, educto ſenili gladiolo in eum impetum facere non dubitarit.* i. e. "There was "almoſt a mortal hatred between Robortel, and Alciat, "and alſo between him and other moſt eminent men "of his time; whence it happened, that Baptiſt Eg"nacio a very good and learned man, being provoked "by Robortel's repeated injuries, did not ſcruple to "fall upon him ſword in hand."

(27) Plutarch. *de Diſcrim. Adulat. & Amici*, pag. 70, *F.*

(28) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 112. *See alſo* Pliny, lib. 7. cap. 57.

(29) Xiphilin. in *Hadriano*, pag. m. 258.

(30) Muretus, *Variar. Lect.* lib. 8. cap. 1.

(31) Naude, *Conſiderations ſur les Coups d'Etat. See alſo* Thuanus, lib. 90.

(32) In the article GUARINI remark [*B*].

(33) Varillas, *Hiſtoire de Charles IX*, tom. 2. pag. m. 18.

(34) *Morale Pratique des Jeſuites*, tom. 3. pag. 122. where they correct an error of the firſt vol.

(35) *Morale Pratique*, tom. 1. pag. 268.

(36) *Hiſt. de l'Acad. Françoiſe*, pag. m. 322.

(37) I imagine it ſhould be *eſta era*.

(38) La Mothe le Vayer, Lettre 53. pag. 441. of the 10th vol.

(39) See the *Anti-Baillet*, tom. 1. num. 95.

(40) *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 1. pag. 66.

Had I diſperſed all this in ſeveral places throughout my work, I ſhould have eſcaped the cenſure of thoſe, who will ſtyle this remark *an inſignificant collection of common-place topics*. But as I mind my reader's conveniency rather than my own, I am content to ſubmit to that cenſure, if I ſave them the trouble of collecting, what I might have thus diſperſed.

I ſhall add a new inſtance to the foregoing. *A certain Poet having preſented* Pope Urban VIII *with a work, the ſubject, diſpoſition and verſes of which were unworthy of a Chriſtian, the Pope upbraided him ſo earneſtly with his impudence, that the poor wretch died with grief and ſhame.* You will find theſe words in the 3d page of a book, which Father Menêtrier publiſhed at Paris in the year 1681, with this title, *Des Repréſentations en Muſique anciennes & modernes*. i. e. "Of "ancient and modern muſical Acting upon a Stage."

[*A*] *Some authors relate that they walked upon fire, without burning themſelves.*] Varro, who exploded all kinds of ſuperſtitions as much as lay in his power, having metioned a certain ſalve, adds immediately this obſervation, the *Hirpini* rubbed the ſoles of their feet with it, when they were to walk upon fire. *Varro ubique expugnator religionis, ait, cùm quoddam medicamentum deſcriberet: eo uti ſolent Hirpini ambulaturi per ignem, medicamento plantas ungunt* (1). Theſe words do not give us the leaſt hint concerning the ſituation of the *Hirpini*: ſo that we cannot determine, whether Varro ſpoke of a people, who were a part of the nation of the Samnites, or whether, like Servius, he gave the name of *Hirpini* to perſons who lived near mount Soracte in Etruria, and who were properly called *Hirpii*. Several perſons imagine, that Varro meant that nation amongſt the Samnites, which was called *Hirpini*. If this was really his meaning, it is very probable that he was miſled by the reſemblance of the names. They who walked upon fire were different from the Samnites, and lived pretty far from them. Their name was *Hirpii* and not *Hirpini*. Servius the Commentator was miſtaken with regard to their name, and this miſtake had led him into ſome others, concerning the ſituation of thoſe who walked upon fire in the ſolemn feſtival of mount Soracte, as we ſhall ſee in the following remark.

(1) Servius, in Æneid. lib. 11. ver. 787.

[*B*] . . . *What belongs only to the Hirpii.*] Virgil does

were anciently other feſtivals, in which the ſame ſhew was to be ſeen [C].

HOBBES

does not name thoſe who walked upon the fire, he only hints that they lived near mount Soracte.

Summe Deûm ſancti cuſtos Soractis Apollo,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
Paſcitur, & medium freti pietate per ignem
Cultores multa premimus veſtigia pruna.
Da, pater, hoc noſtris aboleri dedecus armis (2)

(2) Virgil. Æn. lib. 11. ver. 785.

" O Patron of Soracte's high abodes,
" Phœbus the ruling pow'r among the Gods;
" Whom firſt we ſerve, whole woods of unctuous pine
" Are fell'd for thee, and to thy glory ſhine:
" By thee protected, with our naked ſoles,
" Thro' flames unſing'd we march, and tread the
" kindled coals."
" Give me, propitious pow'r, to waſh away
" The ſtains of this diſhonourable day."

Dryden.

But Servius calls them *Hirpini*; *Soractis*, ſays he in his Commentary on this paſſage of Virgil, *mons eſt Hirpinorum in Flaminia collocatus*. i. e. " Soracte is " a mountain of the Hirpini, ſituated in the road " from Rome to Ariminum." He adds, that this mountain is conſecrated to the infernal Gods; and that as they were once offering a ſacrifice to Pluto there came ſome wolves which carried off from the fire the entrails of the Victim. The Shepherds purſued them, and entered into a cave, whence aroſe immediately a deadly vapour which occaſioned a very great peſtilence, of which an Oracle promiſed them that they would be delivered if they followed the example of the wolves; that is to ſay, if they lived upon plunder: They did it, and hence theſe people were called, *Hirpini Sorani*, that is to ſay, Pluto's Wolves; for *Hirpus* ſignifies a *Wolf* in the language of the Sabines, and *Soranus* is Pluto's name. Any perſon who conſults Strabo and Pliny muſt be convinced that Servius has committed here an egregious blunder. He has blended together the names and hiſtories of two different nations. Strabo (13) relates, that wolf having been the guide of a nation who came to ſettle a colony in the country of the Samnites, that nation was called *Hirpini*, *Hirpus* ſignifying a wolf in the language of the Samnites. As for Pliny, he aſſerts, that there is in the Country of Hirpini a place which is mortal to them that enter it. *In Hirpinis Amſancti ad Memphitis ædem, locum quem qui intravere moriuntur* (4). Virgil deſcribes that curſed place more at large, and obſerves not only that there aroſe a dangerous ſteam or vapour from it, but alſo that it was an air-hole of Hell.

(3) Lib. 5. pag. 173.

(4) Plin. lib. 2. cap. 93. pag. m. 240.

Eſt locus Italiæ medio ſub montibus altis,
Nobilis, & fama multis memoratus in oris,
Amſancti valles.
. . . . . .
Hic ſpecus horrendum, & ſævi ſpiracula Ditis
Monſtrantur: ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
Peſtiferas aperit fauces (5).

(5) Æn. lib. 7. ver. 563.

" In midſt of Italy well known to Fame,
" There lies a lake *Amſanctus* is the name.
" . . . . . .
" Here Pluto pants for breath from out his cell,
" And opens wide the grinning jaws of Hell.

Dryden.

There was nothing like this in mount Soracte. The vapour that aroſe from it was fatal only to birds. Pliny aſſerts it poſitively. *Alibi volucribus tantum ut Soracte vicino urbis tracta* (6). It is therefore plain that when Servius called this mountain a place conſecrated to Pluto, which he ſaid was near a cave, which was mortal to men, he blended together what relates to the *Hirpini*, and what relates to the *Hirpii*. See *Salmaſius in Solinum*, p. 85.

(6) Plin. lib. 2. cap. 43 pag. 240.

If you have a mind to know what the antients ſay of the *Hirpii* you may ſoon be ſatisfied. The *Hirpii* were a few families that lived in the country of the *Faliſci* near Rome, and who could walk upon fire without any hurt. This ſhew was ſeen every year on mount Soracte, the day when a ſolemn ſacrifice was offered to Apollo. The *Hirpii* walked upon a pile ſet on fire without burning themſelves, for which reaſon they were by a decree of the Senate diſpenſed from bearing arms, and from ſerving any burthenſome office. *Haud procul Urbe Roma in Faliſcorum agro familiæ ſunt paucæ quæ vocantur Hirpi: hæ ſacrificio annuo quod fit ad montem Soractem Apollini, ſuper ambuſtam ligni ſtruem ambulantes non aduruntur, & ob id perpetuo Senatus conſulto militiæ omniumque aliorum munerum vacationem habent* (7). Solinus pretended to follow this account very exactly, and he did not take notice that he had altered a very conſiderable particular of it. He expreſſed himſelf ſo as to hint that the Hirpii paſſed through the Flames. *Impune inſultant ardentibus lignorum ſtruibus, in honorem divinæ rei flammis parcentibus* (8). i. e. " They leap upon the burning " piles without any damage, the flames ſparing them " in honour of divine ſervice." And yet Pliny does not ſay this: he does even hint clearly enough, that they only walked over the burning coals. Nor can we doubt but this was all they did, ſince Varro pretended that they rubbed the ſoles of their feet with a certain ſalve. Conſider alſo theſe words of Virgil, *multa premimus veſtigia pruna*. i. e. " We tread the " kindled coals;" and the expreſſions of the Authors I am going to quote, and you will have no reaſon to doubt but Salmaſius juſtly cenſured Solinus. *Sed is eſt Solinus: verba tantummodo curat, rerum ſecurus, quas digerit, miræ ubique ablepſiæ incuſandus* (9). i. e. " Such is the character of Solinus; he minds only his " expreſſions, and is careleſs about the ſubject he " treats of, and is every where guilty of a wonderful " overſight." A Poet, who lived after Virgil, tells us, that they who walked over the fire, went three times through that trial laden with the entrails of the Victims, which they carried afterwards upon Apollo's altars.

(7) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 2. pag. m. 10.

(8) Solin. cap. 2.

(9) Salmaſ. *Exercitat. in Plin.* pag. 86.

Tum Soracte ſatum præſtantem corpore & armis
Æquanum noſcens, patrio cui ritus in arvo,
Cum pius arcitenens accenſis gaudet acervis,
Exta ter innocuos late portare per ignes;
Sic in Apollinea ſemper veſtigia pruna
Inviolata teras, victorque vaporis ad aras
Dona ſerenato referas ſolemnia Phœbo (10).

(10) Silius Italicus, lib. 5.

We have ſeen that the feſtival celebrated on mount Soracte, in which they who walked on the fire, acted their part ſo well, was ſacred to Apollo; but we ſhall now ſee it conſecrated to another Deity. Strabo obſerves (11) that there was at the foot of mount Soracte a city called *Feronia*. This was alſo the name of a Goddeſs, who was extremely revered in that place. There was an admirable ſacrifice offered in the *Lucus* or Grove dedicated to this Goddeſs. Some men, whom the ſpirit of this Deity ſeized, walked bare footed on a heap of kindled coals, and did not receive the leaſt hurt from it. Ἧς (Φερωνίας) τέμενός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ θαυμαστὴν ἱεροποιΐαν ἔχον· γυμνοῖς γὰρ ποσὶ διεξίασιν ἀνθρακίαν καὶ σποδιὰν μεγάλην οἱ κατεχόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς δαίμονος ταύτης ἀπαθεῖς. *Ibi eſt lucus Feroniæ, in quo ſacrificium perpetratur mirabile: correpti enim ejus numinis afflatu homines nudis pedibus prunarum ardentium ſtruem illæſi perambulant* (12). There was every year a ſolemn meeting at that place, where the ſpectators were entertained with this ſhew. It is not much to to the honour of the antients that they ſhould be ſo little agreed amongſt themſelves, with regard to ſuch particulars as could not but be publickly known.

(11) Strabo, lib. 5. pag. 156.

(12) Idem, ibid.

[C] *There were antiently other feſtivals, on which the ſame ſhow was to be ſeen.*] There was at Caſtabala in Cappadocia a Temple of Diana ſurnamed *Paraſia*. The Prieſteſſes of this Temple walked barefoot upon kindled coals without burning themſelves. Strabo mentions it only upon an hear-ſay. Ὅτι φασὶ τὰς ἱερείας γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ δι' ἀνθρακιᾶς βαδίζειν ἀπαθεῖς. *Ubi ajunt ſacrificas mulieres illæſis pedibus per prunas ambulare* (13). There have been Quacks in theſe latter ages who have done things much more ſurpriſing (14) than all that is related of the *Hirpii*, and of theſe Prieſteſſes. But to ſhew more evidently how much the antient abuſes in religion agree with the modern, I ſhall relate what I heard the late Monſieur Fremont d'Ablancourt ſay, who being a zealous Huguenot became,

(13) Idem, lib. 12. pag. 370.

(14) See the *Journal des Savans*, for the year 1677, pag. 54, and 222. of the Dutch edition.

HOBBES (THOMAS) one of the greateſt genius's of the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Malmeſbury in England, April the 5th 1588 [*A*]. He had made a great progreſs in the Languages [*B*], when he was ſent at fourteen years of age to Oxford, where he ſtudied for five years Ariſtotle's Philoſophy. He afterwards went into the family of William Cavendiſh, who ſoon after had the title of Earl of Devonſhire conferred upon him, and was Governor to his eldeſt ſon. He travelled into France and Italy with his pupil; and perceiving that he remembred little either of his Greek or Latin, and that the Philoſophy of Ariſtotle, in which he had made a conſiderable progreſs, was deſpiſed by perſons of the beſt ſenſe, he applied himſelf intirely to polite literature upon his return to his own country. Thucydides appearing to him preferable to all the Greek Hiſtorians, he tranſlated him into Engliſh, and publiſhed that tranſlation in 1618, in order to ſhew the Engliſh, from the Athenian Hiſtory, the diſorders and confuſions of a Democratical Government [*C*]. In 1629 he travelled into France as Governor to a young Engliſh Gentleman;

came, during his ſtay at Liſbon, very well acquainted with the tricks which the Monks uſe to play. He told me that there is in Spain a certain convent (15), from whence there came every year a Monk who ſhut himſelf up in an hot oven, and continued there ſome hours with only a linnen garment about him. He comes out of the oven in the ſight of a croud of people, who takes this for a very great miracle. It brings the Convent a very good income, ſo that it is worth their while to uſe a Monk little by little to endure the Heat. But I do not pretend to give an account of all the tricks there may be in this pretended miracle.

(15) He told me the name of the place, but I have forgot it.

[*A*] *Born at Malmſbury . . . . April the 5th, 1588.*] His mother being frighted at the rumours of the approach of the Spaniſh armada, was brought to bed of him before her time. It is very ſurprizing therefore, that he lived ſo long. Hobbes's father was a Miniſter (1).

(1) *Vita Hobbeſii*, pag. 32.

[*B*] *He had made a great progreſs in the languages.*] Before he left Malmeſbury ſchool to go to the Univerſity of Oxford, he had tranſlated into Latin verſe the Medea of Euripides. *Tantos autem jam adhuc in ludo literario degens in literatura tam Latina quam Græca progreſſus fecit, ut* Euripidis Medeam *ſimili metro Latinis verſibus eleganter expreſſerit* (2).

(2) Ibid. pag. 33.

[*C*] *The diſorders and confuſions of a Democratical Government.*] I have known ſome men of parts, who were ſurprized, that in Kingdoms, in which the Prince's authority is unlimited, the inſtructors of youth are allowed to make uſe of the books of the antient Greeks and Romans, in which we find ſo many examples of the love of liberty, and ſo many anti-monarchical maxims. But this is not more ſurprizing than to ſee Republican States permit their Law-Profeſſors to explain the Code and Digeſt, in which there are ſo many principles, which ſuppoſe the ſupreme and inviolable authority of the Emperor. Here we ſee two things, which ſeem equally ſurprizing, but in reality ought not to ſurprize any perſon; for omitting ſeveral reaſons, which might be urged, may not we ſay, that the ſame books, which contain the poiſon with regard either to Monarchs, or Republics, contain likewiſe the antidote? If you ſee on one hand the great maxims of liberty, and the noble examples of courage, with which it has been maintained or recovered; you ſee on the other, faction, ſeditions, tumultuous humours, which have diſturbed and at laſt ruined that infinite number of little States, which ſhewed themſelves ſuch zealous enemies of tyranny in antient Greece. Does not this picture ſeem to be a leſſon very capable of diſabuſing thoſe, who are terrified at the mere notion of a Monarchy? Hobbes thought ſo (3), ſince he publiſhed the tranſlation of an Athenian Hiſtorian with this view. Turn the tables, and you will find, that this picture will be very proper to give an inſtruction different from the former, and to ſtrengthen the horror againſt Monarchy: for whence comes it, will it be ſaid, that the Greeks and Romans choſe rather to be expoſed to theſe confuſions, than to live under a Monarchy? Did not this ariſe from the hard condition, to which tyrants had reduced them? And muſt not an evil be very grievous, inſufferable, and deplorable, when people chooſe to deliver themſelves from it at ſo dear a rate? It is certain, that the deſcription, which Hiſtory has left us of the conduct of ſeveral Monarchs, gives us horror, and makes our hair ſtand an end. Do not object to me, that generally ſpeaking more diſorders have been occaſioned by the conſpiracies, which have put an end to tyranny, than there would have been by ſuffering it. Do not repreſent to me what I have ſaid in the article of HIERO II (4). The Syracuſians, who had enjoyed a prodigious happineſs under the long reign of that Prince, immediately loſt their patience under his ſucceſſor, who governed in a tyrannical manner: They killed him in the very beginning of the ſecond year of his reign; and ſoon after put to death the two daughters of Hiero, and his three grand-daughters. Of theſe five Ladies there were three, againſt whom no complaint had been made, and who had fled, as one may ſay, to the foot of the altar. Was not this removing one tyranny to eſtabliſh a greater (5). Was Livy (6) in the wrong to remark upon this occaſion, that the people are incapable of keeping within due bounds; humble even to baſeneſs, when they obey, but inſolent to the laſt degree, when they command? The maſſacre of theſe five Ladies was not the raſh action of ſome private perſons; it was commanded by the Senate and people of Syracuſe, and this even while the memory of Hiero was ſtill freſh among them; a Prince, whom they had loved ſo tenderly and juſtly. The injuſtice of their barbarous decree was ſo manifeſt, that they immediately perceived it; they revoked it; but this ſignified nothing; it was already executed. *Tandem vulneribus confectæ, cum omnia repleſſent ſanguine, exanimes corruerunt, cædemque per ſe miſerabilem, miſerabiliorem caſus fecit; quod paulò poſt nuntius venit, mutatis repente ad miſericordiam animis, ne interficerentur. Ira deinde ex miſericordia orta, quod adeò feſtinatum ad ſupplicium, neque locus pœnitendi aut regreſſus ab ira relictus eſſet. Itaque fremere multitudo* (7). i. e. "At length being covered with "wounds, and having filled all things near them with "blood, they fell down dead; and this miſerable "ſlaughter was made much more miſerable by this "accident, that ſoon after a meſſenger came to ſtop "the execution, the minds of the people being of a "ſudden changed to pity. Reſentments afterwards "aroſe from their pity, becauſe the execution had been "ſo much haſtened, and no room had been left to "prevent the effects of their paſſion. Upon this the "multitude began to murmur." The factions were not extinguiſhed by the intire extirpation of the Royal Family; they increaſed daily, and in a ſhort time overturned the liberty and ſovereignty of the country. They unſeaſonably expoſed Syracuſe to the reſentments of the Romans, who beſieged and ſubdued it. Silius Italicus deſcribes very well the confuſion, into which that city fell, after the tyrant Hieronymus and his relations were killed. It was a confuſion from which the Romans knew how to draw a famous conqueſt. The diſcord of the city encouraged them to beſiege it.

(4) Remark [*E*].

(5) *Ne tyrannos ulciſcendo, quæ odiſſent ſcelera ipſi imitarentur.* T. Livius, lib. 24. pag. 393. This is what Heraclea, the daughter of Hiero repreſented to her murtherers.

(6) See his words above citation (21) of the article of HIERO II.

(7) T. Livius, lib. 24. cap. 26.

(3) See the remark [*O*] of the article PERICLES.

Sævos namque pati faſtus, juvenemque cruento
Flagrantem luxu, & miſcentem turpia duris,
Haud ultra faciles, quos ira metuſque coquebat
Jurati obtruncant, nec jam modus enſibus, addunt
Fœmineam cædem, atque inſontum rapta ſororum
Corpora proſternunt ferro, nova ſævit in armis
Libertas, jactatque jugum: pars Punica caſtra,
Pars Italos & nota volunt: nec turba furentum
Deſit, quæ neutro ſociari fœdere malit (8).

(8) Sil. Ital. lib. 14. pag. m. 589.

i. e. "Not

(a) His name was Gervas Clifton. The father of his former pupil died in 1626, and his pupil in 1628.

Gentleman (a); and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Mathematics during that journey [D]. In 1631 he was employed by the Counteſs of Devonſhire (b), to be tutor to her ſon, who was then thirteen years old, and travelled with him three years after into France and Italy. During his ſtay at Paris he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Natural Philoſophy, and eſpecially to the enquiry into the cauſes of the ſenſitive operations of Animals. He diſcourſed with Father Marſenne daily upon this point. He was recalled to England in 1637; but foreſeeing the civil war, upon reflecting on what paſſed during the firſt ſeſſion of the Parliament of 1640, he went to Paris to ſeek an agreeable retreat there, in order to philoſophize quietly with Father Marſenne, Gaſſendi, and ſome other great men. He wrote there his book *de Cive* [E], of which he publiſhed but a few

(b) Widow of the Earl of Devonſhire, the father of his former pupil.

i. e. " Not being any longer capable of bearing the " haughty, cruel, and vitious conduct of the young " King, and being inſpired by indignation and fear, " they kill him; and do not ſtop there, but put to " death the innocent women of his family. Liberty, " new to them, rages in arms, and ſhakes off the yoke. " Part of the people incline to the Carthaginians, " and part to the Romans, who were well known to " them; while others, poſſeſſed with the rage of " faction, are averſe to the alliance of both nations."

Repreſent all this as long as you pleaſe, you will not perſuade thoſe, who are prejudiced againſt Monarchy: they will anſwer you, that from the very conſideration, that the diſorders of it cannot be remedied but by ſuch ſhocking miſeries, you ought to conclude, that it is a great evil.

[D] *Applied himſelf to the Mathematics during that journey.*] It is pity that he ſtayed ſo long before he applied himſelf to it (9): he was above forty years of age, when he began that ſtudy; and this was the reaſon why he could not perfect himſelf in it ſo much as was neceſſary to avoid giving an advantage to his Critics. His fate was like that of Scaliger. For the reſt, he knew perfectly well why Mathematics ought to be ſtudied: it was not to know the properties of angles, or numbers, or lines, or ſurfaces; but in order to habituate the mind to a ſolid method of reaſoning and proving. *Euclidi operam dare cœpit, non tam demonſtrationum materia allectus, quam perſpicuitate, certitudine, & indiviſa rationem ſerie delectatus. Non enim Mathematicas artes admiratus eſt vir perſpicaciſſimus, ob laterum & angulorum affectiones, aut numerorum, linearum, ſuperficierum, corporumve mutuas inter ſe proportiones (de homogeneis intelligo quantitatibus) ſubtiliter indicatas; quippe iſtiuſmodi omnia à communi vita remotiora facilè animadvertit; licet ad praxin relata uſus non adeo contemnendi; ſed quod methodo ipſis propria intellectus ad rerum cognitionem optimè duceretur, atque difficilia inveniendi, vera aſſerendi, falſa redarguendi certiſſima ratione imbueretur* (10). i. e. " He " began to apply himſelf to Euclid, not ſo much in- " duced to it by the ſubject of the demonſtrations, as " delighted with the perſpicuity, certainty, and unin- " terrupted ſeries of the reaſoning. For this moſt ſa- " gacious man did not admire the ſcience of Mathema- " tics on account of the ſubtle demonſtrations of the pro- " perties and mutual relations of ſides and angles, or " numbers, lines, ſurfaces, or bodies (I mean of ho- " mogeneous quantities) ſince he readily ſaw, that " all theſe things were remote from the uſes of com- " mon life, though when reduced to practice, of no " ſmall advantage; but becauſe by the method pecu- " liar to it the underſtanding is beſt led to the know- " ledge of things, and ſupplied with the moſt certain " means of diſcovering difficult truths, proving what " is true, and refuting what is falſe."

(9) *Dolendum nobile hoc ingenium eodem quo & magnum Scaligerum infortunio laboraſſe, quod Mathematicis ſtudiis.. ſerius paulo animum adjecit.* Vita Hobbeſ. pag. 40.

(10) Ibid. pag. 39.

[E] *He wrote* at Paris *his book* De Cive.] He made one edition of a ſmall number of copies at Paris 1642. He reviſed it ſoon after, and enlarged it in the manner, in which this book appeared in the Amſterdam edition of 1647. It was Sorbiere, who procured this ſecond edition. He did more than this, for he tranſlated it into French, and publiſhed it in that language (11). Hobbes raiſed himſelf a great many enemies by this work; but he obliged the moſt intelligent perſons to own, that no writer had ever penetrated ſo far into the grounds of politics. I do not doubt, but that he has carried many things too far; this is common with thoſe, who write in order to attack a party, againſt which they have conceived a great averſion. Hobbes was exaſperated againſt the principles of the Parliamentarians (12): their conduct was the reaſon of his living out of his own country, and he was informed every day in the place of his exile, that their rebellion triumphed over the royal authority. He went over to the contrary extreme; he taught, that the authority of Kings ought to be unlimited; and that in particular the externals of religion, as the moſt fruitful ſource of civil wars, ought to depend upon their will. There are ſome, who think, that if we conſider only the theory, his ſyſtem is very well connected, and very agreeable to the ideas, which may be formed of a ſtate well ſecured againſt tumults. But becauſe the moſt juſt notions are ſubject to a thouſand inconveniences, when they come to be reduced to practice, that is, when they are ſet againſt an horrible maſs of paſſions, which reign among mankind, it is not difficult to perceive clearly the defects of our author's political ſyſtem. He might anſwer, that the oppoſite ſyſtem includes, even in the theory, a neceſſary principle of confuſion and rebellion. However that be, it is ſaid, that the love of his country inſpired him with the deſign of this book, and that his view was to rectify the falſe principles of the nation which produced there an horrible contempt of the regal authority. *Graſſante interim per Angliam civili bello*, Hobbius *pro ſummo in patriam amore, quod bonum & fidelem ſubditum maximè decuit; populares ſuos ſanioribus quam quæ hactenus obtinuerant principiis imbuere, exacerbatos hominum animos ad pacis & concordiæ rationes revocare, & in ſummæ poteſtatis obſequium addictiores præſtare anniſus eſt. Quare reliquis poſthabitis ſtudiis, quantum ipſi ſuppetiit temporis Politicæ ſcientiæ impendens, Librum* de Cive (*cujus pauca duntaxat Exemplaria Pariſiis* 1642 *evulgaverat*) *reviſit, & notis utilibus adauxit, in quo ſubditorum contra ſummum imperatorem conjurationes rebellioneſque, & immanes illas de principe regnis vitaque exeundo opiniones penitus damnavit: poteſtati Civili Jura ab* Eccleſiaſticis *caliginoſorum temporum beneficio prærepta reſtituit, & diram ſectariorum hydram, effrænem nempe conſcientiæ libertatem, heroico auſu perdomuit* (15). i. e. " While the civil war was " raging over England, Hobbes, out of the great re- " gard to his country becoming a good and faithful " ſubject, endeavoured to infuſe into his countrymen " ſounder principles, than had before prevailed among " them, to recall their minds, which had been ſowr'd " and exaſperated, to the methods of peace and con- " cord, and to bring them to a greater ſubmiſſion to " the ſupreme authority. Laying aſide therefore other " ſtudies, he ſpent all his leiſure hours in that of po- " litics, and reviſed his book *de Cive* (of which he " had publiſhed a few copies at Paris in 1642) and " enlarged it with uſeful notes; in which book he " condemned the conſpiracies and rebellions of ſubjects " againſt the ſupreme powers, and all theſe ſhocking " opinions with regard to the depoſing of Kings, and " putting them to death; reſtoring to the civil power " the rights taken from them by the Eccleſiaſtics in " the dark ages, and heroically ſubduing that dread- " ful hydra of the ſectaries, namely, a boundleſs li- " berty of conſcience." The reader I am ſure, will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the judgment of Des Cartes upon this work of Hobbes. " I am opinion, *ſays* " *he* (14), that the author of the book *de Cive* is the " ſame, who wrote the third objections againſt my " meditations (15). I think him a much greater " maſter of morality than of Metaphyſics or Natural " Philoſophy; though I can by no means approve of " his principles or maxims, which are very bad and " very dangerous, becauſe they ſuppoſe all men to be " wicked, or give them occaſion to be ſo. His whole " deſign is to write in favour of monarchy; which

(11) At Amſterdam 1679.

(12) *Tum pro ſua in Regem officio atque obſequio, tum pro decumano quo ſemper in Democraticos odio laboravit, libellum ſcripſit juris regii aſſerendi gratia, qui poſtea in librum de Cive, & tandem in Leviathan excrevit.* Vita Hobbeſii, pag. 45.

(13) *Vita Hobbeſii*, pag. 45.

(14) Tom. 3 of his *Letters*, pag. 104. quoted by Baillet, *Vie de Des Cartes*, tom. 2. pag. 174.

(15) He was not miſtaken.

few copies in 1642. He taught Mathematics to the Prince of Wales, who had been obliged to retire to France, aad ſpent all his leiſure time in compoſing his *Leviathan* [F], which he cauſed to be publiſhed in England in 1651. He ſtill reſided at Paris. Tho' he had given proofs of his faith according to the rites of the Church of England [G], yet he was rendered obnoxious to the Epiſcopal party, and this was carried ſo far, that he was ordered not to come near the King any more (c). This was the reaſon of his returning to England, where he lived but in an obſcure manner, conſidering his great merit, in the

(c) See the remark [F].

" might be done to more advantage than he has done; " upon maxims more virtuous and ſolid. He wrote " likewiſe greatly to the diſadvantage of the Church " and Roman Catholic religion; ſo that if he is not " particularly ſupported by ſome powerful intereſt, I " do not ſee how he can eſcape having his book cen- " ſured." Des Cartes, was in the right to diſapprove of the *ſuppoſition that all men are wicked*; and this puts me in mind, that Montagne, though he knew ſo well the defects of mankind, was diſpleaſed, that Guicciardini imputes to bad motives all the actions related in his Hiſtory (16). It is certain, that there are ſome, who act upon the principles of virtue, and out of a deſire of a good reputation; and that the greateſt part of mankind are only moderately wicked. This mediocrity, I own, is ſufficient to render the courſe of human affairs full of iniquity, and marked almoſt throughout with traces of the corruption of the human heart; but it would be much worſe (17), if the greateſt part of mankind were not capable of reſtraining upon many occaſions their bad inclinations through fear of diſgrace, or hope of praiſe. Now this is a proof that the corruption is not carried to the higheſt pitch. I do not conſider here the good effects of true religion; I conſider man in general.

(16) See the remark [E] of the article GUICCIARDINI.

(17) The reaſon why innocence is not oppreſſed upon many occaſions, is the mediocrity, which I am ſpeaking of. See the remark [A] of the article EDWARD IV towards the end.

POLITICAL ideas found to be defective in practice.

With regard to the inconveniences which may ariſe from the ſuppoſitions of Hobbes put in practice, I ſay again, that we muſt not attack them upon that foot; for has not the oppoſite ſyſtem in practice many great inconveniences? Do what you pleaſe, raiſe ſyſtems better than Plato's republick, than Sir Thomas More's Utopia, or Campanella's Commonwealth of the Sun, &c. all theſe fine ideas will be found defective when they come to be reduced to practice. The paſſions of men, which ſpring from one another in a prodigious variety, will ſoon deſtroy the hopes which may be conceived from theſe beautiful Syſtems. See what happens when Mathematicians endeavour to apply to matter their ſpeculations concerning points and lines. They do whatever they pleaſe with their lines and ſuperficies; theſe are mere ideas of the mind, and ſuffer themſelves to be diveſted as much as we think proper of their dimenſions; and for this reaſon we can demonſtrate the fineſt things in the world concerning the nature of a circle, and the infinite diviſibility of matter. But all this fails when we apply it to matter which exiſts out of our minds, and is hard and impenetrable. Here is an image of the human paſſions, compared with the ſpeculations of a man, who forms ideas of a perfect government. You will find a very ſtrong criticiſm of Hobbes's Political Syſtem in the Author whom I quote (18).

(18) Galeottus Galeatius Kariſbergius, *apud* Deckherum, *de Scriptis Adeſpotis*, pag. 328.

[F] *He ſpent all his leiſure hours in writing his Leviathan.*] He means the body politic under the name of this beaſt. The Divines of the Church of England, who attended King Charles II in France, exclaimed vehemently againſt this Book, and ſaid, that it contained a great many impious aſſertions, and that the Author was not of the Royal Party (19). Their complaints were regarded. Hobbes received orders not to come any more to court; and as he had extremely provoked the Papiſts, he thought it not ſafe to continue in France, ſince he was deprived of the King of England's protection. *Hoc tanto præſidio orbatus* Hobbius, *Romanæ Eccleſiæ, Spiritualis Monarchiæ ſatellitum metu correptus eſt, quorum odium implacabile ſeſe merito incurriſſe ſenſerat, ob detectas in* Leviathane *Eccleſiaſticorum technas, regni tenebrarum dolos,* Pontificis Romani *poteſtatem malis artibus occupatam, quà in civilis Poteſtatis jura involando, quà ſimplici ac imperitæ plebeculæ ſanctis præſtigiis illudendo; quare* Pariſiis *ſe minus tutum judicans, mediâ Hyemis tempeſtate aufugiens, in patriam ſe contulit* (20). i. e. " Hobbes " being deprived of this important protection, began " to grow fearful of the adherents to the Church of " Rome, that ſpiritual monarchy, whoſe implacable " hatred he knew that he had juſtly incurred, be- " cauſe in his *Leviathan* he had detected the Arti- " fices of the Eccleſiaſticks, and the frauds of the " kingdom of darkneſs, and expoſed the power of the " Pope, which had been raiſed by unjuſt methods, " by invading the rights of the civil power, and im- " poſing upon the ſimple and ignorant multitude by " pious frauds. Upon this account thinking himſelf " not ſafe at Paris, in the midſt of the winter he " retired from thence into his own country." He tranſlated his *Leviathan* into Latin, and publiſhed it with an Appendix in 1668 (21), ten years after it was printed in Low-Dutch. The ſubſtance of this book is, that without peace there is no ſecurity in a ſtate, and that peace cannot ſubſiſt without command, nor command without arms; and that arms are of no uſe, if they are not put into the hands of one perſon; and that the terror of arms cannot incline to peace thoſe perſons who are urged to war by an evil more terrible than death itſelf, viz. diſſentions concerning things neceſſary to ſalvation. *Ejus autem ſumma hæc fuit, ſine Pace impoſſibilem eſſe incolumitatem, ſine imperio Pacem, ſine Armis Imperium, ſine opibus in unam manum collatis nihil valere Arma, neque metu Armorum quicquam ad pacem profici poſſe in illis, quos ad pugnandum concitat malum morte magis formidandum; nempe dum conſenſum non ſit de iis rebus, quæ ad ſalutem æternam neceſſariæ creduntur, pacem inter cives non poſſe eſſe diuturnam* (22). The *Leviathan* has been very much written againſt, eſpecially in England (23).

(19) *Hobbium tanquam partibus regiis minus addictum, tum ut novarum impiarumque in religione opinionum autborem criminabantur.* Vita Hobbeſii, pag. 61.

(20) Ibid. pag. 62.

(21) At Amſterdam for John Bleauw, with his other *Philoſophical Works*, in two volumes in 4to. He could not procure a permiſſion in England to print them there. Ibid. pag. 70.

(22) Ibid. pag. 45.

(23) The catalogue of the writings publiſhed againſt the *Leviathan* and other works of Hobbes, is to be met with at the end of his Life.

[G] *He had given proofs of his faith according to the rites of the Church of England.*] Being very ſick near Paris, he had a viſit from Father Marſenne, who had been adviſed not to ſuffer him to die out of the Pale of the Church. This good Father ſate by the ſick man, and after the uſual preambles of conſolation, began to diſcourſe upon the power of the Church of Rome to forgive Sins. *Father*, anſwered Mr. Hobbes, *I have examined a long time ago all theſe points; I ſhould be ſorry to diſpute now; you can entertain me in a more agreeable manner. When did you ſee Mr. Gaſſendi?* The honeſt Monk ſaw well enough what he meant, and turned the converſation to other ſubjects (24). Dr. Coſins (25) a few days after offered to pray with Hobbes, who conſented to it upon condition that he made uſe of the prayers of the Church of England (26). After prayers he received the Sacrament. *Cum non amplius cuiquam relictus eſt fucum faciendi locus, eo momento ſe Religioni patriis legibus ſtabilitæ addictiſſimum oſtendit, & preci- bus juxta* Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ *ritus præmiſſis ſupremum Viaticum recepit* (27). Upon his return to England in 1651, he found the Churches ſeized by the rebels, as he ſaid, who had no Liturgy, and he was three months without knowing with whom to communicate. *Concionantes quidem invenit in Eccleſiis, ſed ſeditioſos; etiam preces extemporarias, & illas audaces, & nonnunquam blaſphemas, Symbolum autem fidei nullum, Decalogum nullum; adeo ut per tres primos menſes non invenerit quibuſcum in ſacris communicare potuerit* (28). i. e. " He " found Preachers indeed in the Churches, but rebels; " and extempore prayers, but preſumptuous and ſome- " times blaſphemous; no creed nor decalogue; ſo that " for the three firſt months he could not find with whom " to communicate." But at the end of three months he was carried to an aſſembly, where the Sacrament was adminiſtred according to the Church of England, and he communicated there. The author of his life remarks, that it was an evidence of Hobbes's attachment to the Epiſcopal party and his ſincere belief of the Chriſtian religion, ſince at that time no perſon was obliged to adhere to any particular communion. *Alterum ſignum erat non modo hominis partium Epiſcopalium, ſed etiam Chriſtiani ſinceri; nam illo tempore ad Eccleſiam quamcunque legibus aut metu cogebatur nemo* (29).

(24) *Vita Hobbeſii*, pag. 20.

(25) He was afterwards Biſhop of Durham.

(26) *Obtulit ſe illi comprecatorem ad Deum. Cui ille cum gratias reddidiſſet, ita (inquit) ſi præcibus præiveris juxta ritum Eccleſiæ noſtræ.* Ibid.

(27) Ibid. pag. 59.

(28) Ibid. pag. 21.

(29) Ibid.

the Earl of Devonſhire's houſe [*H*]. He gained this advantage by his obſcure condition, that he had more leiſure to compoſe his book *de Corpore*, and ſome others [*I*]. He received great marks of reſpect from King Charles II at the Reſtoration in 1660 [*K*]. From that time till his death he applied himſelf to his ſtudies, and to oppoſe the attacks of his adverſaries, who were very numerous. He retained the uſe of his ſenſes till his laſt ſickneſs [*L*], tho' he was above ninety one years old. His long life was always that of a perfectly honeſt man. He was a lover of his country, he was faithful to his King, a good friend, charitable, and obliging. However he was reckoned an Atheiſt; but the writers of his life maintain, that he had very orthodox notions concerning the nature of God [*M*]. It was ſaid likewiſe that he was fearful of ſpectres and demons.

[*H*] *He lived in a very obſcure manner at the Earl of Devonſhire's houſe.*] It was not for want of powerful friends: but as he had great enemies, all that could be done for him was to ſecure him from being oppreſſed. So that his ſituation was the effect of an equilibrium between his friends and enemies (30). He ſpent the remainder of his life with the Earl of Devonſhire.

(30) *Stantem inter amicos & inimicos quaſi in æquilibrio, fecerunt illi ne ob doctrinam oprimeretur, hi ne augeretur.* Vita Hobbeſii, pag. 22.

[*I*] *To compoſe his book* de Corpore, *and ſome others.*] This book was printed at London in 1655 under the title of *Elementorum Philoſophiæ ſectio prima de Corpore.* The year following Hobbes publiſhed *Prælectiones ſex ad Profeſſores Savilianos.* His book *de Homine, ſive Elementorum Philoſophiæ ſectio ſecunda*, was printed at London in 1658. His *Quæſtiones de Libertate, Neceſſitate, & Caſu, contra Doctorem Bramhallum Epiſcopum Derrienſem*, were printed in the ſame city in 1656. He had a diſpute upon the ſame ſubject with Dr. Benjamin Laney Biſhop of Ely, which he did not publiſh till 1676 (31). Dr. Wallis, Profeſſor of Mathematics at Oxford, having publiſhed his *Elenchus Geometriæ Hobbianæ* in 1655, it occaſioned a diſpute which laſted till Hobbes's death, and in which a great many reproachful terms were made uſe of. *Diuturni illius belli Mathematici claſſicum cecinit, quod acerrimo Marte, adhibitis quadra & circino, intervolantibus nonnunquam acutiſſimis convitiorum telis, utrinque geſtum, vicennium & amplius perduravit, nec tandem niſi* Hobbiana *morte conquievit* (32). i. e. "He ſounded "the charge to that long mathematical war, which was "carried on on both ſides with great reſolution, with "ſquare and compaſs, and ſometimes great vollies of "the ſharpeſt reproaches, and continued above ten "years, and was not ended till the death of Hobbes." Sorbiere mentions this diſpute (33).

(31) Ibid. pag. 59.

(32) Ibid. pag. 64, 65.

(33) Sorbiere, *Relation d'Ang.* pag 78. edit. de Hollande.

[*K*] *He received great marks of reſpect from King Charles* II.] Hobbes left the country, and came to London as ſoon as he heard of the King's arrival. His Majeſty paſſed in his coach by the houſe where Hobbes lodged, ſaw him, and ſent for him. He gave him his hand to kiſs, and enquired of him concerning his condition and health. Some time after he gave him a particular audience, aſſured him of his affection, and promiſed him an eaſy acceſs (34). He ordered an excellent painter to draw Hobbes's picture, which he placed in his own cloſet (35). But the moſt ſubſtantial mark of his affection was, that he gave Hobbes an annual penſion (36) of an hundred Jacobus's (37).

(34) *Vita Hobbeſii*, pag. 66.

(35) Ibid. pag. 28. and 103. *See* Sorbiere, *Relation d'Anglet.* pag. 79.

(36) *Vita Hobbeſii*, pag. 53.

(37) Sorbiere, pag. 79.

[*L*] *He retained his ſenſes till his laſt ſickneſs.*] He was able not only to proſecute the ſtudy of the Mathematics, after he was above eighty ſix years of age, but even to write long poems. *Quod autem inter rara fœlicitatis exempla numerandum eſt, ſummo ingenii vigore & ſenſibus integris ad obitum uſque in Philoſophia & Matheſi ſe aſſiduò exercitavit, & quod magis mirum, Poëſin exercuit, quâ propriis animi conceptibus exprimendis, quâ aliorum transferendis* (38). i. e. "But what "is to be ranked among the rare inſtances of happi"neſs, he enjoyed the utmoſt vigour of his mind, "and his ſenſes intire till his death, daily cultivating "the ſtudy of Philoſophy and Mathematics, and, "what is more ſurprizing, exerciſed his talent in "Poetry, both in expreſſing his own thoughts, and "tranſlating thoſe of others." He tranſlated into Engliſh verſe ſome books of the Odyſſey in 1674; and becauſe this eſſay met with the approbation of the learned, he publiſhed a like verſion of the Iliad and the whole Odyſſey not long after, with a Diſſertation upon the Excellencies of Heroic Poetry)39).

(38) *Vita Hobbeſii*, pag. 98, 99.

(39) Ibid. pag. 99.

[*M*] *The writers of his life maintain, that he had very orthodox notions concerning the Nature of God.*] Of all the moral virtues there was only that of religion, which was a point in diſpute with regard to Hobbes. He was frank (40), civil, communicative of what he knew (41), a good friend, a good relation, charitable to the poor (42), a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice (43), and never troubled himſelf about amaſſing of wealth (44). This laſt quality is a favourable prejudice for the goodneſs of his life; for there is no ſource of more bad actions than that of avarice. So that when perſons knew Hobbes, they had no occaſion to aſk whether he eſteemed and loved virtue; but one might have been tempted to aſk him this queſtion:

Heus age, reſponde, minimum eſt quod ſcire laboro,
De Jove quid ſentis (45)*?*

"But pray anſwer me a ſmall queſtion; what are "your ſentiments concerning Jove?"

(40) Ibid. pag. 30. and 111.

(41) Ibid. pag. 111.

(42) Ibid. pag. 108.

(43) *Juſtitiæ erat cum ſcientiſſimus tum tenaciſſimus.* Ibid. pag. 30.

(44) *Cum eſſet pecuniæ negligentiſſimus.* Ibid.

(45) Perſius, Sat. 2. ver. 17.

The anſwer which he might have made ſincerely, if we believe the writers of this life, would have been, that there is but one God, who is the origin of all things, and that we ought not to circumſcribe him within the compaſs of our narrow reaſon. *Deum agnovit, cumque rerum omnium originem, intra anguſtos tamen humanæ rationis cancellos nullatenus circumſcribendum* (46) He would have added, that he embraced Chriſtianity as he found it eſtabliſhed in England by the Laws; *Religionem Chriſtianam quatenus in Eccleſia Anglicana, reſectis ſuperſtitionis ineptiis, regni legibus ſtabilitur, ex animo amplexus eſt* (47); but that he had an averſion to the diſputations of Divines; that he chiefly eſteemed what tends to the practice of piety and good manners; and that he uſed to blame thoſe Prieſts, who vitiated the ſimplicity of Religion by the mixture either of a ſuperſtitious worſhip, or a great many vain and profane ſpeculations. *Quicquid autem ad Pietatis exercitia, aut bonos mores conferret, plurimi fecit.* Sanctius *illi*, & reverentius *viſum*, de Deo credere quam ſcire. *Sacerdotes interim inculpare ſolitus eſt, qui Chriſtianam Religionem abſolutam ac ſimplicem, vel ſuperſtitione maculârent, vel inanibus interdum profanis ſpeculationibus implicarent* (48). They conclude, that thoſe who accuſed him of Atheiſm, were notorious ſlanderers, who could not alledge any other pretence than this, that he had rejected a great many ſcholaſtic doctrines, according to which certain attributes were aſcribed to God, the model of which is taken from our narrow genius. *Quare fortiter calumniati ſunt, qui ipſum Atheiſmi reum detulerunt; quod inde forſitan profectum quia Scholaſticorum aliorumque iſte de grege morem rejecerat, qui otioſi in Muſæis ſuis ſedentes, juxta imbecillem ingenii ſui captum, Naturæ Divinæ incomperta affingunt attributa* (49). It is certain that there is no accuſation which has been ſo much abuſed as that of atheiſm. An infinite number of little minds or malicious perſons caſt it upon all thoſe who confine their aſſertions within the great and ſublime truths of ſolid metaphyſics, and the general doctrines of the Scriptures. They would oblige them moreover to adopt all the particular Articles which they are uſed to propoſe a thouſand times to the people. All who dare leave this road are irreligious perſons and free-thinkers, if we believe certain Divines. It was thus Monconys fell under this ſcandalous imputation. He diſputed ſometimes very freely againſt thoſe, who leſſened the Majeſty of God by the conduct which they aſcribed to him, and by the weak reaſons which they made uſe of; and they did him the injuſtice to treat him as a Libertine, though he was poſſeſſed of the moſt ſublime idea imaginable of God. Read the following paſſage. "That agreeable man-

(46) *Vita Hobbeſii*, pag. 105.

(47) Ibid. pag. 106.

(48) Ibid. pag. 107.

(49) Ibid.

demons [*N*]. They assert this to be a fable. They own, that in his youth he was a little addicted to wine and women (*d*); but that however he chose to live a Bachelor, that he might not be diverted from the study of Philosophy. He had thought much more than he had read [*O*], and never troubled himself about a great Library. He died December the 4th 1679 at the Earl of Devonshire's house, after a sickness of six weeks (*e*).

(*d*) *Ætate adhuc intra juventutis terminos constante (liceat verum fateri) nec abstemius fuit, nec μισόγυνος.* Vita Hobbesii, pag. 104.

(*e*) Taken from his *Life*, printed in 1682.

" ner, in which we see him sometimes contradict cer-
" tain men of narrow minds, who weaken by their
" arguments the truths which they would establish,
" made such prejudiced people mistake this instance
" of his openness and candour for a criminal liberty.
" But his solid virtue and sincere piety shone every
" where, and left marks of them to be found in
" these voyages. In his last sickness he owned to
" one of friends, that he had always preserved in his
" heart a profound submission and infinite regard to-
" wards the Deity, of whom he had an idea more
" sublime than any thing which mankind have con-
" ceived of him. When he was at Alexandria, at a
" time, when he seemed to refuse nothing to satisfy his
" curiosity, being one night alone upon the terrasses,
" which serve as a roof to the houses in the East, he
" found himself of a sudden so possessed with a sen-
" sible knowledge of the Deity, that he spent part of
" that night with inexpressible comfort in continued
" adorations of the Principle of all Beings (50)."

(50) Preface to *Voiages de Monconys*, pag. 7.

[*N*] *It is said likewise, that he was fearful of spectres and demons.*] His friends have treated this as a mere fable. *Nec minus falso à nonnullis insimulatus est, tanquam solitudinem fugeret, spectra metuens & phantasmata, vana stultorum terriculamenta, quæ Philosophiæ suæ lumine dissipaverat* (51). i. e. " Nor was he less falsely " charged by some with avoiding to be alone, out " of fear of spectres and apparitions, the vain terrors " of the ignorant, but which he had driven away by " the light of his Philosophy." But it seems they do not deny, that he durst not be alone; they only intimate that it was because he was apprehensive of assassins. If his Philosophy exempted him from the other fear, and not from this, it did not prevent him from being unhappy; one might apply to him a thought of Horace:

(51) *Vita Hobbesii*, pag. 106.

Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Thessala rides?
. . . . . .
Quid te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una (52)?

(52) Hor. Epist. 2. lib. 2. pag. 208.

" Do you laugh at dreams, the terrors of Magic, mi-
" racles, witches, nightly apparitions, and Thessa-
" lian portents? . . . . What are you the better for
" being delivered from one thorn out of a great
" many?"

To remark this by the'by, his philosophical principles were not at all proper to remove the fear of apparitions of spirits; for to reason consequentially, there are no Philosophers, who have a less right to reject Magic and Sorcery, than those, who deny the existence of God. But, it is said, Hobbes did not believe the existence of spirits. Say rather, that he did not believe any substances distinct from matter. Now as this did not hinder him from believing, that there were a great many substances, which design and do harm or good to others, he might and ought to believe that there are some beings in the air or elsewhere as capable of doing mischief, as the corpuscles, which, as he affirmed, form all our thoughts in the brain. How came these corpuscles to have more knowledge of the means of doing harm, than those other beings? And what reason is there to prove, that these other beings know not the manner of acting upon our brain, in order to make us see a spectre?

Let us view the point in another light. A man would be not only rash, but even very extravagant, if he were to attempt to maintain, that there was a man, who imagined, that he saw an apparition; and I do not believe that the most obstinate and extravagant unbeliever ever asserted this. All that they do is reduced to this, that those persons, who have thought that they saw the apparition of spirits, had their imaginations disturbed. It is confessed then that there are certain parts of the brain, which being affected in such or such a manner, excite the image of an object, which does not really exist without us, and occasion a man, whose brain is thus modified, to think he sees at two paces distance from him a frightful spectre, a fury, a phantom threatning. Such things happen in the head of the most incredulous, either while they sleep, or labour under a most violent fever. Will they venture to maintain after this, that it is impossible for a man, who is awake, and is not in a delirium, to receive in certain parts of the brain an impression very like that, which according to the laws of nature is connected with the appearance of a phantom? If they are obliged to own the possibility of this, they cannot promise that a spectre never will appear before them, that is to say, that when they are awake they shall think they see either a man or a beast, when they are alone in a chamber. Hobbes might therefore imagine, that a certain combination of atoms agitated in his brain, would expose him to such a vision, though he was persuaded that no angel nor soul of a dead person was concerned in it. He was extremely timorous, and consequently he had reason to distrust his imagination, when he was alone in a chamber in the night; for in spite of him, the remembrance of what he had read and heard concerning the apparitions of spirits, would revive, though he was not persuaded, that these things were real. These images, joined to his timorous disposition, might play him a bad trick. And it is very certain, that a man of the same incredulity with himself, but of greater courage, would be amazed, if he should think he saw any person, whom he knew to be dead, enter his chamber. These apparitions in a dream are frequent, whether we believe the immortality of the soul or not. Suppose, that they should happen once to an incredulous man awake, as they often do when he is asleep, we may conceive, that he would be afraid, though he should have a great deal of courage. For a much stronger reason therefore may we believe, that Hobbes would have been greatly terrified.

[*O*] *He had thought much more than he read.*] It is frankly owned in his Life, that for a man who had lived so long, his reading was very inconsiderable. He used to say, that if he had spent as much time in reading as other men of learning, he should have been as ignorant as they. *Quin & illud sæpe dicere solitus est, quod si tantum libris incubuisset, quantum alii è Literatis vulgo faciunt, eadem cum illis ignorantia laborasset* (53). He considered also another thing, which led him not to regard much a large library; which was, that most books are but extracts and copies from others. *Lectio ejus pro tanto ætatis decursu non magna; Authores versabat paucos, sed tamen optimos.* Homerus. Virgilius, Thucydides, Euclides, *illi in deliciis erant. Ingentem Librorum suppellectilem, qua superbiunt Bibliothecæ, non magnifecit, cum Mortales plerumque pecorum ritu antecedentium insistentes vestigiis, vix extra tritas calles, & semitas ab ipsis quorum Tutelæ & Regimini subsunt, præstitutas, evagari audeant* (54) i. e. " His reading, " for so long a life, was not considerable. He read " few authors, but those the best. He was greatly " delighted with Homer, Virgil, Thucydides, and " Euclid. He did not value a vast number of books, " which make a shew in libraries, since mankind, " like cattle, commonly follow the steps of those, " who go before, and scarce ever ventured to deviate " from the beaten paths, which are chalked out to " them by those, who are their guides."

(53) *Vita Hobbesii*, pag. 112.

(54) Idem, ibid.

☞HOBBES (THOMAS). We shall add to Mr. Bayle's article of this Philosopher a catalogue

a catalogue of his works [*A*], and ſome particulars omitted by that writer. Dr. White Kennet informs us (*a*), that while Mr. Hobbes lived in the Earl of Devonſhire's family, his profeſſed rule was to dedicate the morning to his health, and the afternoon to his ſtudies. And therefore at his firſt riſing he walked out and climbed any hill within his reach; or if the weather was not dry, he fatigued himſelf within doors by ſome exerciſe or other to be in a ſweat, recommending that practice upon this opinion, that an old man had more moiſture than heat, and therefore by ſuch motion heat was to be acquired, and moiſture expelled. After this he took a comfortable breakfaſt, and then went round the lodgings

(*a*) *Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh*, pag. 107, *& ſeqq.* ſubjoined to the Doctor's *Funeral Sermon on William Duke of Devonſhire*, printed at London 1708 in fol.

[*A*] *A catalogue of his Works.*] They are as follow. I. He tranſlated into Engliſh *The Hiſtory of the Grecian war by Thucydides*, London 1628 and 1676 in fol. and ſince reprinted in two volumes in 8vo. II. *De Mirabilibus Pecci*, a Latin Poem printed at London 1636 in 8vo. *Secunda editio*, Londini 1666 in 4to. It was tranſlated into Engliſh by a perſon of quality, and the Tranſlation publiſhed with the original at London 1678 in 8vo. III. *Elementa Philoſophica ſeu Politica de Cive, id eſt, de Vitâ civili & politicâ prudenter inſtituendâ:* Paris 1642 in 4to. Mr. Hobbes printed but a few copies of this Book, and reviſed it afterwards, and made ſeveral additions to it, with which improvements it was printed by Elzevir at Amſterdam 1647 in 12o, under the direction of Monſieur Sorbier, who publiſhed a French Tranſlation of it under this title: *Elemens Philoſophiques du Citoyen. Traité de Politique, ou les Fondemens de la Societé Civile decouverts par* Thomas Hobbes, *& traduits en François par un de ſes Amis*, printed by *Bleau* at Amſterdam 1649 in 8vo. There have been ſince that time ſeveral editions of the Latin text. Dr. John Bramhall, Biſhop of Derry in Ireland, informs us (1), that ten years before, he had given Mr. Hobbes "about ſixty exceptions, one half of them political, the other half "theological, to that book, and every exception juſtified by a number of reaſons, to which he never "yet vouchſafed any anſwer." Gaſſendus in a Letter to Sorbiere tells us, that our Author's book *de Cive* deſerves to be read by all, who would have a deep inſight into the ſubject. Puſendorf (2) obſerves that he had been much obliged to Mr. Hobbes, whoſe Hypotheſis in this book, though it ſavours a little of irreligion, is in other reſpects ſufficiently ingenious and ſound. *Neque parum debere nos profitemur* Thomæ Hobbes, *cujus Hypotheſis in Libro de Cive, etſi quid profani ſapiat, tamen cætera ſatis arguta & ſana.* Conringius (3) accuſes our Author of vanity for boaſting, that civil Philoſophy was not older than his book *de Cive*, whereas there is nothing good in it which was not always known; and he remarks, that the moſt abſurd conſequences muſt flow from his ſhocking principles that mankind are not naturally inclined to ſociety, but to diſcord and war. *Anglus* Hobbes *libro* Elementorum Philoſophicorum de Cive *edito non dubitavit hiſce verbis gloriari*, Phyſica res novitia eſt, ſed Philoſophiæ Civilis multo adhuc magis, ut quæ antiquior non ſit libro quem de Cive ſcripſi. *Inſano profectò faſtu. Satis autem apertum eſt in illis quidem* de Cive Elementis *nihil eſſe bonum, quod non ob omni retro memoriâ fuerit notum. Ne quidem illud autem potuiſſet ſuperesſe, ſi præjudicii defectu vidiſſet* Hobbes *quam multum alia deduci debeant ex illo horribili principio*, natura inter homines non ſocietatem, ſed diſcordiam inſtitutam eſſe; *& verò illo poſito omnis ſocietas humana contra naturæ fuerit inſtitutum. Quo aſſerto neſcio num quid excogitari poſſit abſurdum magis & improbum.* IV. An *Anſwer* to Sir William Davenant's Epiſtle or Preface to *Gondibert*, Paris 1650 in 12mo, and afterwards printed with *Gondibert*. Mr. Hobbes's anſwer is dated at Paris January 10th 1650. V. *Humane Nature: or the fundamental Elements of Policy; being a diſcovery of the faculties, acts, and paſſions of the ſoul of man, from their original cauſes, according to ſuch philoſophical principles as are not commonly known or aſſerted. By* Tho. Hobbes *of Malmsbury*, London 1650 in 12mo. In the Epiſtle Dedicatory of our Author to William Earl of Newcaſtle, dated May 9th 1640, he obſerves, that "from the principal parts "of nature, reaſon and paſſion, have proceeded two "kinds of learning, *mathematical* and *dogmatical*. "The former is free from controverſy and diſpute, "becauſe it conſiſteth in comparing figure and motion only; in which things *Truth* and the *Intereſt of* "*Men* oppoſe not each other. But in the other there is "nothing indiſputable, becauſe it compareth men, "and meddleth with their right and profit; in which "as oft as reaſon is againſt a man, ſo oft will a man "be againſt reaſon. And from hence it cometh, "that they who have written of juſtice and policy in "general, do all invade each other and themſelves "with contradictions. To reduce this doctrine to the "rules and infallibility of reaſon, there is no way, "but firſt to put ſuch principles down for a foundation, "as paſſion not miſtruſting may not ſeek to diſplace; "and afterwards to build thereon the truth of caſes "in the law of nature, (which hitherto have been "built in the air,) by degrees, till the whole have "been inexpugnable. Now, my Lord, the principles "fit for ſuch a foundation are thoſe which heretofore "I have acquainted your Lordſhip withal in private "diſcourſe, and which by your command I have "here put into a method. To examine caſes thereby "between *Sovereign* and *Sovereign*, or between *Sovereign* and *Subject*, I leave to them that ſhall find "leiſure and encouragement thereto. For my part, my "Lord, I preſent this to your Lordſhip for the true "and only foundation of ſuch ſcience. For the ſtile, "it is therefore the worſe, becauſe, whilſt I was "writing, I conſulted more with Logic than with "Rhetoric: but for the doctrine, it is not ſlightly "proved, and the concluſions thereof of ſuch nature, "as, for want of them, government and peace have "been nothing elſe to this day but mutual fears; and "it would be an incomparable benefit to the commonwealth, that every one held the opinion con"cerning *Law* and *Policy* here delivered." Next to the Dedication follows an Epiſtle to the Reader under the name of *F. B.* i. e. Francis Bowman the bookſeller, but ſaid to be written by Seth Ward, afterwards Biſhop of Sarum (4). In this Epiſtle we are informed, that Mr. Hobbes had *written a body of Philoſophy upon ſuch principles and in ſuch order as are uſed by men converſant in demonſtration. This he hath diſtinguiſhed into three parts*, De Corpore, De Homine, De Cive, *each of the conſequents beginning at the end of the antecedent, and inſiſting thereupon, as the latter books of* Euclid *upon the former. The laſt of theſe he hath already publiſhed in Latin beyond the ſeas: The ſecond is this now preſented; and if theſe two receive juſtice in the world, there is hopes we may obtain the firſt. He, whoſe care it is and labour to ſatisfy the judgment and reaſon of mankind, will condeſcend ſo far, we hope, to ſatisfy the deſire of thoſe learned men, whom theſe ſhall either have found or made; which cannot be until they ſhall analytically have followed the grand phænomena of ſtates and kingdoms thorough the paſſions of particular men into the elemental principles of natural and corporeal motions. The former work was publiſhed by the Author, and ſo is out of danger; this by a friend with leave from him. And to ſecure this, you are entreated to conſider the relations wherein it ſtands, eſpecially to the book* de Cive. *It was thought a piece of religion not to make any change without the Author's advice, which could not ſuddenly be obtained; and ſo it comes forth innocently, ſuppoſing nothing to have happened ſince the dedication of it; which, if it ſeem a ſolæciſm to ſome, it may to others give ſatisfaction in calling to mind thoſe times and opportunities, to which we are indebted for thoſe admirable compoſitions.* In the ſecond Chapter Mr. Hobbes endeavours to prove theſe points; that the ſubject wherein colour and image are inherent, is not the object or thing ſeen. That there is nothing without us really, which we call an image or colour. That the ſaid image or colour is but an apparition unto us of the motion, agitation, or alteration, which the object worketh in the brain or ſpirits, or ſome internal ſubſtance of the head. And that as in conception of viſion, ſo alſo in conceptions that ariſe from the other ſenſes, the ſubject of their inherence is not the ſubject, but the *Sentient*.

(1) Preface to his book intitled, *A Defence of true Liberty from antecedent and extrinſicall Neceſſity*, edit. London 1655 in 8vo.

(2) In the Preface to his *Elementa Juriſprudentiæ Univerſalis.*

(3) *De Civili Prudentiâ*, cap. 14.

(4) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 643. 2d edit. London 1721.

lodgings to wait upon the Earl, the Counteſs, and the children, and any conſiderable ſtrangers, paying ſome ſhort addreſſes to all of them. He kept theſe rounds till about twelve o' clock, when he had a little dinner provided for him, which he eat always by himſelf without ceremony. Soon after dinner, he retired into his ſtudy, and had his candle with ten or twelve pipes of tobacco laid by him; then ſhutting the door, he fell to ſmoaking, and thinking, and writing for ſeveral hours. He retained a friend or two at court, and eſpecially the Lord *Ar—n*, to protect him, if occaſion ſhould require. He uſed to ſay, "that it was lawful to make uſe of ill inſtruments to do ourſelves good. If

In the *third* chapter he defines *Imagination* to be *conception remaining, and by little and little decaying from and after the act of ſenſe*; and *ſleep* to be *the privation of the act of ſenſe, the power remaining*; and *dreams* to be the *imagination of them that ſleep*. He obſerves, that "the cauſes of dreams, if they be natural, are the actions or violence of the inward "parts of a man upon his brain, by which the paſſages of ſenſe by ſleep benummed, are reſtored to "their motion." With regard to *remembrance*, he remarks, that by the ſenſes, which are numbered according to the organs to be five, we take notice of the objects without us, and that notice is our conception thereof; but we take notice alſo ſome way or other of our conceptions, for when the conception of the ſame thing cometh again, we take notice that it is again; that is to ſay, we have had the ſame conception before; which is as much as to imagine a thing paſt, which is impoſſible to the ſenſe, which is only of things preſent. *This therefore may be accounted* a ſixth ſenſe, *but* internal (*not* external, *as the reſt*,) *and is commonly called* Remembrance. In the *fourth* chapter he tells, that "the ſucceſſion of conceptions in "the mind, ſeries or conſequence of one after another "may be caſual and incoherent, as in dreams for the "moſt part; and it may be orderly, as when the former thought introduceth the latter; and this is the "*diſcourſe* of the mind. But becauſe the word diſcourſe is commonly taken for the coherence and "conſequence of Words, I will, *ſays he*, to avoid "Equivocation, call it *Diſcurſion*." He remarks, that the cauſe of the coherence or conſequence of one conception to another is their firſt coherence or conſequence, when they are produced by ſenſe. That the remembrance of ſucceſſion of one thing to another, that is, of what was antecedent, and what conſequent, and what concomitant, is called an *Experiment*, whether the ſame be made by us voluntarily, as when a man putting any thing into the fire to ſee what effect the fire will produce upon it; or not made by us, as when we remember a fair morning after a red evening. To have had many experiments is what we call *experience*, which is nothing elſe but remembrance of what antecedents have been followed by what conſequents. In the *ſixth* chapter he obſerves, that "there are two "kinds of knowledge, whereof the one is nothing "elſe but *ſenſe*, or knowledge *original*, and remembrance of the ſame; the other is called *Science*, or "knowledge of the *Truth of Propoſitions*, and how "things are called; and is derived from underſtanding." In the *ninth* chapter he remarks, "that "the compariſon of the life of man to a race, though "it hold not in every part, yet it holdeth ſo well for "this our purpoſe, that we may thereby both ſee and "remember almoſt all the paſſions beforementioned. But this race we muſt ſuppoſe to have no "other *Goal* nor other Garland, but being foremoſt "and in it. To endeavour, is *Appetite*. To be remiſs, is *Senſuality*. To conſider them behind, is "*Glory*. To conſider them before, is *Humility*. To "loſe ground with looking back, *Vain-Glory*. To "be holden, *Hatred*. To turn back, *Repentance*. To "be in breath, *Hope*. To be weary, *Deſpair*. To "endeavour to overtake the next, *Emulation*. To "ſupplant or overthrow, *Envy*. To reſolve to break "through a ſtop foreſeen, *Courage*. To break through "a ſudden ſtop, *Anger*. To break through with eaſe, "*magnanimity*. To loſe ground by little Hinderances, "*Puſillanimity*. To fall on the ſudden, is diſpoſition "to *weep*. To ſee another fall, is diſpoſition to *laugh*. "To ſee one out-gone, whom we would not, is *Pity*. "To ſee one out-gone whom we would, is *Indignation*. To hold faſt by another, is to *love*. To carry "him on that ſo holdeth, is *Charity*. To hurt ones "ſelf for haſte, is *Shame*. Continually to be out-"gone, is *Miſery*. Continually to out-go the next be-"fore, is *Felicity*. And to forſake the courſe, is to "*die*." In the *tenth* chapter he tells us, that *the difference of wits hath its original from the different paſſions, and from the ends to which the appetite leadeth them*. That fancy conſiſts in *finding unexpected ſimilitudes of things, otherwiſe much unlike, from whence proceed thoſe grateful ſimilies, metaphors, and other tropes, by which both Poets and Orators have in their power to make things pleaſe or diſpleaſe, and ſhew well or ill to others as they like themſelves; or elſe in diſcerning ſuddenly diſſimilitude in things that otherwiſe appear the ſame*. That "*indocibility* or difficulty of being taught "ariſes from a falſe opinion that men know already "the truth of that, which is called in queſtion." That *a principal defect of the mind is that which men call* madneſs, *which appeareth to be nothing elſe but ſome imagination of ſome ſuch predominancy above the reſt, that we have no paſſion but from it. And this conception is nothing elſe but exceſſive vain-glory, or vain Dejection, which is moſt probable by theſe examples following, which proceed in appearance every one of them from pride or ſome dejection of mind. As firſt, we have had the example of one, that preached in Cheapſide from a cart there inſtead of a pulpit, that he himſelf was Chriſt, which was ſpiritual pride or madneſs. We have had alſo divers examples of* learned madneſs, *in which men have manifeſtly been diſtracted upon any occaſion, that hath put them in remembrance of their own ability. Amongſt the learned men may be remembered, I think, alſo thoſe that determine of the time of the world's end, and other ſuch points of prophecy. And* gallant madneſs *of* Don Quixotte *is nothing elſe but an expreſſion of ſuch height of vain-glory as reading of romance may produce in puſillanimous men. Alſo* a rage *and* madneſs *of* love *are but great indignations of them, in whoſe Brains is predominant the contempt of their enemies or their miſtreſſes. And the* pride *taken in* form *and* behaviour *hath made divers men run mad, and to be ſo accounted under the name of* Fantaſtick. *And as theſe are the examples of extremities, ſo alſo are there examples too many of the degrees, which may therefore be well accounted* follies. *As it is a degree of the* firſt, *for a man without certain evidence to think himſelf inſpired, or to have any other effect of God's holy Spirit than other godly men have. Of the* ſecond, *for a man continually to ſpeak his mind in a* cento *of other men's Greek or Latin ſentences. Of the* third, *much of the preſent gallantry in love and duel. Of rage a degree is* malice; *and of fantaſtick madneſs*, affectation. "As the former examples exhibit to us madneſs, and the degrees thereof, proceeding from the exceſs of self-"opinion; ſo alſo there be other examples of madneſs, and the degrees thereof proceeding from too "much *vain fear* and *dejection*; as in thoſe melancholy men that have imagined themſelves as brittle "as glaſs, or have had ſome other like imagination: "and degrees hereof are all thoſe exorbitant and cauſeleſs fears, which we commonly obſerve in melancholy perſons." In the *eleventh* chapter he remarks, that as "God Almighty is incomprehenſible, it followeth, that we can have no conception or image "of the Deity, and conſequently, all his attributes "ſignify our inability and defect of power to conceive "any thing concerning his nature, and not any conception of the ſame, excepting only this, that "*there is a God*. For the effects we acknowledge naturally do include a power of their producing before they were produced; and that power preſuppoſeth ſomething exiſtent that hath ſuch power; "and the thing ſo exiſting with power to produce, "if it were not eternal, muſt needs have been produced by ſomewhat before it, and that again by "ſomething elſe before that, till we come to an eternal (that is to ſay the firſt) power, of all powers,

"and

" If I were caſt, *ſaid he*, into a deep pit, and the Devil ſhould put down his cloven " foot, I would take hold of it to be drawn out by it." Towards the end of his life he had very few books, and thoſe he read but very little, thinking he was now only to digeſt what formerly he had fed upon. If company came to viſit him, he would be free in diſcourſe till he was preſſed or contradicted; and then he had the infirmities of being ſhort and peeviſh, and referring to his writings for better ſatisfaction. His friends, who had the liberty of introducing ſtrangers to him, made theſe terms with them before their admiſſion, that they ſhould not diſpute with the old man, nor contradict him. In October

" and firſt cauſe of all cauſes; and this is it which all " men conceive by the name of GOD, implying eter- " nity, incomprehenſibility, and omnipotency. And " thus all that will conſider, may know that God is, " though not what he is; even as a man that is born " blind, though it be not poſſible for him to have " any imagination what kind of thing fire is, yet he " cannot but know that ſomewhat there is that men " call fire, becauſe it warmeth him." He obſerves, that " by the name of *Spirit* we underſtand a *body* " *natural*, but of ſuch *ſubtilty*, that it worketh not " upon the ſenſes, but that filleth up the place, which " the image of a viſible body might fill up. Our " conception therefore of ſpirit conſiſteth of *figure with-* " *out colour*; and in figure is underſtood dimenſion; " and conſequently to conceive a ſpirit is to conceive " ſomething that hath dimenſion. But *ſpirits ſuper-* " *natural* commonly ſignify ſome ſubſtance without " dimenſion, which two words do flatly contradict " one another; and therefore when we attribute the " name of ſpirit unto God, we attribute it not as " a name of any thing we conceive, no more than " we aſcribe unto him ſenſe and underſtanding; but, " as a ſignification of our reverence we deſire to ab- " ſtract from him all corporeal groſſneſs." He tells us likewiſe, that " ſince the knowledge we have of " ſpirits is not natural knowledge, but faith from ſu- " pernatural revelation given to the holy writers of " ſcriptures, it followeth that of inſpirations alſo, which " is the operation of ſpirit in us, the knowledge " which we have, muſt all proceed from ſcripture. " That the knowledge we have of good and evil in- " ſpiration cometh not by viſion of an angel that may " teach it, nor by miracle that may ſeem to confirm " it, but by conformity of doctrine with this article " and fundamental point of Chriſtian Faith, which " alſo St. Paul ſaith is the ſole foundation, *That Jeſus* " *Chriſt is come in the fleſh*, 1 Cor. iii. 11." That ſeeing our Faith, that " the ſcriptures are the word " of God, began from the confidence and truſt we " repoſe in the *Church*; there can be no doubt but " that their interpretation of the ſame ſcriptures, when " any doubt or controverſy ſhall ariſe, by which this " fundamental point, that *Jeſus Chriſt is come in the* " *fleſh* may be called in queſtion, is *ſafer* for any " man to truſt to, than his own whether reaſoning or " ſpirit, that is to ſay, his own opinion." VI. De Corpore Politico; or, *Of the Elements of the Law*. London 1650 in 12mo. A French tranſlation of this piece was printed at Amſterdam 1653 in 12mo. VII. Leviathan; or, *The Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth*. London 1651 in fol. reprinted again with the old date in 1680 in fol. A Latin verſion with an *Appendix* was publiſhed at Amſterdam 1668 in 4to. It was likewiſe tranſlated into Low-Dutch, and printed at Amſterdam 1678 in 4to. To the Engliſh Editions is ſubjoined a *Review of the Leviathan*. Marchamont Needham (5) tells us, that Mr. Hobbes being at Paris when this Book was firſt publiſhed, " he ſent one of them as a preſent to the King of " Scots (6), which he accepted in regard he had " been his tutor in the mathematicks; but being af- " terwards informed by ſome of his Prieſts, that that " Book did not only contain many principles of " atheiſm and groſs impiety (for ſo they call every " thing that ſquares not with the Clergy-Intereſt) " but alſo ſuch that were prejudicial to the Church, " and reflected dangerouſly upon the majeſty of ſo- " vereign Princes; therefore when Mr. Hobbes came " to make a tender of his ſervice to him in perſon, he " was rejected, and word brought him by the Mar- " quis of *Ormond*, that the King would not admit " him, and withal told him the reaſon. By which " means Mr. Hobbes declines in credit with his friends " there of the royal ſtamp." A great many Writers have animadverted upon the Leviathan, particularly Sir Robert Filmer in his *Obſervations concerning the Original of Government, upon Mr.* Hobbes's Leviathan, *Mr.* Milton *againſt* Salmaſius, H. Grotius de Jure Belli. London 1652 in 4to. *An Examination of the Political Part of Mr.* Hobbes's Leviathan. *By* George Lawſon, *Rector of More in the County of Salop*. London 1657 in 8vo. *The Creed of Mr.* Hobbes *examined in a feigned Conference between him and a Student of Divinity*. London 1670 in 8vo. This was written by Mr. Thomas Teniſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and who in the Dedication to the Earl of Mancheſter dated at Cambridge June the 4th 1670, obſerves, that Mr. Hobbes hath affirmed of God, that he is a bodily ſubſtance, though moſt refined, and forceth evil upon the very wills of men; framed a model of government pernicious in its conſequence to all nations; ſubjected the Canon of Scripture to the Civil Powers, and taught them the way of turning the Alcoran into the Goſpel; declared it lawful, not only to diſſemble, but plainly to renounce our faith in Chriſt, in order to the avoidance of perſecution; and even managed a quarrel againſt the very Elements of Euclid. " He hath long ago, " *ſays Mr. Teniſon*, publiſhed his errors in Theology in " the Engliſh tongue, inſinuating himſelf by the hand- " ſomneſs of his ſtyle into the minds of ſuch whoſe " fancy leadeth their judgments; and to ſay truth " of an enemy, he may with ſome reaſon pretend to " maſtery in that language." In 1676 was printed the Earl of Clarendon's *Brief View and Survey of the dangerous and pernicious Errors to Church and State in Mr.* Hobbes's book, *intitled*, Leviathan. Oxford 1676 in 4to; the ſecond impreſſion of which was publiſhed the ſame year. The *Imprimatur* by Dr. Ralph Bathurſt Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, was dated July the 1ſt 1676. The Dedication to the King is dated at Moulins May the 10th 1673. In the *Introduction* (7) the Earl obſerves, that Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan " contains in it good learning of all kinds, " politely extracted, and very wittily and cunningly " digeſted, in a very commendable, and in a vigorous " and pleaſant ſtyle;" and that Mr. Hobbes was " a " man of excellent parts, of great wit, ſome reading, " and ſomewhat more thinking; one who has ſpent " many years in foreign parts and obſervations, under- " ſtands the learned as well as modern languages, hath " long had the reputation of a great Philoſopher and " Mathematician, and in his age hath had converſation " with very many worthy and extraordinary men; to " which, it may be, if he had been more indulgent in " the more vigorous part of his life, it might have " had greater influence upon the temper of his mind, " whereas age ſeldom ſubmits to thoſe queſtions, en- " quiries, and contradictions, which the laws and li- " berty of converſation require. And it hath been " always a lamentation among Mr. *Hobbes*'s friends, " that he ſpent too much time in thinking, and too " little in exerciſing thoſe thoughts in the company of " other men of the ſame or of as good faculties; for " want whereof his natural conſtitution with age con- " tracted ſuch a moroſity, that doubting and contra- " dicting men were never grateful to him. In a word, " Mr. *Hobbes* is one of the moſt ancient acquaintance " I have in the world, and of whom I have always " had a great eſteem, as a man, who beſides his emi- " nent parts of learning and knowledge, hath been " always looked upon as a man of probity and a life " free from ſcandal." The Earl informs us (8), that when Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles II, went firſt to Paris from the iſle of Jerſey, and the Lords Capel and Hopton ſtayed with himſelf at Jerſey, he heard ſhortly after, that Mr Hobbes, who was then at Paris, had printed his book *de Cive* there. The Earl wrote to Dr. *Earle*, who was then the Prince's Chaplain and Tutor, to remember him kindly to Mr. Hobbes,

(5) *Mercurius Politicus*, num. 84. from Jan. 8. to Jan. 15. *ann.* 1651-2.

(6) King Charles II.

(7) Pag. 2. 2d edit. Oxon 1676 in 4to.

(8) Pag. 6, 7.

October 1666, when complaint was made in Parliament againſt his books, and ſome proceedings againſt him were depending, with a *Bill againſt Atheiſm and Profaneneſs*, he was at Chatſworth, and appeared extremely diſturbed at the news of it, fearing that meſſengers would come for him, and the Earl of Devonſhire would deliver him up, and the two Houſes of Parliament commit him to the Biſhops, and they decree him a Heretic, and return him to the Civil Magiſtrate for a writ *de Heretico comburendo.* This terror upon his ſpirits made him ſink very much. He would be often confeſſing to thoſe about him,

with whom the Earl was well acquainted, and to deſire him to ſend him that book by the ſame token that Mr. Sydney Godolphin, who had been killed in the civil wars, had left Mr. Hobbes a legacy of two hundred pounds. The book was immediately ſent to the Earl by Mr. Hobbes, with a deſire that he would tell him, whether he was ſure that there was ſuch a legacy, or how he might take notice of it to receive it. The Earl ſent Mr. Hobbes word that he might depend upon it for a truth, and that he believed, that if he found ſome way ſecretly (to the end there might be no public notice of it in regard of the Parliament) to demand it of Mr. Francis Godolphin, brother of Mr. Sidney Godolphin, (the former of whom had told the Earl of it,) he would pay it. This information was the ground of the dedication of the *Leviathan* to Mr. Francis Godolphin, whom Mr. Hobbes had never ſeen. When the Earl went ſome few years after from Holland with K. Charles II (after the murder of Charles I) to Paris, from whence he went ſhortly his Majeſty's Embaſſador to Spain, Mr. Hobbes viſited him, and told him, that Mr. Godolphin confeſſed the legacy, and had paid 100 *l.* and promiſed to pay the other in a ſhort time; for all which he thanked the Earl, and ſaid he owed it to him, for he had never otherwiſe known of it. When the Earl returned from Spain by Paris, Mr. Hobbes frequently came to him, and told him, that his book, which he would call *Leviathan*, was then printing in England, and that he received every week a ſheet to correct, of which he ſhewed the Earl one or two ſheets, and thought it would be finiſhed within little more than a month; and ſhewed him the Epiſtle to Mr. Godolphin, which he intended to ſet before it, and read it to him, and concluded, that he knew when the Earl read his book he would not like it, and thereupon mentioned ſome concluſions; upon which the Earl aſked him, why he would publiſh ſuch doctrine; to which, after a diſcourſe between jeſt and earneſt upon the ſubject, he ſaid, *The truth is, I have a mind to go home.* Within a

(9) Pag. 8. "ſhort time after I came, *ſays the Earl* (9), into Flanders, "which was not much more than a month from the "time that Mr. *Hobbes* had conferred with me, *Leviathan* was ſent to me from London; which I read with "much appetite and impatience. Yet I had ſcarce "finiſhed it, when Sir *Charles Cavendiſh* (the noble "brother of the Duke of Newcaſtle who was then "at Antwerp, and a Gentleman of all the accompliſhments of mind that he wanted of body, being in all "other reſpects a wonderful perſon) ſhewed me a letter "he had then received from Mr. *Hobbes*, in which he "deſired he would let him know freely what my opinion was of his book. Upon which I wiſhed he "would tell him that I could not enough wonder, that "a man who had ſo great a reverence for civil government, that he reſolved all wiſdom and religion itſelf "into a ſimple obedience and ſubmiſſion to it, ſhould "publiſh a book, for which by the conſtitution of any "government now eſtabliſhed in Europe, whether monarchical or democratical, the author muſt be puniſhed in the higheſt degree and with the moſt ſevere "penalties. With which anſwer, which Sir Charles "ſent to him, he was not pleaſed, and found afterwards when I returned to the King to Paris, that I "very much cenſured his book, which he had preſented, engroſſed in vellum in a marvellous fair "hand, to the King, and likewiſe found my judgment "ſo far confirmed, that a few days before I came thither, he was compelled ſecretly to fly out of Paris, "the Juſtice having endeavoured to apprehend him, "and ſoon after eſcaped into England, where he never "received any diſturbance. After the King's return "he came frequently to the Court, where he had too "many diſciples, and once viſited me. I received him "very kindly, and invited him to ſee me often; but he "heard from ſo many hands, that I had no good opinion of his book, that he came to me only that one "time: and methinks I am in a degree indebted to "him, to let him know ſome reaſon, why I look with "ſo much prejudice upon his book, which hath gotten him ſo much credit and eſtimation with ſome "other men." The Earl afterwards obſerves (10), (10) Pag. 317.
that the "Review and Concluſion of the Leviathan is "only an abridgment and contracting the moſt contagious poiſon, that runs thro' the book, into a leſs "veſſel or volume, leſt they, who ſhould, will not take "the pains to read the book, or reading it may by "inadvertency and incogitancy not be hurt enough by "it, may here in leſs room, and more nakedly, ſwallow his choiceſt doctrine at one morſel; and is in "truth a ſly addreſs to *Cromwell*, that being then out "of the Kingdom, and ſo being neither conquered "nor his ſubject, he might by his return ſubmit to his "government, and be bound to obey it: which being "uncompelled by any neceſſity or want, but having as "much to ſuſtain him abroad as he had to live upon at "home, could not but proceed from a ſincere heart and "uncorrupted. This *Review* and Concluſion he made "ſhort enough to hope, that *Cromwell* himſelf might "read it; where he ſhould not only receive the pawn "of his new ſubject's allegiance, by declaring his own "obligation and obedience, but by publiſhing ſuch "doctrine, as being diligently infuſed by ſuch a maſter "in the myſtery of government, might ſecure the peo"ple of the Kingdom (over whom he had no right to "command) to acquieſce and ſubmit to his brutal "power." The *Leviathan* was cenſured by the Parliament in October 1666, at which time a bill againſt atheiſm and profaneneſs was brought into the Houſe; and the Univerſity of Oxford condemned this book and that *de Cive* by a decree paſſed on the 21ſt of July 1683, and ordered them to be publicly burnt, with ſeveral other treatiſes, which were excepted againſt: VIII. *A Compendium of* Ariſtotle's *Rhetoric, and* Ramus's *Logic.* IX. *A Letter about Liberty and Neceſſity.* London 1654 in 12mo. The third edition was printed in 1684 in 8vo. Dr. Bernard Laney wrote *Obſervations* upon this piece of Mr. Hobbes, which were printed at London in 1676 in 12mo. Dr. Bramhall Biſhop of Derry publiſhed likewiſe a *A Defence of true Liberty from antecedent and extrinſecal Neceſſity, being an Anſwer to a late Book of Mr.* Thomas Hobbes *of Malmſbury, intitled,* A Treatiſe of Liberty and Neceſſity. *Written by the Right Reverend* John Bramhall, *D. D. and Lord Biſhop of Derry.* London 1655 in 8vo. Dedicated to the Marquiſs of Newcaſtle. In the Preface Biſhop Bramhall obſerves, that this "Treatiſe was not penned "for the preſs, but privately undertaken, that by the "ventilation of the queſtion truth might be cleared "from miſtakes. The ſame was Mr. Hobbes's deſire at that time, as appeareth by four paſſages in "his book (*), wherein he requeſteth and beſeecheth, (*) Pag. 18, 26, 35, and 80.
"that it may be kept private. But either through forgetfulneſs or change of judgment he hath now cauſed "or permitted it to be printed in England without "either adjoining my firſt diſcourſe, to which he "wrote that anſwer, or ſo much as mentioning this "reply, which he hath had in his hands now theſe "eight years. So wide is the date of his letter in "the year 1652 from truth, and his manner of dealing "with me in this particular from ingenuity, if the "edition were with his own conſent. Howſoever here "is all that paſſed between us upon this ſubject without any addition or the leaſt variation from the "original." The Biſhop tells us (11), that the firſt (11) Pag. 2.
day he read over Mr. Hobbes's Defence of the Neceſſity of all things, was April the 20th 1646; and that then his occaſions permitting him, and an advertiſement from a friend awakening him, he ſet himſelf to a ſerious examination of it. Mr. Hobbes, in anſwer to an argument, which he repreſents as urged by the Biſhop, "that if the concourſe of all the cauſes "neceſſitate the effect, then it follows that Adam had "no

him, that he meant no harm, and was no obſtinate man, and was ready to make any ſatisfaction. For his prevailing principle, and his reſolution upon it, was to ſuffer for no cauſe whatever. Under theſe apprehenſions of danger he drew up in 1680 *An Hiſtorical Narration of Hereſie and the puniſhment thereof*, labouring to prove, that there was no authority to determine Hereſy, or to puniſh it, when he wrote the *Leviathan*; and that ſince the diſſolving of the High Commiſſion Court no other Courts have any power to decree any opinion to be heretical; and wonders, that ſince his Majeſty had reſtored the Biſhops, and pardoned the Preſbyterians, both the one and the other ſhould accuſe in Parliament his Book of Hereſy; and ſo runs into a complaint of the fierceneſs of Divines. Under the ſame apprehenſions he framed *An Apology for himſelf and his Writings*, ſetting forth, that the exceptionable things in his *Leviathan* were not his opinions ſo much as his ſuppoſitions, humbly ſubmitted to thoſe who had the Eccleſiaſtical power, and never ſince dogmatically maintained by him either in writing or diſcourſe. And it is much to be ſuſpected, as Dr. Kennet obſerves (*b*), that upon this occaſion he began to make a more open ſhew of Religion and Church Communion. He now frequented the chapel, joined in

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 111, 112.

"no true liberty," had anſwered in theſe words: "I deny "the conſequence, for I make not only the effect, but "alſo the election of that particular effect to be ne"ceſſary, in as much as the will itſelf, and each pro"penſion of a man during his deliberation is as much "neceſſitated, and depends on a ſufficient cauſe, as "any thing elſe whatſoever. As for example, it is "no more neceſſary that fire ſhould burn, than that a "man or other creature, whoſe limbs be moved by "fancy, ſhould have election, that is, liberty to do "what he has a fancy to, though it be not in his "will or power to chooſe his fancy, or chooſe his "election or will. This doctrine, becauſe he ſays "he hates, I doubt had better been ſuppreſſed, "as it ſhould have been, if both your Lordſhip and "he had not preſſed me to an anſwer." The Biſhop in his reply writes thus (12). "My argument was "this; if any of theſe, or all of theſe cauſes formerly "recited, do take away true liberty, (that is, ſtill in"tended from neceſſity) then *Adam* before his fall had "no true liberty. But *Adam* before his fall had "true liberty. He miſrecites the argument, and de"nies the conſequence, which is ſo clearly proved, "that no man living can doubt of it. Becauſe *Adam* "was ſubjected to all the ſame cauſes, as well as we, "the ſame decree, the ſame preſcience, the ſame in"fluences, the ſame concourſe of cauſes, the ſame effi"cacy of objects, the ſame dictates of reaſon. But "it is only a miſtake, for it appears plainly by his "following diſcourſe, that he intended to deny, not "the conſequence, but the aſſumption; for he makes "*Adam* to have had no liberty from neceſſity before "his fall; then he proceeds ſo far as to affirm, that "all human wills, his and ours, and each propenſion "of our wills, even during our deliberation, are as "much neceſſitated as any thing elſe whatſoever; that "we have no more power to forbear thoſe actions "which we do, than the fire hath power not to burn. "Though I honour *T. H.* for his perſon and for his "learning, yet I muſt confeſs ingenuouſly, I hate "this doctrine from my heart. And I believe both I "have reaſon ſo to do, and all others, who ſhall ſe"rioufly ponder the horrid conſequences which flow "from it. It deſtroys liberty, and diſhonours the na"ture of man. It makes the ſecond cauſes and out"ward objects to be rackets, and men to be but the "tennis-balls of deſtiny. It makes the firſt cauſe, "that is, God Almighty, to be the introducer of all "evil and ſin into the world, as much as man, yea "more than man, by as much as the motion of the "watch is more from the artificer, who did make it "and wind it up, than either from the ſpring or the "wheels, or the thread, if God by his ſpecial influence "into the ſecond cauſes did neceſſitate them to ope"rate as they did.... Excuſe me, if I hate this "doctrine with a perfect hatred, which is ſo diſhonour"able both to God and man, which makes men to blaſ"pheme of neceſſity, to ſteal of neceſſity, to be hanged "of neceſſity, and to be damned of neceſſity. And there"fore I muſt ſay and ſay again, *Quicquid oſtendes mihi "ſic incredulus odi.* It were better to be an Atheiſt, "to believe no God; or to be a Manichee, to believe "two Gods, a God of good, and a God of evil; or "with the Heathens to believe thirty thouſand Gods, "than thus to charge the true God to be the proper "cauſe and the true author of all the ſins and evils, "which are in the world." X. *The Queſtions concerning Liberty, and Neceſſity, and Chance, ſtated and debated between Mr. Hobbes and Dr. Bramhall, Biſhop of London-Derry.* London 1656, in 4to. XI. *Elementorum Philoſophiæ Sectio prima de Corpore.* London, 1655, in 8vo. In Engliſh, London, 1656, in 4to. *Sectio ſecunda*, London 1657, in 4to. Amſterdam 1668, in 4to. XII. *Six Leſſons to the Profeſſors of Mathematics of the Inſtitution of Sir* Henry Savile. London, 1656, in 4to. This is written againſt Mr. Seth Ward, and Dr. John Wallis. XIII. *The marks of the abſurd Geometry, rural Language, &c. of Dr.* John Wallis. London, 1657, in 8vo. Dr. Wallis having publiſhed in 1655 his *Elenchus Geometriæ Hobbianæ*, it occaſioned ſeveral books to be written by them againſt each other. XIV. *Examinatio & Emendatio Mathematicæ hodiernæ, ſex Dialogis comprehenſa.* London, 1660, in 4to. Amſterdam, 1668, in 4to. XV. *Dialogus Phyſicus, ſive de Naturâ Aeris.* London, 1661, in 4to. Amſterdam, 1668, in 4to. XVI. *De Duplicatione Cubi.* London, 1661, in 4to. Amſterdam, 1668, in 4to. XVII. *Problemata Phyſica, una cum Magnitudine Circuli.* London, 1662, in 4to. Amſterdam, 1688, in 4to. XVIII. *De Principiis & Ratiocinatione Geometrarum, contra faſtuoſum Profeſſorem.* London, 1666, in 4to. Amſterdam, 1668, in 4to. XIX. *Quadratura Circuli, Cubatio Sphæræ, Duplicatio Cubi; unà cum Reſponſione ad objectiones Geometriæ Profeſſoris Saviliani Oxoniæ editas anno* 1669. London, 1669, in 4to. XX. *Roſetum Geometricum, ſive Propoſitiones aliquot fruſtra antehac tentatæ, cum cenſurâ brevi Doctrinæ Wallisianæ de motu.* London, 1671, in 4to. There is an account of this book in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. 72, for the year 1671. XXI. *Three Papers preſented to the Royal Society againſt Dr. Wallis, with Conſiderations on Dr. Wallis's Anſwer to them.* London, 1671, in 4to. XXII. *Lux Mathematica, &c. Cenſura Doctrinæ Wallisianæ de Libra. Roſetum Hobbeſii.* London, 1672, in 4to. XXIII. *Principia & Problemata aliquot Geometrica ante deſperata, nunc breviter explicata & demonſtrata.* London, 1674, in 4to. XXIV. *Epiſtola ad Dom.* Anton. à Wood, *Authorem Hiſtoriæ & Antiquitat. Univerſit. Oxon.* Dated April the 20th, 1674, printed in half a ſheet on one ſide. "It was "written to Mr. Wood, *ſays that Hiſtorian* (13), upon "his complaint made to Mr. Hobbes of ſeveral de"letions and additions made in and to his life and "character (which he had written of him in that book) "by the publiſher (Dr. Jo. Fell) of the ſaid *Hiſt. & "Antiq.* to the great diſhonour and diſparagement of "the ſaid Mr. Hobbes. Whereupon, when that Hiſ"tory was finiſhed, came out a ſcurrilous Anſwer to "the ſaid Epiſtle, written by Dr. Fell, which is at "the end of the ſaid Hiſtory." In this Anſwer Dr. Fell ſtiles Mr. Hobbes, *irritabile illud & vaniſſimum* Malmſburienſe *Animal*; and tells us, that one Mr. *J. A.* had ſent a magnificent elogium of Mr. Hobbes drawn up by him, or more probably by Hobbes himſelf, in order to be inſerted in the *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon.* but the Editor finding in this elogium a great many things foreign to the deſign of that work, and far from truth, he ſuppreſſed what he thought proper. And whereas Mr. Hobbes had complained, that in the *Hiſtoria & Antiq.* only *ingenium acre*, but not *ſobrium* was aſcribed to him, Dr. Fell obſerves, that he

(12) Pag. 59.

(13) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 645.

in the ſervice, and was generally a partaker of the Sacrament. And whenever any ſtrangers, in converſation with him, ſeemed to queſtion his belief, he would always appeal to his conformity in Divine Service, and referred them to the Chaplain for a teſtimony of it. Others thought it a mere compliance with the orders of the family, and obſerved, that he never went to any Pariſh Church, and even in the Chapel upon Sundays he went out after prayers, and turned his back upon the ſermon; and when any friend aſked the reaſon of it, he gave no other anſwer but this, that *they could teach him nothing but what he knew.* He did not conceal his hatred to the Clergy; but it was viſible, that the hatred was owing to his fear of their civil intereſt and power. He had often a jealouſy that the Biſhops would burn him; and of all the Bench he was moſt afraid of Dr. Seth Ward Biſhop of Sarum, becauſe he had moſt offended him. Dr. Kennet obſerves likewiſe (*c*), that his whole life was governed by his fears. In the firſt Parliament of 1640, while it ſeemed to favour the meaſures of the Court, he wrote a little Tract in Engliſh, wherein he demonſtrated, as himſelf tells us (*d*), that "all the power and rights neceſſary "for the peace of the Kingdom were inſeparably annexed to the Sovereignty in the "King's perſon." But in the ſecond Parliament of that year, when they proceeded fiercely againſt thoſe who had written or preached in defence of the Regal Power, he, *doubting how they would uſe him, went over into France, the firſt of all that fled, and there continued eleven years* (*e*). At Paris he wrote and publiſhed his *Leviathan*, a plea for

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 113.

(*d*) *Conſiderations upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners and Religion of Thꝺ. Hobbes, by way of Letter to a learned Perſon,* pag. 5.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 6.

ſhall not appeal to thoſe, who were converſant with him and his writings, but to Mr. Hobbes himſelf, who in his book *De Principiis & Ratiocinatione Geometrarum* ſays thus: *In magno quidem periculo verſari video Exiſtimationem meam, qui a Geometris ferè omnibus diſſentio, eorum enim, qui iiſdem rebus mecum aliquid ediderunt, aut ſolus inſanio ego, aut ſolus non inſanio; tertium non eſt, niſi quod dicet forte aliquis, inſaniamus omnes.* Upon which Dr. Fell obſerves thus. "Si "inſanire eum contingat; non ab Editore injuria facta "eſt; ſi alii omnes eruditi mente ſuâ moti inſanire "illum cenſeant, non eſt quod furioſorum ſententia "illum moveat, nec queratur reperiri hominem unum, "qui demens pariter cum fuerit, communi omnium "ſuffragio calculum adjecerit." XXV. *A Letter to William Duke of Newcaſtle, concerning the Controverſy had with Dr. Laney, Biſhop of Ely, about Liberty and Neceſſity.* London, 1670, in 12mo. XXVI. Decameron Phyſiologicum: *Or ten Dialogues of Natural Philoſophy, &c.* London, 1678, in 8vo. To this is added *The Proportion of a ſtrait Line to hold the Arch of a Quadrant.* An account of this book is publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. 138, pag. 965. XXVII. *His laſt words and dying Legacy.* Printed on one ſide of a ſheet of paper in December 1679, and publiſhed by Charles Blunt, Eſq; from the *Leviathan*, in order to expoſe Mr. Hobbes's doctrine. XXVIII. His *memorable Sayings in his Books and at the Table.* Printed on one ſide of a broad ſheet of paper, with his picture before them. XXIX. Behemoth: *The Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of England from* 1640 *to* 1660. London, 1679, in 8vo. XXX. *Vita Thomæ Hobbes.* This is a Latin Poem written by himſelf, and printed at London in 4to, in the latter end of December 1679; and a fortnight after that, viz. about the 10th of January, it was publiſhed in Engliſh verſe by another hand, at London 1680, in five ſheets in Folio. The Latin copy was reprinted and ſubjoined to *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium.* XXXI. *Hiſtorical Narration of Hereſy, and the Puniſhment thereof.* London, 1680, in four ſheets and an half in folio; and in 1682 in 8vo. This is chiefly extracted out of the ſecond chapter *De Hæreſi* of his Appendix to the *Leviathan.* After he has reduced from our Saviour's time the different puniſhments by laws enacted againſt thoſe, who were declared Heretics throughout the ſeveral ages of the church, he proceeds to an account of the laws in force in England againſt Heretics from the firſt propoſition of Chriſtianity, to the laſt civil wars; and obſerves that the High Commiſſion had the ſole power of declaring what was Hereſy according to the ſenſe of the firſt four General Councils, inveſted in them in Queen Elizabeth's reign; that after this Court was taken away at the beginning of the Civil Wars, no perſon ſtood empowered by lawful authority, either to declare what was Hereſy, or to puniſh any one proved to be this way obnoxious. At this time, he tells us, his *Leviathan* was publiſhed, for the writing of which he could not be accounted heretical; and he gives the reaſons, which induced him to write and publiſh that book. This treatiſe of our Author was animadverted upon by Mr. John Dowell, Vicar of Melton-Mowbray in Leiceſterſhire, in a little tract, intitled, *The Leviathan heretical: Or the charge exhibited in Parliament againſt Mr. Hobbes juſtified, &c.* Oxford, 1683, in 12mo, in which book, pag. 137, the Author informs us, that Cromwell having gained the Protectorſhip, was ſo highly pleaſed with many of the principles laid down in the *Leviathan*, that he offered Mr. Hobbes the place of Secretary to him. XXXII. *Vita Thomæ Hobbes*, written by himſelf in proſe, and printed at Caropolis, i. e. London, and prefixed to *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, 1681, in 8vo, and 1682, in 4to. XXXIII. *A Brief of the Art of Rhetoric, containing in ſubſtance all that Ariſtotle hath written in his three books of that ſubject.* Printed in 12mo, but without a date. It was afterwards publiſhed in two books. London, 1681, in 8vo, the firſt bearing the title of *The Art of Rhetoric*, and the other of *The Art of Rhetoric plainly ſet forth; with pertinent examples for the more ready underſtanding and practice of the ſame.* To which is added, XXXIV. *A Dialogue between a Philoſopher and a Student of the Common Laws of England.* XXXV. *An Anſwer to Archbiſhop Bramhall's book called,* The catching of the *Leviathan.* London, 1682, in 8vo. XXXVI. *Seven Philoſophical Problems, and two Propoſitions of Geometry.* London, 1682, in 8vo, dedicated to the King in 1662. XXXVII. *An Apology for himſelf and his Writings.* In this piece he obſerves, that thoſe things, which he delivered in the *Leviathan*, were not his own opinions, but ſubmitted to the judgment of the Eccleſiaſtical Power; and that he never maintained any of them afterwards either in writing or diſcourſe; and that what is in it of Theology, contrary to the general ſenſe of Divines, was not introduced as his own opinion, but propounded with full ſubmiſſion to thoſe, who had the Eccleſiaſtical Power. XXXVIII. *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica carmine Elegiaco concinnata.* Aug. Trinob. i. e. London, 1688, in 8vo. XXXIX. *Tractatus Opticus*, inſerted in Merſennus's *Cogitata Phyſico-Mathematica.* Paris, 1644, in 4to. XL. *Obſervationes in Carteſii de primâ Philoſophiâ Meditationes.* Theſe objections, which are called the *third*, are publiſhed in all the editions of Des Cartes's *Meditations.* XLI. He tranſlated into Engliſh verſe, *The Voyage of Ulyſſes; or Homer's Odyſſes*, book 9, 10, 11, 12. London, 1674, in 8vo. And XLII, *Homer's Iliads and Odyſſes.* London, 1675 and 1677, in 12mo. To which is prefixed a Preface concerning Heroic Poetry. Mr. Pope in the *Preface* to his tranſlation of *Homer's Iliad* tells us, that Mr. Hobbes in his Verſion "has given a correct explanation of the "ſenſe in general; but for particulars and circum-"ſtances lopps them, and often omits the moſt b auti-"ful. As for its being eſteemed a cloſe tranſlation, "I doubt not many have been led into that error "by the ſhortneſs of it, which proceeds not from the "following the original line by line, but from the "contractions abovementioned. He ſometimes omits "whole ſimiles and ſentences, and is now and then "guilty of miſtakes, into which no writer of his "learning could have fallen, but through careleſneſs. "His

for the abſolute power of Princes, which ſeemed to be calculated for the new meaſures then laid for the Government of France, to obtain the eaſier protection from the Church. The ſame paſſion of fear that brought him into France, drove him back to England. For as ſoon as he was diſmiſſed from his attendance on the King, to eſcape the reſentments of thoſe whom he thought his enemies, he made haſte for England, and confeſſed, that he came home, *becauſe he would not truſt his ſafety with the French Clergy* (*f*). He was not called in queſtion by Cromwell, who had no reaſon to diſlike his tenets; and in the other changes he was *always ſafe*. After the Reſtoration he watched all opportunities to ingratiate himſelf with the King and his prime Miniſters; and looked upon his penſion to be more valuable, as an earneſt of favour and protection, than upon the other account. His following courſe of life was to be free from danger. He could not endure to be left in an empty houſe; whenever the Earl of Devonſhire removed, he would go along with him, even to his laſt ſtage from Chatſworth to Hardwick, when in a weak condition he dared not be left behind, but made his way upon a feather-bed in a coach, though he ſurvived the journey but a few days. He could not bear any diſcourſe of death, and ſeemed to caſt off all thoughts of it. He delighted to reckon upon longer life. The winter before he died he made a warm coat, which he ſaid muſt laſt him three years, and then he would have ſuch another. In his laſt ſickneſs his frequent queſtions were, Whether his diſeaſe was curable? And when intimations were given that he might have eaſe, but no remedy, he uſed this expreſſion, *I ſhall be glad then to find a hole to creep out of the world at*; which are reported to be his laſt ſenſible words; and his lying ſome days following in a ſilent ſtupefaction ſeemed to be owing to his mind more than to his body. The only thought of death, which he appeared to entertain in time of health, was to take care of ſome inſcription on his grave. He would ſuffer ſome friends to dictate an epitaph, among which he was beſt pleaſed with theſe words, *This is the true Philoſopher's ſtone* (*g*).

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 8.

(*g*) Kennet, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 113-117.

" His Poetry, as well as Ogilby's, is too mean for " criticiſm." He left likewiſe ſeveral MSS. among which was his *Defence* in the affair relating to Daniel Scargil, A. B. of C. C. College in Cambridge, written in one ſheet; a copy of which Sir John Berkenhead had in his poſſeſſion, upon whoſe deceaſe it came into the hands of Henry Birkenhead (14). Mr. Francis Peck has publiſhed (15) two original letters of our Author. The firſt is dated at Paris October $\frac{21}{31}$, 1634, wherein he reſolves the following queſtion; *Why a man remembers leſs his own face, which he ſees often in a glaſs, than the face of a friend, that he has not ſeen of a great time?* " My opinion, *ſays Mr. Hobbes*, in " general is, that a man remembers beſt thoſe faces, " whereof he has had the greateſt impreſſions; and that " the impreſſions are the greater for the oftener ſeeing " them, and the longer ſtaying upon the ſight of them. " Now you know, men look upon their own faces but " for ſhort fits, but upon their friends faces a long time " together, whilſt they diſcourſe or converſe together; " ſo that a man may receive a greater impreſſion from " his friend's face in a day, than from his own in a " year. And according to their impreſſion the image " will be freſher in his mind. Beſides, the ſight of " one's friends two hours together is of greater force " to imprint the image of it than the ſame quantity " of time by intermiſſions. For the intermiſſions do " eaſily deface that, which is but lightly imprinted. " In general, I think that that laſteth longer in the " memory," which hath been ſtronglier received by the " ſenſe." The other Letter is dated at Florence, April $\frac{6}{16}$th 1636, addreſſed to *his worthy friend Mr.* Glen. In this he writes thus: " I long infinitely to " ſee thoſe bookes of the Sabbaoth [Dr. Heylin's *Hiſtory of the Sabbath, in two books*, London 1636, in " 4to.] and am of your mind, they will put ſuch " thoughts into the heads of vulgar people, as will " conferre little to their good life. For when they ſee " one of the Ten Commandments to be *Jus humanum* " merely, (as it muſt be if the Church can alter it,) " they will hope alſo, that the other nine may be ſo " too. For every man hitherto did believe, that the " Ten Commandments were the moral, that is, an " eternal law." T.

(14) See *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, pag. 108, 109.

(15) *Deſiderata Curioſa*, vol. 1. lib. 6. num. 10, 11. pag. 23, 24.

HOCHSTRAT (JAMES) in Latin *Hochſtratus* or *Hochſtratanus*, was thus called from the village in which he was born (*a*). He ſtudied Philoſophy at Louvain, and took his degree of Maſter of Arts there in the year 1485. He entered amongſt the Dominican Friars, and was Prior of their Monaſtry at Cologne, Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity, and Inquiſitor in the three Eccleſiaſtical Electorates (*b*). There never was a man who deſerved more than him to be honoured with this laſt employment; for he had all the bad qualities, that are neceſſary for inquiſitors and informers. He was paſſionate; he would impeach any man with the leaſt pretence, and be at once both the judge and the accuſer [*A*]; he uſed to make very unfaithful extracts from the books of his adverſaries,

(*a*) Hoogſtraten in Brabant, between Antwerp and Bergen-op-zoom.

(*b*) Val. Andreas, *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 412.

DISPUTES between Reuchlin and Hochſtrat.

[*A*] *He would be at once both the Judge and the accuſer.*] This appeared very plainly in Reuchlin's affair. A Jew (1) lately converted to the Chriſtian Religion, had ſlandered him in a book intitled, *Manuale ſpeculum*. Reuchlin vindicated himſelf in a book intitled, *Speculum oculare*, in which he ſhewed that his enemies had publiſhed above thirty four Calumnies againſt him (2). Hochſtrat, the chief ſupporter of the converted Jew, engaged the divines of Cologne in this controverſy, and perſuaded them to make extracts from the *Speculum oculare*, which were publiſhed with artful and malicious remarks, deſigned to defame Reuchlin over all the world as a favourer of Judaiſm. *Has propoſitiones . . . . . ubi vidit Reuchlinus peſſime ac non ſine crimine falſi ex Oculari Speculo excerptas . . . . . rogat Theologos illos &c . . . . . erupit tota Theologorum concio ſuppetias Chriſti ſacris recens initiato Judæo latura duce Tungro, qui* articulos *ſeu* propoſitiones de Judaico favore nimis ſuſpectas *ex Speculo Oculari extruxit, adjectis annotationibus & animadverſionibus: atque hoc omne non vernacula lingua, qua utrinque hactenus certatum fuit, adornat, ſed Latina; eo haud dubiè conſilio, ut apud exteras gentes nationeſque nomen Capnionis inviſum redderet, & cum multa dictorum citatione ſecurius falleret* (3). i. e. " When " Reuchlin ſaw that theſe propoſitions were moſt unfairly extracted from his *Speculum oculare*, and not " without being falſified . . . . . he deſired thoſe Divines, &c. . . . . The whole tribe of the Divines " aroſe to ſupport the newly converted Jew, having " Hochſtrat at their head, who extracted the propoſitions from the *Speculum Oculare*, which ſeemed to " favour

(1) Named John Pfeffercorn.

(2) *Dilucide, & quod dicimus, ad oculum ibi oſtendit, adverſarios pluribus quam triginta quatuor mendaciis ad ſui contumeliam uſos eſſe.* Jo. Henricus Majus, *in Oratione de Vita Reuchlini*, folio D 3 *verſo*.

(3) Majus in *Oratione de Vita Reuchlini*, folio D 4.

(c) See the remark [A].

ries (c), and would never confeſs that he had been a ſlanderer; and he impudently aſſerted hereſies in the very books, in which he pretended to refute the heretics [B]. They forced

" favour too much of Judaiſm, and added to them his " own notes and obſervations, and publiſhed the " whole, not in the German tongue, in which the " controverſy had till then been carried on, but in " Latin, with a deſign no doubt to render Reuchlin " odious to all nations, and the better to impoſe upon " the world by a great number of quotations ſuppoſed " to be from his own Book." Reuchlin anſwered this work in a Latin apology directed to the Emperor, upon which he was proſecuted in form before the Elector of Mentz: as he could not appear himſelf on account of his old age, he ſent an attorney thither, who in his name made very well grounded exceptions againſt our James Hochſtrat, which yet were not admitted. *Cum propter ſenium & imbecillitatem corporis tantum iter tam brevi temporis ſpacio conficere non poſſet, mittebat eò curatorem Petrum Staffelium Nurtingenſem, qui actorem Hochſtratum tanquam inimicum ſibi infenſiſſimum & meritò ſuſpectum recuſabat, ob eas cauſas, quas publice allegabat . . . . Tametſi vero nil obtineret Reuchlinus* (4). i. e. " As Reuchlin could " not undertake ſo great a journey in ſo ſhort a time " becauſe of his old age and infirmities, he ſent thi- " ther Peter Staffelius of Nuring to act for him as " his attorney, who challenged the proſecutor Hoch- " ſtrat as Reuchlin's moſt bitter enemy, and a man " juſtly ſuſpected of partiality for ſuch reaſons as were " then publickly alledged . . . . . Though Reuchlin " could obtain nothing &c." Hochſtrat would not ſuffer himſelf to be accuſed (5); whereupon Reuchlin's attorney appealed to the Court of Rome; notwithſtanding which Hochſtrat procured a ſentence againſt Reuchlin, and without waiting till the fifteen days were paſt, before which it could not be lawfully proclaimed, as though he might already triumph, he ordered all the Curates of Mentz to give the people notice, that all they who had Reuchlin's books ſhould carry them immediately to the Commiſſaries upon pain of excommunication. *Interea Hochſtratus quaſi jam acturus triumphum omnibus per Moguntiacum ſacerdotibus mandat, ut publicè populum ſub proſcriptionis pœna monerent, ſi qui Oculare Speculum haberent, illud quantocyus eam in rem delegatis traderent* (6). Reuchlin appeals to the Pope; Hochſtrat does the ſame. George Elector Palatine and Biſhop of Spires being appointed by Pope Leo X to try this cauſe (7), named judges who ſummoned the parties to appear before them. Hochſtrat did not appear, and for his non-appearance was condemned to pay all the coſts. He was alſo ſtrictly forbidden to continue his proceedings, and the information of the Divines of Cologne was declared null and void. *Hochſtratus licet more conſueto per intervalla citatus, tamen non comparuit. Cauſſa nihilo ſeciùs diſcutitur & ſecundum Reuchlinum pronunciatur; nullum errorem ab Eccleſia damnatum in libro ſæpiùs commemorato reperiri, nec plus eum favere Judæis, quum religio & jura ſinant; injuſtè ergò ac præter veritatem eum delatum à Colonienſibus eſſe. Hochſtratus autem contumaciæ criminis reus &c* (8). i. e. " Tho' " Hochſtrat was ſummoned ſeveral times according " to cuſtom, he did not appear. However the cauſe was " tried and determined in Reuchlin's favour; the " judges declared that they did not find in his Book " any error condemned by the Church, and that he " did not favour the Jews more than was conſiſtent " with religion and juſtice; that he was therefore un- " juſtly and falſly accuſed by the Divines of Cologne. " But Hochſtrat being guilty of the crime of contu- " macy or non-appearance, &c." However the Divines of Cologne ordered Reuchlin's book to be burnt. *Dum hæc aguntur Spiræ, Colonienſes nefario auſu librum Reuchlini damnant, citra tamen contumeliam, ut aiebant, & Februarii deinde menſe anno ſuprà milleſimum quingenteſimum decimo quarto exurunt, approbantibus factum Lovanienſi, Erphordenſi, Moguntina, & Pariſienſi Univerſitatibus* (9). i. e. Whilſt the cauſe was depending at Spires, the Divines of Cologne, by a moſt " villainous attempt, condemned Reuchlin's book, " without pretending however to caſt a brand upon " him *, and burnt his book in February 1514, the " Univerſities of Lovain, Erford, Mentz and Paris " approving their conduct." But I obſerve this only occaſionally; the chief thing I am to prove is, that this Monk pretended to be at once both the Judge and the accuſer. He is charged with this in a Poem intitled *Triumphus Doctoris Reuchlini* (10). i. e. " Doctor " Reuchlin's Triumph."

Accuſat Capnionem & judicat idem
Acer Hogoſtratus (11). . . . . .
. . . . . .
Sed neque perditior neque flagitioſior alter
In Capniona fuit, tunc, cum tu perdite judex
Lectus, & abſurdis in litibus arbiter eſſes
Idem accuſator. Dic quo veſane pudorem
Fert omnem tibi livor edax (12).

" The fierce Hochſtrat impeaches, and at the ſame " time pretends to judge Reuchlin . . . . . Nor " was there ever a more wicked and profligate " man than you, when you was choſen a Judge in " theſe abſurd controverſies, being at the ſame time " the accuſer of Reuchlin. Tell me, outrageous " man, what gnawing envy made you throw off " all ſhame?"

[B] *He impudently aſſerted Hereſies in the very books in which he pretended to refute the Heretics.*] We ſhould ſee a catalogue of them, had we the book, with which Agrippa threatned the Dominicans (13): for here follows what he repreſents to the Magiſtrates of Cologne. *Unum tamen illum excipio, Jacobum Hocſtratum, tunc Prædicatorum ordinis hæreticorum Magiſtrum, vulgo & veraciter dictum, qui taliter ſcripſit contra Lutheranas hæreſes, ut ipſe ſe proderit hæreticorum omnium peſtilentiſſimum. Sed ne quis veſtrum, illius olim amicus, aut illius hypocriſi excæcatus, vel aliter deceptus, me non favore veritatis, ſed aut invidia, aut alia offenſa iſta dicere putet, rem ipſam digito monſtrabo. Nam in libro ſuo contra Lutheranos, quem Reverendiſſimo Cardinali ac Illuſtri Principi & Epiſcopo Leodienſi dedicavit, in illius lib. 2. diſp. 3. paulo ante finem. 1. cap. ſic ait: Scimus enim conſecratione ſuper debitam materiam ritè facta, Chriſtum eſſe in Sacramento, non autem quòd ſub hæc vel illa determinata hoſtia Chriſtus contineatur* (α). *Neque tamen putetis, hunc ſolum articulum apud illum reperiri hæreticum, ſed alii multi: quos cùm his nimis longum, vobiſque tædioſum foret referre, enumerabo alibi, in eo ſcil. libro, quem de Fratrum Prædicatorum ſceleribus* (14). i. e. " I except " however one, namely, James Hochſtrat, then com- " monly and with reaſon called *the Maſter of the Order* " *of the Predicant Heretics*, who wrote againſt the Lu- " theran hereſies in ſuch a manner, as to ſhew himſelf " the moſt dangerous of all Heretics. But leſt any " of you, who were formerly his friends, or might " have been impoſed upon by his hypocriſy, or " otherwiſe deceived, ſhould think that I ſpeak this " out of envy or reſentment, I ſhall prove it moſt " evidently. For in his book againſt Luther, which " he dedicated to the moſt reverend Cardinal and il- " luſtrious Prince and Biſhop of Liege, book 11. " diſp. 3, a little before the end of the firſt chapter, " he ſpeaks thus: *We know that when a proper matter* " *is duly conſecrated, Chriſt is in the Sacrament: but* " *yet we do not know that he is actually preſent in this* " *or that particular Hoſt.* Do not imagine that this " is the only heretical article to be met with in his " works; there are a great many more, which it " would be here too tedious to mention. But I ſhall " give a particular account of them in another book of " mine, which I have intitled, *An Hiſtory of the* " *Crimes and Hereſies of the Predicant Fryars.*" See the following part of this paſſage in the remark [S] of the article AGRIPPA.

§ (α) Monſieur BAYLE has not obſerved all that, in Agrippa's works, related to the Hereſies, with which he charged his adverſaries, and particularly Hochſtrat. The ſame Agrippa, in the ſecond chapter of his Apology againſt the Divines of Lovain, ſpeaks thus. *Jam vero etiam noſtro ſeculo dogmatiſarunt Colonienſes Theologi, Ariſtotelem ſic eſſe præcurſorem Chriſti in naturalibus, quemadmodum*

(4) Idem, ibid. folio D 4 *verſo.*

(5) Reuchlin. *Epiſt. ad Wimphelingum, apud* Majum, *Not. in Vitam Reuchlini*, pag. 391.

(6) Majus, *in Vita Reuchlini*, folio D 5.

(7) *Cauſa ad Leonem X devoluta, qui eam Spirenſi Epiſcopo, Georgio Palatino Duci penitus committit.* Idem, ibid. folio D 5 *verſo.* The author of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, tom. 8. pag. 501. imagined, that two perſons were meant here, viz. the Biſhop of Spires, and the Elector Palatine, whereas there is but one perſon.

(8) Majus *in Vita Reuchlini*, folio D 5.

(9) Idem, ibid.

* See the critical remark § β.

(10) Mr. Majus has inſerted it in his Notes on Reuchlin's *Life*, pag. 480, &c. The author of that Poem calls himſelf *Eleutherius Byzenus.*

(11) *Annot. in Vitam Reuchlini*, pag. 485.

(12) Ibid. pag. 493.

(13) See the article AGRIPPA remark [S].

(14) Agrippa, Epiſt. 26. lib. 7. pag. 1037. This Letter is dated Jan. 11, 1533.

forced him once to give ſatisfaction to an honeſt man, whom he had calumniated; but they could not oblige him to it, without making uſe of a very remarkable method; which was, to deprive his whole convent of the benefit of begging [C]. He did not reap all the advantage which he expected from the action he brought in againſt Reuchlin; he was obliged to go to Rome on account of this action; and notwithſtanding the large ſums of money

quemadmodum Joannes Baptiſta in gratuitis. Jacobus Hochſtratus *in ſuo de invocatione Sanctorum libello, hæreticum pronunciavit ad Scripturam confugere: & alius quidam Theologus palam concionari non erubuit, conſuetudinem potius ſequendam eſſe quàm Scripturam Divinam, adhuc prænominatus* Hochſtratus *Hæreticorum (ut vocant) Magiſter in opere ſuo contra Lutheranos, inquit in hæc verba:* " Scimus enim conſecratione ſuper debita ma-
" teria facta Chriſtum eſſe in Sacramento, non autem
" quod ſub hac vel illa determinata hoſtia Chriſtus
" contineatur, quia, *ut ſubdit*, hæreticum eſt fidem in-
" fallibilem & infuſam ad talia particularia per cer-
" titudinem extendere;" *eademque ratione concludit, credendum eſſe remiſſionem peccatorum in generali, neminem autem in particulari ſibi eſſe peccata dimiſſa. An non eſt hoc vere magiſtrum Hæreticorum eſſe?* i. e.
" The Divines of Cologne have even in this age pub-
" lickly taught, that Ariſtotle was Chriſt's forerunner
" in natural things, even as John the Baptiſt was in
" things relating to the Goſpel. James Hochſtrat
" aſſerts, in his little book of the *Worſhip of Saints*,
" that it is an hereſy to have recourſe to the Scripture;
" and another Divine was not aſhamed to preach pub-
" lickly, that we ought to conform to what is eſtabliſh-
" ed, rather than to the holy Scripture; and the ſame
" Hochſtrat, the Maſter of the Heretics as he is cal-
" led, ſpeaks thus in his book againſt Luther. *We*
" *know that when a proper matter is duly conſecrated,*
" *Chriſt is in the Sacrament; but yet we do not know*
" *that he is actually preſent in this or that particular*
" *Hoſt; becauſe*, adds he, *it is an hereſy, to extend*
" *that infallible and infuſed faith to ſuch determinate*
" *objects:* By the ſame way of reaſoning he aſſerts,
" that we ought to believe the remiſſion of ſins in ge-
" neral, but that no perſon ought to believe that his
" ſins, in particular, are forgotten. Is not this, be-
" ing the Maſter of Heretics with a witneſs?" REM. CRIT.

[C] *The whole Convent was deprived of the benefit of begging.*] It is in Eraſmus's Letters that we meet with this curious particular. Count Nevenar, a man of a diſtinguiſhed character who was learned himſelf and a patron of the learned, reſented very much the ſlanders which James Hochſtrat had publiſhed againſt him; he omitted nothing to oblige that Divine to give him ſatisfaction: he made uſe of the ſtrongeſt arguments; the had recourſe to advices, to reproaches, to threatnings; but all in vain. At laſt he and his relations forbad all their tenants to give the Dominicans eggs and cheeſe. The Fryars imagined that theſe would be but idle threatnings, and continued to go and beg upon theſe Gentlemens eſtates; but they were moſt terribly repulſed; ſo that they were for a whole year deprived of the ſuſtenance they uſed to receive from that quarter. At laſt they obliged Hochſtrat to give the Count ſatisfaction, by a ſolemn retractation, ſeveral copies of which were diſperſed abroad. Eraſmus, who had one, found ſomething very comical in that retractation: for the Monk repeating word for word the reproaches with which he had loaded the Count of Nevenar, did yet proteſt that he always had a very good opinion of the Count (β). The reader will not be diſpleaſed to meet here with the Latin paſſage from Eraſmus (15). *Hermannus Comes à* Nova Aquila *indigne tulerat ſe notatum ab* Jacobo Hochſtrato Dominicano. *Is erat* Rabinus, *Prior Monaſterii quod* Coloniæ *ſanè quàm magnificum eſt & opulentum. Non potuit hominem compeſcere, donec illius cognati denuntiarint* Dominicanis, *ne poſthac colligerent caſeos in ulla ditione vel Comitis vel cognatorum illius. Illi rati minas eſſe inanes, clàm tentarunt ſolitò more venire ad ova & caſeos. Factus eſt in illos impetus terribilis. Hoc damno totum annum mulctati ſunt; itaque factum eſt, ut* Jacobus *à ſuis coactus pacis leges acceperit. Habeo illius palinodiam, in qua cum recitet verba plena contumeliæ quæ ſcripſerat in Comitem, tamen affirmat ac propemodum dejerat, ſe ſemper de Comite præclare ſenſiſſe* (16). *Bella palinodia, ſcurrâ quam Theologo dignior.* Such a recantation became a buffoon rather than a Divine. Eraſmus obſerves in another place, that it is to no purpoſe to argue with thoſe, who perſecute the *Belles Lettres*; he meant chiefly the Monks and their favourers. Theſe people, added he, are unconquerable, through the help of their factions, clamours, and artifices; nothing but a ſtick and hunger can conquer them (17), and he quotes for an inſtance Count Nevenar's conduct with regard to James Hochſtrat. *Iſti numero, phalangibus, ſyncretiſmo, improbitate, clamoribus, adde ſi libet fucis ac malis artibus, prorſus invicti ſunt: Nec alia re quàm fuſtibus ac fame domari queunt. Sic vir clariſſimus* Hermannus *à* Novaquila *Comes adegit* Jacobum Hogeſtratum *ad abjectam & ſcurrilem palinodiam, cujus exemplar apud me eſt. Quibus, inquies, præſidiis? Non argumentis, non æquis rationibus, non monitis, non minis, non convitiis; nihil enim eorum non fruſtra tentatum fuit. Sed quibus præſidiis? Caſeis & ovis, quorum in ditione Comitis colligendorum jus illis ademptum fuerat* (18). i. e. " Theſe
" men (the Monks) are unconquerable by their num-
" ber, ſquadrons, union, wickedneſs, clamours, and,
" if you will, by their craft and artifices. Nor can
" they be turned but by blows and hunger. Thus the
" moſt eminent Herman, Count of Nevenar, forced
" James Hochſtrat to make a mean and diſgraceful re-
" cantation, a copy of which I have got. By what
" means, you will aſk? Not by arguments, nor good
" reaſons, nor advices, nor threatnings, nor re-
" proaches, though all this was tried, but to no pur-
" poſe. By what means then? By depriving the Con-
" vent of the right of going to beg for eggs and
" cheeſe in the Count's territories." Eraſmus was in the right to obſerve that Count Nevenar had made uſe of reproaches. For can there be any thing ſtronger than theſe words? *Unica, crede mihi, peſtis eſt in Germania Jacobus Hochſtratus, quam ſi reſtrinxeris ἕως πάντα καλῶς. Homo præter ingentem ſuam audaciam inſigniter impudens atque temerarius. Omnes interroga, ſi libet, per Germaniam doctos viros. Omnes læſit, omnibus æque infeſtus eſt* (19). i. e. " Believe me, the
" only plague in Germany is James Hochſtrat; if you
" do but reſtrain him, all will be quiet; for beſides his
" exceſſive audaciouſneſs, he is extremely impudent
" and indiſcreet. Aſk all the learned men in Ger-
" many. He has abuſed them all, and is equally
" hated by all." This is what Count Nevenar repre-
ſents to Charles V in an oration, in which he congratulates him, in the name of the Students in Germany, upon his acceſſion to the Roman Crown; that is, upon his being elected King of the Romans. He had exhorted him a little before to command the Monks not to meddle with any thing but the rules and ceremonies of their order. *Fraterculos quoſdam magnis titulis inſanientes, jube ſuorum Cœnobiorum curam gerere, jube domi Fratribus ſuis regendis operam impendere, ſacris faciendis invigilare* (20). i. e. " Bid thoſe Monks,
" who grow mad through ambition, to take care of
" their Convent, to govern their brethren at home,
" and to apply themſelves to their religious rites and
" ceremonies."

§ (β) We have ſeen above, in the quotation (9), that when the Divines of Cologne condemned a certain work of Reuchlin to the flames, they inſerted the following clauſe in their ſentence; *Citra tamen Autoris contumeliam.* i. e. " Without pretending to caſt a brand
" upon the Author." And here, one of theſe ſame Divines, giving ſatisfaction to Count Nevenar, whom he had ſlandered in ſeveral libels, declares that he is ſo much the readier to take this ſtep, as he always infinitely honoured and eſteemed the Count. According to the notions which the Divines of Cologne and Hochſtrat had, the conduct of the latter is not more inconſiſtent than that of the former: For it is grounded on an ancient cuſtom eſtabliſhed in all the Courts of Judicature in Germany, in which when the clauſe *Salvo honore*, i. e. " without prejudice to his reputa-
" tion;" is inſerted in the ſentence by which a man is condemned to pay any fine whatſoever, ſuch a fine is not in the leaſt diſgraceful. REM. CRIT.]

(15) Eraſm. Epiſt. 29. lib. 19. pag. 841.

(16) There is a more compleat account of this in the 31ſt Letter of the 22d book, pag. 1096.

(17) We ought not to ſay of this kind of devils, that they do not go out but by prayer and faſting: leave out the prayer and mention only faſting.

(18) Eraſm. Ep. 1. lib. 20. pag. 958.

(19) *Hermannus Nevenarius dum ann.* 1519. *in Comitiis Francofurtenſibus Carolo Auſtriaco electo Romanorum Regi, nomine ſtudioſorum Germaniæ adgratularetur, apud* Valer. Andream, *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 413.

(20) *Apud eundem.* Val. Andr. ibid.

money he had provided himſelf with, he had all the trouble imaginable to avoid being condemned [*D*]. He was even in danger of his life on his return [*E*]; for Reuchlin's friends began already to make uſe of violent means againſt him. He deſerved perhaps that

[*D*] *He was obliged to go to Rome on account of the action he brought in againſt Reuchlin; and notwithſtanding large ſums of money... he had all the trouble imaginable to avoid being condemned.*] I have obſerved above (21), that the commiſſioners named by the Pope's Sub-delegate gave a ſentence very much to our Dominican's diſadvantage. The commiſſioners which the Pope gave the parties at Rome, would not have pronounced a ſentence leſs favourable to Reuchlin, if they had been ſuffered to give a peremptory decree. But when they were met (22) to finiſh this affair, they received an order from the Pope commanding them to ſuperſede it. Each of the Judges was giving his opinion with the grounds and reaſons of it in writing; it is known that their opinions were to the Dominican's diſadvantage, who to eſcape that heavy blow procured an order from the Pope to ſuperſede the proceedings, and to leave the opinions of the Judges in the hands of the Secretary (23). This is a moſt remarkable inſtance of the immenſe power of that kind of people. If they cannot carry a cauſe; if it be ſo viſibly bad that it is impoſſible to give ſentence for them, yet they have credit enough to avoid a condemnation. They procure all the neceſſary delays, and affect to take them for a kind of determination on their ſide: for they will never confeſs that they were worſted. However the world knows that they are in the wrong. Reuchlin's friend imagined they had got the victory in this affair, and wrote a great many inſulting poems (24).

(21) In the remark [*A*].

(22) July 20, 1516. *Not. in Vitam Reuchlin.* pag. 474.

(23) Majus, *Notis in Vitam Reuchlini*, pag. 474, 475.

(24) Ibid. pag. 478, *& ſeq.*

Hochſtrat took his journey to Rome with a ſplendid retinue and well provided with large ſums of money. *Huic igitur edicto morem gerens* Jacobus, *Romam contendit, multis magniſque ſuarum aliarumque Univerſitatum, Principum item & aliorum ſummorum virorum commendationibus, pulchro equitatu, &, qui rerum gerendarum, ut & olim fuerunt, & nunc quam maxime ſunt corrupti hominum mores, nervus eſt, ingenti pecuniæ vi inſtructus, qua* Capnionis *juſtam cauſam, famam fortunaſque omnes facile ſe ſubverſurum, jactitavit* (25) i. e. "To "obey therefore this order, Hochſtrat went to Rome, "being provided with certificates from his own Univerſities, and from others, nay even from ſome "Princes and other great men; and, what is the ſi- "news of all buſineſs, conſidering how corrupt men "have always been, and are eſpecially at preſent, carry- "ing with him large ſums of money, by which he boaſt- "ed that he would eaſily caſt Reuchlin, and ruin both "his reputation and his fortune." The perſon who ſuſpected that this money was deſigned to buy ſome votes, was pretty well acquainted with the Court of Rome (26). Here follow his words (27). *Item Theologiſtæ, ut etiam comperi,* Jacobo Hochſtraten *proximis diebus mille quingentos aureos per Trapezitas Romam miſerunt, non ad victum, qui Monachis tenuis eſſe debet, nec ad neceſſarias impenſas litis, nam minore ſummula, ut reor, hæc adminiſtraretur. Sed ut vehementer ſuſpicor & illis male vortat, ad faciendas largitiones, pro obtinendis auro ſuffragiis quæ jure non ſperat* (28). i. e. "I have alſo found that ſome days after, the Di- "vines ſent Hochſtrat one thouſand and five hundred "golden crowns, by their bankers at Rome; not for "his ſuſtenance, for the Monks live very ſoberly, nor "for the neceſſary expences of his ſuit, for I think it "could have been carried on with a much leſs ſum; "but I violently ſuſpect (may it turn to their diſadvan- "tage) he deſigns to bribe the Judges with that mo- "ney, and to get thoſe votes by dint of money, which "he cannot lawfully obtain." What follows is more ſurpriſing ſtill; theſe ſame Divines threatned to make a ſchiſm, if Reuchlin was not condemned, and they ſpoke of Leo X with the utmoſt contempt. *Nam modo reverendiſſimum Cardinalem* Grimanum (29) *ut indoctum cavillantur, modo ut ſemper ſuſpectum infamant. Præterea audent aperte jactare perverſiſſimi homines, niſi ſecundum ſe pronunciatum in urbe fuerit, ab Eccleſia & Summo ejus Pontifice ſe defecturos, & ſchiſma novum ſuſcitaturos. Alii dicunt, quicquid contra ſe ſtatuerit Papa, nullius momenti eſſe, neque pro Papa habendum eum, qui ab ſe ſuaque ſententia diſſentiat. Tam cæca, tam præceps eſt arrogantia iſtorum, ut non pudeat etiam poſtulare obnoxium ſibi Summum Pontificem eſſe, ſe palam omnibus Eccleſiam eſſe dictitant, ſine ſe in rebus fidei Papam nihil decernere nec poſſe, nec debere, conclamant. Nihil hercle ſecius aut honorificentius de Summo Pontifice loquuntur, quam de puero ſub ferula adhuc vivente, cui nihil niſi ad pædagogi ſui nutum integrum ſit aut liberum loqui* (30). i. e. "Sometimes they except "againſt Cardinal Grimani, as though he was an ig- "norant man; and ſometimes they traduce him as "though he had always been ſuſpected of hereſy. "Beſides, theſe moſt wicked men dare to boaſt openly, "that if the cauſe be not determined at Rome on their "ſide, they will ſeparate from the Church and from "the Pope. and raiſe a new ſchiſm. Others ſay, "that whatever the Pope ſhall determine againſt them, "will be void, and that he, who differs from them "and from their opinion, is not to be held a Pope. "Their blind and inconſiderate arrogance goes ſo far, "that they are not aſhamed to challenge the Pope "himſelf as their enemy; they declare before all the "world that they are the Church, and pretend that "the Pope neither ought nor can determine any thing "in matters of faith without their conſent. Nay they "ſpeak as diſreſpectfully of the Pope, as of a ſchool- "boy, who is ſtill under the rod, and who is not per- "mitted nor free to ſpeak any thing, but according "to his maſter's will and pleaſure."

(25) Ibid. pag. 417.

(26) See the article FOULQUES, remark [*L*].

(27) Hermannus Buſchius Paſiphilus, *in Epiſt. ad Reuchlin, apud* Majum, *Not. in Vit. Reuchlini*, pag. 404.

(28) In the Dialogue intitled, *Hochſtratus Ovans*, he is introduced ſpeaking thus; *Neceſſe habui vulgatam incedere viam, agere literis commendatitiis, pecuniis niti & largitionibus immodicis, ut magnæ ſunt opes nobis mendacia ſtruere contra inſontem, quæ non inſolens, neque imperite confinxi, atque haud difficulter credita ſunt Romanenſibus. Apud* Majum, ibid. pag. 465.

(29) He was President or Chairman of the Commiſſion.

(30) Idem Buſchius, *in Epiſt. ad Reuchlin, apud* Majum, ibid.

[*E*] *He was even in danger of his life on his return.*] If he had not had notice beforehand of the ambuſcade which the Reuchliniſts had prepared for him, on the road from Nuremberg to Cologne, he would certainly have fallen into it; and even after he had notice of it, it would not have been in his power to eſcape the ſnare, had he not been provided with a ſafe conduct, which he obtained from the Marqueſs of Brandenburg. Mr. Majus confeſſes all this. *Non tantum bonorum odium,* ſays he (31), *ſed ingens præterea periculum ſibi accerſivit, quod vix ac ne vix quidem evaſit. Nam cum Roma diſcedens Noribergam iter feciſſet, Coloniam inde perrecturus, inſidiæ ipſi à* Reuchliniſtis *parabantur, quas, ſi præmonitus non fuiſſet, certe haud effugiſſet. Ac ne ſic quidem exceſſiſſet, evaſiſſet, erupiſſet, niſi* Marchionis Brandenburgenſis *ſalvo conductu à perſequentibus tutus fuiſſet.*

(31) *Annotat. in Vit. Reuchlini*, pag. 477.

[*F*] *It is not true that he met with the fate which* Paul Jovius *mentions.*] He pretends that the ſatires which Reuchlin publiſhed againſt the barbarous ſtile of the Monks, vexed James Hochſtrat to ſuch a degree, that he died with grief; and that thoſe ſatires obliged that Inquiſitor's friends to apply, in their diſtreſs, to the Court of Rome, for a prohibition to ſell and print thoſe ſatires. Paul Jovius means the *Obſcurorum virorum Epiſtolæ:* i. e. "The Letters of obſcure men:" he pretends that Reuchlin is the author of them, and he gives us ſuch a notion of them as is not very honourable to the Monks in general, and particularly to Reuchlin's perſecutors. *Admirabili facetiarum lepore conditæ, quibus ad excitandum riſum, cucullatorum Theologorum ineptiſſimè, atque ideo ridiculè Latina lingua ſcribentium, ſtylus exprimitur. Ulciſcebatur enim infeſtam nomini ſuo turbam, jucundiſſimo ſatyræ illudentis genere, quum maligna cucullatorum conſpiratione tanquam Judæis parum æquus hoſtis, ac ex animo planè recutitus impietatis accuſaretur* (32). i. e. "Theſe letters are written in the "moſt humorous and pleaſant manner; for in order to "make the reader laugh, the author has imitated the "ſtile of the Monkiſh Divines, who write moſt "ſillily, and ridiculouſly in Latin. Thus he re- "venged himſelf of that whole tribe, who hate him, "by a moſt agreeable kind of ſatire; for he had been "repreſented by a wicked conſpiracy of the Monks, "as a man who played booty when he pretended to "write againſt the Jews, being himſelf a Jew in "heart." The beſt method to prove that this Hiſtorian is miſtaken is, by obſerving that James Hochſtrat ſurvived Leo X and Reuchlin. It is therefore falſe, 1. that the *Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum* having made this Inquiſitor die with grief, his friends and accomplices petitioned Leo X to condemn that work. 2. That Reuchlin, in order to evade Leo X's prohibition, compoſed a ſecond volume of letters ſharper than the former, and publiſhed them with another title. Here follow

(32) Jovius, *in Elogiis*, cap. 143. pag. m. 285.

that kind of death, which, according to Paul Jovius, carried him off; but it is not true that he met with that fate which this Hiſtorian mentions [*F*]. He did not die with grief for being ridiculed in the ſatyrs of his adverſaries. He was one of the firſt that wrote againſt Luther [*G*], and one of Eraſmus's perſecutors [*H*]. In a word, if a man was but an enemy of the unintelligible jargon of the ſchools, this was ſufficient to draw upon him Hochſtrat's indignation and anger. He died at Cologne in the year 1527 (*d*). There are ſeveral works of his extant, moſt of which relate to his controverſies with Reuchlin and Luther. There was a very ſevere epitaph made upon him [*I*].

(*d*) Valer. And. *Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 413. See the paſſage quoted from Eraſmus in the remark [*H*].

He

follow theſe two falſities of Paul Jovius. *Hic liber avide coemptus & evulgatus adeò graviter calumniatores ejus ordinis perculit, ut conjurationis princeps Hochſtratus letali dolore ſauciatus interierit; & reliqui æſtuantes à Leone ſuppliciter impetrarint, ut edicto divendi, atque imprimi vetaretur; ſed edicti majeſtatem Reuchlinus falſo ingenio ludificatus, ſecundum Epiſtolarum volumen, tanquam ex titulo minimè vetitum, altero quidem aculeatius impreſſoribus tradidit, ita ut cucullati miſerè cum Hydra luctantes, animos in ea lite deſponderint* (33). It will perhaps be objected that notwithſtanding theſe two chronological errors, it may ſtill be true, that the *Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum* were the occaſion of James Hochſtrat's death. I anſwer, that abſolutely ſpeaking it is falſe that they produced that effect; for they were publiſhed at leaſt ten years before this Monk's death. He died in the year 1527, and I have read in a letter dated Auguſt the 16th 1517 that Eraſmus did very much diſlike thoſe letters (34). One might carry theſe critical obſervations ſtill further, for it is very probable that they were written by Hutten (γ) (35) and not by Reuchlin.

(33) Idem, ibid.

(34) *Magnopere mihi diſplicebant Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum.* Eraſm. *Epiſt. ad Joann. Cæſarium*, inſerta *Lamentationibus Obſcurorum virorum*, citante Majo, *Notis in Vitam Reuchlini*, pag. 425.

I am leſs ſurprized that Paul Jovius committed theſe blunders, than to ſee that Mr. Majus has inſerted them as unqueſtionable facts in his life of Reuchlin, and that he did not perceive he contradicted himſelf. He ſuppoſes that when the *Speculum Oculare* had been burnt at Cologne, Reuchlin finding himſelf attacked in ſeveral ſatires, publiſhed, in order to revenge himſelf, thoſe *Letters of obſcure Men*, which ſoon occaſioned James Hochſtrat's death. *Hic liber adeo graviter calumniatores Colonienſes perculit, ut conjurationis caput Hochſtratus* PAULO POST *letali dolore confectus ſauciatuſque interierit* (36). i. e. "The ſlanderers of Cologne were "ſo vexed at this book, that James Hochſtrat, the "chief promoter of the conſpiracy, died SOON AFTER "with grief." Mr. Majus relates afterwards that Reuchlin appealed to the Pope, and that James Hochſtrat went to Rome on that account, and was like to fall into his enemies ambuſh on his return to Cologne.

(35) *Jacob. Thomaſius in Præfatione ad Pauli Manutii Epiſtolas certa fide explora-tum ſe habere affirmat, Huttenum eſſe earum auctorem.* i. e. "James Thomaſius aſſerts "in his Preface "to his Notes on "Manucius's "Epiſtles, that "he knows certainly that "theſe Letters "were written "by Hutten." *Idem* Majus, *ibid.*

(36) Majus, *in Vita Reuchlini.*

* (γ) *The* Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum *were written by Hutten.*] We are perſuaded that the reader will not be diſpleaſed to meet here with a paſſage, which will acquaint them with the chief and true author of thoſe letters. "All the world is acquainted with the "book intitled *Epiſt. obſc. Vir.* but men are not agreed "about the perſon or perſons to whom we are indebted "for that ſatyr. It is generally believed that Ulric "Hutten is the author of it; and it is true that he had "a conſiderable ſhare in them. But nobody ever "thought of JOHN CROTUS, who was contemporary with Luther and his friend, and who afterwards returned into the pale of the Church of Rome, "being perſuaded to it by the Cardinal and Archbiſhop "Albert. Mr. John Chriſtopher Olearius has met "with and juſt publiſhed a letter to this John Crotus: "it was written to him ſince his laſt changing his "religion; which is objected to him in an ironical "manner, by one of his intimate friends, whoſe name "is unknown. He wonders that the author of the "*Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum virorum* ſhould have turned a "Courtier to Albert, and a Protector of the Monks; "he puts him in mind of the love he always had for "that work, and adds that Eraſmus eſteemed it ſo much, "that he learnt two letters of it by heart (*). Mr. "Olearius promiſes to publiſh John Crotus's life with "his letters (§)." ADD. REM.]

(*) This is inconſiſtent with what is aſſerted by Eraſmus himſelf above, quotation (34).

(§) *Bibliotheque Germanique*, for the year 1571, tom. 3. pag. 302.

[*G*] *He was one of the firſt that wrote againſt Luther.*] He followed a wrong method, if we may credit Father Maimbourg, who aſſerts, that "what rendered *Luther*'s cauſe more plauſible ſtill was, that James Hoſtraten, a Dominican Inquiſitor, writing againſt him, "exhorted the Pope not to make uſe any more againſt "ſuch a wicked man of any argument but fire and "ſword, to rid the world the ſooner of him (37)." I

(37) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Lutheran.* liv. 1. pag. 30. under the year 1518. He quotes *Luth. contra Jac. Hoſtra.* tom. 1.

ſhall now tranſcribe a paſſage from Valerius Andreas, which affords me at once both a proof of the aſſertion in my text, and a matter of cenſure. *Primos inter in Lutherum calamum ſtrinxit: ob id tum ab hæreticis quos in primis oderat, tum etiam ab aliis vitæ atque ingenii liberioris, ut tunc tempora ferebant, ſcriptis laceſſitus, & nominatim à Joan. Reuchlino ſive Capnione Epiſtolis quas* obſcurorum virorum *titulo vulgavit* (38). i. e. "He "is one of the firſt who exerted his pen againſt Luther; for which not only the heretics, whom he "hated above any other men, but alſo ſome, whoſe "life and genius was too free, as times went then, attacked him in their writings, and eſpecially Reuch"lin, in his *Letters of Obſcure Men.*" The war which the Monks carried on againſt Reuchlin began before Luther ever attacked the indulgences, and ended of itſelf, when Luther declared againſt Rome. Reuchlin continued united with the ſtrongeſt party, and never meddled with the Lutheran controverſy. It is therefore abſolutely falſe, that he abuſed Hochſtrat in ſeveral ſatirical pieces, to puniſh him for being one of the firſt that wrote againſt Luther. The *Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum* were publiſhed before the Proteſtant Reformation began. Whence it appears that Valerius Andreas is fully convicted of an anachroniſm. Let us obſerve that Hochſtrat's exhortation to the Pope againſt Luther are a very evident proof of his paſſionate temper. Eraſmus wrote a letter to him (39) in the year 1519, which abounds with very good advices concerning the inexcuſable bitterneſs he met with in Hocſtrat's writings againſt Reuchlin. Concerning Hochſtrat's proceedings with regard to Luther, ſee Eraſmus's letters (40).

(38) Val. And. *Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 412.

(39) It is the laſt of the 16th book.

(40) The 18th of the 26th book, pag. 1249.

[*H*] ... *And one of Eraſmus's perſecutors.*] This is what we find in the following words (41). *Aliquot ex hoſtium numero perierunt: Lovanii Ecmondanus Carmelitata vomitu præfocatus.... Coloniæ periit Jacobus Hoghſtratus coryphæus hujus tragœdiæ, qui tamen in morte dicitur nonnullis verbis prodidiſſe parum ſinceram conſcientiam.* i. e. "Some of my adverſaries are dead. "Egmondanus the Carmelite was choaked in vomiting... At Cologne died James Hochſtrat, the ring"leader of this tragical plot, who yet is ſaid to have diſ"covered by ſome words which he ſpoke, when he was "dying, that he was not very ſincere in his religion." Eraſmus complains in the letter, in which he gives this inquiſitor ſuch good advice, that he had been abuſed by him, on account of his opinion concerning the diſſolving of marriages (42).

(41) Eraſm. Ep. 13. lib. 19. pag. 829. It is dated in May 1527.

(42) See the pag. 740. of Eraſmus's Letters, of the London edition.

[*I*] *There was a very ſevere epitaph made upon him.*] Paul Jovius tranſcribes it. *Hoſtrati autem tumulo*, ſays he (43), *hoc nobile carmen Capnionis puer affixit* (γ).

(43) Jovius, *in Elogiis*, pag. 286.

Hic jacet Hoſtratus, viventem ferre patique
Quem potuere mali, non potuere boni.
Creſcite ab hoc taxi, creſcant aconita ſepulcro:
Auſus erat, ſub eo qui jacet, omne nefas.

i. e. "Capnion's ſootman put the following noble epi"taph on Hochſtrat's tomb. *Here lyeth Hochſtrat;* "*when he was alive the wicked could bear with and* "*ſuffer him, good men could not. Let Yew and Monks-* "*bane grow over his tomb: for he, who lyeth here,* "*dared any wicked attempt.*"

§ (γ) Reuchlin, as all the world knows, died in the year 1523. Now if the author of theſe verſes, as it is here aſſerted, was actually Reuchlin's ſervant, when Reuchlin died, theſe verſes could not be made upon Hochſtrat's real death, which did not happen till the year 1527. But the truth of the matter with regard to this pretended epitaph is as follows. About the year 1515 was publiſhed in 4to the firſt volume of theſe famous *Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum*, containing only forty one letters. The ſecond edition alſo in 4to does not contain any more. But the third

He did not do the Divines of Paris much honour, when he publiſhed at Cologne the judgment they gave againſt Luther in the year 1521, concerning the falſe Dionyſius Areopagita [*K*].

edition, which was alſo in 4to, and which, if we may judge of it by the letter it is printed in, was publiſhed ſoon after the two former, contains an *Appendix* of eight letters, the laſt of which, which is under the name of Hochſtrat, and dated from Rome, contains four paſquils in the form of epitaphs made for himſelf; the firſt of four lines, the ſecond and third of one diſtich each, and the fourth of four lines like the firſt. Now the pretended epitaph tranſcribed by Paul Jovius is nothing elſe but the ſecond of theſe paſquils, to which are prefixed the two firſt lines of the fourth.

Some unknown perſons, who, as Hochſtrat relates in this epiſtle, met him one day in the ſtreets of Rome, dropt a paper at his feet. He took it up, and found in it ſeveral ſatyrical epitaphs upon his pretended death, from which epitaphs that, which Paul Jovius gives us, has been made up. So that it is ſo far from being true, that this epitaph was compoſed upon and after Hochſtrat's death, that on the contrary it is only an imitation of the following one, which Politianus made againſt his enemy Mabilus Marullus.

* *Fœtens.*

*Flecte viator iter, fœtet * nam putre Mabili*
Hac fovea corpus conditur atque animus.

i. e. "Go another way, traveller, for the ſtinking "and rotten corps of Mabilus lyeth here in this grave "with his ſoul."

This epitaph of Mabilus, who yet ſurvived Politianus, is to be found amongſt the latter's poems; and the reaſon which Monſieur Bayle gives for it, is, that *one may abuſe a man ſo outrageouſly in* an epitaph, and meet with ſuch a fruitful field that way, that *ſeveral Poets have falſely ſuppoſed their adverſary's death, that they might make an advantage of this common topic.* This reflexion, which Mr. Bayle makes in the remark [*O*] of the article POLITIANUS, gives us the key of this pretended epitaph, *Hic jacet Hochſtratus*, &c. which as we have obſerved, was written ten years, more or leſs, before Hochſtrat's death, and in the heat of his controverſy with Reuchlin. CRIT. REM.]

[*K*] *He publiſhed at Cologne the judgment of the Divines of Paris... concerning the falſe Dionyſius Areopagita.*] It was in the year 1521. You will meet with this judgment in the ſecond volume of Luther's works, of the Jena edition. You may alſo meet with other editions of it. Father Nourri was therefore in the wrong to imagine, that he publiſhed it for the firſt time, when he inſerted it in his *Apparatus ad Bibliothecam maximam veterum Patrum*, in the year 1624 (44).

(44) See the *Acta Eruditor.* of Leipſic; the 2d vol. of the *Supplem.* pag. 737.

☞HODGES (NATHANIEL), an eminent Engliſh Phyſician in the ſeventeenth Century, was ſon of Dr. Thomas Hodges Vicar of Kenſington near London, and Dean of Hereford [*A*]. He was educated at Weſtminſter ſchool, and became a Student of Chriſt Church in Oxford in the year 1648 by the favour of the Viſitors (*a*). February the 13th 1651 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*); May the 31ſt 1654 that of Maſter of Arts (*c*); and June the 4th 1659, accumulated the Degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Phyſic (*d*). Upon his ſettling in London he gained a very conſiderable practice; and continued there during the plague in 1665; an account of which he publiſhed in Latin in 1672 [*B*]. April the 2d the ſame year he was choſen Fellow of the College of Phyſicians at London (*e*). Beſides the treatiſe abovementioned he publiſhed at London 1660 in 8vo another intitled, *Vindiciæ Medicinæ & Medicorum: An Apology for the Profeſſion and Profeſſors of Phyſick*, &c. In the latter part of his Life he fell into very unfortunate circumſtances, and was confined for debt in Ludgate-priſon, where

(a) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 768. 2d edit. London 1721 in fol.

(b) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 95.

(c) Idem, ibid. col. 105.

(d) Idem, ibid. col. 125, 126.

(f) From the Regiſter of that College.

[*A*] *Son of Dr. Thomas Hodges Vicar of Kenſington near London, and Dean of Hereford.*] This Dr. Hodges was a Preacher ſome time before the Long-Parliament, and was afterwards a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines, and took the Covenant (1). After the Reſtoration he became Vicar of St. Peter's Cornhill, and in 1661 Dean of Hereford in the room of Dr. Herbert Croſts, made Biſhop of that See. He held this Deanery to his death, and was ſucceeded in it by Dr. George Benſon, in 1672. He hath extant, I. *A Glimpſe of God's Glory*, a ſermon preached before the Houſe of Commons at a ſolemn Faſt, September 28, 1642, on *Pſal.* cxiii. 5, 6. London, 1642, in 4to. II. *The Growth and Spreading of Hereſy*, a faſt Sermon before the Houſe of Commons, March 10, 1646, on *Pet.* ii. 1. London, 1647, in 4to. III. *Inacceſſible Glory: or the Impoſſibility of ſeeing God's face whilſt we are in the body*; a Sermon preached at the funeral of Sir Theodore de Mayerne, in the Church of St. Martin's in the Fields, on Friday the 30th of March 1655, on *Exod.* xxxiii. 20. London, 1655, in 4to.

(1) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 31.

[*B*] *An account of which he publiſhed in Latin, in* 1672.] It was printed at London in 8vo, under the title of ΛΟΙΜΟΛΟΤΙΑ; *ſive Peſtis nuperæ apud Populum Londinenſem graſſantis Narratio Hiſtorica. Authore* Nathaniele Hodges, *M. D. è Colleg. Londin.* London, 1672, in 8vo. The Dedication to Sir George Ent, Preſident, Dr. Baldwin Hamey, Dr. Francis Gliſſon, Dr. Alexander Fraſier, Dr. Timothy Clerke, Dr. John Micklewait, Sir Charles Scarburgh, and Dr. G. Bevoir, Fellows of the College of Phyſicians, is dated from his houſe in the pariſh of St. Stephen's Walbrook, January 1, 1672. There are prefixed to it commendatory Poems in Latin by Henry Bagſhaw, D. D. John Lawſon, M. D. and Adam Littleton, D. D. A tranſlation of it into Engliſh was printed at London in 1720, in 8vo, under the following title: *Loimologia: or an Hiſtorical Account of the Plague in London in* 1665, *with precautionary Directions againſt the like Contagion. By* Nath. Hodges, *M. D. and Fellow of the College of Phyſicians, who reſided in the City all that time. To which is added an Eſſay on the different Cauſes of Peſtilential Diſeaſes, and how they become contagious. With Remarks on the Infection now in France, and the moſt probable Means to prevent its ſpreading here. By* John Quincy, *M. D.* Dr. Quincy in the Preface obſerves, that this treatiſe of Dr. Hodges "contains the "beſt account of the late viſitation by the Plague here "in England, of any hitherto extant; and though "ſome readers may indeed obſerve, that the enthuſi"aſtic ſtrain of the preceding times very much hurts his "ſtyle and perſpicuity; ſuch an influence had the ſpirit "of deluſion, even over matters of ſcience; however "the affected peculiarities and luxuriances of that "kind are here avoided..... As for what every "perſon may do for his private ſafety, I have given "ſeveral additional hints, either fuller or plainer than "Dr. Hodges hath done. And becauſe his antidotes "and precautionary medicines are now obſolete, and "not by much ſo elegant or eaſy to be procured, as "the preſent practice and ſhops do ſupply, I have "added ſome *Formulæ* to be complied with or altered, "as different exigencies and better judges may think "fit." In a tract intitled, *A Collection of very valuable and ſcarce Pieces relating to the laſt Plague in the year* 1665, printed at London 1721, in 8vo, there is publiſhed *An Account of the firſt Riſe, Progreſs, Symptoms, and Cure of the Plague: being the Subſtance of a Letter from Dr.* Hodges *to a perſon of Quality:* Dated from his houſe in Watlin-ſtreet, May 8, 1666.

H.

where he died in 1684. His body was interred in the Church of St. Stephen's Walbrook London, where a monument is erected to him. The Author of the *Preface* to *A Collection of very valuable and ſcarce pieces relating to the laſt plague in the year* 1665, printed at London 1721 in 8vo ſtiles our author *a faithful Hiſtorian and diligent Phyſician*, and tells us, that "he may be reckoned among the beſt obſervers in any age of Phyſic, and "has given us a true picture of the plague in his own time."

HOE (MATTHIAS), a famous Lutheran Miniſter, was born at Vienna in the year 1580. He was ſent ſo young to ſome Proteſtant College (*a*), that he found himſelf a Lutheran, before he had ever conſidered that he was born in the Church of Rome. He ſtudied Divinity at Wittemberg, and as ſoon as the year 1602 he was called to the Court of Saxony to preach before the Elector. The next year they committed to his care the management of ſome churches in the Voigtland; and after he had continued eight years in that poſt, he was ſent to Prague in the year 1611, to be Superintendent of the German Churches there. Two years after he was again called to the Court of Saxony, and raiſed to the dignity of Eccleſiaſtical Counſellor and firſt Preacher to his Highneſs. He continued in theſe employments the remainder of his life, and died March the 4th 1645. He had taken his degree of Doctor of Divinity at Wittemberg in the year 1604. His marriage which laſted forty three years, and from which iſſued ſix ſons and four daughters, made him full amends for all the vexations he might have from other quarters [*A*]. He was a Gentleman born (*b*); and his pen was ſo warlike, that it ſufficiently ſhewed he did not degenerate. He publiſhed a great many books (*c*), ſome in Latin, the others in German. He would not in the leaſt conſent to a reunion of the Proteſtant Churches [*B*]. But it is laid to his charge, that for a ſum of money he procured a reunion of ſome Princes of the Empire with the Emperor [*C*], to the great prejudice of the Proteſtants. What he publiſhed on the Revelation of St. John ſeems to be written by a man of a very turbulent ſpirit [*D*].

I imagine that he was more ſorry to ſee the Elector Palatine raiſed to the Throne of Bohemia,

(*a*) *Poſtea orthodoxa id ſibi vindicavit Eccleſia, ſiquidem parentum cura frugis bonæ adoleſcens puritoris ævi, hoc eſt fidei hauriendæ gratia, ad loca Evangelica ablegatus.* Spizelius, *in Templo Honoris reſerato*, pag. 165.

(*b*) *Taken from* Henning. Witte, *Memor. Theol. renovat.* pag. 1014, *& ſeq.*

(*c*) See the Catalogue of them *apud eundem*, pag. 1021.

[*A*] *His marriage . . . . made him full amends for all the vexations he might have from other quarters.*] I have put the moſt favourable conſtruction upon Witte's Latin words; for as they are a little dark, one might imagine his meaning was, that Matthias Hoe's marriage was ſo happy, that it afforded him more pleaſures than vexations (1). This would be leſſening the joys of that match. I chooſe therefore to follow the other interpretations, which is, that the advantages of it being put in the ſcale, with all the vexations to which the huſband was otherwiſe expoſed, the former would outweigh the latter: So that his dear ſpouſe comforted him under all the vexations and all the troubles he had to encounter. He would therefore have deſerved to be very much pitied, had he been a ſingle man.

(1) *Illius amore & convictu ſuaviſſimo totis uſus eſt octo tribus & quadraginta annis, ut multo plura haberet de quibus gaudium quam dolorem conciperet.* Henning. Witte, *Memor. Theolog. renovat.* p. 1018.

[*B*] *He would not in the leaſt conſent to a reunion of the Proteſtant churches.*] Guſtavus, a little before his death, had called together a number of Lutherans and Calviniſts at Leipſic, in order to procure an agreement and reunion between them. The regard they paid to this Prince's authority made them ſeparate in a friendly manner, and with great hopes of a peace; but his death made all their hopes vaniſh away. However Dury continued to uſe his beſt endeavours to procure the reunion, and went to Frankfort when the Proteſtants were met. But hereupon came a very paſſionate letter from Hoe againſt the Reformed, which did a great deal of harm. It is Grotius that acquaints us with this. *Rex Sueciæ magnus Guſtavus . . . . non multum ante mortem Lipſiæ conventum inſtituerat utriuſque ſententiæ Proteſtantium . . . . Effecit ſua auctoritate ut amicè diſcederetur cum magna ſpe reſtituendæ unitatis. Sed triſtis exitus tanti Regis ſalubre hoc cœptum interſcidit. Neque tamen defuit ejuſdem negotii commendator ex Angliâ Duræus, multorum Angliæ antiſtitum inſtructus literis, qui Francofurtum an Mœnum venerat eo ipſo tempore, cùm ibi conventus Ordinum Proteſtantium haberetur. Sed rem per ſe difficilem implicatiorem etiam reddidit doctoris Hoii ex Aula Saxonica reſponſum immite in eos quos Calvinianos vocat* (2). The Doctors of the Augſburg Confeſſion infinitely extol the vigilance and care, with which he oppoſed the leaſt innovation. They even aſſert that he expoſed himſelf thereby to very great dangers. *In ſolis radiis pridem ſcriptum arbitror quos ille tuendæ fidei gratia pertulerit labores, quibuſcum difficultatibus ſit conflictatus, quæ ſubierit pericula, dum quidvis ſatius cenſebat, quam ut quicquam in Germania de Evangelicæ Religionis integritate (quam adverſarum partium promachi contaminare ſunt auſi,) decederet ac minueretur* (3). i. e. "I believe that all "the world has known this a great while, what "pains he took to defend the faith, how many difficulties he had to ſtruggle with, to what dangers he "was expoſed. for he would have done any thing "rather than conſent that the Evangelical Religion, "which the ringleaders of the adverſaries dared to "defile, ſhould ſuffer the leaſt detriment in Germany."

(2) Grotius, Ep. 444. Part 1. pag. 165.

(3) Spizelius, *in Templo Honoris reſerato*, pag. 165, 160. Henning. Witte, *Memor. Theol.* pag. 1016.

[*C*] *It is laid to his charge, that for a ſum of money he procured a reunion of ſome Princes of the Empire with the Emperor.*] In the year 1635 the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Heſſe, made a treaty with the Emperor, and ingaged in his party againſt the Crown of Sweden. This was the proper method to ruin all that Guſtavus had done in Germany for the advantage of the Proteſtant Religion. It was thought, that the Emperor had ſent a round ſum of money to Dr. Hoe, to perſuade him to remove all the difficulties and ſcruples, which ſuch a peace might have raiſed in his mind. Puffendorf, whoſe words I quote, is my voucher. *Arguebatur quoque Saxonicus Theologus Matthias Hoeus decem untialium millia à Cæſare accepiſſe, eximendis Principis ſui animo ſcrupulis, quos alias facile iſta pax generare poterat* (4).

(4) Puffendorf. *Rer. Suecicar.* lib. 7. pag. 123. See the *Bibliotb. Univerſelle*, tom. 3. pag. 458.

[*D*] *What he publiſhed on the Revelation of St. John ſeems to be written by a man of a very turbulent ſpirit.*] We ought not in the leaſt to doubt, conſidering what temper he was of, but his Commentaries on the Apocalyps were deſigned to raiſe a general war againſt the Church of Rome; that is to ſay, to lay all Europe under the moſt terrible diſtreſs that can befall it. However it be, the Biſhop of Meaux (*) reckons him amongſt thoſe interpreters of the Apocalyps, who have no other deſign but to ſound the trumpet of war. "The Lutherans, *ſays he* (5), were not more mode- "rate than the Calviniſts; and the chief Preacher at "the Elector of Saxony's Court, named Matthias "Hoe, publiſhed at Francfort (†) a book, the title "of which was, *The Condemnation and final Deſtruction of the proſtitute, the Roman Babylon, or the VIth book of a Commentary on the Revelations.* The book "itſelf does not betray leſs paſſion than the title; and "this is, what was diſperſed through Germany, and "in the North." The Biſhop of Meaux has extracted this from a letter written by an Arminian Miniſter, from which I ſhall tranſcribe a paſſage, becauſe it contains ſeveral other particulars proper for this article. "I have the Catalogue of the books that were to be "ſold at the laſt fair at Frankfort: it contains a great "many polemical books againſt Popery, and amongſt "others one with this title: *Judicium & excidium*

(*) Boſſuet.

(5) In his *Explication de l'Apocalypſe*, pag 2. of the Advertiſement, Dutch edition.

(†) It was printed at Leipſic.

Bohemia, than to see him a fugitive after the battle of Prague; for it appears from a letter he wrote to a Lord of that country, that he did not like the project of giving the Crown of Bohemia to that Elector, and that he looked upon Calvinism as a kind of Antichrist, not much better than the Popish Antichrist [*E*].

" *Meretricis Babyloniæ Romanæ, seu Commentariorum* " *in Apocalypsin S. Johannis liber sextus, authore Mat-* " *thia Hoe Doctore Theologo. Lipsiæ in* 4to. This " Hoe is the chief Preacher at the Elector of Saxony's " Court; he is of a noble family of Austria, and has " been long ago suspected of being secretly a Papist. " I wonder that at this time, and in the present situa- " tion of public affairs, he should think it proper to " write against Popery in so smart and odious a stile, " especially, since the Elector of Saxony always en- " deavoured to preserve the Emperor's good will to- " wards his house (6)." Hoe began his work on the Revelation in the year 1610 (7), and finished it in the year 1640. It contains eight books, which have been reprinted at Leipsic, in Folio, in the year 1671. One will never be able to prevent factions and turbulent men from making a wrong use of the dark and difficult passages in St. John's Revelation, with a design to raise a war. They do not like peace; they long for war; in which they run not the least danger themselves, and find means to make themselves necessary. It is not improbable, but they, that are at the helm, find their account in such turbulent men; they look upon them as proper persons to rouse the people's spirits and hopes, by putting sometimes one sense and then another upon the prophecies, according as the state of the public affairs requires it. Such turbulent men are indeed to be dreaded, and therefore their masters shew some regard for them.

(6) Charles de Nielles, in his *Letter to Uytenbogaerd*, dated from the Castle of Louvestein, June the 3d 1628. It is the DCXXXVII in the folio edition of the *Epistolæ Eccles. & Theol.*

(7) He published then the 1st book; the last was printed in the year 1640. *See* Spizelius, *in Templo Honoris reserato*, pag. 171.

[*E*] *It appears from a letter he wrote . . . . that he looked upon Calvinism as a kind of Antichrist not much better than the Popish Antichrist.*] This Letter has been printed. Read the following passage from the *Memorabilia Ecclesiastica*, or *Remarkable Events in the Church*, during the XVIIth Century. *Cùm in eo essent occupati Bohemiæ Proceres, Legatis Moraviæ, Silesiæ & Lusatiæ præsentibus, ut Fridericum quintum, Electorem Palatinum, sacris Calvinianis addictum, in Regem suum eligerent*, Mathias Hoë, *t. t. Concionator Aulicus Dresdensis*, Epistolam *sub* 23. *Aug. scripsit* ad Joachimum Andream Slikium, *qua (postmodum typis excusa) vir celeberrimus fidelissimè monuit, ut quid, præsertim intuitu religionis, Ordines isti facerent, facere saltem deberent, probè perpendant. Inter alia spiritum Calvinisticum appellans Anti-Christum Orientalem, atque componens cum Occidentali, ut non multò meliorem, allegante Hornbekio in Summa Controversiarum religionis, libro nono de Lutheranis p. m.* 699. i. e. " When the States of Bo- " hemia were deliberating, before the Embassadors of " Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, about raising to the " throne the Elector Palatine Frederic V, who was a " zealous Calvinist, Matthias Hoe, at that time " Preacher to the Court at Dresden, wrote about the " 23d of August, a Letter to Joakim Andrew Slikius, " which has since been printed; in this Letter " that most celebrated man advised the States duly to " weigh and consider whatever they should do, or at " least ought to do, especially with regard to religion. " Amongst other things, he called the Calvinistical " spirit the Eastern Antichrist, and compared it with " the Western Antichrist, as not being much better, as " Hoornbeeck relates, in *his Sum of Religious Contro-* " *versies*, book the IXth, of the Lutherans, p. 699." It is probable that the Author I quote did not see that Letter, since he mentions it only upon Hoornbeeck's credit.

HOELZLIN (*a*) (JEREMY) Greek Professor in the University of Leyden, was born at Nuremberg. He applied himself with so good a success to the Greek and Latin Tongues at Augsburg, that he excelled all his school-fellows in both these Languages. He afterwards studied Philosophy in the University of Altorf. His method of studying differed very much from that of the other students; he did not much mind what was read in the public Lectures; but as he understood the Greek tongue very well, he would read the original authors themselves, and the ancient interpreters of Aristotle, as Themistius, Alexander of Aphrodisium, Symplicius, Ammonius, &c. He did not study Aristotle only, he applied himself also to understand Plato, and was a great admirer of the Stoics. After he had spent eight years in this kind of study, he took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and applied himself to the study of Divinity, and of the Hebrew Tongue. He was afterwards Rector or Principal of a College at Amberg in the upper Palatinate. He was forced to leave that place, and to retire to Bremen, having been robbed of the best part of all he had in the world. Count Benthem designed to make him Principal of his College at Rhede, but dying immediately, the City of Ham offered our Hoelzlin the like employment. But as the Emperor's soldiers were committing very great disorders in that country, he would not expose himself to their outrages. He looked therefore for a more secure harbour, and found it in Holland. He retired to Leyden, where he published a Translation of the Psalms, which was judged to be accurate. The University did him the honour to retain him, when he was called to Middleburg and to the Brill [*A*]. They judged him worthy to appear on a greater stage, and raised him to the Professorship of the Greek Tongue, which Vossius had lately resigned. He undertook to translate Apollonius Rhodius [*B*], and notwithstanding his distempers he

(*a*) He is always called *Hoeslinus* in his *Funeral Oration.*

[*A*] *He was called . . . . to the Brill.*] He was actually Rector of the College of the Brill, if we may depend upon Vossius, whose words I am so much the more ready to transcribe, as they want to be corrected, since the surname of our author has been wretchedly corrupted, not without a very gross solecism. Vossius had just been observing, that Anthony Æmilius refused the Professorship of the Greek tongue, which the Curators of the University of Leiden had offered him; then he adds: *Arbitror professionem eam deinceps offerendam Mag. Jeremiæ Hoelellas quondam correctori Ambergensis Gymnasii Electoralis Collegæ Beckmani: nunc Brilanæ est Scholæ Rector. Vir est moribus simplex, sed trium linguarum & Philosophiæ admodum gnarus* (1). i. e. " I believe that this Professorship ought next " to be offered to Jeremy *Hoelel* (Hoelzlin), for- " merly Sub-Principal in the Electoral College at " Amberg, and Beckman's collegue; and now Rector " of the College at the Brill; he is a very plain man " in his way of living, but very well skilled in three " languages and in Philosophy."

* It should have been *Hoelzlino*.

(1) Vossius, Ep. 148. ad Joann. Meursium, pag. 281. edit. Lond. 1693. This Letter is dated the 30th of August 1631.

[*B*] *He undertook to translate Apollonius Rhodius.*] The edition of this Poet, with Hoelzlin's Translation and Commentary, was published at Leiden in the year 1641 by Elzevir, *ex Officina Elzeviriana*. Monsr. Menage gave it in a very indifferent character (2). He transcribes first these words of Monsieur Baillet. *There are ancient scholia extant upon Apollonius . . . the new edition, which Jeremy Hoelzlin published of this Poet is esteemed by some; but others do not value it much more than*

(2) *Anti-Baillet*, tom. 1. pag. 389, 390.

he compleated it, having put the finiſhing hand to it ſix days before he died. He was dropſical, and ſo weak, that he was not able to write any more; and yet he took this work ſo much to heart, that he dictated to another what he thought neceſſary to complete it. He died January the 25th 1641. He had been married a long while (*b*), but never had any children: upon which account they congratulate him in his funeral oration, becauſe of the troubles and difficulties he met with, when the rage of the war forced him to leave his country (*c*).

(*b*) He married a Miniſter of Nuremberg's daughter.

(*c*) Taken from his *Funeral Oration*, delivered by Anthony Thyſius.

than ſeveral of thoſe which are called Variorum. Monſieur Menage anſwers afterwards what relates to the *Scholia* or notes; and then he continues thus. "As for Jeremy Hotzlin, he is a wretched writer. He "abounds with Hebraiſms; he affects to make uſe "of obſolete words, and invents new ones. I ſhall "obſerve here by the by, that he mentions Conrad "Ritterſhuſius as his patron. *Conradus Riterſhuſius,* "*ſanctiſſimus ille Juris interpres & vindex, idemque* "*patronus olim meus, inſigniter pius & conſtans ani-*"*mus* (3). i. e. Conrad Ritterſhuſius, that moſt honeſt "interpreter and aſſerter of the Law, formerly my "patron, and my moſt affectionate and conſtant "friend." He ſpeaks thus in page 115. There are "at the end of his Apollonius ſome notes of Mr. "Holſtenius, which are very judicious." It is obſerved in Hoelzlin's Funeral Oration, that when he was at Altorf he had a great ſhare in the friendſhip of Scipio Gentilis, Michael Picard, Conrad Ritterſhuſius, and Daniel Swenſerus; and that as they wrote ſome Greek and Latin verſes in his praiſe, he did the ſame in theirs; and that ſome of theſe verſes have been printed. *Cum quibus Græcis Latiniſque carminibus certabat, quorum non pauca in lucem venerunt.*

(3) It ſhould be *amicus*.

HOESCHELIUS (DAVID) born at Augſburg April the 14th 1556, was a very learned man. The public is indebted to him for the editions of ſeveral ancient Greek authors [*A*]. He ſpent all his life-time in teaching the youth in the College of St. Ann, of which he was made Principal in the year 1593 by the Magiſtrates of Augſburg. They made him alſo their Library-keeper, and the care he took to enrich their Library cannot be ſufficiently commended [*B*]. He was very well acquainted with the beſt manuſcripts and with the beſt editions, and he took care that the manuſcripts, which were bought for the ornament of that Library, ſhould not lie buried there as a treaſure hid under ground; he publiſhed the moſt ſcarce and curious of them, to which he added his own notes. He made very good ſcholars, and drew a great number of ſtudents to Augſburg (*a*) [*C*]. He died there in the year 1617. I ſhall relate what Scaliger ſaid of him [*D*]. Monſieur Huet has commended our Hoeſchelius, not only for the care he took

(*a*) *Taken from* Spizelius, *in Templo honoris reſerato*, pag. 328. *and from* Freher. *Theatr.* p. 1511, 1512.

[*A*] *The public is indebted to him for the editions of ſeveral ancient Greek authors.*] He publiſhed Origen's eight books againſt Celſus, in Greek and Latin, at Augſburg, in the year 1605 in 4to. The wiſdom of Jeſus the ſon of Sirach, or the Eccleſiaſticus, in Greek and Latin, with notes, at Antwerp in the year 1604. Photius's Bibliotheca in Greek with notes, at Augſburg, in the year 1601, in folio. Procopius's Hiſtory in Greek, with notes, in the ſame City, in the year 1607, in folio. Theſe two laſt had never been printed before. *Geographica aliquot excellentiſſimorum Authorum Marciani, Scylacis, Artemidori, Dicæarchi.* i. e. "The Geographical Works of ſome of the moſt emi-"nent Authors, as Marcianus, Scylax, Artemido-"rus, Dicearchus;" at Augſburg, in the year 1600, in 4to. Three or four treatiſes of Philo. *Eclogæ Legationum Dexippi Athenienſis, Eunapii, P. Patricii, Priſci Sophiſtæ, Malchi Philad. Menandri, cum excerptorum corollis è libris Diodori Siculi amiſſis.* i. e. "A "choice Collection of the Embaſſies of Dexippus the "Athenian, Eunapius, P. Patricius, Priſcus the So-"phiſt, Malchus Philad. Menander; with ſome ex-"tracts from Diodorus Siculus's books which are "loſt:" At Augſburg, in the year 1603, in 8vo. Some treatiſes of the antient Fathers, &c.

[*B*] *The care he took to enrich their library cannot be ſufficiently commended.*] Spizelius acquaints us with this in the following Latin paſſage; in which the reader will ſee, that Anthony Eparchus Biſhop of Corfu had made a collection of excellent manuſcripts, which fell into Hoeſchelius's hands. *Cum inſuper celebratiſſimæ Bibliothecæ Auguſtanæ adminiſtratio ipſi eſſet demandata, omni virium niſu ejus procuravit incrementum, nec ulli parcens labori, libros excuſos pariter ac manuſcriptos, maximè Græcos, melioris item notæ authores, ac librorum editiones conquiſivit, ſicque Bibliothecam Anguſtanam veluti publicum aliquod Ærarium inſtruxit ad omnium præſcitæ indigentiam ſublevandam. Et cum rariſſimorum Codicum MSS. Græcorum, magno ære ab Antonio Epartho Epiſcopo Corcyrenſi coemptorum copiam eſſet conſecutus, maximam curam adhibuit, ne theſaurus iſte librarius in arcanis Bibliothecæ hujus receſſibus veluti in perpetuo quodam cuſtodiretur carcere, ſed in publicam etiam lucem magno cum totius Reipublicæ literariæ bono & commodo prodiret* (1). i. e. "When beſides this the moſt fa-"mous library of Augſburg was committed to his care, "he did all that lay in his power to increaſe it; nor "did he ſpare any labour to make a collection both "of printed books and of manuſcripts, eſpecially in "the Greek tongues, as alſo of the beſt authors and of "the beſt editions; thus he made the library of "Augſburg a kind of public treaſury to aſſiſt all "thoſe that wanted to conſult it. And when he had "procured the collection of the moſt ſcarce Greek "manuſcripts, bought for a large ſum of money by "Anthony Eparchus Biſhop of Corfu, he took a great "deal of care that this treaſure ſhould not lie uſeleſs "and buried in ſome corner of the library as in a "perpetual priſon, but be publiſhed for the good, "benefit, and uſe of the learned." The catalogue of the Greek manuſcripts in that library, compoſed by Hoeſchelius, and publiſhed in the year 1595, is a maſterpiece in its kind (2).

(1) Spizelius, *in Templo Honoris reſerato*, pag. 330.

(2) *See* Colomies, *Biblioth. Choiſie*, pag. 194.

[*C*] *He made very good ſcholars, and drew a great many ſtudents to Augſburg.*] I ſhall again make uſe of Spizelius's expreſſions. *Quam præclare*, ſays he (3), *quamque feliciter demandatæ ſibi functioni ſatisfecerit, plurimi teſtari poſſunt viri eruditi qui è variis Germaniæ, Italiæ, Belgiique civitatibus Hoeſchelii gratia Auguſtam ſe contulerunt, quibus viri hujus inſtitutione uti, inque Lingua Græca proficere curæ & cordi fuit. Vere de illo dici poteſt, quod*

Mille foro dedit juvenes, bis mille miniſtrûm
Adjecit numero purpureæque togæ.

(3) Spizelius, *in Templo Honoris reſerato*, pag. 329, 330.

i. e. "How nobly and ſucceſsfully he acquitted "himſelf of his functions, can be teſtified by thoſe "learned men, who for his ſake came to Augſburg "from ſeveral cities in Germany, Italy and the Low-"Countries, and who were willing and took care to "improve by his lectures, and to learn the Greek "tongue from him. So that we may truly ſay of him, "that he provided the Bar with a thouſand young "men, and furniſhed the Church with two thouſand."

The Sieur Colomiés names ſome travellers, who were extremely well pleaſed with him (4).

(4) *Biblioth. Choiſie*, pag. 195.

[*D*] *I ſhall relate what Scaliger ſaid of him.*] "Hoeſchelius, a Lutheran, but a learned man: if "Velſer did not ſupport him, they would by this time "have deprived and baniſhed him. He is a great "pedant,

took to diſcover old manuſcripts, but alſo for his ſkill and ability in tranſlating them (*b*).

(*b*) Huetius, *de Claris Interpret.* pag. 229. *See alſo* Colomiés, *Biblioth. Choiſie*, pag. 194. of the 1ſt edition, and pag. 202. of the ſecond edition.

" pedant, but a very good man. Scaliger ſent him his " copy of Procopius; but he got a more compleat one " from the Library of Bavaria. Hoeſchelius has printed " in his Procopius ſome parts of my letters, and one " of thoſe of Caſaubon. He is about publiſhing Ori- " gen . . . *Hoeſchelius non eſt magnus Græcus, ſed dili-* " *gentiſſimus* (5). i. e. " Hoeſchelius is no great Gre- " cian, but a very ſtudious man."

(5) *In Scaligeran ſecundi*, pag. m. 112.

(*a*) He ſucceeded to Tilemannus Heſhuſius in the year 1588. Melch. Adam, *in Vit. Theol.* pag. 622.

HOFFMAN (DANIEL) Superintendant and Profeſſor at Helmſtad (*a*), was the head of a Theological party [*A*], which occaſioned ſome troubles towards the end of the ſixteenth Century. He raiſed difficulties againſt the formulary of union, which was to be ſubſcribed by all the Divines, and inſtead of concurring with Doctor John Andreas to ſupport that formulary, he had recourſe to captious diſtinctions. He would not admit the doctrine of Ubiquity, but only of Chriſt's preſence in ſeveral places. This controverſy, which did not laſt long, left people's minds inclined to a diviſion [*B*]. So that there was ſometime after a controverſy carried on with very much heat, Hoffman ſtill being at the head of a party. Amongſt other queſtions, they diſputed concerning the uſe of Philoſophical principles in Divinity; and it is remarkable that the Profeſſors of Philoſophy declared for the party which was the moſt favourable to the Orthodox [*C*], Daniel

[*A*] *He was the head of a theological party.*] This was the thirteenth ſchiſm that roſe in the Lutheran Church. *Decimi tertii ſchiſmatis autores* Helmſtadienſes, *interque eos præcipui* Heſhuſius & Hoffmannus, *peſſimo exemplo extiterunt. Formulæ enim concordiæ cum ſubſcribendum, & Apologia conficienda eſſet, illi, livore dicam an protervia, pium J. Andreæ conatum ſpernentes, cum Chriſtum exaltatum omnibus rebus ob realem idiomatum communicationem deberent dicere præſentem, multipræſentiam ejus ſaltem defendebant* (1). i. e. " The " ſeventeenth ſchiſm was occaſioned by the Divines " of Helmſtad, and eſpecially by theſe two ringleaders, " Heſhuſius and Hoffman: which was of very dan- " gerous conſequence. For when the formulary of " union and concord was to be ſubſcribed, and an apo- " logy for it publiſhed, they, either out of ſpite, or out " of arrogance, making no account of John Andreas's " pious endeavours, maintained only that Chriſt is pre- " ſent in ſeveral places, whereas they ſhould have ac- " knowledged, that Chriſt ſince his exaltation is pre- " ſent every where, becauſe of the communication of " the attributes and properties of his two natures." The Jeſuit Adam Contzen obſerves under the year 1584, that Hoffman's adverſary was Henry Julius Duke of Brunſwick's preacher (2), and that this Prince being Adminiſtrator of the Biſhopric of Halberſtad, commanded both parties to be quiet. See alſo what he obſerves in the year 1592.

(1) Micrælius, *Syntagm. Hiſtor. Eccleſ.* lib. 3. Sect. 2. pag. 871. edit. 1679.

(2) *Hinc factum ut Daniel Hoffmannus Superintendens & Profeſſor Helmſtadienſis, & Baſilius Staterus Henrici Julii Ducis Brunſwicenſis concionator aulicus, graviter inter ſeſe de hoc dogmate contenderent.* Adamus Contzen, *in Jubilo Jubilorum*, pag. 234. *See alſo* pag. 286.

[*B*] . . . *This controverſy . . . left people's minds inclined to a diviſion.*] The firſt author I have quoted in the following remark proceeds thus: *Sed in cineribus ſuffocata eſt controverſia, cui utinam fomes novus poſtea non eſſet quæſitus! Sopita jaceat cum altera illa, qua de reſurrectione impiorum quærebatur, an virtute meriti Chriſti futura ſit, necne? ut & cum illa, qua quærebatur, an ſemper in forma ſyllogiſtica diſputari debeat: & cum aliis quæſtionibus vexatis, de philoſophiæ uſu & abuſu* (3). i. e. " But this controverſy was ſoon ſup- " preſſed; and would to God, that new diſputes had " not been raiſed afterwards! With this controverſy " let that alſo reſt, which aroſe concerning the reſur- " rection of the wicked, whether or not it will hap- " pen by vertue of Chriſt's merit? And that other " queſtion, whether or not we muſt always argue in " form, and by ſyllogiſm? And thoſe thread-bare diſ- " putes concerning the uſe and abuſe of Philoſophy."

(3) Micrælius, *Syntagm. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 871.

[*C*] *The Profeſſors of Philoſophy declared for the party, which was the moſt favourable to the Orthodox.*] This is the character, which James Thomaſius gives them in one of his Prefaces. *Celebris eſt*, ſays he (4), *quæ parentum noſtrorum memoria Juliam concuſſit Academiam, Hofmanniana controverſia, finiente ſeculo proximè præterito cœpta, ineunte hoc noſtro ſeculo non ſine Philoſophorum, qui tum ab ὀρθοδοξίας partibus ſtabant, laude ſopita. De qua nihil addam, tum quod ob recentiorem memoriam nemini res eſt ignota . . . tum maxime, quod in perſona Theologi unius alteriuſve inconſiderati, ſanctiſſimæ ſcientiæ parcendum eſſe omnino exiſtimo.* i. e. " The " Univerſity of Helmſtad has been troubled in our fa- " ther's time by the famous Hoffmannian controverſy, " which began in the latter end of the laſt century, " and was happily ſuppreſſed in the beginning of this; " the Profeſſors of Philoſophy gaining a great reputa- " tion by declaring for the Orthodox. I ſhall not ſay " any thing more of this controverſy, both becauſe it " is ſo modern, that all the world is ſufficiently ac- " quainted with it . . . and becauſe I am of opinion " that we ought to have that regard for the moſt ſa- " cred ſcience, as not to expoſe it, in the perſon of two " or three inconſiderate Divines." He examines in this diſcourſe whether the ſame propoſition can be true in Philoſophy, and falſe in Divinity, as ſome perſons pretended; and he obſerves, that amongſt thoſe, who dared to aſſert ſuch a paradox, ſome were driven to it by an exceſſive reſpect for Ariſtotle, and others by an immoderate hatred for that Philoſopher; theſe laſt were the Divines. *Ad Theologos venio, è diverſo planè affectu idem dogma defenſantes. Non enim amore, ſed odio Ariſtotelis, non veneratione, ſed dedignatione Philoſophorum, in iſtam temeritatem, ne quid gravius dicam, præcipitati ſunt* (5). i. e. " I come now to the Divines, " who aſſerted the ſame doctrine, *namely, that the* " *ſame propoſition may be true in Philoſophy, and falſe in* " *Divinity*, but from a quite different principle. For " they came to this raſhneſs and inconſiderateneſs, not " to ſay any thing worſe, not through their love but " their hatred to Ariſtotle, not out of veneration but out " of ſcorn for the Philoſophers." That the reader may the better know what was our Daniel Hoffman's opinion, I ſhall tranſcribe here another paſſage from Thomaſius; it contains a particular which alone deſerves to be mentioned. (6) *Niſi enim fallor, infelix illud & ſcandalo plenum certamen, quod noſtra memoria ſuper Quæſtione: ſitne DEUS peccati cauſa per accidens? certatum fuit, è ſepultæ Hofmannianæ controverſiæ cineribus aut propullulavit, aut videri ſaltem voluit propullulaſſe. Non planè abludere à vero quæ dixi, facile (opinor) perſpiciet, qui C. L. Viri, Pauli Slevogti Pervigilium* de diſſidio Theologi & Philoſophi in utriuſque principiis fundato, *(hoc enim libello nomen eſt,) pervolutaverit* (*). *Enimvero hic inter primos fuit, qui quæſtionem modò dictam in iſthoc ſcripto, quod vigeſimus tertius hujus ſeculi annus produxit in ſcenam, excitaret, hujuſque negativam in Scholis Theologorum, affirmativam inter Philoſophos veram eſſe* (†) *defenderet. Cui anno ſtatim ſequente Vir non minoris eruditionis laude clarus Andreas Keſlerus diſcurſuum Theologicorum quadigram* (§) *oppoſuit.* i. e. " If " I am not miſtaken, that unhappy and ſcandalous " controverſy, which has been carried on in our day, " about this queſtion; *whether GOD be accidentally* " *the cauſe of ſin*: that controverſy, I ſay, blazed " out, or at leaſt, would ſeem to blaze out, from the " dead aſhes of the Hoffmannian controverſy. This " will appear to be true to whoever peruſes the moſt " celebrated Paul Slevogt's Lucubrations, intitled, *The* " *Diſpute between the Divines and the Philoſophers* " *grounded*

(4) Thomaſius, *Præfat.* 42. pag. 244.

(5) Idem, ibid.

(6) Idem, ibid. pag. 245.

(*) *Confirmant ſuſpicionem, quæ leguntur in veſtibulo dicti Pervigilii: aperta enim ibi litis, Helmſtadii ab Hofmanno agitatæ, mentio. Faciunt huc & quæ leguntur in controverſia Crameriana Magdeburgenſi, nam & huic aliquid affinitatis cum Hofmanniana conſtat intercеſſiſſe.*

(†) *Vide ibi Diſcurſum IV*, pag. 64, *D ſeq.*

(§) *Pro defendenda* (quod ipſum quoque legitur in titulo) *Philoſophi ac Theologi concordia.*

Daniel Hoffman and Beza wrote againſt each other upon the controverſy about the Lord's Supper. See the remark in which I give the titles of ſome of Hoffman's works [*D*].

It was not only about the doctrine of Ubiquity that our Doctor diſputed with the other Miniſters; he was alſo engaged in a controverſy upon the ſubjects relating to Predeſtination; for he cenſured Hunnius who had explained them differently from the ſenſe of the Book of Concord. He even charged him with preaching from Luther's pulpit a doctrine more pernicious than that of the Papiſts. The Book of Concord, ſaid he, teaches that the cauſe of election is entirely without us; but Hunnius and Mylius teach, that election is grounded on God's fore-knowledge of men's faith. Hunnius and Mylius cauſed Hoffman to be condemned in an aſſembly of Divines held in the year 1593, and threatened him with excommunication, if he would not ſubſcribe to their opinion. The next year he publiſhed an apology againſt them (*b*). Hoſpinian gives us a more accurate account of this. He tells us (*c*), that ſome Divines of Leipſic, Jena, and Wittemberg, having been at Samuel Haber's ſecond wedding in the year 1593, met at Polycarp Lyſerus's houſe, and that ſome of them were of opinion that they ſhould declare in a public and authentic manner, that Daniel Hoffman was a Calviniſt, and one of thoſe Heretics that are to be rejected: but the majority voted that they ſhould write to him, to entreat him to conform to their doctrine, which if he refuſed to do, he ſhould be excommunicated. Hunnius wrote him a long letter to that purpoſe in the name of them all. It was againſt this letter that Hoffman publiſhed the next year an apology (*d*), in which he explained the reaſons why he could not follow the opinions of the Divines of Wittemberg: he declared that he had met in their books with above an hundred errors inconſiſtent with the articles of the Chriſtian faith (*e*).

(*b*) *Taken from* Henry Alting, *Theolog. Hiſtor.* pag. 302.

(*c*) Hoſpinian, *de Origine & progreſſu Libri Concordiæ*, cap. 51. pag. 429.

(*d*) Idem, ibid. pag. 431, *& ſeq.*

(*e*) Idem, ibid. pag. 434.

" *grounded on their reſpective principles.* For he was " one of the firſt, that ſtarted this queſtion in a work " which he publiſhed the 23d year of this century, " wherein he aſſerted that the negative was true " amongſt the Divines, and the affirmative amongſt " the Philoſophers. The next year Andrew Keſler, " a man famous for his learning, anſwered him in four " theological diſſertations."

To aſſert that what is true in Philoſophy is falſe in Divinity, is a moſt pernicious error.

Thomaſius was in the right to obſerve, that it is a very ſcandalous thing to ſee it aſſerted, that it is true in Philoſophy, that God is the cauſe of ſin by accident, but that it is not true in Divinity. He was very much in the right to approve of Caſman, who aſſerted, that ſuch a parting and dividing of the truth was a proper method to maintain the moſt impious doctrines (7). And indeed this is very proper to introduce ſcepticiſm; ſince by arguing thus, truth is reduced to the ſame condition with the properties of bodies. For as the ſame body appears ſmall or big according as we ſee it with or without a convex glaſs, we have a right to conclude from thence, that we do not know whether it be ſmall or big abſolutely ſpeaking; and that the abſolute ſmallneſs or bigneſs of the bodies is unknown to us. If therefore the ſame propoſition were true and falſe according as we conſider it either as Divines, or as Philoſophers, it would follow from thence by a neceſſary conſequence, that we do not know the truth in itſelf, and that it only conſiſts in a mutable relation to the diſpoſition of our minds, as the goodneſs of meat conſiſts only in a certain relation to the diſpoſition of our tongue, which coming to be altered, the ſame food which pleaſed our palates, does not pleaſe it any longer. I ſhall now quote an author who tells us, that Hoffman and his followers maintained, that Philoſophy muſt be baniſhed from all Univerſities, as a moſt pernicious ſcience, according to which ſeveral theological truths were falſe. The Miniſters who oppoſed this faction were deprived, but at laſt this controverſy was ended by the Prince's authority, and Hoffman was obliged to ſubmit. *Contendebant* Hofmannus *& ipſius aſſeclæ*, Philoſophiam pugnare cum Theologia: multa eſſe vera in Theologia quæ ſint falſa in Philoſophia & contra; exterminandam Chriſtianis Academiis ut noxiam, ut toties etiam graviter ab antiqua Eccleſia damnatam. *His ſe initio ſtatim oppoſuerunt ejus Academiæ Philoſophi*, Duncanus *Liddelius Scotus Med. D.* Corn. *Martini*, Joh. *Caſelius & alii, rati ad ſe pertinere ejus defenſionem cujus profeſſores eſſent. Res contentionibus diu acta eſt, ita ut Hofmannus eos tandem à Miniſterio excluderet qui contrarium ſentirent. Habitæ ſæpius diſputationes & magni fluctus in illo ſimpulo excitati. Extant ejus tamen aliquammulta acta. Tandem lis ſopita eſt authoritate Principis: reſtitutus honos ſuus Philoſophiæ ejuſque Doctoribus eſt. Hoffmanniani ceſſerunt* (8).

(7) *Non erubuerim dicere, duplicem illam veritatem eſſe pſeudariſtotelicum figmentum ad omnes errores & Atheiſmos excuſandos & defendendos.* Caſman. *Coſmopœiæ*, cap. 1. Quæſt. 6. *apud* Thomaſ. *Præfat.* 42. pag. 243.

(8) Georgius Hornius, *Hiſt. Philoſoph.* lib. 6. cap. 12. pag. 321, 322. See the article NIHUSIUS, remark [*C*].

Henry Julius, Duke of Brunſwick, ordered that Daniel Hoffman ſhould acknowledge his error and retract it publicly. This order was executed March the 7th, 1601. See the *Memorabilia Eccleſiaſtica ſeculi à nato Chriſto decimi ſeptimi*, p. 23, and 24 (9); and Grawerus in his book *De unica Veritate*. i. e. " That " truth is ſingle."

[*D*] *I give the titles of ſome of Hoffman's works.*] He publiſhed at Helmſtad in the year 1583, *Quæſtionum & Reſponſionum in graviſſima Controverſia de ſacroſancta Cœna pars prima*. i. e. " Part the firſt of " Queſtions and anſwers relating to the moſt impor- " tant Controverſy about the Lord's Supper." *in 8vo.* Beza refuted it the next year; but ſoon after was publiſhed (10), *Danielis Hoffmanni Apologia miſſa ad Theodorum Bezam, qua τὸ πικρὸν in verbis Cœnæ dominicæ immotum, Bezæ autem Demonſtrationes falſiſſimæ demonſtrantur*. i. e. " An Apology for Daniel Hoffman " ſent to Beza, in which the literal ſenſe of the Words " of the Inſtitution of the Sacrament is aſſerted, and " Beza's Arguments proved to be falſe." In the year 1585 Beza publiſhed *Reſponſionis pars altera contra Danielem Hoffmannum*. i. e. " The ſecond Part of the " Anſwer to Daniel Hoffman." And in the year 1586 Beza publiſhed *Conſpicillum ad Danielis Hoffmanni Demonſtrationes &c.* i. e. " A pair of Spectacles for " Daniel Hoffman's Demonſtrations &c." Here follow the titles of ſome other works of Hoffman. *Reſponſio ad rationes & ſigna Chriſtophori Pezelii &c. quibus docuit veros ſacramentarios agnoſcere:* i. e. " An " Anſwer to Chriſtopher Pezelius's means and ſigns, " &c. by which he teaches to diſcover the true Sacra- " mentarians." *De XVII Erroribus craſſioribus Jacobi Andreæ.* i. e. Of the ſeventeen moſt palpable Errors " of James Andreas". Theſe two books are in the German language. *De uſu & applicatione notionum Logicarum ad res Theologicas, & de inuſitatarum precationum reductione, contra Goclenium.* i. e. " Of the " uſe and application of Logical notions to Theologi- " cal Subjects, and of aboliſhing obſolete prayers, " againſt Goclenius." At Francfort, 1596. *Liber Apologeticus reſpondens chartis Miniſtrorum Eccleſiæ Bremenſis.* i. e. " An Apology to anſwer the Papers of " the Church of Bremen." At Helmſtad, 1585. *Officina Locorum Theologicorum.* i. e. " Collection of " Theological Common-Topicks." *Explicatio Sententiæ in Epiſt. Canonica Joh. Apoſtoli*, Sanguis Jeſu Chriſti Filii Dei mundat nos ab omni peccato. i. e. "An " Explication of this ſentence in St. John's canonical " Epiſtle, *The blood of Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God,* " *cleanſeth us from all ſin.*" At Helmſtad, 1581.

(9) This book, written by Andrew Carolus, Abbot of St. George in the country of Wirtemberg was printed at Tubingen, in the year 1597.

(10) At Helmſtad in 1585.

* He had been a Tanner.

HOFMAN (MELCHIOR) from a Tradeſman * ſet up for a Preacher, and began to dogmatize in Livonia and other places, though he had not received from any perſon the

(a) *Ex pellione in Theologaſtrum tranſmutatus.* Mollerus, *ubi infra*, citat. (c).

the leaſt power or authority to preach (*a*). He left Saxony, being very much diſcontented, and went into Holſtein in the year 1527. He was appointed a Miniſter at Kiel by the King of Denmark, and ſupported himſelf in that poſt near two years, notwithſtanding Luther's oppoſition [*A*]. He preached I know not what mixture of Zuinglianiſm and Fanaticiſm; and he ſeldom explained any thing to his audience but the conſtruction of the Moſaical Tabernacle, the Viſions of St. John's Revelation, and other ſubjects like theſe. He pretended that the laſt day would come in the year 1534. They who attempted to refute him either upon this article or upon any other, met with their match; for as he had a very ill tongue, he anſwered them in the moſt paſſionate manner [*B*]. He loaded Marquardus Schuldorpius with injuries, and cruelly charged him with the crime of inceſt [*C*]. The King of Denmark deſigning to prevent the ill conſequences with which theſe controverſies might be attended, ordered a conference to be held in the year 1529 (*b*), in which Hofman was confounded and ſilenced, and as he perſiſted in his opinions, was baniſhed from the Dutchy of Holſtein. He went to Straſburg, where he publiſhed a falſe account of that conference [*D*]. He was impriſoned in the year 1532, after a public diſputation with the Miniſters. This made him loſe his credit with ſome of his followers. He died in or about the year 1533 (*c*). He was not born in the Duchy of Holſtein, as has been publiſhed by ſome [*E*].

(*b*) It was held at Flenſburg.

(*c*) *Taken from* John Mollerus's *Iſagoge ad Hiſtoriam Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ*, Part 3. pag. 128, *& ſeq.*

(*d*) *Argentinæ inclareſcere cœpit.* Freder. Spanhemius, *De Origine & Progreſſu Anabaptiſt.* num. 22. pag. m. 211.

Several authors aſſert that Hofman began to be famous at Straſburg (*d*), and that he was followed by a crowd of diſciples, and that going to Embden in the year 1528 [*F*], he publiſhed his Viſions there with ſo wonderful a ſucceſs, that he paſſed for the

[*A*] *He ſupported himſelf in that poſt notwithſtanding Luther's oppoſition.*] Here follows what Luther wrote to a Miniſter of Keil (1). *A Melchiore pellifice velim cavere vos omnes, ac curare apud Magiſtratus ne ad conciones admittatur, etiamſi literas Regis oſtentet. A nobis enim receſſit indignabundus, dum non voluimus ejus ſomnia probare. Ad docendum neque valet, neque vocatus eſt. Hæc dicite nomine meo omnibus veſtris, ut ipſum vitent ac tacere cogant.* i. e. "I would have you all "beware of Melchior the Tanner, and prevail with "the Magiſtrates not to ſuffer him to preach, tho' he "ſhould ſhew the King's letters: for he went from us "in a paſſion, becauſe we would not approve his "dreams. He is neither proper to teach, nor "called to it. Tell this to your whole congregation, "that they may avoid him, and force him to be ſilent." Luther would not have them hearken to this man, who ſet up for a Preacher without any capacity and calling. Francis Burchard Counſellor to the Dukes of Saxony did alſo adviſe to beware of that man (2).

(1) Luther. *Ep. ad Wilb. Praveſt. anno* 1528. *See* tom. 2. *Epiſt. Lutheri* à Joh. Aurifabro Francofurti ad Viadrum, anno 1597. edit. pag. 371. Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſon. Cimbricæ*, Part 3. pag. 129.

(2) *In Epiſt. ad Petrum Suavenium, Concil. Danicum*, A. 1528 *ſcripta, quam exhibet J. Manlii Farrago Epiſt. Melanchth.* Part 3. pag. 493, 494. Mollerus, ibid.

[*B*] *He anſwered them in the moſt paſſionate manner.*] All his books were written in the vulgar tongue: His apology againſt Nicholas Ambſdorf, the firſt Miniſter at Magdeburg, was printed in the year 1528. This Miniſter had refuted his opinion concerning the end of the world. *Oppoſuit ei Hofmannus apologiam amarulentiſſimam . . . in iſta convitiorum plauſtra in Adverſarium evomit* (3). i. e. Hofman anſwered him in "a moſt bitter apology . . . in which he loads his bit"ter adverſary with injuries."

(3) Moller. ibid. pag. 130.

[*C*] *He charged Schuldorpius with the crime of inceſt.*] The ground of this charge was that Schuldorpius had married his own niece. *Marq. Schuldorpio, Kilonienſi, Parocho Sleſvic. qui ſuam de Sacra Cœna Sententiam impugnarat, itidem ſcriptis, Kilonii anno* 1528 *impreſſis . . reſpondit, & hominem, cum alias ob cauſas, tum ob matrimonium cum filia ſororis, ope eloquentiæ ſuæ caninæ, miſere exagitavit* (4). i. e. "Marquardus Schuldorpius, of "Kiel, and Miniſter of Sleſwick, had refuted his opi"nion about the Lord's Supper; Hofman anſwered "him in two writings publiſhed at Keil in the year "1528, and by means of his ſcurrilous eloquence, "he abuſed him moſt wretchedly, amongſt other rea"ſons, becauſe Schuldorpius had married his own "ſiſter's daughter." Schuldorpius in his defence (*) urged amongſt other arguments Luther's authority, from whom he produced a letter, in which Luther confeſſed that he had adviſed him to that match, and aſſerted that it was lawful, (ſince Abraham had married Sara, who was his ſiſter or niece.) *Utrique Schuldorpius mox repoſuit* Epiſtolam ad fideles Civitatis Kilonienſis *Saxonicam eique adjecit Lutheri ad ſe literas, in eandem Dialectum transfuſas, in quibus ille conjugio huic, cujus ſe ſuaſorem fuiſſe fatetur, ingenti cum παῤῥησίᾳ patrocinari, Abrahami, Saram ducentis, exemplo defendere iſtud non dubitat* (5).

(4) Idem, ibid.

(*) It was a *Letter to the Faithful at Kiel*, in the German Tongue.

(5) Idem, ibid. pag. 131.

[*D*] *He publiſhed a falſe account of this conference.*] He boaſted that he had ſilenced Pomeranus (6), and aſſerted that the Secretaries of the conference were falſifiers (7). Pomeranus, in order to refute thoſe ſlanders, publiſhed the acts of the conference in the moſt authentic manner; and added to them a refutation of Hofman's work, and an account of Heggius's converſion (8). This converſion was the fruit of the conference. Heggius had been one of our Hofman's ſeconds, and he acquired ſuch knowledge in that conference, that it obliged him to forſake Hofman's ſect. *Paraſtatæ Hofmanni fuere Johan. à Campen, & Jac. Hegge Dantiſcanus ad ſaniorem mentem in colloquio hoc reducti* (9). i. e. "Hofman's aſſiſtants were John of Campen, and "James Heggius, who were converted at this con"ference." Hofman's other Second had done the ſame. Let us obſerve, that Pomeranus was not at the conference as an actor to diſpute, but as one of the moderators under the King of Denmark's eldeſt ſon (10). He put an end to this meeting by an oration in which he refuted Hofman's arguments. *Finem Colloquio oratione Bugenhagii adverſus argumenta ipſius ἀναισχυνταξικὴ impoſitum* (11).

(6) His true name is *John Bugenhagius*. But they uſe to call him *Pomeranus*, becauſe he was of *Pomerania*.

(7) Mollerus, pag. 133.

(8) Idem, ibid.

(9) Idem, Mollerus, pag. 131, 132.

(10) Moller. pag. 131.

(11) Idem, ibid.

[*E*] *He was not of the Duchy of Holſtein, as has been publiſhed by ſome.*] Here follow Mollerus's words (12): *Suevus ortu fuit, non autem Holſatus uti Conrad. Dietericus* (†) *& Sebaſtianus Schmidius* (‡), *falſo ſibi perſuadent.* i. e. "He was a native of Germany, and "not of Holſtein, as Conrad. Dietericus, and Sebaſ"tian Schmidius falſly imagine."

(12) Idem, pag. 127.

(†) *In Analyſi Periochæ Evangel. Dom. II. Adventus.*

(‡) In *Diſſ. de Chiliaſmo Apocalyptico*, pag. 9.

[*F*] *Several authors aſſert . . . that he went to Embden in the year* 1528.] The arguments which Mollerus offers us, leave us no room to doubt but Hofman was at Kiel in the years 1528, and 1529, and retired thither from Saxony very much diſcontented (13). We ought therefore to believe, that they, who ſuppoſe that he went from Straſburg to Emden in the year 1528, are miſtaken. Ottius obſerves, that ſeveral authors aſſert this, and yet he does not anſwer them. *Embdam Argentorato obiiſſe Melchiorem Hoffmannum plures ajunt. Ergo non demum anno* 1531 *eò conceſſit niſi forte redierit, vel diutius ibi commoratus ſit* (14). We learn from theſe words, that ſome perſons pretend that Hofman went to Embden in the year 1531. This, I think, is the true time when he was Miniſter at Embden; for ſince he publiſhed an account of the conference of Flenſburg (15) at Straſburg, in the year 1529, it is a proof that he went to Straſburg when he was baniſhed from Holſtein. It is very probable, that he went from Straſburg to Embden, and returned afterwards to Straſburg. He was there in the year 1532. Take notice, that Mollerus promiſes us an account of the troubles he raiſed both at Straſburg and at Embden, after he was gone from Holſtein (16). Is not this telling us, that he went to Embden after he had preached his idle fancies at Straſburg in the year 1529? Hoornbeeck was in the right to ſay, that he returned from Embden to Straſburg, but not that he went from Straſburg to Embden in the year 1528 (17). This author obſerves, that when Hofman went from Embden, he left there one Trypmaacker, who falling out with his collegues, retired into Holland, where he was the firſt apoſtle of the Anabaptiſts.

(13) *An.* 1527. *Magdeburgo in Holſatiam delatus.* Mollerus, *Introd. ad Hiſtoriam Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ*, pag. 128. Seckendorf, *Hiſt. Lutheran.* lib. 2. pag. 122. makes him ſet out from Wittemberg.

(14) Johan. Henricus Ottius, *Hiſt. Anabapt.* ad ann. 1528, num. 1. pag. 45.

(15) It was held a little after Eaſter in the year 1529. *See* Mollerus, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 131.

(16) *Tumultuum quos Hermannus poſt abitum ex Holſatia, Argentinæ & Embdæ concitavit Anabaptiſtico-Entbuſiaſticorum.* Idem, ibid. pag. 133.

(17) Hoornbeeck, *Summa Controv.* pag. m. 362.

the firſt Patriarch of the Anabaptiſts in the Low-Countries, and in Lower-Germany [G]. He infatuated his followers to ſuch a degree, that they took him for that Elias whom God is to ſend upon earth before the day of judgment. He returned to Straſburg, being in hopes to ſee a prophecy fulfilled, which related to him [H]: this prophecy had been delivered by a good old man in Frieſland. Being at Straſburg he preached Anabaptiſm openly; and the diſturbances he raiſed there occaſioned the meeting of a Synod in June 1532. He was ſuffered to diſpute with the Miniſters, who refuted him in the ſtrongeſt manner; but yet he continued to dogmatize, ſo that it was thought neceſſary to ſhut him up in a priſon [I]; for it was feared, that there would ſoon ariſe very great diſorders, becauſe Hofman's followers aſſerted, that the City of Straſburg was to be the new Jeruſalem, in which Chriſt's Kingdom was to be eſtabliſhed; and that as Hofman was the Elias who was to come, ſo Polterman was the Enoch who was to aſſiſt him. When Hofman was in priſon, they aſſerted, that he was to come out of it with a hundred and forty four thouſand men ſealed, who would anathematize the earth, and bear down before them all the obſtacles the world ſhould pretend to put in their way. Our Elias, and our Enoch, ſaid they, are the two olive-trees, and the candleſticks mentioned in St. John's Revelation (e); no man will be able to hurt them, and if any man will hurt them, fire will proceed out of their mouth, and devour their enemies. When they ſaw that Hofman did not come out of priſon at the time appointed by ſome Prophets, they were amazed; but to amuſe them, he ſent them word, that they ſhould reſt for two years, after the example of Ezra and Haggai, who were obliged to interrupt for two years the building of the Temple. He died in priſon, and thus he diſappointed all his diſciples in their expectations (f). I ſhall mention ſome of his hereſies [K]. There are writers who aſſert, that he began to dogmatize near the Rhine, after the defeat of the peaſants in the year 1525 (g).

(e) See the 11th chapter of St. John's Revelation, ver. 4, 5.

(f) *Taken from* Frideric Spanheim, *de Orig. & Progr. Anabaptiſm.* pag. 211.

(g) Joh. Henricus Ottius, *Hiſt. Anabapt. ad ann.* 1525, num. 21. pag. 36.

HOLINSHED,

baptiſts. Caſſander has been miſtaken concerning the time when this fanatic was miniſter at Embden. *Donec tandem*, ſays he, *ſub ann.* 1532 *Melchior quidam Hofmannus, arte pellio, hanc novam contagionem cum aliis quibuſdam non minus perniciosis erroribus in Germaniam hanc inferiorem & Belgicam invexit* (18). i. e. "Till "at laſt, about the year 1532, a certain man named "Melchior Adam, a Tanner by trade, introduced "this new infection, with ſome other errors not leſs "pernicious, into Lower Germany, and the Low-"Countries."

(18) Caſſander, *Epiſt. Dedicat. Tractatus de Baptiſm.*

[G] *He paſſed for the firſt Patriarch of the Anabaptiſts in the Low-Countries, and in Lower-Germany.*] This appears from Caſſander's words, which we have juſt now quoted. Here follow two other witneſſes: *Huic Patriarchæ etiam eorum qui in inferiori Germania ſuccreverunt, Anabaptiſtarum tradux adſcribi ſolet.* Thus ſpeaks Frederic Spanheim (19). *Qui huc Anabaptiſtica deliria attulit ex Germania ſuperiori primus fuit Melchior Hofman.* This is what Hoornbeeck obſerves (20).

(19) Spanhem. *de Orig. & Prog. Anabaptiſt.* num 22. pag. m. 211.

(20) Hoornbeeck, *Summa Controv.* pag. m. 361.

[H] *He was in hopes of ſeeing a prophecy fulfilled which related to him.*] Whilſt he was planting his goſpel at Embden with great zeal, and re-baptized as many perſons as he could, there was a good old man, who made him long to return to Straſburg. This old man was of his cabal; he propheſied, that the Magiſtrates of Straſburg would put Hofman in priſon, but that at the end of ſix months the priſoner would be delivered, and would go and preach the Goſpel over all the world, like another Elias, being attended with a great number of Prophets, and with the hundred and forty four thouſand men ſealed, mentioned in St. John's Revelation (21). Hofman having diſputed publickly with the Miniſters, June the 12th 1532, and having continued to ſpread his enthuſiaſtical notions, after he had been refuted, was put in priſon. When he ſaw the firſt part of the prophecy fulfilled, he became more arrogant. He ſhook off the duſt from his ſhoes, threw his hat on the ground, and proteſted before God, that he would live upon nothing but bread and water, till he ſhould ſhew the perſon that ſent him. He was diſappointed in his expectations, for he died in priſon (22). There are a thouſand inſtances which ſhew, that in the moſt chimerical predictions there have been ſome particulars, which proved true in the event. This has been a ſtrong deluſion, and nothing contributed more than this to miſlead the viſionaries and their adherents. It is therefore with regard to theſe matters, that we ought to ſay, *the end crowns the work*, and we muſt take care not to judge of the whole by a part only, *ex unge Leonem*; we muſt wait for the concluſion, and miſtruſt the firſt ſucceſſes. They are but a ſnare, and a dangerous allurement.

(21) Chap. 7, and 14.

(22) *Taken from* Hoornb. *Summa Controv.* pag. 362.

[I] *It was thought neceſſary to ſhut him up in a priſon.*] Spanheim, Hoornbeeck, and ſeveral others aſſert, that Hofman diſputed in June 1532, and that he was not impriſoned till after he had obſtinately continued to dogmatize, after this diſpute. But we ſhall now quote an author, who places this conference in June 1533, and who aſſerts that this fanatic was taken from priſon in order to diſpute with the Miniſters. *Anno* 1533 *Menſe Junio die* 11, *Hofmannus Argentorati è vinculis ad publicam diſputationem productus & admiſſus fuit: à quo tempore inſtaurationem Regni DEI ortam eſſe ſui affirmabant. Iſdem Hoffmannus* * *authoritatem prædictionum cujuſdam verè deliri Leonardi Joeſt civis Argentinenſis & aliorum ſimilium fanaticorum hominum, multa vana de urbe Argent. prædixit, &c. quæ tamen ab urbe non recepta, ſed aqua & igni interdicebatur omnibus, qui eam ſectam publicè privatimque tuebantur* (23). i. e. "On the 11th day of June, in the year "1553, Hofman was carried from the priſon at "Straſburg, and admitted to a public diſputation: "His followers aſſerted, that the reſtoration of God's "Kingdom began from that time. The ſame Hof-"man, depending on the prophecies of a certain Ci-"tizen of Straſburg, named Leonard Joeſt, who was "really crazy, and of ſome other fanatics like him, "foretold a great many ſilly things concerning the "City of Straſburg, &c. which however were not "minded by the Magiſtrates; for all the inhabitants "were forbidden, upon pain of baniſhment, to pro-"tect that ſect either publickly or privately." Ottius (24) admits this Chronology; whence it appears that a great many errors have crept into the accounts of thoſe who wrote the Hiſtory of Anabaptiſm. He quotes a paſſage from Henry Urſinus (25), in which we are told, that Hofman propheſied that ſame year, that Straſburg would be the new Jeruſalem, as the City of Rome was Babylon; that Straſburg would be beſieged that ſame year; and that there would be a great ſlaughter, and that this man preferred his own predictions to all thoſe of Iſaiah, and Jeremiah, and that Matthias and his party applied to the City of Munſter all thoſe fine prerogatives of Straſburg, at which Hofman was very much diſpleaſed, when he knew it.

* I ſuppoſe it ſhould be *authoritate.*

(23) Ottius, in *Hiſt. Anabapt.* ad ann. 1533, num. 6. pag. 61. *He quotes* Revius *in Hiſtoria Georgii.* He ſhould have quoted *Nicolaus Bleſdikius*; for it is he that wrote the *Hiſtory of David George*: Revius only publiſhed it.

(24) Ottius, ibid.

(25) Henricus Urſinus, *Præfat. in* Apocalypſ. *in fine.*

[K] *I ſhall mention ſome of his hereſies.*] He aſſerts, I. That the WORD was not united with the fleſh taken from the Virgin Mary; his reaſon was, that all human fleſh is defiled with ſin, and conſequently curſed. II. That Jeſus Chriſt has but one nature only. III. That it is in man's power to be ſaved, and that we are ſaved or damned according to the good or bad uſe we make of our free-will. IV. That Pædo-baptiſm, or the chriſtning of infants comes from God's enemy, and from man rather than from God (26).

(26) *Taken from* Spanheim, *de Orig. & Progr. Anabapt.* pag. 211.

☞HOLINSHED, or HOLINGSHED (RAPHAEL), famous for the *Chronicles* publiſhed under his name [*A*], was deſcended of a family of that name at Boſeley in Cheſhire, and was a Miniſter of the Church of England. He died at Bramcote in Warwickſhire towards the latter end of the year 1580. After his death all or moſt of his Notes, Collections, Books, and Manuſcripts came into the hands of Thomas Burdet Eſq; of Bramcote (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 312. 2d edit. London 1721.

[*A*] *Famous for the Chronicle publiſhed under his name.*] The firſt edition of this work was printed at London 1577 in fol; and the ſecond in 1587 in fol. In the firſt edition he was aſſiſted by Mr. *William Harriſon*, a native of London, educated at Weſtminſter under Mr. Alexander Nowell in the latter end of the reign of King Henry VIII, or the beginning of Edward VI; and afterwards ſent to Oxford and Cambridge, and at laſt domeſtic Chaplain to Sir William Brook Knight, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Baron of Cobham in Kent. He wrote *An Hiſtorical Deſcription of the Iſland of Britain; with a brief Rehearſal of the Nature and Qualities of the People of England; and ſuch commodities as are to be found in the ſame*; in three books, printed in the firſt and ſecond volume of Holinſhed's *Chronicle*. In the ſecond edition of this *Chronicle in* 1587, Mr. John Hooker, alias Vowell, Chamberlain of Exeter, made ſeveral additions and improvements to it, and continued it to the year 1586. One of the Continuators of this *Chronicle* was the Reverend Mr. Abraham Fleming, a great number of whoſe papers are in the hands of Mr. Francis Peck, *M. A.* who at the end of the firſt volume of his *Deſiderata Curioſa* promiſed to publiſh the following manuſcripts written in Mr. Fleming's hand; 1. *De Caſtratione Chronicorum quæ* Raphaelis Holingſhedi *nuncupantur; & imprimis de eorundem Cenſuris, quando* Roberti *Comiti Leiceſtriæ, D.* Thomæ Bromley, *Cancellario, & D.* Gul. *Cecil Theſaurario oblata, prout ea omnia* Camdenus Flemingo *retulit.* 2. *Cenſuræ aliæ diverſorum hominum malevolentium, ſeu nimium ſubtilium in eadem Chronica; cum reſponſionibus* Abrahami Flemingi. 3. *The Council's Letter to* Whitgift *Archbiſhop of Canterbury, touching the Examination and Reformation of the Additions of the new Edition of* Hollingſhed's Chronicle, *Thurſday* 1 *Feb.* 1586. 4. Whitgift *Archbiſhop of Canterbury's Letter to* Thomas Randolph, Henry Killigrew *Eſqrs; and Mr.* Hammond, *touching the Examination and Reformation of the Additions to the new Edition of* Hollingſhed's Chronicle, *on Thurſday* 1 *Feb.* 1588. 5. Abrahami Flemingi (*qui præerat Typis & Prælo*) *de modo caſtrandi reformandique Chronica prædicta brevis & vera Relatio.* In the curious Catalogue of the Library of Mr. *Richard Smith* (1) there is mentioned an Edition of *Hollingſhed's Chronicle* in two Volumes in fol. 1587, *with the addition of many ſheets, that were caſtrated, being not thought fit, and ſo not allowed to be printed in the ſecond Impreſſion.*

(1) *Bibliotheca Smitheana, ſive Catalogus Librorum in quavis Facultate inſignianum; quos in uſum & Bibliothecæ ornamentum multo ære ſibi comparavit Vir clariſs. & doctiſs.* Ricardus Smith *Londinenſis*, pag. 276. edit. London T. 1682, in 4to.

☞HOLYOKE, or HOLYOAKE (FRANCIS), who writes himſelf in Latin *de ſacrâ Quercu*, was born at Nether Whitacre in Warwickſhire about the year 1567, and ſtudied in the Univerſity of Oxford about the year 1582 in Queen's College; but it does not appear, whether he ever took a degree. He taught ſchool at Oxford, and in his own country; and became Rector of Southam in Warwickſhire in February 1604. He was elected a Member of the Convocation of the Clergy in the firſt year of King Charles I's reign. Beſides his *Dictionary* [*A*], he publiſhed *a Sermon of Obedience eſpecially unto Authority Eccleſiaſtical &c. on Heb. xiii. 17. preached at a Viſitation of Dr.* William Hinton, *Archdeacon of Coventry.* Oxford 1610 in 4to. He ſuffered extremely in the civil wars for

[*A*] *His* Dictionary.] It was printed at London, 1606 &c. in 4to. The 4th edition in 1633 at London in 4to is printed under the following title: *Dictionarium Etymologicum Latinum, antiquiſſimum & noviſſimum, nunc demum infinitis penè Laboribus & continuis vigiliis compoſitum & abſolutum à* Franciſco de Sacra Quercu. *Or, A Dictionarie declaring the Originall and Derivation of all words uſed in any Latine Authors, with the reaſon of their Derivations and Appellations, never any in this Kinde extant before. Whereunto, beſides the hard and moſt uſefull words in Divinitie, Philoſophie, Phyſicke, and Logicke, are added many thouſand other words out of the Civill and Canon Lawes, Gloſſaries, Criticks, and other approved Authors, old and new; with their Greeke in more exactneſſe than ever was in* Calepine, Morelius, *or any other; and alſo the Coines, Meaſures, Weights, and Greeke Roots, and many other uſefull Additions, as will appeare in the Epiſtle to the Reader, and better in the Work itſelfe. Hereunto is alſo annexed the Proper Names, adorned with their Etymologies, illuſtrated and explained with Hiſtories, Proverbes, Mythologies, &c. Together with the Chronologie of the Perſons, and the beginning of noted Cities, and plantation of ſundry Countries; the Geographie, and the Names both antient and new of the moſt remarkable places. Laſtly,* Rider's Dictionarie, *the Engliſh before the Latine, compiled by Rider, is augmented with many hundreds of words, both out of the Law, and out of the Latine, French, and other Languages, ſuch as were and are with us in common uſe, but never printed until now, to the perfecting of the Worke. Now the fourth time newly corrected and very much augmented by the great Induſtrie and Paines of* Francis Holy-Oke. This edition is dedicated to Dr. William Laud, then Biſhop of London. There is likewiſe another Dedication to William Craven, Baron of Hamſted-Marſhall dated from Southam. In the Preface to the Reader, which is dated from Queen's College in Oxford, our author obſerves that he had been charged with compiling his work from other Dictionaries, and eſpecially that of *Thomaſius*; but that he had done nothing but what other Dictionary-Writers before him had done. *Cooper*, ſays he, tranſlated his Dictionary from the Latin-German Dictionary of *Tirifius* of Zurich; and *Thomaſius* firſt compiled his from *Calepine and Cooper*, and afterwards enlarged it from *Junius's Nomenclatura* and ſeveral Gloſſaries and Herbals. At laſt Dr. *Philemon Holland*, a very learned Phyſician, greatly augmented *Thomaſius*'s work from the beſt authors. Mr. *Holyoke* then informs us, that he was obliged to Dr. *Thomas James* for communicating ſeveral words collected from the Fathers; and to Mr. Robert Burton, Mr. Sixſmith Fellow of Brazen-Noſe College, Mr. Watſon Fellow of Lincoln College, and Mr. Wethereld Fellow of Queen's College, for their ſeveral communications. To this edition are prefixed Latin and Greek poems in honour of the author, written by Dr. *John Dove*, Dr. *John Budden*, Dr. *Thomas James*, Mr. *Robert Burton*, Mr. *William Fletcher*, Dr. *John Wall* of Chriſt Church, Dr. *John Aiſgil* Fellow of Corpus Chriſti College, Dr. *Thomas Jackſon* Preſident of that College, Dr. *Thomas Clayton* Regius Profeſſor of Phyſick at Oxford, Dr. *John Bambridge* Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, Mr. *Ph. White*, and Mr. *Gerard Langbaine* of Queen's College. The Dedication to that part of the work, intitled *Dictionarium Etymologicum propriorum nominum*, to Sir *Clement Throckmorton*, is dated at Southam in February 1611. Mr. Wood obſerves (1), that "that part of *Rider's* "*Dictionary*, which had the Latin before the Engliſh "was ſwallowed up by the greater attempts of "*Francis Holyoke*, who ſaith, that he deſigned and "contrived it ſo, before the Vocabularies or Dictio-"naries of *Becman*, *Funger*, and *Martin* came out; "notwithſtanding it appears, that he was beholden to "them, and made uſe of their materials in his Dic-"tionary, that he publiſhed *ann.* 1606." H.

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 577. 2d edit. London 1721.

for his attachment to the King, and died November the 13th 1653 in the eighty ſeventh year of his age, and was interred in St. Mary's Church at Warwick (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 167. 2d edit. London 1721.

☞HOLYOKE or HOLYOAKE (THOMAS) ſon of the preceding, was born in 1616 at Stony-Thorp near Southam in Warwickſhire, and educated in Grammar Learning under Mr. White at Coventry; from whence he was ſent in Michaelmas Term 1632 at the age of ſixteen years to Queen's College in Oxford (*a*), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts July the 5th 1636 (*b*), and that of Maſter May the 16th 1639 (*c*), and became Chaplain of the ſaid College. In the beginning of the civil wars, when Oxford became the Seat of King Charles and was garriſoned for his uſe, he was put into commiſſion for a Captain of a Foot Company conſiſting moſtly of Scholars. In this poſt he did great ſervice, and had the degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him by the favour of his Majeſty, though no ſuch matter occurs in the public Regiſter of the Univerſity, which was then ſometimes neglected (*d*). After the ſurrender of the garriſon of Oxford to the Parliament, he, by the name of Thomas Holyoke, without the addition of Maſter of Arts, Bachelor or Doctor of Divinity, obtained a licence from the Univerſity to practiſe Phyſic (*e*); whereupon ſettling in his own country, he exerciſed that Faculty with good ſucceſs till the Reſtoration in 1660, in which year Thomas Lord Leigh, Baron of Stone-Leigh in Warwickſhire, preſented him to the Rectory of Whitnaſh near Warwick. He was ſoon after made Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Wolverhampton in Staffordſhire. In 1674 Robert Lord Brook conferred upon him the Donative of Breamour in Hampſhire, (which he had by the marriage of his Lady,) worth about two hundred pounds *per ann.* but before he had enjoyed it a year, he died of a fever June the 10th 1675. His body was interred near that of his father in the Church of St. Mary in Warwick. His *Dictionary* was publiſhed after his death in 1677 in fol.

(*b*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 266.

(*c*) Ibid. col. 279.

(*d*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Idem, ibid. and *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 60.

H

HONORIA, the ſiſter of Valentinian III, drew upon her this Emperor's indignation by her diſſoluteneſs, and ſhe endeavoured to revenge herſelf by another crime. She ſent a meſſenger to Attila to perſuade him to conquer the Empire, and ſhe promiſed to marry him. The authors differ a little in their accounts of this ſtory. Some pretend that ſhe did not abandon herſelf to lewdneſs, till ſhe found that her deſign to marry that King of the Huns had miſcarried [*A*]. Others aſſert, that ſhe had led a diſſolute life before ever ſhe had any ſuch thought [*B*].

[*A*] *Some authors pretend, that ſhe did not abandon herſelf to lewdneſs, till ſhe found that her deſign to marry the King of the Huns had miſcarried.*] A modern author, who quotes Sigonius and Marcellinus, relates, that Honoria being devoured by the flames of luſt, ſent an Eunuch to Attila, to offer herſelf in marriage to him, with the whole Empire: that Attila ſent Embaſſadors to the Emperor Valentinian to demand Honoria even with threatnings; but that before they were returned to him, he fell in love with a young Lady of his own nation, that he married her, and killed himſelf on his wedding day with exceſſive drinking, and careſſing his bride too much; that Honoria finding herſelf thus diſappointed in her hopes, abandoned herſelf to her gallants, who got her with child, after which ſhe was ſent to Conſtantinople. *Hæc libidine inflammata eunuchum legatum ad Attilam Hunnorum regem miſit, conjugium & regnum ei offerens. Miſit igitur Attila legatos ad Valentinianum, qui ſuaſionibus minas adjicientes Honoriam petebant, ſed priuſquam legati Roma reverterentur, Attila . . . . puellæ cujuſdam . . . . amore captus . . . . nuptias cum ea celebravit . . . . Honoria igitur cum ſpe ſua fruſtraretur aliis ſe ſubſternit: inde gravida facta, Conſtantinopolim mittitur* (1).

(1) Chriſtian. Matth. *Theatr. Hiſtor.* pag. m. 733.

[*B*] *Others aſſert that ſhe had led a diſſolute life, before ever ſhe had any ſuch thought.*] "Honoria, the "Emperor Valentinian's ſiſter, having proſtituted her- "ſelf to the ſteward of her houſhold, was ſhamefully "baniſhed from the palace by her brother, and obliged "afterwards to retire into the Eaſt to the Court of "Theodoſius; this inſpired her with ſo violent a re- "ſentment, that finding no other means to be re- "venged, ſhe ſent ſecretly to Attila, to perſuade "him to invade Italy, the conqueſt of which would "be eaſy for him, conſidering Valentinian's weakneſs, "and the great confuſion in which the affairs of the "whole Empire were (2)." According to Bonfinius's account (3), ſhe was in a Convent when ſhe ſent to found Attila; who finding that buſineſs went on very ſlowly, imagined that he was impoſed upon; which determined him to marry the King of the Bactrians's daughter. Since Honoria was in a Convent, it is a proof that ſhe had not led a chaſte life.

(2) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. de l'Arian.* lib. 11. pag. 6, 7. of the 3d vol. Dutch edit.

(3) *Hiſt. Hungar.* Decad. 1. lib. 7.

HONORIUS the Roman Emperor, and ſon of Theodoſius. That I may not repeat what is to be found in Moreri, I ſhall only mention his marriages. He married ſucceſſively Stilico's two daughters [*A*], who, it is ſaid, died both, without having been known by their huſband. Zoſimus relates hereupon ſome very remarkable particulars [*B*], which

[*A*] *He married . . . Stilico's two daughters.*] The firſt was named Mary, and the other Thermantia. Their mother Serena, who was poſſeſſed with ambition, did not wait till Mary was fit for an huſband, but made haſte to marry her with the Emperor; and after Mary's death, ſhe was as much in haſte to give Thermantia to the ſame Prince. It appears from the words, which I ſhall now tranſcribe, that they both died virgins. *Stilico Comes, cujus filiæ duæ Maria & Thermantia ſingulæ uxores Honorii principis fuerant, utraque tamen virgo defuncta* (1). And yet the Poet Claudianus aſſerts, that Honorius and Mary lay together (2). We ſhall ſee in the following remark what Zoſimus relates.

(1) Marcellin. Comes, *in Chron. apud* Barth. *in Claud.* pag. 766. edit. in 4to.

(2) *Tyrio qua fuſus Honorius oſtro Carpebat teneros Maria cum Conjuge ſomnos.* Claud. *de Bello Gildonico*, ver. 327.

[*B*] . . . . *Zoſimus relates hereupon ſome very remarkable particulars.*] Serena, who could not reſolve to delay her daughter Mary's marriage with the Emperor, nor conſent that nature ſhould ſuffer any violence by the conſummation of Mary's marriage, who was not yet ripe, imagined a certain medium, which was to have Honorius debilitated. She found a woman who was very well ſkilled in that kind of faſcination, and who put Honorius in ſuch a condition, that when he lay with his young ſpouſe he neither would nor could perform what is called the conjugal duty. Mary died in a ſhort time, and with her maidenhead. Honorius courted ſometime after Thermantia, Mary's ſiſter. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ὀνώριος ἀπὸ πολλῆς Μαρίας αὐτῷ τελευτησάσης τὸν γαμετὴν τὴν ταύτης ἀδελφὴν Θερμαντίαν ἠτεῖτο οἱ δοθῆναι πρὸς γάμον (3). *Impera-*

(3) Zoſimus, lib. 5. pag. m. 333.

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which are not to be met with in any other Hiſtorian; but he is juſtly charged with a very great contradiction [C], which is obvious to every reader of the meaneſt capacity.

tor autem Honorius, Maria conjuge jampridem rebus humanis exemta, ſororem ejus Thermantiam ſibi matrimonio jungi petebat. The father did not much like this match, but Serena deſired it moſt paſſionately, in order to ſupport her credit. The wedding was therefore concluded, but this marriage did not laſt long; for Thermantia died ſoon after, having met with the ſame fate as her ſiſter; that is to ſay, that ſhe lay with a man who neither would nor could know her. The witch, whom Serena had before employed, repeated her enchantments. Zoſimus does not relate this expreſly; it is only a conſequence which I infer from his words. Τῷ γάμῳ πρὸς τὴν Μαρίαν Ὁνωρίῳ ἐνιστα μένῳ, γάμων, ὥραν ἤπω τὴν κόρην ἄϱ᾽ ἔσεσθαι ἡ μήτηϱ ὁρῶσα, καὶ ἔτε ἀναβαλέσθαι τὸν γάμον ἀνεχομένη, καὶ τὸ παρ᾽ ἡλικίαν εἰς μίξιν ἐκβῆναι, φύσεως ἀδικίαν καὶ ὕβϱιν ἕτερον εἶναι νομίζουσα, γυναικὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα θεϱαπεύειν ἐπισταμένῃ περιτυχοῦσα, πράττει διὰ ταύτης τὸ συνεῖναι μὲν τὴν θυγατέϱα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἀμόλεκτϱον εἶναι. Τὸν δὲ μήτε ἐθέλειν μήτε δύνασθαι, τὰ τῷ γάμῳ προσήκοντα πράττειν. Ἐν τούτῳ τῆς κόρης ἀπειϱα γάμων ἀποθανούσης, εἰκότως ἡ Σεϱήνα βασιλείᾳ γονῆς ἐπιθυμοῦσα δέει τοῦ μὴ τὴν τοσαύτην αὐτῇ δυναστείαν ἐλαττωθῆναι, τῇ δευτέϱᾳ θυγατϱὶ συνάψαι τὸν Ὁνώϱιον ἔσπευδεν. ἃ δὴ γενομένης τελευτᾷ μὲν ἡ κόρη μετ᾽ ὀλὸν ταὐτὰ τῇ πϱοτέϱᾳ παθοῦσα (4). i. e. "When the marriage of Honorius and Mary was agreed upon, her mother Serena, who knew that her daughter was not yet of an age fit to be married, and who yet could not reſolve to delay the wedding, though ſhe was perſuaded that it was forcing nature to expoſe her ſo young to an huſband; her mother, I ſay, met with a woman who knew how to remedy ſuch things, and by her aſſiſtance ſhe managed the buſineſs ſo, that her daughter lived indeed and lay with the Emperor, but he neither would nor could perform the functions of an huſband. Soon after Mary dying a virgin, Serena, who very much deſired that the Emperor ſhould have children, leſt if he had none, ſhe ſhould loſe her great power, found means to make him marry her other daughter, who alſo died ſoon after, meeting with the ſame fate as her ſiſter had done."

(4) Zoſim. lib. 5. pag. m. 333.

[C] *He is charged with a very great contradiction.*] The reader has ſeen juſt now, that he aſſerts that Thermantia died ſoon after her marriage; yet he tells us in the ſame book, that Honorius having put Stilico to death, ſent Thermantia back to her mother. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ὁνώϱιος τὴν μὲν γαμετὴν Θεϱμαντίαν παϱαλυθεῖσαν τῷ βασιλείῳ θεόντι τῇ μητϱὶ πϱοσέταξε παϱαδίδοσθαι μηδὲν διὰ τοῦ ὑφοϱωμένην (5). *Imperator autem Honorius uxorem Thermantiam auguſtali dejectam ſolio matri ſuæ reddi juſſit, nulla tamen idcirco ſuſpicione gravatam.* Stilico was killed the ſame year in which Honorius married Thermantia, that is to ſay, under the Conſulſhip of Baſſus and Philip, in the year 408. As to Stilico's other daughter, ſhe was married with the Emperor in the year 398, which was the year of the war againſt Gildo. See the paſſage quoted from Claudian (6).

(5) Idem, ibid. pag. 346. and in pag. 350. he mentions the preſents which the Eunuchs received, who had conducted Thermantia to her mother.

(6) In the remark [A].

☞HOOKE (ROBERT) an eminent Engliſh Mathematician and Philoſopher in the ſeventeenth Century, was ſon of Mr. John Hooke (*a*), Miniſter (*b*) of Freſhwater in the Iſle of Wight. He was born there on Saturday July the 18th 1635, and baptized by his father on the 26th of that month (*c*). His father deſigning him for the Miniſtry, took ſome pains to inſtruct him; but his conſtitution being extremely infirm from his infancy, and he being ſubject to frequent pains of the head, his father laid aſide all thoughts of making him a ſcholar. Being thus left to himſelf, he ſpent his time in making "little mechanical toys, in which, as he obſerves himſelf, he was very intent, "and for the tools he had, ſucceſsful; ſo that there was nothing he ſaw done by any "mechanic, but he endeavoured to imitate, and in ſome particulars could exceed." His father obſerving by theſe indications his great inclination to mechanics, thought to put him apprentice to ſome eaſy trade, as that of a Watchmaker or Limner, he ſhewing moſt inclination to thoſe or the like curious mechanical performances; for making uſe of ſuch tools as he could procure, "and ſeeing an old braſs clock taken to pieces, he attempted "to imitate it, and made a wooden one that would go. Much about the ſame time he "made a ſmall ſhip about a yard long, fitly ſhaping it, adding its rigging of ropes, "pullies, maſts, &c. with a contrivance to make it fire off ſome ſmall guns, as it was "ſailing croſs a Haven of a pretty breadth. He had alſo a great fancy for drawing, "having much about the ſame age copied ſeveral prints with a pen, that Mr. *Hoſkins* "(ſon of the famous *Hoſkins*, *Cowper's* maſter) much admired one not inſtructed could "ſo well imitate them." Theſe indications of a mechanic genius appeared in him when very young; for his father died in October 1648 (*d*). How he ſpent ſome of the following years of his life, we have no particular information; except that he was for ſome time with Sir Peter Lely the Painter, though probably not long, the ſmell of the oyl-colours increaſing his head-ach (*e*). After this he was ſent to Weſtminſter-ſchool, and lived with Dr. Buſby, as a ſcholar in his houſe [A]. In 1653 (*f*) he went to Chriſt Church in the Univerſity of Oxford, and became Servitor to Mr. Goodman there (*g*). About the year 1655 he began to diſcover that admirable inventive genius, which afterwards appeared ſo conſpicuous in his writings, which we ſhall give an account of in the note [B]. While he reſided at Oxford, he aſſiſted Dr. Thomas Willis, the Phyſician, in

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1039. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) *Life of Dr. Robert Hooke*, pag. 2. prefixed to the *Poſthumous Works of Dr. Hooke*, edit. London 1705 in fol. Mr. Wood, *ubi ſupra*, ſays that he was Curate of that pariſh.

(*c*) *Life of Dr. Rob. Hooke*, ubi ſupra. Mr. Wood ſays, that he was baptized on the 19th of that month.

(*d*) *Life of Dr. R. Hooke*, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 3.

(*f*) Ibid. Wood, *ubi ſupra*, ſays in 1650.

(*g*) *Life of Dr. Hooke*, pag. 3.

[A] *Lived with Dr. Buſby, as a Scholar in his houſe.*] Mr. Richard Waller tells us (1), that while he continued there, "he applied himſelf to Latin and Greek, "in which he made a ſufficient proficiency for the "time; and had a competent knowledge; and at "the ſame time got ſome inſight into the Hebrew and "ſome other Oriental languages. While he lived "with Dr. *Buſby*, he fell ſeriouſly upon the ſtudy of "the mathematics, the Doctor encouraging him there-"in, and allowing him particular hours for that pur-"poſe. In this he took the moſt regular method, "and firſt made himſelf maſter of *Euclid's Elements*, "and thence proceeded orderly from that ſure baſis to "the other parts of the mathematics, and after to the "application thereof to mechanics, his firſt and laſt "miſtreſs." Mr. Wood obſerves (2), that while he liv'd with Dr. Buſby, *he made himſelf maſter of the firſt ſix books of* Euclid; *and of his own accord learned to play* 20 *leſſons on the organ; and invented thirty ſeveral ways of flying, as he and Dr.* Wilkins *of Wadham College have reported.*

(1) *Life of Dr. Robert Hooke*, pag. 3.

(2) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1039. 2d edit. 1721.

[B] *Began to diſcover that admirable inventive genius, which afterwards appeared ſo conſpicuous in his writings, which we ſhall give an account of in the note.*] With regard to his philoſophical writings at Oxford before the reſtoration and the eſtabliſhment of the Royal Society,

in his chymical operations; who recommended him to Mr. Boyle, whom he likewiſe ſerved in the ſame affair, and explained to him Euclid's Elements and Des Cartes's Philoſophy (*b*). November the 5th 1662 Sir Robert Moray propoſed to the Royal Society a perſon,

(*b*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

Society, he writes thus in ſome manuſcript notes of his. "At theſe meetings, which were about the year 1655, "(before which time I knew little of them) divers "experiments were ſuggeſted, diſcourſed, and tryed "with various ſucceſſes, though no other account was "taken of them but what particular perſons perhaps "did for the help of their own memories; ſo that "many excellent things have been loſt; ſome few "only by the kindneſs of the authors have been ſince "made public. Amongſt theſe may be reckoned the "Honourable Mr. *Boyle's Pneumatic Engine* and Ex-"periments firſt printed in the year 1660; for in 1658 "or 1659 I contrived and perfected the air-pump for "Mr. *Boyle*, having firſt ſeen a contrivance for that "purpoſe made for the ſame honourable perſon by "Mr. Gratorix, which was too groſs to perform any "great matter." The Draught of this air-pump and all its parts, as it was afterwards publiſhed by Mr. Boyle, was in Mr. Waller's hands deſigned by Mr. Hooke, who informed Mr. Waller, that he was then ſent to London by Mr. Boyle, to get the barrel and other parts of that engine, which could not be made at Oxford. "The ſame year, *ſays Mr. Hooke*, I con-"trived and made many tryals about the art of flying "in the air, and moving very ſwift on the land and "water, of which I ſhewed ſeveral deſigns to Dr. "*Wilkins*, then Warden of Wadham College; and at "the ſame time made a module, which by the help "of ſprings and wings, raiſed and ſuſtained itſelf in "the air. But finding by my own tryals, and after-"wards by calculation, that the muſcles of a man's "body were not ſufficient to do any thing conſi-"derable of that kind, I applyed my mind to con-"trive a way to make artificial muſcles; divers de-"ſigns whereof I ſhewed alſo at the ſame time to "Dr. *Wilkins*; but was in many of my tryals fruſ-"trated of my expectations." What is here men-tioned of his attempts about flying, is confirmed by ſe-veral draughts and ſchemes of his upon paper of the me-thod, which might be attempted for that purpoſe, and of ſome contrivances for ſuccedaneous wings, not un-like thoſe of the bats, to the arms and legs of a man; as likewiſe of a contrivance to raiſe him up by means of horizontal vanes placed a little aſlope to the wind, which being blown round, turned an endleſs ſcrew in the center, which helped to move the wings, to be ma-naged by the perſon by this means raiſed aloft. The ſchemes were in the hands of Mr Richard Waller, with ſome few fragments relating thereto, but ſo im-perfect, that he did not judge them fit for the public. But to return to Mr. Hooke's notes. "About this "time having an opportunity of acquainting myſelf "with aſtronomy by the kindneſs of Dr. Ward (3), "I applied myſelf to the improving of the *Pendulum* "for ſuch obſervations; and in the year 1656 or 1657 "I contrived a way to continue the motion of the *Pen-"dulum*, ſo much commended by *Ricciolus* in his *Al-"mageſtum*, which Dr. Ward had recommended to "me to peruſe. I made ſome tryals for this "end, which I found to ſucceed to my wiſh. The "ſucceſs of theſe made me further think of improv-"ing it for finding the longitude; and the method I "had made for myſelf for mechanic inventions quickly "led me to the uſe of ſprings inſtead of gravity for the "making a body vibrate in any poſture; whereupon "I did firſt in great and afterwards in ſmaller mo-"dules ſatisfy myſelf of the practicableneſs of ſuch "an invention, and hoping to have made great ad-"vantage thereby, I acquainted divers of my friends, "and particularly Mr. *Boyle*, that I was poſſeſſed of "ſuch an invention, and craved their aſſiſtance for "improving the uſe of it to my advantage. Im-"mediately after his Majeſty's Reſtoration, Mr. *Boyle* "was pleaſed to acquaint the Lord *Brouncker* and Sir "*Robert Moray* with it, who adviſed me to get a pa-"tent for the invention, and propounded very proba-"ble ways of making conſiderable advantage by it. To "induce them to a belief of my performance, I ſhewed "a pocket-watch accommodated with a ſpring, ap-"plied to the arbor of the Ballance to regulate the "motion thereof, concealing the way I had for find-"ing the longitude. This was ſo well approved of, "that Sir *Robert Moray* drew me up the form of a "patent, the principal part whereof, *viz.* the deſcrip-"tion of the watch, ſo regulated, in his own "hand-writing, I have yet by me; but the diſ-"couragement I met with in the management of this "affair made me deſiſt for that time." In confirma-tion of what is here related, Mr. Waller tells us (4), that he had met with a draught of an agreement be-tween the Lord *Brouncker*, Mr. *Boyle*, and Sir *Robert Moray*, with *Robert Hooke*, M. A. to this purpoſe, that Robert Hooke ſhould diſcover to them the whole of his invention to meaſure the parts of time at ſea as exactly as they are at land by the pendulum clocks invented by Monſieur Huygens. That of the profits to be made thereby not exceeding 6000 pound, Ro-bert Hooke was to have $\frac{1}{4}$: of whatever was made more of it, not exceeding 4000 pound, Robert Hooke was to have $\frac{2}{3}$: of the reſt, if more could be made of it, he was to have the $\frac{1}{2}$; and to be publicly owned the author and inventor thereof. This is the ſubſtance of onedraught. There are ſome others, which differ only in the diviſion of the profits. In purſuance of this deſign there were ſeveral papers drawn up, viz. the draught of an Act of Parliament to oblige all maſters of ſhips to pay ſo much *per* tun for the uſe of this invention; as alſo a warrant to be granted by the King to Robert Hooke M. A. for a patent for the ſole uſe of the ſaid invention for fourteen years, and ſigned by his Majeſty's command, *William Morrice*. Thus far the matter then proceeded: and how it came to ſtop here, may be juſtly wondered; but to give the reader the beſt ſatisfaction we can in this matter, we ſhall tranſcribe a paragraph out of the poſtſcript to his treatiſe of *Helioſcopes*, printed in 1676. "This treaty "with me had been finally concluded for ſeveral thou-"ſand pounds, had not the inſerting of one clauſe "broke it off, which was, *That if after I had diſco-"vered my invention about the finding the longitude by "watches (though in themſelves ſufficient) they or any "other perſon ſhould find a way of improving my prin-"ciples, he or they ſhould have the benefit thereof during "the term of the patent, and not I.* To which clauſe "I could no ways agree, knowing it was eaſy to "vary my principles an hundred ways; and it was "not improbable but there might be ſome addition "of conveniency to what I ſhould at firſt diſcover, it "being *facile inventis addere*; and judging it unreaſon-"able to be deprived of the benefit of my inventions, in "themſelves ſufficient, becauſe others might vary them, "or any other ways improve them, of which it was "very probable they would have no thought, if they "had not the advantage of being inſtructed by my "diſcovery, it having been hid ſome thouſands of "years already, as indeed the effect hath made evident "and certain, there having been nothing done by any "body elſe upon that matter ever ſince. Upon this "point our treaty was broken off, and I concealed the "farther diſcovery of any of the other more conſi-"derable parts of my inventions for the regulating "of time-keepers, as hoping I might find ſome better "opportunity of publiſhing them together with my "way of finding the longitude of places, for which I "hoped to have ſome benefit, to repay all the labour, "ſtudy, and charge I had been at for the perfecting "thereof. Upon this I was told, that *I had better "have then diſcovered all, ſince there were others, that "would find it out within ſix months.* To which I "anſwered, that I would try them one ſeven years; "and it is now above twice ſeven, and I do not find "it yet found out. Indeed Mr. *Huygens* hath made "uſe of that part I diſcovered, and ſomewhat Mr. "*Leibnitz* hath hit upon; but both of them are imper-"fect. About two years after [the breaking off the "abovementioned treaty] I was alarmed by one of "thoſe, that had been concerned in it, who told me, "*he had news that the longitude was found out by a "perſon of honour, by means of Mr.* Huygen's *pendulum "clock, carried to ſea, and hung to the underſide of the deck "of a ſhip by the help of a ball and ſocket.* But upon "his deſcription of the thing I preſently told him,

(4) *Life of Dr. Robert Hooke*, pag. 5.

(3) Dr. Seth Ward, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, and afterwards Biſhop of Sarum.

perſon, who was willing to be entertained as a Curator by the Society, offering to furniſh them every day when they met with three or four conſiderable experiments. This propoſition being unanimouſly received, Mr. Hooke was named to be the perſon, and accordingly on the next day of their meeting November the 12th he was unanimouſly admitted Curator, with the thanks of the Society ordered to Mr. Boyle for diſpenſing with him for their uſe; and they ordered that Mr. Hooke ſhould come and ſit among them, and both bring in every day three or four of his own experiments, and take care of ſuch others as ſhould be recommended to him by the Society (*i*). From this time the Society's Journals gave ſufficient teſtimonies of his performances. In 1663 he was nominated, among others, by the Chancellor of Oxford, to have the degree of Maſter of Arts conferred on him (*k*). The year following Sir John Cutler having founded a mechanic Lecture, he ſettled an annual ſtipend on Mr. Hooke for life, intruſting the Preſident

(*i*) *Life of Dr. Hooke*, pag. 9.

(*k*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2 col. 1039, 1040. and *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 156.

" that *that invention would do mine no harm*; and in-
" deed it was experimentally found uſeleſs to that effect
" not long after, upon a trial made of carrying one of
" the ſaid clocks to ſea in one of his Majeſty's pleaſure-
" boats in the year 1662. The invention indeed in
" itſelf was ingenious, and did much more than what
" Mr. *Huygens* did expect. But wanting a little ad-
" dition (which I concealed, and Mr. *Huygens* hath
" not got yet that I hear of) it failed of the effect that
" was expected. Notwithſtanding this, it was not long
" after publiſhed firſt in Low-Dutch, and immediately
" following in Engliſh, wherein what made for it
" was related, but what made againſt it was concealed,
" though they were both equally known. But on the
" other ſide all that I could obtain was a catalogue of
" difficulties, firſt in the doing of it; ſecondly, in the
" bringing it into public uſe; thirdly, in making ad-
" vantage of it. Difficulties were propounded from the
" alteration of climates, airs, heats, and colds, tempera-
" ture of ſprings, the nature of vibrations, the wear-
" ing of materials, the motion of the ſhip, and di-
" vers others. Next it would be difficult to bring it
" to uſe; for ſeamen know their way already to any
" part, and men would not be at the unneceſſary charge
" of the *Apparatus*; and obſervations of the time could
" not well be made at ſea, and they would no where
" be of uſe, but in the Eaſt and Weſt India voyages,
" which were ſo perfectly underſtood, that every com-
" mon ſeaman almoſt knew how to pilot a ſhip thi-
" ther. And as for making any benefit, all people
" loſt by ſuch undertakings. Much had been talked
" about premiums for the longitude, but there never
" was any ſuch thing; no King or State would ever
" give a farthing for it, and the like." Our author ſuffering this invention to be undiſcovered to the laſt gave ſome perſons cauſe to queſtion, whether he was ever poſſeſſor of it, and to doubt whether what in theory ſeemed very promiſing, would anſwer when put to the teſt of practice. Others indeed more ſeverely judged that it was only a kind of boaſting in him to aſſert that, which had not yet been performed, though attempted by many. However the matter is, it is certain that he perſiſted in the affirmation to the laſt, and not many weeks before his death told Mr. Richard Waller and other perſons, that he knew a certain and infallible method to diſcover the true place of a veſſel at ſea, as to its Eaſt and Weſt diſtance from the port departed from. Whether by watches, or other time-keepers, or by any other ways, it is known; though indeed by what is before mentioned, it ſhould ſeem to be by watches, for the improvement of which he made many trials, and read ſeveral diſcourſes. However, this matter produced the diſcovery of that moſt uſeful and practicable method of regulating pocket-watches by a ſpiral ſpring applied to the arbor of the balance, as they are now made without any conſiderable addition ſince; the account of which we ſhall tranſcribe from the poſtſcript to his diſcourſe of *Helioſcopes* publiſhed in 1676. " Finding, ſays he, in the *Tranſ-*
" *actions* (5), a paſſage inſerted out of the French
" *Journal des Sçavans* about the invention of *applying*
" *a ſpring to the balance of a watch for the regulating*
" *the motion thereof*, without at all taking notice that
" this invention was firſt found out by an Engliſhman,
" and long ſince publiſhed to the world; I muſt beg
" the reader's patience, whilſt I, in vindication of my
" own right againſt ſome unhandſome proceedings, do
" acquaint him with the ſtate of the matter. About
" ſeventeen years ſince, being very inquiſitive about
" regulating the meaſure of time, in order to find the
" longitude, I did (from a *Mechanical Algebra*, which
" I was then maſter of) find out and perfect this
" contrivance, both as to the theory and experimen-
" tal verification thereof, of which I then diſcourſed
" to ſeveral of my friends, but concealed the modus.
" About fifteen years ſince, *viz.* in the year 1660, I
" was in treaty with divers perſons of honour for the
" diſcovery thereof upon propoſed articles of encourage-
" ment. This I can prove by undeniable witneſſes
" yet living, and I have ſtill all the papers, articles,
" and tranſactions of this matter by me in their own
" hand-writing. In order to bring this treaty to
" paſs, I was neceſſitated to diſcover ſomething of my
" invention about meaſuring time, which was this
" way of applying ſprings to the arbor of the balance
" of a watch, for the regulating the vibrations thereof
" in all poſtures. And this I did to the end I might
" gain ſomewhat of belief to theſe noble perſons, with
" whom I was to treat, that I had ſomewhat more
" than ordinary, and was not one of the heard-of pre-
" tenders to that invention, which effect it had. In the
" year 1664 I read ſeveral of my firſt *Cutlerian Lectures*
" upon this ſubject in the open hall at Greſham Col-
" lege, at which were preſent, beſides a great num-
" ber of the Royal Society, many ſtrangers. I there
" ſhewed the ground and reaſon of that application of
" ſprings to a balance of a watch for regulating its
" motion, and explained briefly the true nature and
" principle of ſprings to ſhew the phyſical and geo-
" metrical ground of them. And I explained above
" twenty ſeveral ways, by which ſprings might be ap-
" plied to do the ſame thing; and how the vibrations
" might be ſo regulated, as to make their durations
" either all equal, or the greater ſlower or quicker
" than the reſt, and that in any proportion aſſign-
" ed. Some of theſe ways were applicable to leſſer
" vibrations, others to greater, as of 2, 3, 4, 5,
" 6; or what number of revolutions were deſired; the
" models of which I there produced, and I did at the
" ſame time ſhew wherein the aforeſaid ſea-clocks were
" defective. All theſe particulars were at ſeveral other
" times diſcourſed of and tried before the Royal So-
" ciety. I alſo, at the earneſt deſire of ſome friends,
" in the years 1664 and 1665, did cauſe ſome of
" the ſame watches to be made, though I was unwil-
" ling to add any of the better applications of the
" ſpring to them, as waiting a better opportunity for
" my advantage. Of all theſe things the Publiſher of
" the *Tranſactions* was not ignorant, and Mr. *Huygens*
" might have heard of them, at leaſt he might have
" read enough in the *Hiſtory of the Royal Society* to have
" informed him in this matter. For in page 247 of
" that *Hiſtory*, amongſt other experimented inventions,
" there are recounted ſeveral new ways of *Pendulum*
" *Watches for the pocket, wherein the motion is regu-*
" *lated by Springs*, &c. Mr. Huygens might therefore,
" if he had pleaſed, have mentioned the firſt inven-
" tor; as he might alſo that of the *circular Pendu-*
" *lum*, which is mentioned in the ſame page of the
" aforeſaid *Hiſtory*. But though he would not own
" that he knew my publiſhed invention, yet I am ſure,
" he hath manifeſted, that he knows no more than
" what I had formerly diſcovered, he having not in
" the leaſt mentioned the other contrivance, without
" which the other part of the invention is but lame
" and imperfect. Wanting that, the ſaid watches will
" not be exact, nor ſhew the longitude at ſea or land;
" but on the contrary they will be ſubject to great ine-
" qualities

(5) Num. 112. pag. 272.

ſident, Council and Fellows of the Royal Society to direct and appoint him with reſpect to the ſubject and number of his Lectures. January the 11th 166$\frac{4}{5}$ he was elected by that Society Curator of Experiments for life, with an additional Salary to Sir John Cutler's annuity (*l*). During the receſs of the Royal Society on account of the plague in 1665, he attended Dr. Wilkins and ſome other ingenious Gentlemen into Surrey, near Banſtead Downs, where they made ſeveral Experiments (*m*). September the 19th 1666 he produced to the Royal Society a model for rebuilding the City of London deſtroyed by fire, with which the Society were well pleaſed; and Sir John Laurence, the late Lord Mayor, addreſſed himſelf to the Society, expreſſing the preſent Lord Mayor's and Aldermen's approbation of it, they preferring it before the model of the City Surveyor. It is ſaid, that by one part of this model of Mr. Hooke's it was deſigned to have all the chief ſtreets, as from Leaden-Hall-Corner to Newgate, and the like, to lie in an exact ſtrait

(*l*) *Life of Dr. Hooke*, pag. 10, 11.

(*m*) Ibid. pag. 11.

" qualities of motion and carriage, and will be apt " with many of theſe motions to be ſtopped. . . I for- " bear now to mention any farther the carriage of " the writer of the *Tranſactions* in this affair." Mr. Hooke's reſentment to Mr. Oldenburg, the publiſher of the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, appears ſtrongly from this paſſage; and the reaſon of it was, that when Mr. Oldenburg inſerted an extract of the *Journal des Sçavans* concerning Mr. Huygens's new invention *of very exact and portative watches*, he did not take notice, that this invention was firſt found out by Mr. Hooke, and long ſince publiſhed by him to the world. Mr. Oldenburg, on occaſion of his advertiſing this very treatiſe of *Helioſcopes* in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* for the year 1675, No. 118, undertakes to juſtify himſelf from any blame on this account by ſaying, " It is " certain the deſcriber of helioſcopes ſome years ago " cauſed to be actually made ſome watches of this " kind, yet without publiſhing a deſcription of them " *in print* to the world. And it is as true, that none " of theſe watches ſucceeded, nor was any thing ſince " done to amend the invention, until Mr. Huygens, by " a letter to the Royal Society, communicated to them " a contrivance of his very exact pocket-watches; for " which intelligence the ſaid Society thought fit to " return him thanks, yet ſo as to intimate to him, " that Mr. Hooke had ſome years ago invented a " watch of the like ſtructure. Not long after this " came over a deſcription of Mr. Huygens's invention, " together with a delineation of the figure of the " ſame, which I produced at the public meeting of " the Royal Society, where Mr. Hooke not only ſaw " it, but took a copy of the figure itſelf at the ſame " time . . . . Which done, both figure and deſcription " were at Mr. Huygen's deſire printed in the *Tranſ-* " *actions*, No. 112; Mr. Hooke well knowing, that " they were deſigned to be publiſhed in one of thoſe " tracts, and who might therefore, if he had deſired " notice ſhould be taken at the ſame time of his earlier " invention, have given the author of them ſome inti- " mation of it, which would certainly have been " complied with, as hath been done upon other occa- " ſions; witneſs ſeveral of the ſame tracts, wherein " divers diſcoveries of this accuſer have been formerly " both printed and vindicated from the uſurpation of " others." Mr. Hooke was highly provoked at Mr. Oldenburg's aſſerting, that *none of his watches ſucceeded*; and therefore in the poſtſcript to his *Lampas*, printed at London 1677, he thus replies to it. " The publiſher of the *Tranſactions* in that of October " 1675, endeavours to cover former injuries by accu- " mulating new ones . . . . Otherwiſe he would not " have affirmed, that *none of my watches ſucceeded*. " For how could he be ſure of a negative, whom I " have not acquainted with my inventions, ſince I " looked on him as one, that made a trade of intelli- " gence? Next, whereas he denies their being pub- " liſhed to the world *in print*, he prevaricates, and " would have it believed they were not publiſhed to " the world, though they were publickly read of in " Sir John Cutler's Lectures; . . . . and though they " were made and ſhewn to thouſands both Engliſh " and foreigners, and writ of to many; and laſtly, " in the year 1666 publiſhed to the world *in print* " in the *Hiſtory of the Royal Society*." Mr. Hooke likewiſe anſwers to what Mr. Oldenburg alledged about his taking a copy of Mr. *Huygen*'s draught and deſcription, and to ſome other particulalars of his defence. But as he had inſinuated, that Mr. Oldenburg was not faithful in the management of the Royal Society's intelligence, the latter obtained the following declaration from the Council of the Society, dated November 20, 1676. " Whereas the publiſher of the " *Philoſophical Tranſactions* hath made complaint to " the Council of the Royal Society of ſome paſſages " in a late book of Mr. Hooke, intitled, *Lampas*, &c. " and printed by the Printer of the ſaid Society, re- " flecting on the integrity and faithfulneſs of the ſaid " publiſher in his management of the intelligence of " the ſaid Society: this Council hath thought fit to " declare in the behalf of the publiſher aforeſaid, that " they knew nothing of the publication of the ſaid " book; and farther, that the ſaid publiſher hath car- " ried himſelf faithfully and honeſtly in the manage- " ment of the intelligence of the Royal Society, and " given no juſt cauſe of ſuch reflection." Mr. Richard Waller obſerves (6), that Mr. Hooke informed him, that about the year 1660, he having ſhewn a move- ment regulated by a ſpiral ſpring to the Lord Brouncker, &c, and "Mr. Huygens having for ſome time ap- " plied himſelf to invent ſeveral ways to regulate time- " keepers by the correſpondence he held with Mr. " Oldenburg, among other matters had notice of " this, for which there was afterwards an application " made to procure a patent. This is indeed poſſible, " continues Mr. Waller; but whether it were ſo or not, " I cannot determine. That Mr. Hooke had, many " years before Huygens mentioned it, diſcovered the " invention, is certain by what is related in *the Hiſtory* " *of the Royal Society* among ſeveral new inventions, " in theſe words; *There have been invented ſeveral* " *kinds of pendulum watches for the pocket, wherein the* " *motion is regulated by ſprings*, &c. Now though " this does not mention the ſprings being ſpiral, or " faſtned to the arbor of the ballance, yet it appears " it was ſo by what is related above; and a paſſage " I have ſeen in a letter from Sir *Robert Moray* to " Mr. Oldenburg, dated Oxon Sept. 30, 1665, clears " it, in which are theſe words: *You* [meaning Olden- " burg] *will be the firſt that knows when his* [that is " Huygens's] *watches will be ready; and I will there-* " *fore expect from you an account of them, and, if he* " *imparts to you what he does, let me know it. To that* " *purpoſe you may aſk him, if he* doth not apply a " ſpring to the arbor of the balance, *and that will* " *give him occaſion to ſay ſomewhat to you. If it* " *be that, you may tell him what Hooke* HAS " DONE IN THAT MATTER, AND WHAT HE " INTENDS MORE. Although I cannot be aſſur- " ed what Oldenburg wrote to Monſieur Huy- " gens; yet it is probable their intimacy procured " what he knew; and it is evident, that Huygens's " diſcovery of this was firſt publiſhed in the *Journal* " *des Sçavans*, and from thence in the *Philoſophical* " *Tranſactions* for March 25th, 1675, about ten years " after that letter of Sir Robert Moray's, and near " fifteen after Hooke's firſt diſcovery of it. To this " I ſhall add what Mr. Oldenburg has printed, *Philoſ.* " *Tranſact.* No. 118. *It is certain the deſcriber of* " *Helioſcopes* [meaning Hooke] *ſome years ago cauſed* " *to be actually made ſome watches of this kind; which* " *indeed* (he there ſays) *were unſucceſsful*. Which " whether ſo or not, I cannot learn ſo many years " after, though I am inclined to think that expreſſion " proceeded from paſſion; the invention and principle " of Hooke's and Huygens's being both the very ſame " as are now uſed." Mr. Waller then remarks (7), that in the declaration of the Council of the Royal Society in behalf of Mr. Oldenburg, there is no contradiction to Mr. Hooke's being the firſt in that inven- tion;

(6) *Life of Dr. Hooke*, pag. 6.

(7) Ibid. pag. 7.

ſtrait line, and all the other croſs ſtreets turning out of them at right angles, and all the churches, public buildings, market-places, &c. in proper and convenient places. The rebuilding of the city, according to the Act of Parliament, requiring an able perſon to ſet out the ground to the ſeveral proprietors, Mr. Hooke was pitched upon and appointed one of the City-Surveyors, Mr. John Oliver a glaſs-painter being the other (*n*). In this employment he got moſt part of that eſtate, which he died poſſeſſed of, as was evident by a large iron cheſt of money found after his death, which had been locked down with the key in it, with a date of the time, by which it appeared to have been ſo ſhut up for above thirty years. In this was contained the greateſt part of what he left behind him, which was to the value of many thouſand pounds in gold and ſilver. "That "he might by this place juſtly acquire a conſiderable eſtate, *ſays Mr. Waller* (*o*). I think "cannot be denied, every particular perſon after the fire being in haſte to have his concerns

(*n*) Ibid. pag. 13; *and* Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(*o*) *Life of Dr. R. Hooke*, pag. 13.

tion; and that it cannot be denied but that Mr. Hooke was frequently deſired to perfect his inventions about watches and time-keepers, which, when urged, he as often promiſed, and when any new contrivance was by any perſon produced, he then ſhewed ſomething of his own, either the ſame, or excelling it, which was a proof that he had tried the ſame before. Particularly when on the 9th of Auguſt 1666, Mr. Mercator ſhewed to the Society a watch of his own invention, repreſenting the æquation of time to the approbation of the company, Mr. Hooke at the ſame time produced a new piece of watch-work of his own contrivance to meaſure time exactly both at ſea and land, of which he was deſired to bring in the deſcription, which, though promiſed, was, it ſeems, never done. But to proceed to our author's other performances; in 1655 and 1656, there were many curious experiments, obſervations, and enquiries made at Oxford, and inſtruments for thoſe purpoſes contrived, as particularly the Barometer, of which Mr. Hooke ſays, the firſt occaſion of the invention was a ſuggeſtion of Mr. Chriſtopher Wren, in order to find whether the hypotheſis of Des Cartes for giving the reaſon of the tides from the preſſure of the moon upon the air in its paſſage by the Meridian were true or not. About 1658 or 1659, he obſerves that he "contrived ſeveral Aſtronomical inſtruments for "making obſervations both at ſea and land, which "I afterwards, *ſays he*, produced before the Royal "Society." Some of theſe ſeem to be the inſtruments mentioned in his Aſtronomical Lectures publiſhed in his *Poſthumous Works* (8). About the ſame time he contrived the Circular Pendulum, and the uſe of it for continuing the motion of another Pendulum, which he afterwards ſhewed to the Royal Society in 1663; about which time and afterwards there are ſeveral particulars relating to the Circular Pendulum entered into the Journals of that Society as his. A movement to this purpoſe is deſcribed in his *Animadverſions on the firſt part of the* Machina Cœleſtis, *p.* 68, *Edit. London*, 1674. In 1661 he publiſhed at London in 8vo. *An Attempt for the explanation of the Phænomena, obſervable in an experiment publiſhed by the Honourable* Robert Boyle, *Eſq; in the XXXVth Experiment of his* Epiſtolical Diſcourſe touching the Air; and the ſame year at London in 4to, *A Diſcourſe of a new Inſtrument lately invented by him to make more accurate Obſervations in Aſtronomy than ever were yet made, &c.* May 14th or December 17th 1662, he read to the Society *an Account of the Diverſity of the Parts of water*. November 26th, *A brief Account of the Experiments tried with Glaſs-Balls, and a conjecture of the cauſe*. December 10th, *An Account of the Rarifaction of the Air; and Obſervables in the ſix branched Figures frozen in Urine; Figures obſerved in Waters frozen; Figures obſerved in ſnow:* And *of the difference of Gravity by removing the body further from the Surface of the Earth upwards*. December the 24th he read a paper *of driving Water out of a Glaſs by its own Vapours*. January 14th, 166$\frac{2}{3}$, he read an account *of ſome Tryals for finding how much the preſſure of Water is increaſed by the Deſcent of heavier, or the Aſcent of lighter bodies therein*; and *An Account of an Experiment touching the different Weight of cold and warm water*. January the 28th, he read *an Account of ſome Tryals for finding out the Preſſure of the parts of Water upon one another, and the elaſtical power of the Air*. February the 11th he read a paper *of the Refraction of Ice*. February the 18th he read *a Deſcription of the Inſtrument for finding the Force of falling Bodies*. May the 6th, 1663, he read *Queries concerning the Condenſation of Air, to be reſolved by Experiments in the Compreſſing Engine*. May the 13th he read a paper *of Experiments propoſed to be made in the Compreſſing Engine*. And on the ſame day, or the 20th following, he read *an Account of what happened to a Carp included in a veſſel of Water, out of which the Air was pretty well exhauſted*. June the 3d he read a paper *of the exhauſting Air out of Water, which returns into Water again*. July the 1ſt or 15th he ſhewed *an Experiment touching the uniting and mixing of Air and Water*. July the 22d he read *a Deſcription of the Water-raiſing-Engine preſented by his Highneſs Prince* Rupert *to the Society, after the way of* Cavallerius's Hydrocantiſterium novum. September the 9th he read *a Deſcription of an Inſtrument for tryal of Gun-powder*. February the 10th he read *an Account of Experiments concerning the Weight of the Air, and the Proportion of the Weight of the Air to that of Water*. April the 13th 1664, he read *an Account of an Experiment of the riſing of Water in the Bolt-head upon Immerſion in cold, and falling thereof upon the Immerſion of it in hot*. April the 27th he ſhewed *an Experiment for the Condenſation of Spirit of Wine; and another for the Condenſation of Water*. June the 8th he read *a brief Relation of ſome Obſervations made, and of the beſt information that could be had concerning the Effects of a Clap of Thunder and Lightening, which happened June the 7th, 1664, about four in the Afternoon at the Sign of the Poet's Head in Piccadilly, London*. In July he produced an experiment to ſhew the number of Vibrations of an extended ſtring made in a determinate time, requiſite to give a certain tone or note, by which it was found that a wire making two hundred ſeventy two vibrations in one ſecond of time, ſounded *G Sol Re Ut* in the ſcale of all Muſic (9). He made likewiſe other experiments of the diviſion of a Monochord. November the 2d, he read *an Account of a Viper's Teeth*; and November the 23d *an Account of opening a Viper*. December the 14th he read *Some Conſiderations about the moſt likely Way of ſettling an univerſal meaſure by the help of Pendulums*. In 1665 he publiſhed his *Micrographia: or ſome philoſophical Deſcriptions of minute Bodies made by magnifying Glaſſes, with Obſervations and Enquiries thereupon*. London &c. in folio. March the 21ſt 166$\frac{5}{6}$ he read a paper concerning *gravity*. About the ſame time he produced a very ſmall quadrant for obſerving accurately to minutes and ſeconds. It had an area moving on it by means of a ſcrew lying on the limb of the quadrant. Poſſibly this was the firſt ever made after that manner, though it is now ſufficiently known and practiſed. A large one of this ſort and of all its parts, with the reſt of the *Apparatus* and manner of uſing it, is at large publiſhed by Mr. Hooke in 1674 in his *Animadverſions* on Hevelius's *Machina Cœleſtis*, p. 54. May the 23d 1666 he read a paper, "explicating (as is ſaid in "the Journals of the Royal Society) the inflexion of a "direct motion into a curve by a ſupervening attractive "principle, which was ordered to be regiſtered. The "diſcourſe contained therein is an introduction to an "experiment to ſhew that circular motion is com-"pounded of an endeavour by a direct motion by the "tangent, and of another endeavour tending to the "center. To which purpoſe there was a *Pendulum* "faſtened to the roof of the room with a large wooden "ball of *Lignum Vitæ* on the end of it: and it was "found, that if the *Impetus* of the endeavour by the "tangent at the firſt ſetting out was ſtronger than the "endeavour to the center, there was generated ſuch an "elliptical

(8) See pag. 500, &c.

(9) *Life of Dr. Hooke*, pag. 10.

" cerns expedited; ſo that, as I have been informed, he had no reſt early and late from " perſons ſolliciting to have their grounds ſet out; which, without any fraud or in- " juſtice, deſerved a due recompence in ſo fatiguing an employ." Mr. Oldenburg, Secretary of the Royal Society, dying during the Society's receſs in 1677, Mr. Hooke was deſired to take his place, and write down the minutes of what conſiderable matters paſt, which he did on the 25th of October the ſame year (*p*). In the beginning of the year 1687 his brother's daughter Mrs. Grace Hooke died, who had lived with him ſeveral years, the concern for whoſe death he hardly ever wore off, being obſerved from that time to grow leſs active, and more melancholy and cynical (*q*). In December 1691 having received a warrant from Dr. Tillotſon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for a degree of Doctor of Phyſic, he went on the 7th day of that month, and took the oaths before Sir Charles Hedges in Doctors Commons. About this time he was employed about the contriving

(*p*) Ibid. pag. 20.

(*q*) Ibid. pag. 24.

" elliptical motion whoſe longeſt diameter was parallel " to the direct endeavour of the body at the firſt im- " pulſe. But if that *Impetus* were weaker than that " endeavour to the center, there was generated ſuch an " elliptical motion, whoſe ſhorteſt diameter was pa- " rallel to the endeavour of the body in the firſt point " of the impulſe. If both were equal, there was made " a perfect circular motion. There was alſo made " another experiment by faſtening another pendulous " body by a ſhort ſtring on the lower part of the wire, " by which the greater weight was ſuſpended, that " it might freely make a circular or elliptical mo- " tion round the bigger, whilſt the bigger moved cir- " cularly or elliptically about the center; the intention " whereof was to explicate the manner of the moon's " motion about the earth, it appearing evidently there- " by, that neither the biggeſt ball, which repreſented " the earth, nor the leſs, which repreſented the moon, " were moved in ſo perfect a circle or ellipſis, as other- " wiſe they would have been, if either of them had " been ſuſpended and moved ſingly; but that a certain " point, which ſeemed to be the center of gravity of " the two bodies (howſoever poſited and conſidered, as " one) ſeemed to be regularly moved, in ſuch a cir- " cle or ellipſis, the two balls having other peculiar " motions in ſmall epicycles about the ſaid point." Auguſt the 1ſt 1666 he read his *Obſervations of the Comet* in 1664, afterwards printed in his Tracts, and intitled, *Cometa*. November the 21ſt he read an *Account of Inclining Pendulums*. September the 19th he produced a model for rebuilding the city of London deſtroyed by the great fire. January the 9th 166$\frac{6}{7}$ he was ordered by the Royal Society to proſecute his obſervations of the earth's parallax propoſed by him formerly. A large account of the reſult of his obſervations therein was printed in his *Attempt to prove the Motion of the Earth*, London 1674, in 4to; being the firſt of his *Cutlerian* Lectures publiſhed. February the 28th following he firſt produced his *reflecting Teleſcope*, which is deſcribed, with the reaſon of the principle, in his treatiſe of *Helioſcopes* printed in 1676. In a letter of Mr. John Collins, F. R. S. to a friend concerning Mr. Newton's reflecting teleſcope, communicated to us by the very ingenious William Jones Eſq; F. R. S. we have the following paſſage. " Mr. Hook " finding Mr. Newton's reflecting teleſcope to gain " eſteem, did ſoon after put in a propoſal in writing " to the Royal Society in words to this effect. The " perfection of teleſcopes, microſcopes, ſcotoſcopes, " and burning-glaſſes, by figures as eaſily made, as " thoſe that are plain or ſpherical, whereby the light " and magnitude of objects is prodigiouſly encreaſed, " and whatſoever hath hitherto been attempted, or al- " moſt deſired in dioptrics, and accompliſhed with a " cypher containing the myſtery: the which he diſ- " cloſed to Lord Brouncker and Dr. Wren, who re- " port plauſibly of it. And what is done in this way, " is perſormed by glaſs refraction. Mr. Hook more- " over affirmed, *coram multis*, that in the year 1664, " he made a little tube, of about an inch long, to put " in his fob, which performs more than any teleſcope " of fifty feet long, made after the common manner: " but the plague happening, which cauſed his abſence, " and the fire, whence redounded profitable employ- " ments about the city, he neglected to proſecute the " ſame, being unwilling the glaſs-grinders ſhould know " any thing of the ſecret." March the 14th following he read to the Society a paper about making *a lamp that ſhall always keep the ſurface of the oyle at the ſame height till it is ſpent*. March the 21ſt he read *a Deſcription of a very eaſy and ſimple Inſtrument, but univerſal, for the Deſcriptions of all kinds of plain Dials, whether Horizontal, Mural, Inclined, Reclined, or Declined, together with a Declaration of the Principles and Reaſons of it*. June the 17th 1667 and afterwards he read ſeveral diſcourſes of the cauſes, powers, and effects of *Earth-quakes*, affirming the great hills and mountains in the world to have been raiſed by them; of which ſubject he at ſeveral times afterwards made very many diſcourſes and lectures, the greateſt part of which are publiſhed in his *Poſthumous works*. In July 1667 he tryed ſeveral experiments upon himſelf in an *Exhauſted Receiver* large enough to contain a man. At this time he contrived a *Micrometer* of leſs charge and difficulty than that invented by Mr. Gaſcoigne with ſcrews. This ſeems to be the ſame with that deſcribed in his *Poſthumous works* p. 498. December 19 he exhibited to the Royal Society *ſome Experiments concerning Reſpiration upon Fœtus's taken out of a maſtiff bitch*. December the 26th he brought in a farther deſcription of a *Sea-Barometer*. The ſame year his *Method for making an Hiſtory of the Weather* was printed in Sprat's *Hiſtory of the Royal Society*, p. 173. January the 2d 167$\frac{7}{8}$ he propoſed to the Royal Society *ſome ways of diſcovering the various preſſures of the air*. January the 16th he produced his new contrivance of promoting the vibrations of pendulums, ſo as to prevent all checks, which he affirmed had not been provided againſt by any contrivance to that time. March the 12th he exhibited the deſcription of an inſtrument for collecting the wind, or for making the ſlower motions of the air ſenſible. April the 9th 1668 he produced two inſtruments to promote the ſenſe of hearing. May the 14th he ſhewed an experiment of the penetration of liquors in oyl of vitriol and fair water. May the 21ſt he gave an account of an experiment of ſtatics to examine the incorporating of liquors. May the 28th he read an account of an experiment to ſhew the dilatation of bodies. June the 11th he communicated an obſervation about the ſeed of moſs. He afterwards propoſed to the Royal Society ſeveral methods of meaſuring of a degree of the earth, and invented ſeveral inſtruments; and, as is entered in the *Journal* of that Society, October the 28th 1669, he was of opinion, " that one of the exacteſt ways of meaſuring was, by " making accurate obſervations of the heavens to a " ſecond by a perpendicular tube, and then to take " exact diſtances by angles to a ſecond alſo." This ſeems to be the method obſerved by the French not long after, as may be ſeen by a particular treatiſe of it publiſhed by Monſieur Picart, as likewiſe by what Du Hamel ſays in his *Hiſtory of the Academy of Sciences*, pag. 98. It appears alſo by ſome notices and looſe papers of Mr. Hooke, that he invented a ſort of travelling calaſh for this purpoſe, which ſhould deſcribe upon a paper, not only the menſuration of the way gone over, but the ſeveral aſcents and deſcents, together with the turnings and windings of the calaſh, or the points of the compaſs, upon which the perſon travelled, with other contrivances. There were alſo other models for meaſuring a degree propoſed to be made in St. James's Park on the Canal, which were never proſecuted. In January 16$\frac{7}{8}$ he firſt propoſed a drop of Mercury for an univerſal ſtandard, which is deſcribed more at large in his *Poſthumous Works*, pag. 472. In April following he ſhewed an experiment with a ſolution of copper to repreſent the appearance of clouds and other aerial meteors, by dropping into it ſeveral ſalts, &c. At

contriving and ſurveying the hoſpital near Hoxton, given by the will of Alderman Aſke, and remarkable for the due proportion of its parts, and beauty of the whole. He was blamed for exceeding the ſum at firſt propoſed to be expended upon it; and he owned to Mr. Richard Waller, that it had far exceeded the firſt eſtimate, which he had given in of the charges, but not by his fault or miſtake, but partly by new additions and alterations of the firſt deſign, and chiefly by his not procuring and agreeing with the workmen himſelf; which if he had done, as he ſaid, he would have engaged that it ſhould have come to little or no more than his firſt propoſed ſum. He alſo propoſed, that there might be inſtituted in that place a mathematical ſchool for boys to be inſtructed in the principles of Aſtronomy and Navigation; which at firſt was well approved of by the perſons concerned in the management of that affair (*r*). On the 18th of July 1696 his Chancery-ſuit for Sir John Cutler's ſalary was determined in his favour to his great

(*r*) Ibid. pag. 25.

the ſame time he ſhewed the uſe of introducing the ſpecies into a dark room for painting, and contrived a box for that purpoſe. In March 1671 he ſhewed ſeveral experiments to explain the nature and cauſe of gravity. Particularly on the 9th of that month an experiment was made, in which ſome flower put into a void ſhallow glaſs with a large ſloping brim and a pretty tall foot, was made to riſe and ran over like a fluid, by the knocking on the edge of the glaſs, and alſo by the forcibly moving of one's finger round the edge of the ſame. Leaden bullets alſo being put into this glaſs did by knocking move it like a fluid. This was propoſed to conſider what might be the cauſe of gravity, and ſuggeſt an hypotheſis to explicate the motion of gravity. The ſame year ſeveral diſcourſes and papers paſt between him and Mr. Iſaac Newton concerning a new theory of light and colours. About this time he made a propoſition for perfecting all ſorts of optic glaſſes, the ſecret of which was delivered in an anagram to the Lord Brouncker. Not long after this began a diſpute between Monſieur Hevelius and Mr. Hooke concerning the preference of plain and teleſcopical ſights for aſtronomical inſtruments, which was thus occaſioned. Mr. Hooke by means of Mr. Oldenburg had recommended to Hevelius the application of teleſcopical ſights to his exquiſitely contrived and elaborated inſtruments, affirming that by them an angle might be taken to a much greater exactneſs than with plain ſights, and gave him a ſhort, but, as he thought, a ſufficient information of the manner of applying them to the inſtrument; and intimated, that if any thing required a farther explication, he was ready to give it. However Hevelius could not be prevailed with to make uſe of them; whether he thought himſelf too experienced to be informed by a young Aſtronomer, as he conſidered Mr. Hooke; or whether having made ſo many obſervations with plain ſights, he was unwilling to alter his method, leſt he might bring their exactneſs into queſtion; or whether being by long practice accuſtomed to the uſe of them, and not throughly apprehending the uſe of the other, nor well underſtanding the difference, as Mr. Molyneux has obſerved in his *Dioptrics*, is indeed uncertain. Not long after came out the *firſt Part* of his *Machina Cæleſtis*; and Mr. Hooke took occaſion in his *Cutlerian Lectures* to read ſeveral diſcourſes upon that book and the inſtruments therein deſcribed, which Lectures were printed in 1674 at London in 4to, under the title of *Animadverſions on the firſt Part of the* Machina Cœleſtis *of the learned and deſervedly famous Aſtronomer* Johan. Hevelius, *Conſul of Dantzick*. In this Treatiſe defending zealouſly the uſe of teleſcopic ſights and their preference to plain ſights, he happened to let fall ſome expreſſions, which gave offence to Hevelius; who ſeveral years after publiſhed his *Annus Climactericus*, which revived the diſpute, and cauſed ſeveral learned men to intereſt themſelves in the controverſy. We ſhall here ſubjoin from Mr. Hooke's manuſcripts what he wrote himſelf in anſwer to what ſome perſons had written upon this ſubject. But for the better underſtanding of this, we ſhall obſerve, firſt, that Hevelius having ſent his *Annus Climactericus* to the Royal Society, Dr. Wallis was deſired to give an account of it, which was printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* Num. 175. pag. 1162, in which the Doctor having uſed ſome expreſſions, which Mr. Hooke thought reflected too ſeverely upon him; and Mr. Molyneux not long after ſending a letter to the ſame purpoſe, he wrote the following vindication of himſelf. "There having been lately "read in a meeting of this honourable Society a let"ter from Mr. Molyneux, containing ſeveral reflec"tions that concerned me, which, without ſome ſa"tisfactory anſwer, muſt needs make me ſuffer in the "opinion of thoſe, who have not truly underſtood "the matter of controverſy; and the high eſteem "I have of the juſtice and judgment of this illuſtrious "company, perſuades me the rather to make my de"fence here. The objections in the letter were theſe. "That if it be true, which has been aſſerted, not "only by ſome celebrated Aſtronomers, but chiefly "by Mr. Hooke in his *Animadverſions*, &c. the en"deavours of Hevelius will be fruſtrated, and his "vaſt charges to no more purpoſe than Tycho's, and "all his ſplendid Apparatus but meer lumber. For "upon this queſtion as to plain ſights, the price of "his Aſtronomical labours of his whole life depends. "But ſurely this were an event highly deplorable, "not only to the party himſelf immediately con"cerned, but the whole *Reſpublica Literaria*. Se"condly, mention is made of the ſlightneſs and "ſmallneſs of what I had publiſhed, which was "only a pamphlet, that aſſerted, that notwithſtand"ing all this, yet merely for want of teleſcopic "ſights and ſome new kind of invented diviſions on "Mr. Hevelius's inſtruments, I went ſo far as to "doubt, whether his obſervations could be true, and "always the ſame to two or three minutes, and that "the whole import of it beſides this was nothing but "the deſcription of an inſtrument, which he never "heard was put in practice. The third objection "againſt me is, that though Monſieur Hevelius had "earneſtly requeſted from me or any one elſe, that "had teleſcopic inſtruments, to ſend him ſome diſ"tances of fixed ſtars obſerved by them; yet he "could never be ſo happy as to obtain any from me, "though afterwards he did from ſome others, &c. "Theſe and ſome other diſcourſes ſpread abroad ta"citly inſinuate, that the publiſhing thoſe *Animad"verſions* was a very ill action; and the learned in "general have received a great prejudice thereby. It "concerns me therefore to clear myſelf of this im"putation. For anſwer then I ſay, Firſt, If what I "have publiſhed in thoſe *Animadverſions* be true and "certain, then I deſire to know whether it were bet"ter for the *Reſpublica Literaria* to be acquainted "with it, or to remain poſſeſſed with the belief of "ſome aſſertions of Monſieur Hevelius, which are "really miſtakes (not to ſay worſe) though poſſibly "till that time, wherein I publiſhed them, they were "generally believed to be truths, as he has taken a "great deal of pains to induce a belief of in the "*Firſt Part* of his *Machina Cæleſtis* from pag. 293 "to pag. 300. which I rather mention, becauſe "ſome perſons have thought and aſſerted, that I was "the firſt aggreſſor in print, the contrary to which "thoſe ſix pages aſſert. Secondly, Whether thoſe "deplorable events of leſſening the price of Monſieur "Hevelius's works, if that were true, when put into "the balance, will outweigh the detecting a miſtake, "or diſcovery of a truth in a matter of ſo great mo"ment in Natural Philoſophy, as concerns the moſt "conſiderable parts of knowledge in the theory of "the Univerſe, eſpecially of celeſtial bodies; for if "truth be that, which is moſt prevalent with all "philoſophical ſpirits againſt any particular intereſt; "then,

great ſatisfaction, after it had made him uneaſy for ſeveral years. In his Diary he ſhews his ſenſe of it in theſe terms DOMSH GLISSA, which may be read thus: *Deo opt. max. ſummus Honor, Gloria in ſecula ſeculorum Amen. I was born on this day of July* 1635, *and God has given me a new birth: may I never forget his mercies to me, whilſt he gives me breath, may I praiſe him.* His health was extremely broken a conſiderable time before his death, and his ſight failed him. He died March the 3d 170$\frac{2}{3}$, being ſixty ſeven years, ſeven months and thirteen days old. His corps was decently interred in the church of St. Hellen at London, being attended by all the members of the Royal Society then in town. As to his perſon, he was but deſpicable, being very crooked, and always pale and meagre. He wore his own hair of a dark brown colour, very long, and hanging neglected over his face, uncut and lank; which about three years before his

" then, I hope, I ſhall prove I have not offended " in that particular in my publication of thoſe " *Animadverſions.* And Hevelius himſelf was of " the ſame mind, when at the ſixty firſt page " of his *Preface* he writes, (ſpeaking of his diſ- " paraging ſome things of Tycho Brahe) *in hoc* " *negotio ſemper in cujuſvis animo hærere debet, a-* " *micus Plato, amicus Ariſtoteles, ſed magis tamen* " *amica veritas.* Nor do I find him ſo ſhy in pro- " claiming the miſtakes of Tycho's obſervations, when " it was made for his own reputation; for in the " thirty fourth page of his preface he ſays, that the " greateſt part of Tycho's obſervations differed from " his own four, five, ſix, and even ten minutes. At " the thirty ninth page he ſays, that of 780 in Tycho's " catalogue there are but 260 which differ not leſs " than two minutes; but all the reſt differ 3′ 5′ 10′ " 20′ 30′ 40′ 45′ 50′, nay a whole degree from the " truth, and that fifteen differ above a degree, and " ſome many more, even to eight degrees in longi- " tude, and in latitude to thirteen whole degrees, " ſometimes in defect, ſometimes in exceſs; yet for all " this *Hevelius* would be thought highly to value Tycho " Brahe, and not to have made any reflections upon " him. Nor has the detecting miſtakes even in per- " ſons of as great fame been looked upon ſo ill a " thing, but rather a meritorious action, as might be " inſtanced in Dr. Pell's ſhort anſwer in a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a ſheet " of paper to Longomontanus's work, which had " been the buſineſs of thirty years. Another inſtance " may be of Phocilides upon Lanſbergius, the learned " Savilian Aſtronomic Profeſſor againſt Bullialdus &c. " all which authors were well eſteemed for their detecting " miſtakes, and diſcovering truth. And as for any " diſreſpectful or undervaluing ſentiments I had of He- " velius or his performances, I hope what I have " printed in my *Animadverſions* will prevail with the " unprejudiced to believe the contrary, where I ſay, " p. 43, and 44; *That I would not be underſtood by* " *theſe Animadverſions to undervalue the works and per-* " *formances of a perſon ſo highly meriting the thanks of* " *the learned world, for his great expence and vaſt pains,* " *in performing a work ſo highly uſeful to aſtronomy and* " *navigation, that I did not in the leaſt doubt but that* " *it would be a work of perpetual eſteem, and much pre-* " *ferable to any thing of the like kind yet done in the* " *world; and that he had gone as far as was poſſible* " *for humane induſtry to go with inſtruments of that kind,* " *which were as complete and exact as inſtruments with* " *plain ſights could be made; and that he had calculated* " *with all imaginable care and ſkill, and delivered* " *them with the like candor and integrity. But yet* " *that it was my opinion, that this ought not to diſcourage* " *others from making uſe of teleſcope-ſights, and to make* " *better obſervations with inſtruments by that means* " *more exact.* This I hope may apologize for my " writing thoſe *Animadverſions.* But in the next place, " I muſt make ſome defence for what is ſaid in them. " This Gentleman ſays, I went ſo far as to doubt " whether Hevelius's obſervations could be made true " and always the ſame to two or three minutes. I " wiſh the place had been quoted where I ſaid ſo, " ſince I only ſaid p. 7. that I believed it impoſſible " for any one to diſtinguiſh with common ſights any " diſtance in the heavens to leſs than half a minute, " and very few to a minute. And I am apt to be- " lieve there may be ſome inſtances even in Hevelius's " catalogue, that will verify this aſſertion. And for " any other aſſertion, which is really mine in that " treatiſe, I do not doubt of ſatisfying any unpre- " judiced perſon by experiment if deſired, which I ſay " is really my aſſertion; for by miſtake or otherwiſe, " ſome things have been fathered upon me I never " ſaid, viz. that I ſhould aſſert, *that an inſtrument of* " *a ſpan radius might be made, that ſhould perform* " *obſervations ſixty times more accurate than could be* " *done with his beſt inſtruments.* Which aſſertion is " none of mine, and whoever have ſpread theſe fal- " ſities, might have found better employment. I ſay " indeed, that a very ſmall inſtrument, curiouſly made, " exactly divided and inſtructed with teleſcope-ſights, " will perform much better in all obſervations (except " the ſun) than the largeſt inſtruments without ſuch " ſights, for the reaſon before alledged from the defect " in our eyes, which cannot diſtinguiſh an angle leſs " than half a minute; nor is this a defect in my own " eyes only (as Hevelius ſomewhere ſeems to hint) " for the experiment may eaſily be tried with the beſt " eyes. Nor is it any diſparagement to Hevelius's " obſervations to compare them with Tycho Brahe's, " though I ſhould have ſuppoſed them but of equal " value; ſince the mere repeating of his obſervations " would be of great uſe in aſtronomy, theſe being al- " moſt one hundred years after his. For we muſt by " ſuch compariſons judge of many conſiderable en- " quiries concerning celeſtial bodies, which cannot by " other means be ſo well detected, for which I refer " to the 76th page of my *Animadverſions*, viz. to know " whether thoſe celeſtial bodies, which are ſuppoſed ſo " fixed, do not vary their poſitions to each other, and " alſo their magnitudes, which I had good grounds to " believe. As to the objection, that my pamphlet " contained *little beſides the deſcription of an inſtrument* " *never put in practice.* I conceive there may be ſe- " veral miſtakes; for I am of opinion, upon peruſal " there will be ſomewhat elſe in that treatiſe worth " conſideration. Next that there have been inſtru- " ments made, perfected, and uſed after that way by " Sir Jonas Moore, by Mr. Gregory in Scotland, by " Mr. Halley and many others; I believe very few " aſtronomical inſtruments ſince have been made with " plain ſights. And if the multitude of authorities " were neceſſary, I could produce Auzout, Picart, " Mariot, Romer, de la Hire, Montaneri, Gotignies, " and others, not to name thoſe of our own nation. " As to my not returning the obſervations of certain " diſtances of ſtars, which Hevelius deſired, it is ſuffi- " ciently known what inconveniences we lay under in " this place after the fire of London; and had I found " conveniences, yet the unkind reception thoſe things " found, which I ſent him, was enough to deter me " from ſuch a compliance; though he was ſenſible how " I had often been ready to gratify his curioſity in " many other particulars. But when his *Machina* " *Cæleſtis* was publiſhed, I was obliged to write thoſe " *Animadverſions*, in which, I hope, all unprejudiced " readers will juſtify my procedure; at leaſt I am " ready to prove any thing I have therein aſſerted."

We ſhall inſert here an original letter of Mr. Hooke relating to the diſpute between him and Hevelius, communicated by the learned William Jones Eſq; F. R. S.

" Sir,

" I thank you very much for the opportunity you " have given me of being any ways ſerviceable to a " perſon, who has ſo highly obliged the learned world " as the excellent Hevelius has both by the curious " and learned pieces he has already publiſhed, and by " thoſe other great undertakings, which he has given " them cauſe to hope for and expect from his indefa- " tigable endeavours. And in truth, Sir, upon the " conſideration of the ſubject he has deſigned, being

" ignorant

his death he cut off, and wore a perriwig. He was of an active, reſtleſs, indefatigable genius even almoſt to the laſt, and always ſlept little to his death, ſeldom going to ſleep till two, three, or four a clock in the morning, and ſeldomer to bed, oftner continuing his ſtudies all night, and taking a ſhort nap in the day. His temper was melancholy, miſtruſtful and jealous, which more increaſed upon him with his years. He was in the beginning of his being made known to the Learned, very communicative of his philoſophical diſcoveries and inventions, till ſome accidents made him, to a crime, cloſe and reſerved. He laid the cauſe upon ſome perſons challenging his diſcoveries for their own, and taking occaſion from his hints to perfect what he had not, which made him ſay, that he would ſuggeſt nothing till he had time to perfect it himſelf, which was the reaſon that many things are loſt, which he affirmed that he knew. He had a piercing judgment into

" ignorant of what inſtruments he makes uſe of, and " of what help that northern climate affords for that " purpoſe, I have often wiſhed, that he was furniſhed " with as good optic glaſſes as are now in uſe in other " parts of the world, and with ſome good method of " making uſe of them for determining the diameters " and parallaxes of the planets, and for finding the " poſitions and diſtances of the ſmaller fixed ſtars, &c. " for then I could not doubt to receive from his judg- " ment and diligence in the uſe of them better effects " than have been hitherto produced by others. And " in particular I have wiſhed, that thoſe ſextants, at " leaſt, he makes uſe of for meaſuring the diſtances of " ſtars, were furniſhed with teleſcopical ſights, which is " no ſmall advantage for regulating and aſſiſting the " ſight, which, if he deſires it, I ſhall be moſt ready " to gratify him with any information, that the ſmall " experience I have in thoſe things, will furniſh me " with. The longeſt glaſs I have ſeveral times made " uſe of, is a ſpherical lens convex on both ſides of a " ſphere, whoſe radius is 60 foot, and the focus or " length of the glaſs is near about the ſame length. " It is made of a piece of glaſs of between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ " an inch thick, and between 5 and 6 inches over. " It bears an aperture of about three inches, ſometimes " 4 or more, according to the uſes I deſign it for. " It diſcovers many things not viſible thro' a very good " 36 glaſs; ſuch as the ſhadow of the Satellites, and " the verticity of Jupiter and Mars on their axes. " Some make uſe of two convex eye-glaſſes; but I " for the moſt part make uſe of but one, and a very " convex lens, convex on both ſides of a ſphere of " .. inches radius. Sometimes I uſe ſuch as are more " ſhallow, but ſeldom any deeper. The method by " which that I have was made, was by the ordinary " way in a very large diſh, and wrought on the tool " by the hand without any kind of engine till ſuch " time as it be exceeding bright and well poliſhed, " and have received the perfect figure of the ſcutella, " in which it was wrought; otherwiſe the glaſs will " be worth nothing; in the doing of which there is " great difficulty. The tube I make uſe of, is about " 66 or 68 feet in length, and conſiſts only of two " long ſquare boxes or tubes made of very thin and " light ſlit deal here and there bound together with " very thin plates of iron, under which within the tube " there are placed ſeveral ſquare portions or cells, " which ſerve to keep off the adventitious rays, and " to keep the ſides of the tubes ſquare and ſteady. " Each of theſe boxes are about ten inches ſquare, " and about 33 foot long. Theſe two are thruſt into " a ſmall ſquare box in the middle about two or three " foot long, made of thicker boards bound about with " iron, and having two long boards fixed to them of " about ſix foot high, and joined at the top by a " piece interjacent between them. Over the top of " which there is afterwards ſtretched a rope, that ſerves " to ſet the tube ſtrait, and to keep it from warping. " This being done, the whole machine is hung by a " handle after the manner of a pair of ſcales, the two " ends of the tube near equally counterpoiſing each " other; and by that handle it is drawn by a tackle " up to any height deſirable, by the ſtrength of one " man only, the whole tube not weighing at moſt above " 200 pound weight, and when up it is manageable " with the greateſt facility imaginable. I have " enquired the loweſt rate any ſuch object glaſs will " be ſold for, and find it will not be afforded for leſs " than 25 pounds ſterling, and the eye-glaſſes will coſt " 40 or 50 ſhillings more. If Mr. Hevelius deſire any, " upon his ſignifying his mind to me, I ſhall endeavour " to get him the beſt that can be made here, and at the " loweſt rate." In 1672 our author read before the Royal Society *an Account of ſome Experiments about Refractions and Colours*. May 7, 1673, he read a paper concerning *Arithmetical Inſtruments*. January the 15th 1674, he ſhewed to the Royal Society a way to determine how ſmall an angle the unaſſiſted eye is able to diſcern; by which it was found, that none of the perſons eyes preſent could obſerve a much leſs angle than of a minute. The reader may ſee a more ample account of this in his *Animadverſions* upon Hevelius's *Machina Cæleſtis*, pag. 8. From this time many magnetical experiments were made by him; and on the 19th of March following he propoſed a theory of the variation, the ſubſtance whereof was this, *That the magnet hath its peculiar poles diſtant ten degrees from the poles of the earth, about which they move, ſo as to make a revolution in three hundred and ſeventy years; whence the variation hath altered of late about ten or eleven minutes every year, and will probably continue to do ſo for ſome time, till it begins to grow ſlower and ſlower, and will at length be ſtationary and retrograde, and in probability may return.* At the ſame time he propoſed the making of a very eaſy and nice inſtrument to obſerve the variation of the variations of the needle in different parts of the world. What this inſtrument was, is difficult to be determined now; but the figure of an inſtrument ſomething to that purpoſe may be ſeen in his *Poſthumous Works*, pag. 486. February the 4th, $167\frac{4}{5}$, ſeveral obſervations and diſcourſes having been made in the Royal Society about the ſtructure of the muſcles of animals, Mr. Hooke ſaid, " That his " obſervation was, that the fleſhy part of a muſcle " conſiſted of an infinite number of exceedingly ſmall " round pipes, extended between the two tendons of " the muſcles, and ſeemed to end in them: which " tendons in the muſcles of beef boiled would be eaſily " ſtript off from theſe pipes, and ſo leave the round " ends of thoſe pipes very diſtinct and viſible. That " the reaſon of the moving of a muſcle might be " from the filling or emptying of thoſe pipes, whoſe " ſides ſeemed to be flexible like thoſe of a gut." He intimated likewiſe, that he knew a way of making ſuccedaneous muſcles for a man to ſupply the defect of his muſcles for flying, and give one man the ſtrength of ten or twenty, if required. March the 18th he made an experiment of a new property of light, having before read ſome diſcourſes upon that ſubject. This experiment is publiſhed in his *Poſthumous Works*, p. 186. In 1676 he publiſhed his *Deſcription of Helioſcopes, and ſome other Inſtruments*, London, in 4to, and in 1677 his *Lampas: Or a Deſcription of ſome Mechanical Improvements of Lamps and Water-poiſes*. London, 1677, in 4to. The ſame year being choſen Secretary of the Royal Society in the room of Mr. Oldenburg, he ſhewed ſeveral experiments and inſtruments in order to explain the gravitation and alterations in the air by vapours, &c. contriving an air-poiſe to ſhew the different ſpecific gravity of the air by a large thin ball of glaſs counter-poiſed. In February $167\frac{7}{8}$, upon account of Monſieur Gallet's obſervation of the oval figure of Mercury in the Sun, he gave ſeveral reaſons for the prolated oval figure of the planets, ſome of which are printed in his *Poſthumous Works*, pag. 355, with a demonſtration thereof. He remarked, " that " all fluids on the ſurface would run into that ſhape, " and that it was not improbable but that the water " here about the earth might do ſo by the influence of " the diurnal motion of the earth, which compounded " with that of the moon, he conceived to be the cauſe " of tides." From this time he made microſcopical obſervations

into the diſpoſitions of others, and would ſometimes give ſhrewd gueſſes and ſmart characters. From his youth he had been uſed to a collegiate or rather monaſtic life, which might be ſome reaſon of his continuing to live ſo like an Hermit or Cynic too penuriouſly, when his circumſtances, as to eſtate, were very conſiderable, ſcarcely affording himſelf neceſſaries. He declared ſometimes that he had a great project in his head as to the diſpoſal of the moſt part of his eſtate for the advancement of natural knowledge, and to promote the ends and deſigns, for which the Royal Society was inſtituted; to build an handſome fabrick for the Society's uſe, with a Library, Repoſitory, Laboratory, and other conveniences for making experiments; and to found and endow a perpetual Phyſico-Mechanic-Lecture of the nature of what himſelf read. But though he was often ſollicited by his friends to put his deſigns down in writing, and make his will as to the diſpoſal

obſervations on *Animalcula* in pepper-water and other ſeeds ſteeped in water, confirming Monſieur Liewenhoek's aſſertions; and propoſed ſome improvements of microſcopes. Some propoſals were made by him of inſtruments more accurate than thoſe formerly invented for ſounding the ſea's depth, and bringing up any ſubſtances from the bottom, or any aſſigned depth; which were ſome years after more perfected. April the 25th, 1678, he ſhewed an experiment farther to explain the action of a muſcle, "which was by a chain of ſmall bladders faſtened together, ſo as by blowing into one pipe, the whole "might be ſucceſſively filled, and by that means contracted, ſuppoſing the fibres of the muſcles, which "ſeemed like a necklace of pearl in the microſcope, "might be filled with a very agil matter, which he "thought moſt likely to be air, which being included "in ſo thin ſkins was eaſily wrought upon by heat, "cold, or the acting properties of the liquors that paſs "between them, and ſo perform the lengthening and "contracting of the muſcles." The ſame year he publiſhed *Lectures and Collections, &c.* London, 1678, in 4to. The firſt lecture contains obſervations on the comet in April 1677. In Auguſt the ſame year he read ſeveral diſcourſes, and ſhewed experiments in order to confirm his theory of ſprings and ſpringing bodies, which are publiſhed in his book intitled *Lectures* de Potentia reſtitutivâ: *Or, of Springs, explaining the Power of ſpringing Bodies.* London, 1678, in 4to. The ſum of this hypotheſis is comprized in a cypher at the end of his *Deſcription of Helioſcopes*, being the third of a decimate of inventions, which he there mentions, that he was maſter of; ſome of which he diſcovered himſelf, affirming that he had a century of the like uſeful inventions. Others of them Mr. Richard Waller had the good fortune to find out (10), who firſt tranſcribes what Mr. Hooke ſays of them, and then adds the decyphering of them. The ſecond invention, which is the firſt cypher, is thus expreſſed: "The true Mathematical and Mechanical Form of all "manner of arches for building, with the true butment neceſſary to each of them, a problem, which "no architectonic writer hath ever yet attempted, "much leſs performed: *ab, ccc, dd, eeeeee, f, gg, iiiiiiii, ll, mmmm, nnnnn, oo, p, rr, sss, ttttt, uuuuuuuu, x*; which decyphered is theſe words; "*ut pendet continuum flexile, ſic ſtabit continuum rigidum inverſum*, which is the *Linea Catenaria*." The third is his Theory of Springineſs in theſe letters, *ce, iii, no, sss, tt, uu*, which ſignifies *ut tenſio ſic vis*: this is the principle of his Theory of Springs. The ninth, which is the next cypher, is concerning a new ſort of Philoſophical Scales of great uſe in Experimental Philoſophy, *cde, ii, nn, oo, p, sss, tt, uu, Ut pondus ſic tenſio.* The laſt is mentioned as a very extraordinary invention in Mechanics above the chimeras of perpetual motions for ſeveral uſes; *aa, a, b, cc, dd, eeeeee, g, iii, l, mmm, nn, oo, pp, q, rrr, s, ttt, uuuuu*; *Pondere premit aer vacuum quod ab igne relictum eſt.* This ſeems to be the ſame with the Marquis of Worceſter's method of raiſing water by fire, and is the 68th of his century of inventions, publiſhed in the year 1663; and is the principle upon which Mr. Savery's engine for raiſing water is founded. In 1679 he printed this general title to his ſix Lectures before publiſhed, viz. *Lectiones Cutlerianæ: Or, a Collection of Lectures, Phyſical, Mechanical, Geographical, and Aſtronomical, &c. together with an Index.* He began likewiſe in October the ſame year to publiſh, in 4to, *Philoſophical Collections, containing an account of ſuch Phyſical, Anatomical, Chymical, &c. Obſervations, as have lately come to hand.* The laſt number of which was publiſhed in April 1682. February the 5th, 1679, he exhibited to the Royal Society *an Account of the weight of Lead and Tin ſingly, or when melted together.* In the beginning of the ſame year, and afterwards, he repeated ſeveral experiments to examine the uſe of the air in reſpiration, by including animals in common rarified and condenſed air; as likewiſe concerning the neceſſity of the air to maintain fire, in order to illuſtrate his theory of fire further, viz. "That air is a menſtruum that diſſolves "all ſulfurous bodies by burning, and that without "air no ſuch diſſolution will follow, though the heat "applied be ever ſo weak;" which was tried particularly by a charcoal encloſed in an iron caſe with a ſcrew ſtopper, which though violently heated, yet the coal was not burnt nor waſted when taken out. He made ſome experiments to explain the different gravitation of the air, and to ſhew that vapours preſs only according to their own gravity, and not according to the ſpace, which they take up in the atmoſphere. He ſhewed ſome contrivances to be added to the weather-cock, as an hygroſcope; a contrivance to meaſure the quantity of rain, ſnow, or hail, fallen in a certain time, which engine was ſoon after perfected in all its parts, and ſet up in the Repoſitory of the Royal Society. In July the ſame year he read before that Society a diſcourſe concerning a way to help ſhort ſighted perſons, which he called *Myopibus Juvamen.* This is printed in his third *Collection*, p. 59. At the ſame time he gave his thoughts concerning the reaſon of the different apparent magnitude of the ſun and moon in the meridian, and near the horizon, which he ſuppoſed to be a deception of the eye, as judging them, when near the horizon, to be further off than when nearer the zenith, becauſe, as he alledged, the diameters meaſured were really the ſame in both places, or rather ſomething leſs in the horizon than in the zenith, being removed a ſemidiameter of the earth further off. He made experiments of the mixtures of metals, particularly of copper and tin, in which there was obſerved a real penetration, the *Compoſitum* being ſpecifically heavier than either of the metals before mixture; for whereas copper is to water as 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and tin to water as 7 $\frac{17}{20}$ to 1, the *Compoſitum* was as 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1. In December the ſame year an experiment being ſuggeſted to try whether the earth moved with a diurnal motion or not, by the fall of a body from a conſiderable height, and it being alledged that it would fall to the eaſt of the true perpendicular, Mr. Hooke read a diſcourſe on that ſubject, wherein he explained what the line deſcribed by a falling body muſt be, ſuppoſed to be moved circularly by the diurnal motion of the earth, and perpendicularly by the power of gravity; and ſhewed that it would not be a ſpiral line, but an eccentrical-elliptoeid, ſuppoſing no reſiſtance in the *medium*; but ſuppoſing a reſiſtance, it would be an excentric-ellipti-ſpiral, which after many revolutions would reſt in the center at laſt; and that the fall of the body would not be directly eaſt, but to the ſouth-eaſt, and more to the ſouth than the eaſt. This was tried, and the ball was ſtill found to fall to the ſouth-eaſt. The remainder of this year was ſpent in making experiments of the mixture of ſeveral metals. Among the reſt Mr. Hooke took notice of the mixture of copper and tin of ſeveral particulars; as, firſt, "That the colour of the "copper was quite deſtroyed, it appearing much of "the colour of iron poliſhed. Secondly, that the com-"poſition, though made of two very malleable metals, "was yet very brittle and friable. Thirdly, that it

(10) *Life of Dr. Hooke*, pag. 20, 21.

diſpoſal of his eſtate to his own liking in the time of his health, and after when himſelf and all others thought his end drew near; yet he could never be prevailed with to perfect it, ſtill procraſtinating it, till at laſt this great deſign proved an airy phantom, and vaniſhed into nothing. Thus he died at laſt without any will or teſtament that could be found. He always expreſſed a great veneration for the Deity, as may be ſeen in a great many paſſages of his writings, and ſeldom received any remarkable benefit from God without thankfully acknowledging the mercy; he never made any conſiderable diſcovery in nature, or invented any uſeful contrivance, or found out any difficult problem, without ſetting down his acknowledgment to God, as many places in his Diary teſtify, frequently in theſe and the like words, abbreviated thus, DOMGM. He was a frequent ſtudier of the Scripture in the originals. "To conclude, ſays Mr. Waller (*s*), all his errors and "blemiſhes were more than made amends for by the greatneſs and extent of his natural "and

(*s*) Ibid. pag. 28.

"bore a pretty good poliſh and reflexion. Fourthly, "that though copper is exceedingly hard to be melt- "ed, yet the mixture melted very eaſily. Fifthly, "that viewing the poliſhed ſurface with a microſcope, "it appeared very full of ſmall holes in the metal." In April 1680 he produced a new invented level. In May he read a paper of obſervations upon an unuſual ſort of hail-ſtones, which fell on the 18th of that month. June the 27th, he read an account of the ſwimming of unmelted with melted lead. July the 8th, upon a debate in the Royal Society concerning the experiment of the Lord Bacon's of the internal motion of bodies, Mr. Hooke related, that he had obſerved, "that the motion of the glaſs filled with "water was obſerved to be vibrative, perpendicular "to the ſurface of the glaſs; and that the circular "figure changed into an oval one way; and that "the reciprocation preſently changed it into an oval "the other way; which he diſcovered by the motion "of the undulation or riſing of the water in the glaſs, "which was obſerved to be in four places of the ſur- "face in a ſquare poſture. The ſame glaſs being "ſtruck on the edge with a viol-bow, this ſquare "undulation was very plain; and there was alſo diſ- "covered another undulation, by which the water "was obſerved to riſe in ſix places like an hexagon; "and upon further trials alſo in eight places like an "octagon. Each of theſe gave their particular and "diſtinct ſounds or notes, the 4 and 8 were octaves, "and the 6 and 4 were fifths." In November he read ſome obſervations which he had made of a comet then appearing; which, with other obſervations and diſcourſes of other comets, are publiſhed under that title in his *Poſthumous Works*, pag. 194. About this time he ſhewed a contrivance by a *Statera* to examine the attractive power of a magnet at ſeveral diſtances, and made many experiments with it. In April 1681, and afterwards, he read his lectures of *Light* and *Luminous Bodies*, which are publiſhed in his *Poſthumous Works*, pag. 71, & ſeq. In July the ſame year, he ſhewed a way of making muſical and other ſounds by the ſtriking of the teeth of ſeveral braſs wheels, proportionally cut as to their numbers, and turned very faſt round; in which it was obſervable, that the equal or proportional ſtrokes of the teeth, that is 2 to 1, 4 to 3, &c. made the muſical notes; but the unequal ſtrokes of the teeth more anſwered the ſound of the voice in ſpeaking. In November he mentioned a new ſea-quadrant for making obſervations more accurate than could be done by any inſtrument yet known. This is publiſhed at the end of his *Poſthumous Works*. At the ſame time he firſt mentioned his new compaſſes for deſcribing all ſorts of ſpirals, as likewiſe of the rumb-lines. Soon after this he ſhewed and demonſtrated a very expeditious way of drawing the rumb-lines exactly true upon a globe, by an inſtrument grounded upon the ſame principle with the other. He ſhewed alſo a very eaſy way of finding all the poſſible *Foci* of rays refracted by a *plano-ſpherical lens*; the convex ſide of which was turned towards the *Focus*; as alſo the quantity of rays that would paſs through ſuch a glaſs, whoſe convexity was of the full bigneſs of an hemiſphere. In January 168½ he ſhewed an inſtrument to deſcribe all ſorts of *Helixes* upon a cone; by which he affirmed that he was able to divide any given length, though very ſhort, into almoſt any aſſignable number of given parts, as ſuppoſe an inch into 100000 equal parts. This he conceived to be very uſeful for perfecting Aſtronomical and Geographical inſtruments. At the next meeting of the Royal Society he produced another inſtrument, by which he deſcribed a certain curve-line, which may be called an *Invented Parabola*, or *Parabolical-Hyperbola*, having theſe properties, that it is infinite both ways, and hath two aſymptotes, as in an *Hyperbola*, &c. He ſhewed alſo a third inſtrument for exactly deſcribing the ſpiral of Archimedes, by a new property thereof, and that as eaſily and truly as a circle, whereby not only any given arch might be divided into any number of equal parts, but a ſtrait line given equal to the circumference of a circle. March the 1ſt he ſhewed a way, by the ſame inſtrument, of deſcribing all varieties of eclipſes. In the ſame year he read the remainder of his diſcourſe of *Light*, and a lecture explaining the nature of memory, and how we came by the notion of time, printed in his *Poſthumous Works*. From this time, or rather ſomething before, he began to be more reſerved than he had been formerly; ſo that though he often made experiments, and ſhewed new inſtruments and inventions, and read his *Cutlerian Lectures*, yet he ſeldom left any full account of them to be entered in the Journals and Regiſters of the Royal Society, deſigning, as he ſaid, to fit them himſelf for the preſs, and then make them public, which he never performed. July the 4th, 1683, he read a paper *to ſhew how high water will riſe in any place*; another concerning *a rule to calculate the preſſure of water in a pipe*; and an account of *an experiment ſhewing the way to find the time and comparative expanſion of any metal when melted*. July the 11th he ſhewed *the Model of a new ſort of Wind-Mill*; and *a Way to ſtay any great weight from falling down to the bottom, when the rope or chain, by which it is drawn, happens to break*. July the 18th he ſhewed *how to convert an horizontal circular Motion into a perpendicular, or any otherwiſe ſloped circular Motion, and* vice verſa. October the 31ſt he ſhewed *the Way of making of Glew, or tranſparent ſubſtance for taking the impreſſion of Medals*; and November the 7th another way with the ſame properties. November the 14th he ſhewed *an Inſtrument to meaſure the Velocity of the Air or Wind, and to find the Strength thereof*. November the 28th he exhibited *Part of a Way-Wiſer, for knowing the Way of a Ship at Sea*. November the 5th he ſhewed *an Inſtrument for the exact finding any deſired part of any Weight given, being a proportional balance*. December the 12th he ſhewed another Model of an Inſtrument for weighing. December the 19th he ſhewed *Scales and Weights for triplicating any Weights ſmall enough to be weighed by them*. January the 9th, 168¾, he ſhewed *the Model of a Beam to find the aliquot or aliquant Parts of any ponderous part given*. January the 16th he exhibited *an Inſtrument for ſhewing the comparative weight of any two bodies, or any aliquot or aliquant parts of the ponderable bodies*. January the 23d he ſhewed a ſtiliard of his invention. February the 6th he exhibited *an Apparatus to try whether the magnetical Vertue in Steel might be excited and increaſed by any Body not accounted magnetical*. February the 13th he ſhewed *an Experiment to examine the Comparative Weight of Ice and Water*. February the 20th he exhibited experiments to ſhew, 1. "That the blebs "in ice are filled with air, which has the ſame pro- "perty with common air. 2. That water, though it "is boiling hot, is yet ponderous enough to make a "piece of iron put into it ſwim and float upon it.' February the 27th he exhibited experiments to examine the limits of heat and cold in water, as a liquid, beyond

" and acquired parts, and more than common, if not wonderful ſagacity, in diving " into the moſt hidden ſecrets of nature, and in contriving proper methods of forcing " her to confeſs the truth, by driving and purſuing the Proteus through all her changes " to her laſt and utmoſt receſſes. . . . There needs no other proof for this than the great " number of experiments he made, with the contrivances for them, amounting to ſome " hundreds; his new and uſeful inſtruments and inventions, which were numerous; his " admirable facility and clearneſs in explaining the Phænomena of Nature, and demon- " ſtrating his aſſertions; his happy talent in adapting theories to the Phænomena obſerv- " ed, and contriving eaſy and plain, not pompous and amuſing experiments to back and " prove thoſe theories; proceeding from obſervations to theories, and from theories to " further trials, which he often aſſerted to be the moſt proper method to ſucceed in the " interpretation of nature. For theſe his happy qualifications he was much reſpected by " the moſt learned Philoſophers both at home and abroad; and as with all his failures he " may be reckoned among the great men of the laſt age, ſo had he been free from them, " poſſibly he might have ſtood in the front." He contrived the building of the new Bethlehem at London, Mountague Houſe in the pariſh of St. Giles's in the Fields, the College

beyond which it becomes a ſpirituous body of air, or a ſolid of ice. March the 19th he ſhewed magnetical experiments tried with ſeveral rods of ſteel, by touching them on the loadſtone. May the 5th 1687 he read a lecture of the *Unequal Diurnal Motion of the Earth*, printed in his *Poſthumous Works*. In July he ſhewed an experiment of the communication of motion by a packthread extended a very conſiderable length, and afterwards running over a pulley, brought back to the place, near to which the other end was faſtened; and it was found, that any addition of weight or motion given to the one end would be immediately ſenſible at the other end of the ſtring, though it muſt paſs in going and returning ſo great a length. There were other ways ſhewn of communicating motion, as by a long cane ſuſpended by ſtrings, or by wires diſtended a great length; in which it was obſervable that the ſound was propagated inſtantaneouſly, even as quick as the motion of light, the ſound conveyed by the air coming a conſiderable time after that by water. June the 20th 1688 he read a farther deſcription containing ſeveral ways of making a portable *Sea-Barometer*, with the great uſes of it in foretelling changes of the weather and ſtorms. From this time for ſome years we find little done by him, except his reading the lectures founded by Sir John Cutler, ſeveral of which are printed in his *Poſthumous Works*. Of theſe he read in December 1691 ſeveral relating to improvements of ſounding inſtruments, which he called *Nuntii inanimati ad fundum Abyſſi emiſſarii*. Thurſday September the 8th 1692 he ſets down an earthquake obſerved by himſelf 55 minutes paſt one a clock *p. m.* He remarks, that there was no wind, but rain all day. This earthquake was felt at the ſame time not only in moſt parts of England, but alſo in ſeveral parts of Germany. The ſame year he read a curious diſcourſe deſcribing the tower of *Babel* or *Belus*. In 1693 he read ſeveral lectures about earthquakes, and an explication of *Ovid's Metamorphoſis*, printed in his *Poſthumous Works*. March the 5th $169\frac{2}{3}$ he read a lecture about the prolated ſpheroidical figure of the ſkin, and other phænomena thereof, of the *Maculæ* and *Faculæ*, &c. of making an helioſcope by four reflex planes in a twenty four foot tube, or a teleſcope for planets and fixed ſtars, by two reflexions in a tube of forty foot with Monſieur Huygens's 120 foot glaſs. June the 27th 1698 he read a lecture upon Huygens's *Coſmotheoros*, and ſhewed a model of Saturn and his Ring. Mr. Hooke has the following papers printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, viz. *A Spot in one of the Belts of Jupiter obſerved in May* 1664, Numb. I. p. 3. *An Anſwer to the Conſiderations made by Monſieur Auzout upon Mr. Hooke's new Inſtrument for grinding of Optic Glaſſes*, Numb. IV. p. 63. *A Method by which a Glaſs of a ſmall Plane-convex Sphere may be made to refract the Rays of Light to a Focus of a far greater Diſtance than is uſual*, Numb. XII. p. 202. *A new Contrivance of a Wheel-Barometer much more eaſy to be prepared than that, which is deſcribed in his* Micrography, Numb. XIII. p. 218. *The particular Obſervations of the Planet Mars formerly intimated to have been made by Mr. Hooke in February and March laſt* 1665, Numb. XIV. p. 239. *Some Obſervations lately made at London concerning the Planet Jupiter*, Numb XIV. p. 145. *A late Obſervation about Saturn June* 29, 1666, Numb. XIV. p. 246. *Directions for Obſervations and Experiments to be made by Maſters of Ships, Pilots, and other fit Perſons in their Sea Voyages, ſuggeſted partly by Sir Robert Moray, partly by Mr. Hooke*, &c. Numb. XXIV. p. 433. *More Ways for the ſame purpoſe of Mr. Townly touching the Invention of dividing a Foot into many thouſand Parts*, Numb. XXV. p. 459. *An Experiment of preſerving Animals alive by blowing through their Lungs*, Numb. XXVIII. p. 539. *A Deſcription of an Inſtrument for dividing a Foot into many thouſand Parts, and thereby meaſuring the Diameters of Planets to a great Exactneſs*, &c. *as it was promiſed*, Numb. XXV. *The Draught and Deſcription of Mr. Hooke*, Numb. XXIX. p. 541. *Note to be obſerved*, Numb. XXIX. p. 556. *A Contrivance to make the Picture of any thing appear on a Wall, Cup-board, or within a Picture-Frame* &c. *in the midſt of a light Room in the Day-time, or in the Night-time in any Room that is inlightned with a conſiderable number of Candles*, Numb. XXXVIII. p. 741. *Obſervations of ſome Spots in the Sun returned after they had paſſed over the Upper Hemiſphere of the Sun, which is hid from us, according as was predicted* (Numb. LXXV. p. 2253.) Numb. LXXVII. p. 2295. *Obſervations of the Eclipſe of the Moon September the* 8*th* 167 1, Numb. LXXVII. p. 2296 *An Account of ſome Obſervations of the late Eclipſe of the Moon January the* 1*ſt* 167$\frac{3}{4}$, Numb. CXI. p. 237. *Some Obſervations and Conjectures concerning the Chineſe Characters*, Numb. CLXXX. p. 36. *A Deſcription of an Invention whereby the Diviſions of the Barometer may be enlarged many given proportions*, Numb. CLXXXV. p. 241. *Obſervationes nonnullæ Eclipſeos nuperæ Solaris* Maii 1. *St. Vet. Obſ.* Hookio & Halleio, Numb. CLXXXIX. p. 370. His *Poſthumous Works* were publiſhed by Mr. Richard Waller, Secretary of the Royal Society, at London 1705 in fol. and contained, I. *A General Scheme or Idea of the preſent State of Natural Philoſophy, and how its Defects may be remedied by a methodical Proceeding in making Experiments and collecting Obſervations, whereby to compile a Natural Hiſtory, as the ſolid Baſis for the Superſtructure of true Philoſophy.* II. *Lectures of Light, explicating its Nature, Properties, and Effects*, &c. Though Mr. Hook has not in theſe lectures treated of the ſeveral alterations and affections of the rays of light from *Reflection*, *Inflection*, and *Refraction*, &c. as his intention appears from ſeveral paſſages in his writings to have been; yet we meet here with ſeveral no leſs difficult than curious points explained, particularly that great problem of *Memory*, and how we obtain the ideas of *Time* and *Duration*. III. *A Diſcourſe of the Nature of Comets*. To this is added *A Diſcourſe of Gravity*. IV. *Obſervations upon Dr.* John Dee's *Book of Spirits*. V. *Lectures and Diſcourſes of Earthquakes and ſubterraneous Eruptions; explicating the Cauſes of the rugged and uneven Face of the Earth; and what Reaſons may be given for the frequent finding of Shells and other Sea and Land Petrified Subſtances ſcattered over the whole Terreſtrial Superficies.* VI. *Lectures concerning Navigation and Aſtronomy*. And in 1726 there was printed at London 8vo a book under the following title: *Philoſophical Experiments and Obſervations of the late eminent Dr.* Robert Hooke F. R. S. *and* Geom. Prof. Greſh. *and other eminent Virtuoſo's in his time. With Copper Cuts. Publiſhed by* W. Derham F. R. S.

T.

College of Physicians, and the Theatre joined to it, and the Monument upon Fish-ſtreet Hill; and was often uſed in deſigning other buildings (t).

(t) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1040.

☞HOOKER (RICHARD), a very learned and judicious Engliſh Divine in the latter end of the ſixteenth Century, was born at Heavy-Tree near Exeter about the year 1553, according to Mr. Walton (a), or about Eaſter 1554, according to Mr. Wood (b). His parents were more remarkable for their virtue and induſtry, than extraction or riches (c); though his great grandfather John Hooker was Mayor of Exeter in 1490, and his grandfather in 1529 (d). His parents intended him for ſome trade; but his ſchoolmaſter, who obſerved the pregnancy of his genius, perſuaded them to continue him at ſchool (e), till by the aſſiſtance of his uncle John Hooker, then Chamberlain of Exeter (f), and Dr. John Jewel, Biſhop of Saliſbury, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, and became one of the Clerks of Corpus Chriſti College in 1567 (g), Scholar December the 24th 1573 (h), Fellow of the College and Maſter of Arts in 1577 (i), Deputy-Profeſſor of the Hebrew Language July the 14th 1579 in the room of Mr. Thomas Kingſmill, whoſe ſtudies had diſordered his ſenſes (k). In October the ſame year he was with Dr. John Reynolds and others expelled his College by Dr. John Barfoote, then Vice-Preſident of the College, and Chaplain to Ambroſe Earl of Warwick [A]; for what reaſon, is not known; but they were reſtored the ſame month (l). Not long after his taking Orders, he was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Croſs in London [B] about the year 1581; and lodging at the houſe of Mr. John Churchman, was induced to marry his daughter Joan [C]; upon which he was obliged to quit his College; and on the 9th of December 1584 was preſented by John Cheny Eſq; to the Rectory of Drayton-Beauchamp in Buckinghamſhire [D]; and the year following, by

(a) *Life of Mr. Richard Hooker. By Izaac Walton, printed with the Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, and Mr. George Herbert*, pag. 158. 4th edit. London 1675.

(b) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 302. 2d edit. London 1721.

(c) Walton, *ubi ſupra.*

(d) *Izaak's Memoirs of Exeter*, pag. 96, 115.

(e) Walton, pag. 159.

(f) Idem, pag. 160. *Worthies of Devon. By John Prince*, pag. 393. edit London 1701, in fol.

(g) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(h) Walton, pag. 161.

(i) Idem, ibid.

(k) Wood, col. 302. and 330.

(l) Walton, pag. 172, 173.

[A] *In Oct. the ſame year he was with Dr. John Reynolds and others expelled his college by Dr. John Barfoote, then Vice-Preſident of the college, and Chaplain to Ambroſe Earl of Warwick.*] We have ſome account of this affair in a letter written by Dr. Reynolds to Sir Francis Knolles, which was as follows (1). "I am ſorry, "Right Honourable, that I am enforced to make "unto you ſuch a ſuit, which I cannot move, but "I muſt complain of the unrighteous dealing of "one of our college, who hath taken upon him "againſt all law and reaſon to expell out of our "houſe both me and Mr. Hooker, and three other "of our fellows for doing that, which by oath we "are bound to do. Our matter muſt be heard before "the Biſhop of Wincheſter, with whom I do not "doubt but we ſhall find equity. Howbeit, for as "much as ſome of our adverſaries have ſaid, that the "Biſhop is already foreſtalled, and will not give us "ſuch audience as we look for; therefore I am humbly "to beſeech your Honour, that you will deſire the Biſhop by your letters, to let us have juſtice; tho' it be "with rigour, ſo it be juſtice: our cauſe is ſo good "that I am ſure we ſhall prevail in it. Thus much "I am bold to requeſt of your Honour for Corpus "Chriſti College ſake, or rather for Chriſt's ſake, "whom I beſeech to bleſs you with daily increaſe of "his manifold gifts, and the bleſſed graces of his "holy Spirit.

"London Octob. 9, 1579. Your Honour's in Chriſt to command, "John Reynolds."

(1) *Life of Mr. Richard Hooker. By Izaac Walton*, pag. 172.

[B] *Appointed to preach at St. Paul's Croſs in London.*] In this firſt public appearance to the world, he was not ſo happy as to be free from exceptions againſt a point of doctrine delivered in his ſermon; which was, that *in God there were two wills, an antecedent, and a conſequent will; his firſt will, that all mankind ſhould be ſaved; but his ſecond will was, that thoſe only ſhould be ſaved, that did live anſwerably to that degree of grace, which he had offered or afforded them* (2). This ſeemed to croſs an opinion of Calvin, then taken for granted by many without examining it. Our author in his *Anſwer to Maſter* Travers's *Supplication* obſerves, that what he taught in this ſermon "was not huddled "in amongſt other matters in ſuch ſort, that it could "paſs without noting; it was opened, it was proved, "it was ſome reaſonable time ſtood upon. I ſee not "which way my Lord of London (3), who was preſent and heard it, can excuſe ſo great a fault as patiently without rebuke or controulment afterwards, "to hear any man there teach otherwiſe than the word "of God doth, not as it is underſtood by the private "interpretation of ſome one or two men, or by a ſpecial conſtruction received in ſome few books, but as it "is underſtood by all Churches profeſſing the Goſpel, "by them all, and therefore even by our own alſo "amongſt others."

(2) Ibid. pag. 174.

(3) Dr. John Aylmer, Biſhop of London.

[C] *Lodging at the houſe of Mr. John Churchman, was induced to marry his daughter Joan.*] The Preachers at St. Paul's croſs, beſides their ſtipend, were allowed lodging and diet for two days before, and one day after the ſermon, at a houſe called the *Shunamite's Houſe*, then kept by Mr. Churchman, formerly a ſubſtantial Draper in Watling Street, but now reduced to poverty. To this houſe Mr. Hooker came very weary; but by the care of Mrs. Churchman was recovered from his fatigue and cold. "This, *ſays Mr. Walter* (4), was ſo "gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he "thought himſelf bound in conſcience to believe all "that ſhe ſaid; ſo that the good man came to be perſuaded by her, that he was a man of a tender "conſtitution; and that it was beſt for him to "have a wife that might prove a nurſe to him; "ſuch a one as might both prolong his life, and "make it more comfortable; and ſuch a one as ſhe "could and would provide for him, if he thought "fit to marry... He truſted her to chooſe a wife for "him, promiſing upon a fair ſummons to return to "London, and accept of her choice; and he did ſo "in that or about the year following. Now the wife "provided for him was her daughter Joan, who "brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for "her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which "is by Solomon compared to a *dropping houſe*; ſo that "the good man had no reaſon to *rejoice in the wife of "his youth*, but too juſt cauſe to ſay with the holy "Prophet, *Wo is me that I am conſtrained to have my "habitation in the tents of Kedar.*"

(4) Pag. 175.

[D] *Preſented... to the Rectory of Drayton Beauchamp in Buckinghamſhire.*] While he reſided upon this living, his two Pupils, Mr. Edwin Sandys and Mr. George Cranmer, took a journey to ſee him, and found him with *Horace's Odes* in his hand, tending his ſmall allotment of ſheep in a common field, which he told his pupils he was obliged to do then, his ſervant being gone to dine, and aſſiſt his wife in ſome neceſſary houſhold buſineſs. When his ſervant came and releaſed him, his two pupils attended him into the houſe, where their beſt entertainment was his quiet company, which was preſently denied them, he being called to rock the cradle. The reſt of their welcome was ſo like this, that they ſtaid but till morning, which was time enough to diſcover and pity their tutor's condition; "and they having, *ſays Mr. Walton* (5), in "that time rejoiced in the remembrance, and "then paraphraſed on many of the innocent re"creations of their younger days, and other like "diverſions, and thereby given him as much pre"ſent comfort as they were able, they were forced "to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, "and

(5) Pag. 177.

by the recommendation of Dr. Edwin Sandys Archbiſhop of York was choſen Maſter of the Temple in the room of Mr. Richard Alvey, B. D. deceaſed (*m*). In this ſtation he had a conteſt with Mr. Walter Travers, a Puritan Miniſter, and Lecturer of the Temple, who was ſilenced by order of Archbiſhop Whitgift; upon which he appealed to the Privy Council, but without ſucceſs; and his petition was anſwered by Mr. Hooker [*E*]. He laid the foundation of his book concerning *the Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, while he was at the Temple; but finding it no fit place to finiſh what he had there deſigned, he ſollicited the Archbiſhop for a remove from that ſtation [*F*]; who in 1591

(*m*) Idem, pag. 178, 179.

" and ſeek themſelves a quieter lodging for next night. " But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer ſaid, " *Good Tutor, I am ſorry your lot is fallen in no better* " *ground as to your parſonage, and more ſorry that your* " *wife proves not a more comfortable companion after* " *you have wearied yourſelf in your reſtleſs ſtudies.*" To " whom the good man replied, *My dear George, if* " *Saints have uſually a double ſhare in the miſeries* " *of this life, I that am none ought not to repine at what* " *my wiſe Creator hath appointed for me; but labour (as* " *indeed I do daily) to ſubmit mine to his will, and* " *poſſeſs my ſoul in patience and peace.*" At their return to London Mr. Edwin Sandys acquaints his father, who was then Archbiſhop of York, with his Tutor's ſad condition; and accordingly that Prelate recommended our author in 1585 to the place of Preacher to the Temple.

[*E*] *Mr. Travers appealed to the Privy Council, but without ſucceſs; and his petition was anſwered by Mr. Hooker.*] Mr. Travers had charged Mr. Hooker very ſeverely for his charitable opinion of Papiſts dying in their ſuperſtitions. He ſaid, that it encouraged evil affected men to continue ſtill in damnable ways, and others weak in faith to ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced to the deſtruction of their ſouls. To this Mr Hooker anſwered, that they who were preſent at that ſpeech of his could juſtify, that nothing paſſed his lips more than was contained in their writings, whom for ſoundneſs of doctrine, learning, and judgment Mr. Travers not only allowed, but honoured. That what he had ſaid, was only this: *I doubt not but that God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our fathers living heretofore in Popiſh Superſtition, in as much as they ſinned ignorantly.* And even this, he ſaid, was ſpoken in a ſermon, the greateſt part of which was againſt Popery. Mr. Travers had diſliked, that Mr. Hooker had termed God a *permiſſive* and no *poſitive* cauſe of the evil, which the ſchoolmen called *Malum Culpæ*. Secondly, that to the objections of thoſe, who ſaid, *If I be elected, do what I will, I ſhall be ſaved*; Mr. Hooker had anſwered, that the will of God in this point was not *abſolute*, but *conditional*, i. e. to ſave the elect believing, fearing, and obediently ſerving him. Thirdly, that to ſtop the mouths of ſuch as repined againſt God for rejecting caſtaways, he had taught, that they were not rejected, no not in the purpoſe and counſel of God, without a foreſeen worthineſs of rejection, going (though not in time, yet in order) before. " For if " God's electing do in order (as needs it muſt) pre- " ſuppoſe the foreſight of their being that are elected, " though they be elected before they be, not only " the poſitive foreſight of their being, but alſo " the permiſſion of being miſerable, becauſe election " is through mercy, and mercy doth always pre- " ſuppoſe miſery; it followeth, that the very choſen " of God acknowledge, to the prejudice of the riches " of his exceeding free compaſſion, that when he in " his great determination ſet it down, *thoſe ſhall live* " *and not die*, they lay as ugly ſpectacles before him, " as lepers covered with dung and mire, as ulcers putrified in their father's loins, miſerable, worthy to " be held in deteſtation. And ſhall any forſaken crea- " ture be able to ſay unto God, thou didſt plunge me " into the depth, and aſſign me unto endleſs torments, " only to ſatisfy thine own will, finding nothing in " me, for which I could ſeem in thy ſight ſo well " worthy to feel everlaſting flames?" When he ſaw, that Mr. Travers carped at theſe things, only becauſe they lay not open, he promiſed at ſome convenient time to make them as clear as the light, both to him and all others. When he was aſked, what his grounds were, he anſwered, that St. Paul's words concerning this caſe were his grounds. The next demand of Mr. Travers was, what author Mr. Hooker followed in expounding of St. Paul, and gathering that doctrine out of his words againſt the judgment, as he ſaid, of all churches and all good writers? Mr. Hooker anſwered, that he was well aſſured, that to controul this *over-reaching ſpeech*, the ſentences, which he might have cited out of church-confeſſions, together with the beſt learned monuments of former times, and not the meaneſt of our own, were more in number than perhaps he would willingly have heard of. But that Mr. Travers had given him at that time great cauſe to think, that alledging of other men's words, to ſhew their agreement with our author's, would as much have diſpleaſed Mr. Travers, as the thing itſelf, for which it had been alledged. " For he knoweth, *ſays Mr. Hooker*, " how often he hath in public places bitten me for " this, although I did never in any ſermon uſe many " of the ſentences of other writers, and do make moſt " without any, having always thought it meeteſt, " neither to affect nor to contemn the uſe of them." And when Mr. Travers had miſliked the uſing of human authority, in preaching, Mr. Hooker " alledged " that, which under no pretence in the world might " be diſallowed, namely *reaſon*, not meaning thereby " my own reaſon, as now it is reported, but true " ſound divine reaſon; reaſon whereby thoſe concluſions might be out of St. Paul demonſtrated, and " not probably diſcourſed of only; reaſon proper " to that ſcience, whereby the things of God are " known." Mr. Travers excepted alſo againſt Mr. Hooker, becauſe in one of his ſermons, the latter had aſſerted, that *the aſſurance of things, which we believe by the word, is not ſo certain as of that we perceive by ſenſe.* To this Mr. Hooker anſwers: " And is it " certain? Yea, I taught, as he himſelf, I truſt, will " not deny, that the things, which God doth pro- " miſe in his word, are ſurer unto us than any " thing we touch, handle, or ſee. But are we ſo " ſure and certain of them? If we be, why doth " God ſo often prove his promiſes unto us, as he " doth by arguments taken from our ſenſible experi- " ence. We muſt be ſurer of the proof than of the " thing proved; otherwiſe it is no proof. How is " it then if ten men do all look upon the moon, " every one of them knoweth it as certainly to be " the moon as another; but many believing one and " the ſame promiſes, all have not one and the ſame " fullneſs of perſuaſion? How falleth it out, that " men being aſſured of any thing by ſenſe, can be no " ſurer of it than they are; whereas the ſtrongeſt " in faith that liveth upon the earth, hath need to " labour, and ſtrive, and pray, that his aſſurance, " concerning heavenly and ſpiritual things, may grow, " increaſe, and be augmented?" With regard to Mr. Travers's reflection upon him for aſſerting in one of his ſermons, that *he doubted not but God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our fathers living heretofore in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, in as much as they ſinned ignorantly*; Mr. Hooker in his anſwer profeſſes this to be his judgment, and declares his reaſons for this charitable opinion, as follow. He firſt ſtates the queſtion about *Juſtification* and *Works*, and how the *foundation of faith without works is overthrown*; and then proceeds to diſcover that way, which natural men, and ſome others, have miſtaken to be the way, by which they hope to attain true and everlaſting happineſs. And having diſcovered the miſtaken, he directs to that true way, by which alone everlaſting life is attainable, and theſe two ways he demonſtrates thus: " *That* the " way of nature; *this* the way of grace. The end " of *that* way, ſalvation merited, preſuppoſing the " righteouſneſs of men's works; their righteouſneſs " a natural ability to do them; that ability the good- " neſs of God, which created them in ſuch perfection. " But the end of *this*, ſalvation beſtowed upon men " as a gift, preſuppoſing not their righteouſneſs, but " the forgiveneſs of their unrighteouſneſs, *juſtification*;

1591 preſented him to the Rectory of Boſcomb in Wiltſhire (*n*). July the 17th the ſame year he was inſtituted into the Prebend of Nether-Haven in the Church of Saliſbury (*o*). He continued at Boſcomb till he had finiſhed four books of his *Eccleſiaſtical Polity* [G], which were entered into the Regiſter Book in Stationer's Hall the 9th of March

(*n*) Idem, pag. 209, 210.

(*o*) *Faſti Eccleſ. Anglic. By John Le Neve Gent.*

" their juſtification, not their natural ability to do " good, but their hearty ſorrow for not doing, and " unfeigned belief in him, for whoſe ſake not doers " are accepted, which is their vocation; their vo- " cation the election of God, taking them out of the " number of loſt children; their election a mediator, " in whom to be elected; this mediation inexplicable " mercy; this mercy, ſuppoſing their miſery, for " whom he vouchſafed to die, and make himſelf a " mediator." He declares likewiſe, that " there is " no meritorious cauſe for our juſtification but Chriſt; " no effectual but his mercy; and that we deny the " grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we abuſe, diſannul, " and annihilate the benefit of his paſſion, if by a " proud imagination we believe we can merit ever- " laſting life, or can be worthy of it." This belief he aſſerts to be deſtructive of the very eſſence of our juſtification; and he makes all opinions bordering upon this to be very dangerous. " Yet nevertheleſs, " *ſays he*, conſidering how many virtuous and juſt " men, how many ſaints and martyrs have had their " dangerous opinions, among which this was one, " that they hoped to make God ſome part of amends " by voluntary puniſhments, which they laid upon " themſelves; becauſe of this or the like erroneous " opinions, which do by conſequence overthrow the " merits of Chriſt, ſhall men be ſo bold as to write on " their graves, *Such men are damned; there is for them " no ſalvation?* St. Auſtin ſays, *Errare poſſum, Hæ- " reticus eſſe nolo.* And except we put a difference be- " twixt them, that err ignorantly, and them that ob- " ſtinately perſiſt in it, how is it poſſible that any " man ſhould hope to be ſaved? Give me a Pope or " a Cardinal, whom great afflictions have made to " know himſelf, whoſe heart God hath touched with " true ſorrow for all his ſins, and filled with a love " of Chriſt and his Goſpel, whoſe eyes are willingly " open to ſee the truth, and his mouth ready to re- " nounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, " which he thinketh God will require at his hands, " and becauſe he wanteth, trembleth, and is diſ- " couraged, and yet can ſay, *Lord cleanſe me from all " my ſecret ſins*; ſhall I think becauſe of this or a like " error, ſuch men touch not ſo much as the hem of " Chriſt's garment? If they do, wherefore ſhould I " doubt but that virtue may proceed from Chriſt to " ſave them? No, I will not be afraid to ſay to " ſuch a one: *You err in your opinion; but be of good " comfort; you have to do with a merciful God, who " will make the beſt of that little, which you hold well; " and not with a captious ſophiſter, who gathereth the " worſt out of every thing, in which you are miſtaken.*" But *it will be ſaid*, continues our author, *the admittance of merit in any degree overthroweth the foundation, excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all poſſibility of ſalvation.* To this he anſwers: " What though they " hold the troth ſincerely in all other parts of Chriſti- " an faith; although they have in ſome meaſure all " the virtues and graces of the ſpirit; although they " have all other tokens of God's children in them; " although they be far from having any proud opi- " nion that they ſhall be ſaved by the worthineſs " of their deeds; altho' the only thing that troubleth " and moleſteth them be a little too much dejection, " ſomewhat too great a fear ariſing from an errone- " ous conceit, that God will require a worthineſs in " them, which they are grieved to find wanting in " themſelves; although they be not obſtinate in this " opinion; although they be willing and would be " glad to forſake it, if any one reaſon were brought " ſufficient to diſproye it; although the only cauſe, " why they do not forſake it ere they die, be their " ignorance of that means, by which it might be diſ- " proved; although the cauſe, why the igno- " rance in this point is not removed, be the want of " knowledge in ſuch as ſhould be able and are not to " remove it: Let me die, if ever it be proved, that " ſimply an error doth exclude a Pope or Cardinal in " ſuch a caſe utterly from the hope of life. Surely I muſt " confeſs, that if it be an error to think that God " may be merciful to ſave men even when they err, " my greateſt comfort is my error. Were it not for " the love I bear to this error, I would never wiſh to " ſpeak or to live."

[*F*] *Sollicited the Archbiſhop for a removal from that ſtation.*] After the publication of his *Anſwer* to Mr. Travers's *Supplication*, he grew daily into greater repute with the moſt learned and wiſe of the nation; but it had a contrary effect with many perſons in the Temple, who were zealous for Mr. Travers and his ſcheme of church-diſcipline; ſo that though Mr. Travers had left the place, yet the ſeeds of diſcontent could not be rooted out of that ſociety by all the excellent ſenſe and mild conduct of Mr. Hooker. Upon this he requeſted of the Archbiſhop to be removed from thence, and ſpake to this purpoſe: " When I loſt the " freedom of my Cell, which was my College, yet I " found ſome degree of it in my quiet country-parſon- " age. But I am weary of the noiſe and oppoſitions " of this place; and indeed God and nature did not " intend me for contentions, but for ſtudy and quiet- " neſs. My particular conteſts with Mr. Travers " here have proved the more unpleaſant to me, becauſe " I believe him to be a good man; and that belief " hath occaſioned me to examine mine own conſcience " concerning his opinions; and to ſatisfy that, I " have conſulted the Scripture and other laws both " human and divine, whether the conſcience of him, " and others of his judgment, ought to be ſo far com- " plied with as to alter our frame of church-govern- " ment, our manner of God's worſhip, our praiſing " or praying to him, and our eſtabliſhed ceremonies " as often as his and others tender conſciences ſhall re- " quire us. And in this examination I have not only " ſatisfied myſelf, but have begun a treatiſe, in which " I intend a juſtification of the laws of our *Eccleſiaſti- " cal Polity*; in which deſign God and his holy " angels ſhall at the laſt great day bear me that wit- " neſs, which my conſcience now does, that my mean- " ing is not to provoke any, but rather to ſatisfy all " tender conſciences; and I ſhall never be able to do " this, but where I may ſtudy and pray for God's " bleſſing upon my endeavours, and keep myſelf in " peace and privacy, and behold God's bleſſing ſpring " out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread " without oppoſitions; and therefore, if your grace " can judge me worthy of ſuch a favour, let me beg " it, that I may perfect what I have begun."

[*G*] *His* Eccleſiaſtical Polity.] He ſent the manuſcript of it to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh with a letter dated at London March the 13th 1592, and publiſhed by Mr. Strype (6). The firſt four books of this work were printed at London 1594 in fol. and the fifth book was publiſhed by itſelf at London 1597 in folio; to which was prefixed an Epiſtle Dedicatory to Archbiſhop Whitgift, which in the later editions is put before the whole work. At the end of his edition of his firſt four books he ſubjoined this advertiſement to the reader. " I have for ſome cauſes thought it at this time more " fit to let go theſe firſt four books by themſelves, " than to ſtay both them and the reſt, till the whole " might together be publiſhed. Such generalities of " the cauſe in queſtion as are here handled, it will " be perhaps not amiſs to conſider apart, by way of " introduction unto the books, that are to follow con- " cerning particulars." This work was read with admiration in this Kingdom, and their fame ſpread itſelf into foreign nations (7). Mr. Camden wiſhed (8), that " for " the honour of this and the benefit of other nations " they were turned into the univerſal language." Mr. Strype tells us (9), that " it is a juſt Diſcourſe of the " Eccleſiaſtical ſtate of this Church, built upon reaſon " and judgment, managed with admirable clearneſs " and conviction, and with a ſtrain of great learning " and modeſty withal accompanying it; deſigned for " a vindication of the Church of England, as it ſtood " reformed

(6) Num. 17. Appendix to B. 4. of the *Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift.*

(7) Walton, pag. 22.

(8) *Annals of Q. Elizabeth, ad ann.* 1599.

(9) *Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift*, B. 4. c. 9. pag. 400.

March 1592, but not publiſhed till 1594 (p). In 1595 he ſurrendered Boſcomb to Dr. Caldwell Biſhop of Saliſbury, and was ſucceeded in it by Mr. Benjamin Ruſſel, who was inſtituted into it on the 23d of June. July the 7th the ſame year he was preſented to the Rectory of Biſhops-Bourne near Canterbury; in which living he continued till his death without any addition of dignity or profit (q). Mr. Walton obſerves (r), that his complection was ſanguine with a mixture of choler; but that his motion was ſlow even in his youth, as well as his ſpeech, never expreſſing an earneſtneſs in either of them, but an humble gravity ſuitable to the aged. He was of mean ſtature, and ſtooping,

(p) Walton, pag. 211.

(q) Idem, ibid.

(r) Pag. 158.

" reformed at firſt and eſtabliſhed by Law, againſt " thoſe that ſo much and ſo intemperately cried out " for another platform of government, which that " moſt judicious Divine did happily refute." In 1599 it was attacked by a pamphlet in 4to, intitled, *A Chriſtian Letter of certain Engliſh Proteſtants, unfeigned Lovers of the preſent State of Religion, authorized and profeſſed in England, unto that reverend and learned man Mr.* Hooker, *requiring reſolution in certain Matters of Doctrine contained in his five Books of* Eccleſiaſtical Polity. This was anſwered in a piece intitled, *A juſt and temperate Defence of the five Books of* Eccleſiaſtical Polity, &c. *againſt an uncharitable* Letter of certain Engliſh Proteſtants, London 1603 in 4to. written by William Covel D. D. Our author propoſed to have publiſhed *eight* books of his *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, and Mr. Walton obſerves (10), that he lived to finiſh the three laſt; but whether we have them as finiſhed by himſelf, is a queſtion. Mr. Walton tells us (11), that he had been informed by one, who very well knew Mr. Hooker and the affairs of his family, that about a month after his death, Archbiſhop Whitgift ſent one of his Chaplains to inquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of the *Eccleſiaſtical Polity* written by her huſband; of which ſhe would not or could not give any account; and that about three months after that time the Biſhop procured her to be ſent for to London, where ſhe was examined by ſome of the Privy Council concerning the diſpoſal of thoſe books. But by way of preparation for the next day's examination the Biſhop invited her to Lambeth, and after ſome friendly queſtions ſhe confeſſed to him, " that one Mr. Charke and another " Miniſter, who lived near Canterbury, came to her, " and deſired that they might go into her huſband's " ſtudy, and look upon ſome of his writings; and " that there they burnt and tore many of them, aſ- " ſuring her that they were writings not fit to be ſeen; " and that ſhe knew nothing more concerning them." Her lodging was then in King-ſtreet in Weſtminſter, where ſhe was found next morning dead in her bed, and her new huſband ſuſpected and queſtioned for it, but declared innocent of her death. Dr. John Spencer, who was of the ſame college with Mr. Hooker, and *betwixt whom there was ſo firm a friendſhip, that they continually adviſed together in all their ſtudies, and particularly in what concerned thoſe Books of Polity* (12), had delivered into his hands (it is ſaid, by Archbiſhop Whitgift) the rough draughts of the three laſt books, to be made as perfect as might be by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's hand-writing, and was beſt acquainted with his intentions. " And a fair teſtimony " of this, *ſays Mr. Walton* (13), may appear by an " epiſtle firſt and uſually printed before Mr. Hooker's " five books (but omitted I know not why, in the laſt " impreſſion of the eight printed together in the year " 1662, in which the Publiſhers ſeem to impoſe the three " doubtful books of Mr. Hooker) with theſe two let- " ters *J. S.* at the end of the ſaid epiſtle, which was " meant for this John Spencer." In this epiſtle we find the following words. " There is a purpoſe of ſet- " ting forth the three laſt books alſo, their Father's " *Poſthumi*. For as in the great declining of his body " ſpent without ſtudy, it was his ordinary petition to " Almighty God, that if he might live to ſee the " finiſhing of theſe books, then *Lord let thy ſervant* " *depart in peace* (to uſe his own words) ſo it pleaſed " God to grant him his deſire; for he lived till he " ſaw them perfected. And though like Rachel he " died as it were in the travel of them, and haſtened " death upon himſelf by haſtening to give them life; " yet he held out to behold with his eyes theſe *partus* " *ingenii*, theſe Benjamins, ſons of his right hand, " though to him they were Benonies, ſons of pain and " ſorrow. But ſome evil diſpoſed minds, whether of " malice or covetouſneſs, or wicked blind zeal, it is " uncertain, as if they had been Egyptian midwives, " as ſoon as they were born, and their father dead, " ſmothered them, and by conveying away the perfect " copies left unto us nothing but old unperfect and " mangled draughts, diſmembered into pieces, and " ſcattered like Medea's Abſirtus; no favour, no " grace, not the ſhadows of themſelves almoſt remain- " ing in them. Had the father lived to ſee them " brought forth thus defaced, he might right- " fully have named them Benonies, the ſons of " ſorrow. But ſeeing the importunities of many great " and worthy perſons will not ſuffer them quietly to " die and to be buried, it is intended that they ſhall ſee " them as they are. The learned and judicious eye " will yet perhaps delight itſelf in beholding the " goodly lineaments of their well-ſet bodies, and in " finding out ſome ſhadows and reſemblances of their fa- " ther's face. God grant that as they were with their bre- " thren dedicated to the Church for meſſengers of peace; " ſo in the ſtrength of that little breath of life, that " remaineth in them, they may proſper in their work, " and by ſatisfying the doubts of ſuch that are wil- " ling to learn, may help to give an end to the ca- " lamities of thoſe our civil wars." Mr. Walton obſerves (14), that this epiſtle of Dr. Spencer was written and firſt printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent ſearch had been made for the perfect copies, and then allowed to be not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be compleated out of Mr. Hooker's *rough draughts*. " And " I do profeſs, *continues Mr. Walton*, by the faith of " a Chriſtian, that Dr. Spencer's wife, who was my " aunt, and ſiſter to George Cranmer, told me forty " years ſince in theſe or in words to this purpoſe; " *that her huſband had made up or finiſhed Mr. Hooker's* " *laſt three books; and that upon her huſband's death-* " *bed, or in his laſt ſickneſs, he gave them into her hand,* " *with a charge they ſhould not be ſeen by any man,* " *but be by her delivered into the hands of the then* " *Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or* " *unto Dr. King, then Biſhop of London; and that ſhe* " *did as he injoined her.*" Mr. Walter conceives, that from Dr. Spencer's, and no other copy, there have been divers tranſcripts, as particularly that in Sir Thomas Bodley's library, in that of Biſhop Andrews, in the Lord Conway's, in the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's, in Archbiſhop Uſher's, and many others; *and moſt of theſe*, ſays Mr. Walton (15), *pretended to be the author's own hand, but much diſagreeing, being indeed altered and diminiſhed, as men have thought fitteſt to make Mr. Hooker's judgment ſuit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt deſigns.* For proof of part of this Mr. Walton produces the following teſtimonies. Dr. Barnard, ſometime Chaplain to Archbiſhop Uſher, in his *Clavi Trabales*, printed in 1661, declares, that in his ſearch and examination of that Prelate's manuſcripts, he found the three written books, which were ſuppoſed to be the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth books of Mr. Hooker's *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*; and that in the ſaid books, now printed as Mr. Hooker's, there are ſo many omiſſions, that they amount to many paragraphs, and cauſe many incoherencies. Dr. Barnard ſets down the omiſſions at large. Mr. Fabian Philips atteſted under his own hand, that Dr. Sanderſon Biſhop of Lincoln, a little before his death, affirmed to him that he had ſeen a manuſcript aſſerted to be the hand-writing of Mr. Hooker, " in which there was no mention made of the King " or Supreme Governor's being accountable to the peo- " ple." Dr. Henry King, Biſhop of Chicheſter, in a letter to Mr. Izaak Walton dated at Chicheſter November the 17th 1664, and prefixed to Mr. Walton's Life of Mr. Hooker, obſerves, that " Dr. John Spencer, " after the death of Mr. Hooker, was ſo careful to " preſerve his unvaluable ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth " books of *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, and his other writings, " that

(10) Pag. 233.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Idem, pag. 234.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Pag. 235.

(15) Pag. 236.

ing, his face full of heat-pimples, occaſioned by his inactivity and ſedentary life; of ſo baſhful a diſpoſition, that as in his younger days his pupils might eaſily look him out of countenance, ſo neither then, nor in his elder years did he ever willingly look any man in his face. He was ſhort or weak ſighted, and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his ſermon, there they continued till it was ended. His dreſs was very mean (*s*). But the reputation of his writings and ſanctity of life was ſo eminent, that he was univerſally admired, and viſited by a great many men of learning (*t*). His ſermons were neither long nor earneſt, but uttered with great zeal and an humble voice; and the deſign of them was to ſhew reaſons for what he advanced, and with theſe reaſons ſuch a kind of Rhetoric, as rather convinced and perſuaded, than frightened men into piety (*u*). Beſides his *Eccleſiaſtical Polity* he wrote ſome other pieces [*H*]. He died at Biſhops-Bourne November the 2d 1600 [*I*], in the forty ſixth year of his age, and was interred in the Church there, where a monument has ſince been erected to his memory by Sir William Cowper. He left four daughters, Alice, Cecily, Jane, and Margaret [*K*], to

(*s*) Idem, pag. 217, 218.

(*t*) Idem, pag. 217.

(*u*) Idem, pag. 219, 220.

" that he procured *Henry Jackſon*, then of Corpus " Chriſti College, to tranſcribe for him all Mr. Hooker's " remaining written papers, many of which were im- " perfect, for his ſtudy had been rifled or worſe uſed " by Mr. Charke and another of principles too like " his. But theſe papers were endeavoured to be com- " pleated by his dear friend Dr. Spencer, who be- " queathed them as a precious legacy to my father (16), " after whoſe death they reſted in my hands, till " Dr. Abbot, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, com- " manded them out of my cuſtody, by authorizing " Dr. John Barkeham to require and bring them to " him to his palace in Lambeth; at which time, I have " heard, they were put into the Biſhop's library, and " that they remained there till the marytrdom of Arch- " biſhop Laud, and were then by the brethren of the " faction given with all the library to Hugh Peters, " as a reward for his remarkable ſervice in thoſe ſad " times of the Church's confuſion. And though they " could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet there wanted " not other endeavours to corrupt and make them " ſpeak that language for which the faction then fought, " which indeed was to ſubject the ſovereign power to " the people." In 1648 there was publiſhed at London in 4to, *Of the Lawes of Eccleſiaſtical Politie; the ſixth and eighth Books. By* Richard Hooker. *A Work long expected, and now publiſhed according to the moſt authentique Copies.* To this is prefixed the following advertiſement to the reader. " Here is preſented unto thee " two of the three ſo long expected and much deſired " books of learned Mr. Hooker's *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*; " viz. the *ſixth* and the *eighth*, as they were preſerved " in the hands of thoſe mirrors of learning, Dr. An- " drews late Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the pre- " ſent Dr. Uſher, Lord Archbiſhop of Armagh, with " great hopes the *ſeventh* would have been recovered, " that they might have been publiſhed to the world's " view at once; but endeavours uſed to that purpoſe " have hitherto proved fruitleſs. And hearing that " ſome erroneous, if not counterfeit copies are abroad, " hath occaſioned the publiſhing of theſe, to prevent " as much as may be any addition of abuſes to the " abuſed author; and alſo that he, which ſo much " deſired the unity of the Church, might have the " divided members of his labours united." In this edition the ſeveral copies compared before the publication were that in Sir Thomas Bodley's library at Oxford, that in the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's library, that in Biſhop Andrews's library, two copies in Archbiſhop Uſher's poſſeſſion, and one in the hands of the Lord Viſcount Conway. Theſe two books with an addition of a *ſeventh* was publiſhed by Dr. John Gauden, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Exeter and Worceſter, at London 1662 in folio under this title: *The Works of Mr.* Richard Hooker, *(that learned, godly, and eloquent Divine) vindicating the Church of England as truly Chriſtian and duly reformed, in eight Books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, now compleated, as with the ſixth and eighth, ſo with the ſeventh, &c. out of his own MSS. never before publiſhed. With an Account of his holy Life and happy Death.* The eighth book is commonly ſuppoſed to have been firſt publiſhed, together with the ſixth and ſeventh, by Dr. Gauden; but, as we obſerved before, the ſixth and eighth books, were printed at London in 1648; nay, all the *eight books*, with certain tractates and ſermons, and the author's life, were publiſhed in two volumes in folio in 1617, as the title-page informs us.

(16) Dr. John King Biſhop of London.

[*H*] *Beſides his* Eccleſiaſtical Polity *he wrote ſome other pieces.*] I. *Anſwere to a* Supplication *preferred by Mr.* Walter Travers *to the Honourable Lords of the Privie Council.* Oxford 1612 in 4to. II. *Cauſes of Contention concerning Church-Government.* Oxford 1641 in 4to. III. *A Diſcourſe of Juſtification, Works, and how the Foundation of Faith is overthrown*; on Abak. i. 4. Ox- 1612 in 4to. IV. *A Sermon of the Nature of Pride*; on Abak. ii. 4. Oxford 1612 in 4to. V. *A Remedie againſt Sorrow and Feare, delivered in a Funeral Sermon*, on John xiv. 27. Oxford 1612 in 4to. VI. *Of the Certaintie and Perpetuitie of Faith in the Elect, eſpecially of the Prophet Abakkuk's Faith:* A Sermon on Abak. i. 4. VII. *Two Sermons upon Part of St.* Jude's *Epiſtle*, viz. verſ. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. Oxford 1614 in 4to. All theſe Sermons were publiſhed by Mr. Henry Jackſon, Fellow of Corpus Chriſti College Oxford, with *Wickliff's Wicket*; and reprinted without *Wickliff's Wicket* at London 1632 in folio at the End of the *Five Books* of *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, and again at the End of the *Eight Books*, London 1682 in fol. VIII. *A Sermon on Matth. vii. 7. found in the Study of Dr.* Andrews, *Biſhop of Wincheſter.* Publiſhed by Mr. Iſaac Walton at the End of his *Life of Dr.* Sanderſon, *Biſhop of Lincoln.* London 1678 in 8vo.

[*I*] *He died at Biſhops-Bourne November the 2d* 1600.] His ſickneſs was occaſioned by a cold taken in his paſſage by water between London and Graveſend, from the malignity of which he never recovered. During his illneſs he was employed in his ſtudy, and ſaid often to Dr. Saravia, that " he did not beg a long " life of God for any other reaſon, but to live to " finiſh his three remaining books of *Polity*." It is thought, that he haſtened his own death by his application to compleat that work. About a month before his death he began to loſe his appetite, and then to have an averſeneſs to all food, ſo that he ſeemed for ſome weeks to live by the ſmell of meat only; and yet he ſtill ſtudied and wrote. A few days before his death, his houſe was robbed, of which being informed, he aſked, *are my books and written papers ſafe?* and being anſwered, *that they were*, his reply was, *then it matters not, for no other loſs can trouble me* (17). There were different accounts concerning the time of his death. Camden (18) tells us, that he died in 1599. In the inſcription upon his monument erected by Sir William Cowper his death is placed in 1603. But both theſe accounts are undoubtedly erroneous; for it is atteſted under the hand of William Somner, Regiſter to the Archbiſhop for the Province of Canterbury, that our author's will was dated October the 26th 1600, and proved the 3d of December following. And Archbiſhop Laud has fixed his death on the 2d of November 1600 in the following words, which he wrote with his own hand in the title-page of Mr. Hooker's *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*; *Richardus Hooker, vir ſummis doctrinæ doctibus ornatus, de Eccleſiâ præcipuè Anglicanâ optimè meritus, obiit Novemb. 2. circiter horam ſecundam poſtmeridianam, anno* 1600.

(17) Walton, pag. 225, 226.

(18) *Annals of Elizabeth*, ad ann. 1599.

[*K*] *He left four daughters, Alice, Cecily, Jane, and Margaret.*] One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, ſometime a Schoolmaſter in Chicheſter. Margaret, his youngeſt daughter, was married to Ezekiel Clark, B. D. Rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown near Canterbury, and by him had a ſon, Ezekiel, Rector of Waldron in Suſſex, and a daughter. His other daughters died before they were marriageable (19).

(19) Walton, pag. 231, 232.

T.

to each of whom he gave one hundred pounds; and left his widow ſole executrix. It appeared by his inventory, that his eſtate (a great part of which conſiſted of books) came to 1092 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.* (*w*). He had a ſiſter, Elizabeth Harvey, who lived to the age of 121 years, and died in September 1663 (*x*).

(*w*) Idem, pag. 231.

(*x*) Idem, pag. 232.

☞HOOPER (GEORGE), a very learned Writer [*A*], and Biſhop of Bath and Wells, was born at Grimley in Worceſterſhire November 18 1640, and was ſon of George Hooper Gent. by Joan his wife, daughter of Edmund Giles of White Lady Aſton Gent. (*a*). His father removed to Weſtminſter for the better education of his ſon, who was educated in the ſchool there, and in 1656 elected thence a Student of Chriſt Church in the Univerſity of Oxford. January the 16th 166$\frac{9}{7}$ he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in 1664 that of Maſter of Arts. He applied himſelf with great vigour to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, Mathematics, the Greek and Roman Antiquity, and Oriental Languages, in the laſt of which he was encouraged by Dr. Pocock, by whoſe aſſiſtance

(*a*) The memoirs, from which this article is compiled, were communicated by our author's daughter Mrs. Prowſe.

[*A*] *A very learned writer.*] This appears from his writings, of which we ſhall give the reader a catalogue. He publiſhed the following ſermons, viz. 1. *A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor at Guildhall Chapel, October* 30, 1681, on *Gal.* v. 22, 23. London, 1682, in 4to. 2. *A Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall, Novem.* 5, 1681, on *Mat.* xxii. 21. London, 1682, in 4to. 3. *A Sermon preached before the Queen at Whitehall, Sunday, January* 25, 1690, on *Luke* xvi. laſt verſe. London, 1691, in 4to. 4. *A Sermon preached before the King and Queen at Whitehall, January* 14, 169$\frac{4}{3}$, on *John* vii. 17. London, 1694, in 4to. 5. *A Sermon preached before the King, January* 20, 1695, on *John* iii. 20. 6. *A Sermon preached before the Houſe of Commons, April* 4, 1701, on *Phil.* iii. 20. 7. *A Sermon preached before the Houſe of Lords, January* 30, 170$\frac{4}{3}$, *on the Martyrdom of King Charles I,* on 2 *Cor.* x. 3, 4. 8. *A Sermon on the Day of Thankſgiving for the Peace, July* 7, 1713, on *Pſal.* cxxii. 7. His other writings are as follow. I. *The Church of England free from the Imputation of Popery*, printed in 1682, and bound up with the *London Caſes*. II. *A fair and methodical Diſcuſſion of the firſt and great Controverſy between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, concerning the Infallible Guide*. In three Diſcourſes; whereof the *firſt* is introductory, and ſtates the points, which are preliminary to this and all the other controverſies between the two churches. The *ſecond* conſiders at large the pretences to modern Infallibility, and ſhews them to be groundleſs. The *third*, by the help of the former, briefly examines the pretended rational account of the Roman Catholics concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Guide in Controverſies of Religion, and detects its artifice. The two firſt parts were licenſed by Dr. Maurice in 1687; but the third was never printed. III. *The Parſon's Caſe under the preſent Land-Tax, recommended in a Letter to a Member of the Houſe of Commons*, 1689. IV. *A Diſcourſe concerning Lent. In two Parts. The firſt, an Hiſtorical Account of its Obſervation. The ſecond, an Eſſay concerning its Original: This ſubdivided into two Repartitions, whereof the firſt is preparatory, and ſhews, that moſt of our Chriſtian Ordinances are derived from the Jews. And the ſecond conjectures, that Lent is of the ſame Original.* The *Imprimatur* is dated Feb. 5, 1694. In the Vth ſection of the Xth Chapter of the firſt part he recapitulates the ſubſtance of that part in the following manner. "And thus have we "viewed the practice of Lent through the firſt 400 "years. We have ſeen in the laſt of theſe centuries, "when Chriſtianity came to be more openly profeſ- "ſed under the Chriſtian Emperors, and abounded in "writers, many expreſs and undeniable teſtimonies of "the general obſervation, though in a different man- "ner, of the *forty ſeaſon*, then commonly ſo called "from forty days. In the next age above it, the "*third*, and as high too as the middle of it, a time "that affords us not many authors, and when there "was little occaſion to ſpeak of this matter, we have "however a very punctual account of their ſtrict man- "ner of keeping the *Paſſion Week*, from one of the great- "eſt men of the church (1), who happened to be con- "ſulted about a nicety of ending this Lent. And "that there was great ſtrictneſs in the *Holy Week*, "equal to any that was uſed after, may well induce "us to imagine, that theſe men had not left the de- "votion of all the preceding weeks to be added by "the very next generation; eſpecially when we "find the *forty ſeaſon* expreſly mentioned in Origen, "a maſter of this Dionyſius, as conſecrated to faſting. "For that place of Origen, though we have it only "from the verſion of Ruffinus, and he none of the "moſt exact tranſlators; yet certainly, if he was not "the worſt that ever was, is much more likely to "be truly rendered than wrong, there being no rea- "ſon to faſten the falſity on this word more than on "any other of the ſentence, nor any wonder to find "that ſpoke of now, which not long after was cele- "brated ſo much." *But to proceed, we have ſeen further from Tertullian, an author to be reckoned to the ſecond Century as well as to the third, that the days, in which our Lord was taken away, Good Friday and the Holy Saturday at leaſt, if not the whole week, were, in the opinion of the church of his time, to be faſted by all from Apoſtolical Authority; and that no other days were to be faſted neceſſarily, and as by divine precept, but as diſcretion only, and as Chriſtians ſhould think fit in godly prudence. Upon the account of which diſcretionary uncertainty the argument he was engaged in made it not proper for him to ſay any more concerning them, nor to tell us the ſeveral cuſtoms of ſeveral Churches about that arbitrary part of Lent; though it may otherwiſe be collected even from him, that there was then ſuch an additional time obſerved. But to go yet higher and nearer to the Apoſtolical age, about the year* 190, *and not* 90 *from the death of* St. John, Irenæus *a venerable and now a very old Biſhop, who had converſed familiarly with the great* Polycarp, *as* Polycarp *had with St.* John *and other Apoſtles, has happened to let us know, though incidentally only, the various obſervation of his time; that ſome thought they ought to faſt one, ſome two, and ſome more days, and ſome forty; as we have learned too in the general both from him and the Biſhops of almoſt the whole Church currently with him, that ſome ſuch Ante-Paſchal Faſt had been all along obſerved in all places, up to the time of the Apoſtles themſelves.* The *ſecond Part* is an Eſſay concerning the *Original* of *Lent*, ſubdivided into two Repartitions; in the firſt of which Repartitions our author endeavours to ſhew, *that moſt of the antient Chriſtian Ordinances were derived from the Jews.* For this purpoſe he obſerves firſt, that it is *not diſhonourable for Chriſtian Ordinances to be borrowed from the Jews.* "Among the antient Heretics, *ſays* "*he* (2), ſome, it is known, read our Saviour and "his Goſpel, but rejected the Moſaical Law, and "blaſphemed its God. And there may be many now "(tho' more innocent) who, at this diſtance from the "riſe of Chriſtianity, may either have loſt the remem- "brance of its Original, and forgot that the laſt cove- "nant has any dependence on the firſt; or elſe in pride "of our great privileges may ſcornfully overlook the "diſpenſation of Moſes as a beggarly element, and in "the vanity of a neighbour-nation may think it a "diſparagement to the Chriſtian Religion to be thought "of Jewiſh extraction. And there may ſeem to have "been more cauſe given for this conceit from ſome "learned books of late, which have treated concern- "ing the *Jewiſh* and the *Ægyptian* antiquities, and "which have been miſunderſtood ſo far by ſome to "the prejudice of the old Teſtament, that thoſe, "who have not conſidered the matter well, may look "upon it as very diſhonourable to Chriſtianity, to bor- "row any thing from that nation, which is ſuſpected to "have borrowed ſo much of all its neighbours, and "to have robbed even the Religion of the Ægyptians. "But they need not fear, for truth can never ſuffer "from truth; and if it ſhall indeed appear, that the "Moſaic Religion was conformable to the worſhip of "their

(1) Dionyſius Biſhop of Alexandria.

(2) Part 2. Repat. 1. cap. 1. pag. 153, *& ſeq.*

assistance he became a great master of the Arabic tongue, the knowledge of which he made great use to explain several obscure passages of the Old Testament. In 1669 he drew up a short Treatise in Mathematics, which Mercator desired to have from him, in order to publish it; but it still remains among his manuscripts. In 1672 he became Chaplain to Dr. Morley Bishop of Winchester, who soon after gave him the Rectory of Havant, which being an unhealthy place, he resigned it for that of Woodhey in Hampshire, where he succeeded Bishop Ken. July the 9th 1673 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. Archbishop Sheldon being acquainted with Mr. Hooper's character, prevailed

" their eastern neighbours, it may notwithstanding no " less maintain its divine authority. Knowledge, we " know, as well as Empire, began in that part of " the world; and there the many traditions concern- " ing God, descended from Noah and others of his " inspired sons, were lodged and preserved; blended, " we may think, and much corrupted with many " falsities and superstitions; variously too by its va- " rious depositaries, the *Chaldeans*, *Ægyptians*, *Phœ- " nicians*, *Arabians*, &c. Now all these had some- " thing of the same Religion, as they had of the " same Language, but in a different dialect and man- " ner; and what if God was pleased, by the minis- " try of Moses, to reform it from the many additi- " ons, impious or immoral, with which it had been " severally adulterated, retaining some indifferent " customs innocently introduced, instituting others in " opposition to the more dangerous errors, and di- " recting some eminent parts of the whole to a fur- " ther prospect of another and more perfect revela- " tion yet to come; and all these Laws, for the use " of a peculiar people, to reduce into one code, and " authorize by a new sanction." *Such a Reformed Religion we may suppose that of the Jews to have been; and need not therefore be afraid, if our Religion be said to be a further* Reformation *of that* Judaism; *a title Mr.* Selden *frequently gives it, but to be understood, not as if it were a repurgation of the old from any error, but as it is the completion and perfection of it according to the original design. And as certainly as our blessed Saviour and his Apostles were of Hebrew lineage, so certain it is, that our Religion is grafted on the Jewish. Neither do the expressions only and allusions of the Gospel relate to the customs of the Law, not well otherwise to be understood; but some of its chief instruments are known to be derived thence. For as before many of the Mosaic Rites were unquestionably designed to prefignify our Saviour; so some of them were afterwards taken into his service, always to minister unto him; not admitted only for the present out of condescension to the native or proselyte Jews, of whom then the greatest number of converts consisted; but some formally adapted, and others laudably continued, for perpetuity.* He instances then in such ordinances, as are mentioned in Scripture, as *Baptism*, which was a rite, by which, as well as by others, proselytes were admitted into Judaism; and tells us, that *Christian Baptism*, as expressed in the new Testament, is an imitation of it. In the *third* chapter he informs us of the nature of the *Paschal Sacrifice*, and the description which the Jewish Traditions give of that supper, *agreeably*, says he, *to the History in the Gospels of our* Lord's Supper, *and to the nature of it.* In the *fourth* chapter he shews, that the *Church* of *Christ* succeeds to the *Church* of the *Jews*; that the *Officers* of the one were raised from the officers of the other. In the *fifth* chapter he describes the *Excommunicates* of the Jews and their condition; and the condition of the *Mourners* among the *Jews* compared with that of the *Excommunicate*; and observes, that their Excommunicates were restrained from the liberty, not only of *civil conversation*, but of *religious communion:* and that *excommunication* is mentioned in the New Testament as practised by the Jews and Christians. In the *sixth* he mentions the circumstances relating to *baptism*, under five heads, practised in the Church of Christ in the second Century; and shews, that all these were agreeable to Jewish custom: and first in general, as to the persons baptized and baptizing, and the solemn time of baptism; and in particular, secondly, as to the distinction and instruction of its Candidates; thirdly, as to the action of baptism; fourthly, its confirmation; and fifthly, the sequel and close of the whole ceremony. In the *seventh* chapter he takes notice of several particulars practised in the *Lord's Supper* by the primitive Christians, which varied from those of the *Paschal Supper*; and these particulars shew our *Lord's Supper* to have succeeded the *Paschal* in its general nature, as a *memorial of thanks.* He describes a Jewish *offering of praise and thanks*, with the *feasting* upon it; and shews, that the *Christian Eucharist* answered to it, and in what manner; and takes notice of a tradition of the Jews, that in the days of the *Messiah* only the *Eucharistical Sacrifice* should remain. In the *eighth* chapter he shews, that the distinction of *Clergy* and *Laity* is specified by Tertullian; that of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, by him, (Irenæus also being his leader, for the *Apostolical authority* of *Bishops*,) and by Ignatius as the other, at least of the *Laity* and *Clergy*, by St. Clemens of Rome. He observes, that the *first distinction* was derived from the language of the Old Testament; the offices of the second from those of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and likewise of the Temple; the *Upper Parts* of our *Churches* being also supposed to answer the *Temple Courts*, of the *Priests* and the *Altar*. In the *ninth* chapter he shews, that the sentence and effects of *Excommunication* were the same with Christians as with Jews; and the relaxation of it alike; and observes their agreement in the estimate of the *Guilt* of *Sins*, and the appointments of *penance*. In the *tenth* chapter he takes notice of a parallel of Christian rites mentioned by Tertullian, and of those usages mentioned by Origen, particularly about prayer, 1. Disposition of mind. 2. Posture of body. 3. Direction of the face. 4. Times of daily prayer. 5. Matter and method. He represents the antient order of Christian prayer, and the order of the Jewish, and compares them; and gives a parallel of some few other usages. In the *eleventh* chapter he answers the *second prejudice* against a *Jewish Origination* of *Lent* from want of authority in the *Talmudical* writings, by shewing, 1. That those traditional accounts were not without some antient foundations of their own. 2. That they are confirmed in many points by collateral evidence. 3. That they were not borrowed by the Jews from foreign authors. In the same chapter he answers the *third prejudice* against such an origination, from the novelty of it. In the *first* chapter of the *second Repartition* he observes, that our Easter was kept for some time with the Jewish Passover; that the notification of Easter by *Paschal Letters* agrees with the practice of the Jews; and that the *Ante-Paschal Preparation* of Christians answers to a like preparation of the Jews before their *days of expiation*. In the *second* chapter he compares the *sacrificial* performance on the Jewish expiation day, with that of our Saviour on his passion day. In the third chapter he observes, that the *devotional* duty of the Jews on their *expiation day* is practised by Christians on the *passion day*; and compares some circumstances of the eves of those days. In the *fourth* chapter he shews, that there was a *penitential season* with the Jews preparatory to their expiation day; and that some *certain days* next before it were kept uniformly by all; *more* also generally, though in various numbers; and *forty* by many; but the *first* of the forty universally observed; and that forty days were a solemn space of penitence in the Jewish discipline; and he compares the Christian Lent with the Jewish. In the *fifth* chapter he remarks, that this origination of Lent is very probable, and its observation a testimony to our Lord's *expiatory sacrifice*. However, that the consideration of that *expiatory sacrifice* is a good reason for our observing the *passion day*, and likewise some preparatory time before it. V. In the *Philosophical Transactions* for October 1699 there is a piece of our author's intitled,

prevailed with Biſhop Morley to permit his Chaplain to remove to Lambeth; but that Biſhop ſtill retained a ſincere affection for him, and ſent for him to attend him in his laſt ſickneſs. In 1675 the Archbiſhop collated him to the Rectory of Lambeth, and not long after to the Præcentorſhip of Exeter, which was an option of the Archbiſhop. July the 3d 1677 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity. The ſame year he was ſent into Holland to attend the Princeſs of Orange as her Almoner, there being another Chaplain for the family. In this ſtation he was directed to regulate the performance of Divine Service in her Highneſs's Chapel according to the uſage of the Church of England; which he did in ſo prudent and decent a manner as to give no offence. He continued there about one year, when he deſired leave of the Princeſs to return to England on the account of his intended marriage, which ſhe with much regret conſented to upon a promiſe of his return; which he performing ſtaid about eight months longer, when her Highneſs permitted him to return home. In 1680 upon the death of Dr. Alleſtree he was offered the place of Divinity Profeſſor in Oxford, but declined it. About the ſame time he was made Chaplain to King Charles II. In 1685, the evening before the execution

titled, *A Calculation of the Credibility of human Teſtimony*, conſiſting of theſe four *propoſitions*. Firſt, concerning the credibility of a report made by ſingle ſucceſſive reporters, who are equally credible. Secondly, concerning concurrent teſtifications. Thirdly, concerning the credit of a reporter for a particular article of that narrative, for the whole of which he is credible in a certain degree. Fourthly, concerning the truth of oral or written tradition in whole or in part ſucceſſively tranſmitted, and alſo co atteſted by ſeveral ſucceſſions of tranſmittents. VI. *New danger of Preſbytery*, 1703. VII. *Marks of a defenceleſs cauſe*, VIII. *The Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation vindicated*. IX. *De Valentinianorum Hæreſi Conjecturæ, quibus illius Origo ex Ægyptiacâ Theologiâ deducitur*. London 1711 in 4to, pagg. 27. In the beginning of this piece, our author obſerves, that the Chriſtian doctrine was not delivered at firſt to all the heathens in its native purity and ſimplicity. It was corrupted by ſome men for ſome private ends, and adapted to the ſuperſtitions of the Gentiles. Thus we read in the Scriptures, that the new inhabitants of Samaria corrupted the doctrine of Moſes. It is well known, that a Perſian was the author of Manicheiſm. The hereſy of Marcion proceeded from an opinion which generally prevailed among the Eaſtern Nations, that there were two eternal principles, one of good, and the other of evil; and that all the confuſion obſervable in this world was occaſioned by their perpetual ſtruggling. According to this doctrine, Marcion acknowledged two Gods, authors of the old and new Teſtament. He believed, that the former, being an ill principle, gave laws to the Jews, a Nation, which was always hated, eſpecially in the time of that heretic. But the latter, ſaid he, being a good principle, and deſigning to overthrow the Empire of his rival, ſent Jeſus Chriſt into the world, who gave better laws to mankind, and brought them into a ſtate of happineſs. After theſe obſervations our author proceeds to the doctrine of Valentinus. He believes, that though it appears to us monſtrous and extravagant, the Egyptians had a different notion of it. That heretic is ſaid to have been a native of Egypt; and it is not improbable, that he adapted the Chriſtian Religion to the opinions of his countrymen. This conjecture our author endeavours to prove in the ſequel of his diſcourſe. In the firſt place, he gives a very exact account of the doctrine of Valentinus; and in order to render it more intelligible, he has added a genealogical table of the *Æones*, &c. mentioned by that heretic and his followers. He then enquires into the origin of the Valentinian Syſtem, and compares it with the Egyptian Theology. X. *An inquiry into the ſtate of the antient Meaſures, the Attick, the Roman, and eſpecially the Jewiſh. With an Appendix concerning our old Engliſh money and meaſures of content.* London 1721 in 8vo. In the preface he tells us, that upon the peruſal heretofore of two very curious tracts, which were publiſhed about the ſame time in the year 1684, the one by Dr. Cumberland, late Biſhop of Peterborough, and the other by Dr. Edward Bernard, firſt printed with Dr. Pocock's *Commentary on Hoſea*; and upon reading the *Roman Foot* and *Denarius* of Mr. John Greaves, by them moſt juſtly celebrated; he began to enquire more nearly into the ſtate of the old *Hebrew Meaſures*, and going upon the ſure foundation of Mr. Greaves, and in the method of Biſhop Cumberland, and aſſiſted by the copious informations of Dr. Bernard, he caſt his thoughts into the following ſcheme. Firſt having the nature in general of the ſeveral meaſures of *Length*, *Content*, and *Weight*, and their convenient relation one towards another, he laid down the *Engliſh* meaſures, as thoſe, to which he was to reduce the *Jewiſh*, for his clearer underſtanding of them. And then, becauſe the knowledge of the *Jewiſh* meaſures was chiefly to be had from the accounts of them, that are given us by men of different ages and nations; and it was as neceſſary to have their ſeveral meaſures adjuſted to the Engliſh; he was obliged to take into his notice ſome of the *modern*, but more eſpecially thoſe, which had been uſed in old time by the *Athenians* and *Romans*. And thus provided he was in the laſt place to produce and compare the moſt probable informations, which have been given us of thoſe Jewiſh meaſures, and to form thence as clear and as certain account of them as he could. And accordingly his *Inquiry* conſiſts of four parts. The *firſt* treats of *Meaſures* in general, and particularly of the *Engliſh*, and ſome other modern ones, as the preſent *Roman*, the *Spaniſh*, the *Holland*, and the *Egyptian*. The *ſecond* takes a view of the *Attic* Meaſures, for the ſake of thoſe Greek authors who are to be conſulted. The *third* inſpects the *Roman*, which could not be ſo well underſtood without the *Attic*, for the ſake of the Latin writers. The *fourth* conſiders the *Jewiſh* Meaſures themſelves. To the whole is ſubjoined an *Appendix* concerning the denominations and computation of the *Engliſh* money and meaſures of content. In this *Appendix* he obſerves (3), that, in his opinion, "all the old Engliſh meaſures of content, which we received from the *Saxon*, were in "all probability derived to them from the *Saracens*, "as well as our money;" and he remarks (4), that "with regard to the names of veſſels, which are "known in Spain and Italy, ſuch as *Pipe*, *Butt*, *Barrel*, &c. he ſhould look for them in the Mediterranean, and there among thoſe Eaſtern people, from "whence the goods contained in them came. For "conſidering that all menſuration of weight appears "plainly to be Phœnician; and that meaſures of "content, even of water, were highly neceſſary to "them for their proviſion in their voyages by land as "well as ſea; and that of liquids, wine and oil were the "original products of that coaſt; (not only the word "*Wine*, but the fabulous names of *Bacchus*, *Semele*, "and *Silenus* with his *Aſs*, atteſting to ſuch an original:) one may be thence inclined to think, that "the Phœnician names of veſſels were carried to the "Greek Iſlands along with their contents; and that "the Saracens afterwards, when they were maſters of "that ſea, readily took up the words they found of "the Oriental Language, as well as impoſed new "from the ſame. This is what may be conjectured "from many of the Levant veſſels, not only thoſe "that hold water, but thoſe that ſwim in it; for they "ſometimes borrow names one from the other. And "it may not therefore be improper to enquire after "them in the South-Eaſt, notwithſtanding the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans* have been potent navigators in their time, and may be preſumed to have "brought in upon our iſland their Germanick appellations." Dr. John Arbuthnot in the *Preface* to

(3) Pag. 468, 469.

(4) Pag. 473, 474.

tion of the Duke of Monmouth he received by the Earl of Rocheſter a meſſage from the King, immediately to attend the Duke. When he came to the Tower, and acquainted the Duke with his Majeſty's order, he received it with ſome confuſion and ſurprize; but the Doctor aſſuring him, that he was charged with no particular commiſſion, the Duke told him, that he was very welcome and acceptable to him; and after much free converſation with him, ſaid, that he would ſee him in the morning as ſoon as he was up. The Doctor ſate up all night, and in the morning the Duke told him, that he was ſure he had made his peace with God. Much time was ſpent to deſire his Grace to conſider the nature and foundation of ſuch a full perſuaſion, which the Doctor very faithfully laid before him with as great plainneſs and decency, as the Duke's firm adherence to this belief would admit of, in which he perſiſted to his laſt moment. In the morning the Duke was attended by the Biſhops of Ely and Bath and Wells, and Dr. Teniſon, who with Dr. Hooper accompanied him to the ſcaffold, where the Biſhop of Ely chiefly diſcourſed with the Duke, and preſſed him to own the truth of the doctrine of Non-reſiſtance, and confeſs himſelf guilty of rebellion. In 1691, upon the promotion of Dr. John Sharp to the Archbiſhopric of York, Queen Mary, during the King's abſence in Holland, ordered the Earl of Nottingham to ſend for Dr. Hooper to come to her, when ſhe offered him the Deanery of Canterbury, of which he had not the leaſt expectation; for he never directly or indirectly made intereſt for any one preferment. He aſked her Majeſty, which of his two livings he ſhould reſign; who told him, that though the King and ſhe never gave two livings to one man, yet they never took them away, and ordered him to keep both. But when the Queen would not name one, he reſigned Woodhey. In 1698 the Prince and Princeſs of Denmark were very deſirous to have had him Præceptor to the Duke of Glouceſter; but the King appointed Biſhop Burnet for that ſervice. In 1701 he was choſen Prolocutor of the Lower Houſe of Convocation; and the ſame year was offered the Primacy of Ireland by the Earl of Rocheſter, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1702 he was by the Queen's expreſs command, though contrary to his inclination, made Biſhop of St. Aſaph, in which See he continued about half a year, and generouſly refuſed the uſual mortuaries or penſions paid by the Clergy in Wales to their new Biſhops, ſaying, that they ſhould never pay ſo dear for the ſight of him. In 1703 he had the like order to remove to the See of Bath and Wells, which he earneſtly requeſted her Majeſty to diſpenſe with, not only on account of the great expence of ſuch a ſudden tranſlation, and a reluctance to remove, but alſo out of regard to his old friend Dr. Ken, the deprived Biſhop of that See, for whom he begged that Biſhopric, which the Queen readily granted; but Biſhop Ken deſired to be excuſed, and never ceaſed to importune Biſhop Hooper to accept it, and from that time ſtiled himſelf, *late of Bath and Wells*. But before Biſhop Hooper could be prevailed with to accept this Biſhopric, he requeſted the Queen to permit him to hold the Præcentorſhip of Exeter *in Commendam*, with a diſpenſation for non-reſidence, for the ſole benefit of Biſhop Ken; which her Majeſty readily conſented to, commending Biſhop Hooper for making that propoſal to her. But the then Biſhop of Exeter objecting againſt it, the Queen, to ſatisfy him, deſired Biſhop Hooper to reſign it, ſaying, that ſhe would take care of the deprived Biſhop, and then ordered him a penſion of two hundred pounds *per ann.* which was punctually paid him out of the Treaſury to the time of his death. By his ſteady, wiſe, and courteous conduct he gained the affections of the Gentry and Clergy of his Dioceſe, of which he was fully poſſeſſed; and in return no offers could make him think of a tranſlation from them. For he often refuſed a ſeat in the Privy Council, and could not be perſuaded to accept of the Biſhopric of London on the death of Biſhop Compton, nor of the Archbiſhopric of York on the death of Archbiſhop Sharp. He ſate in the See of Bath and Wells twenty four years and ſix months, and died at Barkely in Somerſetſhire, whither he ſometimes retired, on the 6th of September 1727, and was interred in the Cathedral of Wells under a marble monument erected to his memory [*B*].

Dr.

his *Tables of ancient coins, weights, and meaſures, explained and exemplified in ſeveral Diſſertations* (5), gives a great character of the author's *Inquiry*, and tells us, that "if one conſiders the uniformity of the "whole deſign, accuracy of the calculations, ſagacity "of the conjectures, ſkill in reſtoring and comparing "paſſages of antient authors, and the incomparable "learning that ſhines through the whole, it excels very "far all that ever was publiſhed upon the ſubject." And he ſtiles this work an *ingenious Inquiry* (6).

(5) Printed at London 1727 in 4to.

(6) Pag. 19, and 40.

XI. *De Patriarchæ Jacobi Benedictione, Gen. XLIX. Conjecturæ:* Publiſhed by the Reverend Mr. Hunt of Hart-Hall in Oxford, with a preface and notes collected out of the Arabic manuſcripts in the Bodleian Library. The Biſhop had kept this piece by him above forty years, and ſhewn it to Dr. Pocock, as appears from a letter of the Biſhop written to the Doctor on that occaſion. He put it into Mr. Hunt's hands juſt before his death, with directions to print it in the manner Mr. Hunt has done; and it was printed ſoon after at the expence of Mrs. Prowſe, the Biſhop's daughter. The impreſſion conſiſted only of a hundred copies, which were chiefly deſigned for preſents to friends. Among the manuſcripts which he left behind him, he gave leave to have publiſhed a Latin Sermon preached in 1672, when he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and a Latin Tract on Divorce.

[*B*] *A marble monument erected to his memory.*] The epitaph inſcribed on it is as follows.

"In hoc ſacrario cineres ſuos requieſcere voluit
"Reverendus admodum Præſul
"GEORGIUS HOOPERUS, S. T. P.
"Magnum Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Decus.
"Scientias quippe maximè reconditas,
"Matheſin univerſam,
"Antiquitates patrias exteraſq;
"Linguas pœne omnes, quotquot aut oriens protulit aut occidens,

"Jus

Dr. Thomas Coney publiſhed a character of him (*b*) ſoon after his death [*C*].

(*b*) In *Miſt's Journal* of October 21, 1727, and at the end of the Doctor's *Twenty five Sermons*, London 1730 in 8vo.

" Jus Civile, Municipale, Canonicum,
" Elegantiorum Literarum venuſtate temperaverat:
" Theologiam vero
" Aſſiduâ ſacri Codicis & primævorum patrum lectione,
" Quaſi alias omnes ſcientias ignorare maluiſſet,
" Totam penitus hauſerat,
" Saniorem haud dubiè amplexus.
" Summo tamen Eruditionis Amore ſemper incenſus,
" Non ita ſtudiis ſe totum tradidit,
" Ut arduis negotiis impar,
" Aut hominum ignarus,
" Aut difficilis, inconcinnus, aſper evaderet.
" Inerat enim illi
" Comitate Aulis Principum dignâ
" Chriſtiana Simplicitas condita;
" Ingenium non ad Literas magis
" Quam ad res agendas habile & verſatile;
" Mira in conciliandis ſibi hominibus ſolertia,
" Sed Animarum ſaluti unicè intenta.
" Ita cum artes doctrinaſq; longè diſſitas conjungerat,
" Summiſq; honoribus par
" Nullum unquam ambiret
" Aditum ſibi ad famam eximiam,
" Ad primarios tum in Republicâ quam Eccleſiâ viros,
" Ad Reginarum denique pientiſſimarum
" Mariæ & Annæ patrocinium,
" Virtute ſolâ pateſecit.
" Itaq; ab illâ Decanatu Cantuarienſi,
" Ab hac Inſulâ primo Sanct: Aſaphenſi,
" Deinde Bathono-Wellenſi ornatus eſt.
" Quo in munere ampliſſimo
" Cum Gregi ſuo fideliter invigilaret,
" Inopes occulto plerumq; munificentiæ fonte,
" Sed perenni, ubere, latè fluenti reficeret,
" Preſbyteros ſuos indulgentiâ paternâ foveret,
" Impigerrimos quoſq; etiam ruri latentes,
" In lucem & ſplendorem nec opinantes evocaret,
" Bonorum omnium Amorem & Obſervantiam meruit,
" Poſteris morum exemplar pulcherrimum reliquit.
" Obiit VI Septembris A. D. M.DCC.XXVII.
" Ætatis LXXXVII."

[*C*] *Dr. Thomas Coney publiſhed a character of him ſoon after his death.*] The Doctor tells us, that his learning was not ſmattering and ſuperficial but ſolid and univerſal; and his talents ſo great in every diſtinct part of knowledge, that the maſters of each faculty have thought their profeſſion to be the Biſhop's peculiar ſtudy. The Lawyer might ſuppoſe him bred to the Bar, and converſant in nothing but Statutes and Reports. The Caſuiſt might think his whole time ſpent in Canoniſts and Schoolmen; and the Divine, in Fathers and Councils. The Antiquary might tie him down to Medals and Charters; and the Linguiſt fancy him always poring upon Lexicons, or elſe the ſeveral Eaſtern Languages could not be ſo familiar to him as Latin and Greek. The Philoſopher found no ſcience out of the reach of his comprehenſive genius; nor the Maſters of polite Literature, any graces in the Claſſics, which had eſcaped his obſervance. Yet in all theſe ſeveral attainments, his ſurpriſing excellency was, that the variety of learning did not diſtract his thoughts, nor the intenſeneſs of ſtudy ſour the facetiouſneſs of his humour. He ſo tempered the crabbedneſs of the Mathematics with the politeneſs of the Orator, the legends of the Rabins with the fidelity of the Fathers, and the occurrences of Modern Hiſtory with the tranſactions of Antiquity, that he was as delightful in his converſation, and as entertaining in his friendſhips, as he was profound in his knowledge, and ornamental in his life. With regard to the character of a gentleman, his accompliſhments were ſo great, as not only to excel thoſe of his own profeſſion, but to be a match for ſuch as had made converſation and ceremony their ſole and ultimate ſtudy. It is obſervable, that much ſtudy makes men pettiſh and moroſe; that a recluſe life is an impediment to converſation; and that learning itſelf is imperious and dogmatical. But in our Prelate all theſe acquiſitions had the quite contrary effects. His ſtudy was to promote good manners; his retirement, to make a more glorious appearance; and his learning, to propagate affability and condeſcenſion. The private courſe of his life would force any one to confeſs, that he was far from affecting popularity, or doing any thing for noiſe and oſtentation. But his appearance was ſo venerable, his converſation ſo endearing, and his demeanor ſo uncommon, as to render him the moſt popular and noted Prelate of his order. But in the midſt of theſe civilities and accompliſhments, it is ſtill remarkable, that the gravity of the Biſhop kept the aſcendant of the Gentleman; and that his principles were too ſtiff to bend to any company. His zeal and integrity were inviolable; and truth was never loſt in a croud of words. His ſincerity was no ſufferer by his complaiſance; nor was the Courtier too hard for the Chriſtian. He looked upon himſelf as married to his Dioceſe; and notwithſtanding his numerous acquaintance and extended friendſhips in other parts of the Kingdom, he confined his preferments to his own children, the reſiding Preſbyters of his proper Dioceſe. Nepotiſm had no ſhare in his favours, and relations were kept at a diſtance. The laborious Clergyman would find himſelf ſurprized into a preferment, whilſt he was ſweating at his duty. The modeſt and humble man would be dignified in his obſcurity, without the fatigue of attendance, or the formality of a petition. The care of his Pariſh was the beſt recommendation of a Paſtor to this vigilant Prelate; and the continuance in his duty the moſt obliging requital that could be made him. Where the ſervice was great and the congregation numerous, ſome marks of diſtinction were certainly placed, and the Miniſter was ſeaſonably advanced, to ſecure an higher reverence to his perſon and a kinder acceptance of his labours. Every one of his Clergy had the favour of a ſon, the acceſs of an equal, and the reception of a friend. No angry looks did intimidate the petitioner, no tedious formalities protract buſineſs, nor any imperious Officers inſult the Clergy. T.

HOORNBEECK (JOHN), Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſities of Utrecht and Leyden, was one of the moſt illuſtrious Divines in Holland in the ſeventeenth Century. He was born at Harlem (*a*) in the year 1617, and ſtudied there till he was fifteen or ſixteen years old, when he was ſent to Leyden, where he made a conſiderable progreſs in the Sciences, under the learned Profeſſors, that Univerſity was provided with. Having ſpent two years in that City, he went to ſtudy at Utrecht in the year 1635, whence he returned to Leyden the next year. He was admitted a Miniſter in the year 1639, and went to perform the functions of his office ſecretly at Cologne. He acquitted himſelf of all the duties of his poſt with a great deal of piety and prudence, and was never diſcouraged by the dangers to which he was expoſed in a City, where moſt of the inhabitants were zealous Papiſts. He returned into Holland in the year 1643, and was the ſame year promoted (*b*) to the degree of Doctor of Divinity with great applauſe the 21ſt of December. The proofs he gave of his great learning were ſuch, that he was choſen to fill the Chair of Divinity Profeſſor, which had been vacant at Utrecht ſince Schotanus's death. He choſe to accept that poſt rather than any of the employments, that were offered him in other Cities [*A*]. In July 1644 he was inſtalled Profeſſor of Divinity

(*a*) John Hoornbeeck, his grandfather, retired thither with his wife, in the year 1584, leaving Flanders, his native country, for the ſake of his Religion.

(*b*) In the Univerſity of Utrecht.

[*A*] *Several employments were offered him in other cities.*] In February 1644 the Church of Maeſtricht would have him for her Miniſter. That of Graft in North-Holland called him in March that ſame year,

Divinity at Utrecht, and the next year he was choſen alſo Miniſter in ordinary of the Church of that city. How difficult ſoever the functions of theſe two employments were, yet he acquitted himſelf of them with great diligence and care [*B*], which rendered his noble talents ſo uſeful to the public, that it made him univerſally beloved and eſteemed. But leſt he ſhould ſink under ſo many labours, the Magiſtrates diſcharged him of part of his paſtoral functions. He was choſen to exerciſe the ſame employments at Leyden, which he had at Utrecht, and accepted them in the year 1654. He was a great ornament to that celebrated Univerſity till he died September the 1ſt 1666. He deſerved to live much longer; but we ought rather to wonder that ſo laborious a man as he was [*C*] lived about forty nine years, than that he did not live longer. The great number of books which he publiſhed [*D*] are a moſt evident proof of his great application and extenſive learning.

and the Chair of Divinity Profeſſor in the illuſtrious ſchool of Harderwyck (1) was offered him in the month of May following (2). It is very glorious for a man thus to be wiſhed for in ſeveral places at the age of twenty ſeven.

(1) A city of Guelderland.

(2) *Taken from* John Hoornbeeck's *Life* prefixed to his book *De Converſione Indorum.*

[*B*] *He acquitted himſelf of his new employment with great diligence and care.*] I kept the particular account of it for this remark, in which I ſhall make uſe of the author's words, who wrote our Hoornbeck's life. *In utraque autem ſtatione* (3) *per decennium fere perſeveravit, tanta eruditionis, eloquentiæ, pietatis, & diligentiæ fama; omnibuſque ordinibus adeo gratus, ut nullus in majori fuerit exiſtimatione, non Ultrajecti ſolum, ſed in toto Belgio. Nempe aſſiduus erat in docendo, precando, concionando, legendo, diſputando, regendo, præſidendo, catechiſationibus habendis, membris Eccleſiæ, imprimis ægris viſitandis. Quibus artibus optimis certe, Magiſtratus* Trajectini *gratiam adeo meruit & invit, ut Magiſtratus optimus ſuo proprio motu, non petentem, nec forte cogitantem, liberaverit dimidia parte oneris Paſtoralis, ſervato tamen integro honore & honorario.* i. e. "He continued almoſt ten years in theſe two "employments, with ſuch a reputation of learning, "eloquence, piety, and diligence, and ſo much be- "loved by perſons of all ranks, that no perſon was "ſo much eſteemed as he, not only at Utrecht, but "through all the United Provinces. For he made it "his conſtant care to teach, to pray, to preach, to "read, to hold diſputations, to viſit his flock, and "eſpecially the ſick, and catechize the youth. Theſe "commendable arts gained him the favour of the "Magiſtrates of Utrecht, ſo that they exempted him "from one half of his paſtoral functions, though they "ſuffered him to enjoy all the honours and preroga- "tives of them, and continued to pay him his whole "ſalary." If you will ſee the character of a good paſtor, read what follows. *Membra Eccleſiæ frequenter inviſebat, pios animabat, ignaros docebat, malos corrigebat, hæreticos confutabat, afflictos ſolabatur, ægros recreabat, infirmos roborabat, dejectos erigebat, pauperibus ſubveniebat, omnes denique juvabat pro eorum ſtatu & conditione, omnibus aderat in omnibus, omnibus ſe omnia faciebat, gravibus gravem, bilaribus hilarem, afflictis condolentem, doctis doctum & Doctorem, plebi Paſtorem, errantibus ducem ut in viam reduceret veritatis.* i. e. "He often viſited the members of his Church; he "encouraged the pious, inſtructed the ignorant, re- "proved the wicked, refuted the heretics, comforted "the afflicted, refreſhed the ſick, ſtrengthened the "weak, cheared up the drooping, aſſiſted the "poor; in a word he was uſeful to all, in whatſo- "ever ſtate or condition they were; he was ready "to help all that wanted his aſſiſtance; he made "himſelf all things to all; he was grave with the "grave, chearful with the chearful, mournful with "the afflicted, learned and a Doctor with the learn- "ed, a paſtor to his flock, and a guide to lead thoſe "that erred into the paths of truth." Here follows the character that is given of him with regard to his diligence in his functions as a Profeſſor. *Studioſos vero Theologiæ velut filios omni cura complectebatur, laboreſque ſuos præcipuos iis impendebat; non lectiones ſolum in eorum gratiam habebat, ſed frequentia Collegia omnis generis, atque Diſputationes ordinarias & extraordinarias, ex quibus reſultarunt tot vaſta & egregia volumina ad inſtitutionem juventutis, imo ad uſum omnium, ſed inprimis ad converſionem hæreticorum* (4). i. e. "He took as much care of the Students in Divinity "as if they had all been his own children; his chief "labours were ſpent for them; he uſed to read not "only public lectures for them, but even private "Lectures upon ſeveral ſubjects, and to hold ordinary "and extraordinary diſputations, which have pro- "duced ſo many large and excellent volumes, "uſeful not only for the inſtruction of youth, but "alſo for the uſe of all men, and eſpecially for the "converſion of heretics."

(3) That is to ſay, his poſt of Profeſſor, and that of Paſtor in ordinary.

(4) Ex *Vita Joan. Hoornbeeki.*

[*C*] *So laborious a man as he was.*] This the reader may know already, by the particulars related in the foregoing remark; but it will ſtill better appear from the following paſſage: it relates to the time when he was Divinity Profeſſor and Miniſter at Leiden. *Curam Eccleſiæ ſuo jure poterat in Collegas derivare, quia primario Paſtori* (5) *ab ea immuni adjunctus, cum eo labores, honores, præmia, & privilegia omnia ex decreto ſapientiſſimi Magiſtratus æqualiter diſtribuebat. Sed ab Eccleſiæ cura, membrorumque & ægrorum viſitatione diſpenſari noluit, contra vero, cum dimidias tantum Paſtoris vices demandatas haberet, integras voluit implere, zelo & diligentia ſtupenda in homine alias occupatiſſimo, imo non tam onerato quam oppreſſo, & tantum non fatiſcente ſub multiplici onere, cui plures ſimul juncti vix eſſent pares. Concionabatur in Templo, legebat in Academia, præſidebat in Conſiſtorio, Catechiſationes inſtituebat in Choro, Collegia habebat in domo, ſcribebat in muſæo, ſæpe in lecto, membra Eccleſiæ viſitabat in ædibus, ægros etiam & peſtiferos, curam ad omnes & ad omnia extendebat* (6). i. e. "He had a right to leave the care of "the Church to his collegues; for being an aſſiſtant "to the firſt paſtor, who was diſcharged from that "care, he might ſhare with him all the labours, ho- "nours, profits and privileges, by a decree of the "moſt prudent Magiſtrates. But he would not be "diſcouraged from the care of the Church, and of "viſiting his flock and the ſick. On the contrary, "though he was intruſted but with one half of the "paſtoral functions, yet he would perform them all. "Which ſhewed a wonderful zeal and diligence in a "man who was otherwiſe extremely buſy, and rather "oppreſſed than loaded, and almoſt ſinking under "the variety of his labours, to which ſeveral other per- "ſons joined together had hardly been equal. He "preached in the Church, read lectures in the Univer- "ſity, was Moderator in the Conſiſtory, explained the "Catechiſm in the Choir, had private lectures at "home, wrote in his ſtudy, and often in bed, viſited "the members of his Church at their houſes, even the "ſick, and them that had got the plague; he ex- "tended his care to all men and all things."

(5) It was Profeſſor Heidanus.

(6) Ex *Vita Joan. Hoornbeeki.*

[*D*] *The great number of books which he publiſhed.*] They may be reduced to theſe five claſſes; Didactical, Polemical, Practical, Hiſtorical, and Oratorical. Thoſe of the firſt claſs are, *Inſtitutiones Theologicæ*, i. e. "An Introduction to Divinity, in 8vo." *Irenicum de ſtudio Pacis & Concordiæ*, i. e. "A Treatiſe of Peace "and Concord," in 4to. *De Conſociatione Evangelica inter Reformatos & Evangelicos*, i. e. "Of an Evan- "gelical Union between the Reformed and the Lu- "therans," in 4to. Thoſe of the ſecond claſs are as follow. *Socinianiſmi confutati Tomi tres*, i. e. "A "Refutation of Socinianiſm," in three volumes in 4to. *Pro convincendis & convertendis Judæis Lib. VIII* (7). i. e. "Of convincing and converting the Jews, in "eight books," in 4to. *De Converſione Gentilium, Libri duo*, i. e. "Of the Converſion of the Heathens, "in two books," in 4to. *Examen Bullæ Urbani VIII de Jeſuitiſſis, Imaginibus & Feſtis*, i. e. "An Exa- "mination of Pope Urban VIII's Bull concerning Je- "ſuitiſſes, Images and Holy-days," in 4to. *Examen Bullæ Innocentii X de Pace Germaniæ*, i. e. "An Exa- "mination

(7) This is certainly the book which Mr. Baillet, tom. 2. of the *Anti*, pag. 38. calls *Diſp. Anti-Judaïques*. But it is certain, that it is not thus intitled. Some author, who for ſhortneſs ſake, quoted it thus, may have miſled Mr. Baillet.

learning. He underſtood many languages [*E*], and had a ſhare in the friendſhip of the moſt excellent Divines of his time (*c*). He never departed one inch from the moſt ſtrict orthodoxy; and he was not leſs commendable for thoſe qualities of the heart which make up the character of an honeſt man, than for his wit and his learning. You may ſee a particular account of all this in his life (*d*). He left children worthy of him [*F*], which is paſſing a great encomium upon them.

(c) See a liſt of them in his *Life*.

(d) It is prefixed to his treatiſe, *De Converſione Indorum, & Gentilium*, and has been written by David Stuart. I have extracted this article from it.

" mination of Pope Innocent X's Bull concerning the " Peace of Germany." *Epiſtola ad Duræum de Independentiſmo*, i. e. " Letters to John Dury concerning " the Opinions of the Independents," in 8vo. *Commentarius de Paradoxis Weigelianis*, i. e. " Remarks " upon Weigel's Paradoxes," in 12mo. *Apologia pro Eccleſia Chriſtiana hodierna, contra Libellum, ad Legem & Teſtimonium, &c.* i. e. " A Vindication of the preſent Chriſtian Church, againſt the Book intitled, " *To the Law and to the Teſtimony*, &c." in 8vo. *De obſervando à Chriſtianis Præcepto Decalogi quarto*, i. e. " Of the Obligation under which the Chriſtians are to " keep the fourth Commandment," in 12mo. *De Epiſcopatu*, i. e. " Of Epiſcopacy." The books of the third claſs are, *Theologiæ practicæ Tomi duo*, i. e. " Two Volumes of Practical Divinity," in 4to. *De Peſte*, i. e. " Of the Plague," in 12mo. Thoſe of the fourth are, *Summa Controverſiarum*, i. e. " A Sum " of Controverſies," in 8vo. *Miſcella vetera & nova*, i. e. " Ancient and Modern Miſcellanies." I refer to the fifth claſs the *Orationes variæ Inaugurales, Valedictoriæ, Rectorales, & Funebres*. i. e. " Various " orations delivered upon his inſtallation, when he " took his leave, when he reſigned the Rectorſhip, " and funeral orations." I do not give the titles of his Dutch works, which conſiſt of ſeveral treatiſes.

[*E*] *He underſtood many languages.*] The Author of his Life has the following expreſſions: *Linguas ſi ſpectes, novit plurimas doctarum & vulgarium, Latinam, Græcam, Hebraicam, Chaldaicam, Syriacam, Rabinicam, Belgicam, Germanicam, Anglicam, Gallicam, Italicam, Arabicæ & Hiſpanicæ Rudimenta attigit* (8). i. e. " As for the languages, he underſtood a great " many, both of the learned and vulgar tongues, as " the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Ra- " binical, Dutch, German, Engliſh, French, and " Italian tongues; he underſtood alſo the principles of " the Arabic and Spaniſh languages."

[*F*] *He left children worthy of him.*] He married at Utrecht in the year 1650 Ann Bernard. By this marriage he became related to ſeveral illuſtrious men, as, for inſtance, to Conſtantine l'Empereur (9), Divinity Profeſſor (10), and to Jodocus Hondius (11) a very famous Geographer, grand-father to Henry Hondius, who was killed when he was fighting very bravely for the ſervice of his own country in Admiral Tromp's ſhip, which he commanded. Our John Hoornbeeck left two ſons. ISAAC HOORNBEECK, formerly a famous Counſellor at the Hague, and at preſent Penſionary to the city of Rotterdam (*); and HENRY EMILIUS HOORNBEECK, one of the Commiſſioners for receiving the Taxes in the province of Holland.

(8) In *Vitâ Hoornbeeckii*.

(9) Ann Bernard's grandmother by her father's ſide was called Joan l'Empereur, and was aunt to Conſtantine l'Empereur, and to John l'Empereur Miniſter at the Hague.

(10) Firſt at Harderwyk, and then at Leyden.

(11) He was Ann Bernard's grandfather by her mother's ſide.

(*) In 1720 he was made Counſellor-Penſionary, Keeper of the Seals, and Stadtholder of the Fiefs belonging to Holland and Weſt-Frieſland, &c. He died at the Hague June 17, 1727, in the 71ſt year of his age. *Addit. to the Amſt. edition.*

HORATIUS (PUBLIUS) ſurnamed Cocles, did a very noble action, whilſt the city of Rome his native place was beſieged by King Porſenna. As his article is very good and pretty full in Moreri's Dictionary (*a*), I ſhall give but a very ſhort article of him, and I ſhall dwell only upon the difference there is in the ſeveral accounts of the ancient Hiſtorians with regard to a particular circumſtance, which ought to have been related without any variety [*A*].

(a) Of the Paris edition.

HORNECK

[*A*] *I ſhall only dwell upon the difference there is . . . with regard to a particular circumſtance, which ought to have been related without any variety.*] There are ſome Hiſtorians, who aſſert, that Horatius, having caſt himſelf into the Tiber, after he had oppoſed the enemies, till the bridge was broken down behind him, ſwam to the oppoſite ſhore, notwithſtanding the weight of his arms, without receiving the leaſt wound. But others relate, that he received ſuch a blow on his thigh, that he continued lame ever after. Livy ſuppoſes evidently that he was not wounded. *Cunctati aliquandiu ſunt* (Hetruſci) *dum alius alium, ut prælium incipiant, circumſpectant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, & clamore ſublato undique in unum hoſtem tela conjiciunt, quæ cum in objecto* CUNCTA *ſcuto hæſiſſent, neque ille minus obſtinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, jam impetu detrudere conabantur virum, cum ſimul fragor rupti ponderis, ſimul clamor Romanorum alacritate perfecti operis ſublatus pavore ſubito impetum ſuſtinuit. Tum Cocles, Tiberine pater, inquit, te ſancte precor, hæc arma & hunc militem propitio flumine accipias. Ita ſic armatus in Tyberim deſiluit: multiſque* SUPERINCIDENTIBUS TELIS INCOLUMIS *ad ſuos tranavit, rem auſus plus famæ habituram ad poſteros quam fidei* (1). i. e. " The Hetruſci ſtood ſtill for a while, conſidering who ſhould firſt begin the battle. But ſhame put at laſt the army in motion; and with a great outcry they all ſhot their arrows againſt one ſingle enemy, which he received on his SHIELD, continuing unmoved to defend the bridge with the utmoſt courage; upon which they endeavoured to ruſh upon him all together, with a deſign to fling him down; but the cracking of the bridge, which that moment was broken down, together with the ſhoutings of the Romans, when they perceived the work compleated, ſtruck the enemy with terror, and ſtopped the enemy's fury. Whereupon Cocles addreſſing himſelf to the God of the Tiber, prayed him thus; O Tiberine father, let thy propitious ſtreams kindly receive theſe weapons and this ſoldier; " having ſaid this, he flung himſelf thus armed into " the river, and notwithſtanding the arrows which " on all ſides were ſhot at him, he ſwam aſhore " without being wounded; thus he dared to attempt " an action, which will gain more reputation than " credit with poſterity." We may be certain that all they, who do not expreſly aſſert that he was wounded, ſuppoſe the ſame thing with Livy; for their deſign was to raiſe our admiration for this Roman's great courage. Now this action is more wonderful ſtill, and more glorious if he had been wounded, than if he had not. Whence it follows, that ſince neither Florus (2) nor (3) Seneca mention any wound, it is a proof that they were perſuaded he received none. Valerius Maximus aſſerts ſo poſitively that Cocles was not wounded, that we ought to believe the negative was grounded on ſome tradition. *Ut patriam periculo imminenti liberatam vidit, armatus ſe in Tiberim miſit: cujus fortitudinem Dii immortales admirati,* INCOLUMITATEM SINCERAM *ei præſtiterunt. Nam neque altitudine dejectus, quaſſatuſve, neque pondere armorum preſſus, nec ullo vorticis circuitu actus: nec telis quidem, quæ undique congerebantur,* LÆSUS, TUTUM *natandi eventum habuit* (4). i. e. " As ſoon as he ſaw that " his country was free from the imminent danger to " which it had been expoſed, he flung himſelf, armed " as he was, into the Tiber. The immortal Gods " admiring his courage, preſerved him entirely from " all wounds; for he was neither hurt nor bruiſed, " though he fell from a very great height. Nor was " he oppreſſed by the weight of his arms, nor whirl- " ed about by the ſwiftneſs of the ſtream, nor even " WOUNDED by the arrows which on every ſide were " ſhot at him: thus he ſwam ſafe to ſhore." But there are three famous Hiſtorians, who followed another tradition. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus gives a very particular account of that battle, and he aſſerts expreſly, that Horatius was wounded through the thigh with a ſpear, and that this wound pained him ſo much, that he could hardly ſtand upon his legs, when he heard

(1) Titus Livius, lib. 2. Decad. 1. cap. 10.

(2) Florus, lib. 1. (and not, as Moreri has it, lib. 5; this author's work contains but 4 chapters) cap. 10.

(3) Seneca, Ep. 120. p. m. 464.

(4) Val. Max. lib. 3. cap. 2. num. 1. pag. m. 241, 242.

☞ HORNECK (Dr. ANTHONY), a learned and pious Divine of the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Baccharach in the Lower Palatinate in 1641. His father was Recorder or Secretary of that place. Our author was ſent to Heidelberg, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity under Dr. Spanheim, afterwards Profeſſor at Leyden. At nineteen years of age he came over to England, and was entered into Queen's College in Oxford December the 24th 1663; and by the intereſt of Dr. Barlow, Provoſt of that College, he was made Chaplain of it ſoon after his entrance (*a*). December the 21ſt 1663 (*b*) he was incorporated Maſter of Arts from the Univerſity of Wittemberg. Soon after this he became Vicar of Allhallows in Oxford, where he continued two years. In 1665 he removed into the family of the Duke of Albemarle, and was Tutor to his Grace's ſon, then Lord Torrington. The Duke preſented him to the Rectory of Doulton in Devonſhire, and procured for him a Prebend in Exeter. In 1669, before he married, he went over into Germany to ſee his friends; and after his return was choſen Preacher of the Savoy [*A*], where he continued about twenty ſix years till he died (*c*). In 1693 he was collated to a Prebend in Weſtminſter; and the year following reſigned his Prebend of Exeter; and on the 28th of September the ſame year he was admitted to a Prebend in the Cathedral of Wells (*d*). He was likewiſe Chaplain to King William and Queen Mary. He publiſhed ſeveral works [*B*]. He died January the

(*a*) *Life of Anthony Horneck, D. D. By Richard* [*Kidder*] *Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells*, pag. 3, 4. edit. London 1698.

(*b*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 154. ſays it was March the 15th.

(*c*) *Life of Dr. Horneck*, pag. 4, 5, 6.

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 21, 22, 23.

(5) Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. 5. cap. 23, 24.

heard the bridge was broken down (5). This Hiſtorian adds, 1, that it was thought he would ſoon die of his wounds; 2, that as ſoon as it was known he would recover, they beſtowed noble rewards upon him, but that he could never obtain the Conſulſhip, nor any military employment, becauſe he had continued lame ever ſince that battle. Plutarch relates that they raiſed a brazen monument to him in the temple of Vulcan, to comfort him under his misfortune of being lamed by that wound (6). Plutarch had obſerved a little before, that Horatius ſwam to the city, being wounded in his thigh, Δόρατι Ἑτρουσκικῷ βεβλημένον τὸν γλουτόν (7). i. e. "Wounded in his thigh by an Hetruſcan dart." Dion Caſſius aſſerts, that Tully, in an oration delivered before the Senate againſt Mark Anthony, ſwore by Horatius's thigh, and Mucius's hand (8). I know that this direct oration, which Dion gives us, is not like any of Tully's Philippic Orations (9); but Dion who compoſed it, would not have made uſe of ſuch an oath, if there had not been a tradition, that Horatius had been wounded in his thigh, whilſt he defended his country againſt Tarquin's friends. Let us mention a fourth witneſs, and quote Servius's words. *Solus Cocles hoſtilem impetum ſuſtinuit, donec à tergo pons ſolveretur à ſociis, quo ſoluto ſe cum armis præcipitavit in Tyberim, & licet* LÆSUS *eſſet in coxa, tamen ejus fluenta ſuperavit. Unde eſt illud ab eo dictum, cum ei in comitiis coxæ vitium objiceretur, per ſingulos gradus admoneor triumphi mei* (10). i. e. "Cocles alone reſiſted the ene-" my's attack, till the bridge was broken down behind " him, and then he flung himſelf headlong into the " Tiber with his arms on, and though he was wound-" ed in his hip, yet he ſwam to ſhore. This occa-" ſioned a witty ſaying of his, for as they objected " his lameneſs to him in an aſſembly of the people, " he anſwered, *every ſtep I make calls my triumph to* " *my mind*." You ſee that the tradition of Horatius's wound was ſupported by this circumſtance of a witty ſaying of his, when they objected his lameneſs to him. It is pretended that Alexander made uſe of this thought, in order to comfort the King his father, who grieved at his being lame through a wound he had received in a battle (11).

If we have reaſon to wonder, that with regard to Horatius's ſtory, two inconſiſtent traditions, namely, that he had been, and had not been wounded, ſhould have been followed even by the moſt celebrated writers, what ſhall we ſay of Polybius (12), who ſuppoſes, that this brave and intrepid Roman loſt his life in the Tiber? Shall we ſay, that this alſo was grounded upon a tradition? and ſhall we infer from thence, that ancient hiſtory is ſo dark and uncertain, that for the moſt part we do not know which ſide of a queſtion to chuſe between thoſe that aſſert, and thoſe that deny the ſame facts; and that both the affirmative and the negative appearing to be equally ſupported by credible authority, even with regard to ſuch particulars, the truth or falſhood of which could be moſt eaſily determined, we can have no certainty with regard to the leſs remarkable events recorded in hiſtory? Shall we, I ſay, draw ſuch inferences? I would rather adviſe the reader to make uſe of theſe obſervations in order to ſtrengthen his mind againſt the cuſtom, which prevails, of reading without attention, and believing without examining. Obſerve that the different opinions there are concerning Horatius's face, are not ſo ſurprizing, but yet it is a proof of the uncertainty of Hiſtory. Some aſſert that Horatius was perfectly beautiful (13); *others ſay that he was ſurnamed Cocles, ... becauſe his noſe was extremely flat, and ſo deeply ſunk in his head, that there was nothing between his eyes, and that his eye-brows joined: ſo that the people intending to call him* cyclops, *miſtook the name, and called him* Cocles (14).

(6) Plutarch. in *Valerio*, pag. 106.

(7) Idem, ibid. pag. 105.

(8) Οὐ μὰ τὸ σκῆλον τὸ Ὁρατίου καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν Μουκίου. *Non per crus Horatii, & manum Mutii*, Dio, lib 45. pag. m. 325.

(9) See above the remark [*F*] of the article FULVIA, in the 2d *a-linea*.

(10) Servius, in Æneid. lib. 8. ver. 646.

(11) Plutarch. *de Fortuna Alexand.* Orat. 2. pag. 331, B.

(12) Polyb. lib. 6. cap. 53.

(13) Dion. Hal. cap. 22.

(14) Plutarch. in *Valerio*, pag. 105.

[*A*] *After his return was choſen Preacher of the Savoy.*] The maintenance of this place is ſmall, and precarious; and whatever it was to him at his firſt taking it, when there were perſons of conſiderable quality inhabiting there, who were very kind to him, yet afterwards when his family increaſed, and his neceſſities were greater, it could not be called a complete maintenance. But whatever it was firſt or laſt, he could not be perſuaded to keep his living in Devonſhire; nor could he ever be prevailed with afterwards, whatever offers were made him, to accept of any living to hold in conjunction with it. He was irreconcileable to pluralities and to non-reſidence, and would upon occaſion declare his abhorrence of them with ſome conſiderable warmth (1).

(1) *Life of Anthony Horneck, D. D. By Richard Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells*, pag. 6.

[*B*] *He publiſhed ſeveral works.*] I. *The great Law of Conſideration: Or, a Diſcourſe, wherein the Nature, Uſefulneſs, and abſolute Neceſſity of Conſideration in order to a truly ſerious and religious Life, are laid open.* London, 1676, in 8vo. It has been ſeveral times reprinted with Additions and Corrections. II. *A Letter to a Lady revolted to the Romiſh Church.* London, 1678, in 12mo. III. *The happy Aſcetick: or the beſt Exerciſe.* London, 1681, in 8vo. To this is ſubjoined *A Letter to a Perſon of Quality concerning the holy Lives of the primitive Chriſtians.* The third edition of *The happy Aſcetick*, and of this letter is corrected and enlarged, with Prayers at the end of each Exerciſe. IV. *Delight and Judgment: Or a Proſpect of the great Day of Judgment, and its Power to damp and imbitter ſenſual Delights, Sports, and Recreations.* London, 1683, in 12mo. V. *The Fire of the Altar: or certain Directions how to raiſe the Soul into Holy Flames, before, at, and after the receiving of the bleſſed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; with ſuitable Prayers and Devotions.* London, 1683, in 12mo. To this is prefixed *A Dialogue between a Chriſtian and his own Conſcience, touching the true Nature of the Chriſtian Religion.* VI. *The Exerciſe of Prayer: or a Help to Devotion; being a Supplement to the* Happy Aſcetick, *or* Beſt Exerciſe, *containing Prayers and Devotions ſuitable to the reſpective Exerciſes, with additional Prayers for ſeveral Occaſions.* London, 1685, in 8vo. VII. *The firſt Fruits of Reaſon: or, a Diſcourſe ſhewing the Neceſſity of applying ourſelves betimes to the ſerious Practice of Religion.* London, 1685, in 8vo. VIII. *The Crucified Jeſus: or a full Account of the Nature, End, Deſign, and Benefit of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, with neceſſary Directions, Prayers, Praiſes,*

the 31ſt 1696, and was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where a monument was erected by his friends to his memory. He was a man of exemplary character, and great learning. He had applied himſelf to the Arabic from his younger years, and retained it in a good meaſure to the laſt. He had very good ſkill in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, in Controverſial Divinity, and Caſuiſtry (*e*).

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 40, 41.

Praiſes, and Meditations, to be uſed by Perſons, who come to the holy Communion. London, 1686, in 8vo. IX. *Queſtions and Anſwers concerning the two Religions*; viz. *that of the Church of England, and of the Church of Rome.* X. *An Anſwer to the Soldier's Queſtion*, What ſhall we do? XI. Several ſingle Sermons. XII. *Fifteen Sermons upon the fifth Chapter of St. Matthew.* London, 1698, in 8vo. XIII. He tranſlated out of High Dutch into Engliſh *A wonderful Story or Narration of certain Swediſh Writers*, printed in Mr. Joſeph Glanvil's *Sadduciſmus Triumphatus*; in the ſecond edition of which book is a *Preface* to *The wonderful Story of the Swediſh Witches* more correct and full; where alſo is an addition of a new relation from Sweden tranſlated by Dr. Horneck out of High Dutch. XIV. He tranſlated likewiſe from French into Engliſh, *An Antidote againſt a careleſs Indifferency in Matters of Religion; being a Treatiſe in oppoſition to thoſe, that believe that all Religions are indifferent, and that it imports not what men profeſs. Wherein the vulgar Objections of Atheiſts, Sceptics, Libertines, Latitudinarians, &c. are ſuccinctly anſwered.* London, 1693, in 8vo. with an *Introduction*, by Dr. Horneck. He collected and publiſhed likewiſe, *Some Diſcourſes, Sermons, and Remains of Mr. Joſeph Glanvil*, London, 1681, in 4to, to which he added a ſhort Preface, as alſo another larger before a book intitled, *The true Intereſt of Families: or Directions how Parents may be happy in their Children, and Children in their Parents, &c.* London, 1690, in 12mo, written by James Kirkwood, Rector of Aſtwick in Bedfordſhire. XVI. He wrote in conjunction with Dr. Gilbert Burnet, *The laſt Confeſſion, Prayers, and Meditations of Lieutenant* John Stern, *delivered by him on the Cart immediately before his Execution, to Dr. Burnet. Together with the laſt Confeſſion of* George Boroſky, *ſigned by him in the Priſon, and ſealed up in the Lieutenant's Packet. With which an Account is given of their Deportment, both in the Priſon, and at the place of their Execution, which was in the Pall-Mall, on the* 10*th of* March, *in the ſame place, in which they had murthered* Thomas Thynn, *Eſq; on the* 12*th of* February *before, in the year* 1681. London, 1682, in Folio. H.

☞HORROX (JEREMIAH), an eminent Engliſh Aſtronomer in the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Texteth near Liverpoole in Lancaſhire about the year 1619 [*A*]. From a ſchool in the country, where he had made himſelf maſter of Grammar Learning, he was ſent to Emanuel College in Cambridge, and ſpent ſome time there in academical ſtudies. About the year 1633 he began to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of Aſtronomy; but living at that time with his father at Toxteth, in very moderate circumſtances, and being deſtitute of proper books and other aſſiſtances for the proſecution of this ſtudy, he could not make any very conſiderable progreſs in it. He ſpent ſome of his firſt years to no purpoſe in the writings of Lanſbergius, neglecting the works of Tycho, Kepler, and other excellent writers. But in 1636 he contracted an acquaintance and friendſhip with Mr. William Crabtree, who was engaged in the ſame ſtudies, and who lived at Broughton near Mancheſter; and they carried on a correſpondence by letters with each other, and ſometimes wrote to Mr. Samuel Foſter, Profeſſor of Geometry at Greſham College in London. Mr. Horrox having now obtained a companion in his ſtudies, aſſumed new vigour, and procuring Aſtronomical inſtruments and books, applied himſelf to the making of obſervations; and by Mr. Crabtree's advice laid aſide Lanſbergius, whoſe tables he found to be very erroneous, and his hypotheſes inconſiſtent. He was purſuing his ſtudies with great vigour and ſucceſs, when he was cut off by ſudden death January the 3d $164\frac{0}{1}$, in the twenty ſecond or in the entrance of the twenty third year of his age (*a*). What we have extant of his writings ſhew how great a loſs the world had of him [*B*].

(*a*) Dr. John Wallis's *Epiſtola Nuncupatoria*, prefixed to Horrox's *Opera poſthuma*, edit. London 1673 in 4to.

HORSTIUS

[*A*] *Born . . . about the year* 1619.] Dr. Wallis tells us (1), that at his death on January the 3d $164\frac{0}{1}$ he was but in the twenty ſecond or in the beginning of the twenty third year of his age.

(1) *Epiſtola Nuncupatoria*, prefixed to our author's *Opera poſthuma.*

[*B*] *What we have exant of his writings ſhew how great a loſs the world had of him.*] He had juſt finiſhed his *Venus in Sole viſa* a little before his death; for it appears from a letter of his to Mr. Crabtree dated October the 3d 1640, that this book was not then finiſhed, and he intimates that he was reſolved to put the laſt hand to it before he took his journey to ſee him. And in another letter to Mr. Crabtree dated December the 19th following, he fixes upon the 4th of January to ſet out upon this journey; but died the day before, as appears from what Mr. Crabtree wrote on the backſide of Mr. Horrox's laſt letter. Our author made his obſervations of *Venus in Sole* at Hool near Liverpool, as is evident from his letters, which from June 1639 to July 1640 are dated at Hool, though the preceding and ſubſequent letters are dated at Toxteth; but this circumſtance is omitted in Hevelius's edition of that book, who publiſhed it at Dantzick 1662 in fol. with ſome works of his own under the following title: Johannis Hevelii *Mercurius in Sole viſus Gedani Anno Chriſtiano MDCLXI. d. III. Mait St. N. cum aliis quibuſdam rerum Cæleſtium obſervationibus rariſque Phænomenis. Cui annexa eſt Venus in Sole pariter viſa anno* 1639 *d.* 24 *Novemb. St. V. Liverpoliæ a Jeremia Horroxio, nunc primum edita notiſque illuſtrata* &c. Beſides this work he had begun another, in which he propoſed theſe two things; firſt, to refute Lansbergius's Hypotheſes, and to ſhew how inconſiſtent they were with each other and the Heavens; and ſecondly to draw up a new ſyſtem of Aſtronomy agreeable to the Heavens from his own obſervations and thoſe of others, retaining for the moſt part the Keplerian Hypotheſes, but changing the numbers, as the obſervations required. He ſeems to have finiſhed the firſt part, as far as was neceſſary, except reducing his papers into order. But the ſecond part is wanting; though it appears from his letters to have been almoſt finiſhed; for he had proceeded ſo far in the correction of all the Tables, as to begin Ephemerides for ſeveral years to come. His papers came into the hands of Dr. John Worthington, Maſter of Jeſus College in Cambridge, who was contemporary with Mr. Horrox at Emanuel College, and found them, together with his *Venus in Sole viſa*, among Mr. Crabtree's papers. Dr. Wallis publiſhed them with ſome other pieces at London 1673 in 4to under the following title: Jeremiæ Horroceii *Liverpolienſis Angli, ex Palatinatu Lancaſtriæ, Opera Poſthuma*; viz. *Aſtronomia Kepleriana defenſa & promota. Excerpta ex Epiſtolis ad Crabtræum ſuum. Obſervationum Cæleſtium Catalogus. Lunæ Theoria nova. Accedunt* Gulielmi Crabtræi, *Mancheſtrienſis, Obſervationes Cæleſtes. In calce adjiciuntur* Johannis Flamſtedii, *Derbienſis, de Temporis Æquatione*

HORSTIUS (JAMES) Profeſſor of Phyſic in the Univerſity of Helmſtadt, was born at Torgaw May the 1ſt 1537 (*a*). He took his degree of Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Frankfort on the Oder, in the year 1556 (*b*), and of Doctor of Phyſic in the year 1562 (*c*). They offered him in ſeveral places the office of public Phyſician, and he exerciſed it ſucceſſively at Sagan and at Suidnitz in Sileſia, and at Iglaw in Moravia, till the year 1580, when he was made Phyſician in ordinary to the Archduke of Auſtria (*d*). He continued in that poſt during four years, after which he was promoted to the Chair of Phyſic Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Helmſtadt. The oration he delivered at his inſtallation is very good, it is intitled, *De remoris diſcentium Medicinam & earum remediis* (*e*). i. e. "Of the Difficulties which attend the ſtudy of Phyſic, and of "the means to remove them." He acquitted himſelf worthily of his functions, and publiſhed ſome books [*A*], which kept up the reputation he had already gained. I have not been able to diſcover in what year he died; I only know that he was ſtill living in the year 1595, and that he was then *Decanus* (or the eldeſt Profeſſor) of the Faculty of Phyſic at Helmſtadt, and *Vice-Rector-Magnificus* of the Univerſity. This I learn from ſome verſes that were written on his Anagram, and which are to be found at the end of a book intitled, *Jacobi Horſtii Epiſtolæ Philoſophicæ & Medicinales*; i. e. "James Horſtius's "Philoſophical and Phyſical Letters." It was printed at Leipſic in 8vo in the year 1596. We ought, in his commendation, to take notice of a particular, which will appear very ſurprizing, though perhaps unjuſtly; it is, that he joined devotion with the knowledge and practice of Phyſic. He carefully prayed God to bleſs his preſcriptions, and he publiſhed a form of prayers upon this ſubject [*B*]. He married his firſt wife in the year 1562, and loſt her in the year 1585 (*f*), having got ten children by her (*g*). He married again in the year 1587 (*h*). He was brother to GREGORY HORSTIUS, who died May the 10th 1592, and who had been ſeven times Burgomaſter of the City of Torgaw,

(*a*) Jacob. Horſtii, *Epiſt. Philoſoph. & Medicinal.* pag. 41.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 48.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 77.

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 199.

(*e*) You will find it in pag. 530, &c. of the book I have quoted.

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 77.

(*g*) Ibid. pag. 330.

(*h*) Ibid. pag. 363.

tione Diatriba, Numeri ad Lunæ Theoriam Horroccianam. A great many of our author's papers were carried to Ireland by his brother Jonas Horrox, who had proſecuted the ſame ſtudies, and died there, by which means they are ſuppoſed to be loſt; and others of his writings were burnt by the ſoldiers during the civil wars. Others likewiſe came into the hands of Mr. Jeremiah Shakerly, who by the aſſiſtance of them formed his *Britiſh Tables*, publiſhed at London in 1653; and theſe papers, after Mr. Shakerley's voyage to the Eaſt Indies, where he died, remained for ſome time in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Nathaniel Brooks, a Bookſeller at London, but were deſtroyed in the great fire at London in September 1666. T.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſome books.*] The firſt, if I am not miſtaken, was a commentary *In Librum Hippocratis de corde*. i. e. "On Hippocrates's Book upon the "Heart," which was printed in the year 1563 (1). In the year 1576 he publiſhed a treatiſe *Qualem virum Pharmacopolam eſſe conveniat*. i. e. "Of the Qualities "which make up the Character of a good Apothe-"cary (2)." He had already publiſhed in the German tongue a treatiſe of the Qualities of a good Phyſician; and in the year 1580 he publiſhed a book upon the ſame ſubject in Latin, and dedicated it to the Biſhop of Olmutz (4). He publiſhed a German tranſlation of *Lemnius*'s book *De occultis Naturæ miraculis*, i. e. "Of the hidden miracles of Nature," in the year 1579, and added a great many obſervations to it (5). In 1580 was printed his book *De morbo epidemico febri Catharrali per totam Europam graſſante* (6). i. e. "Of the epidemical Catharrick fever, which "raged through all Europe." And in the year 1583 he printed a treatiſe of the Plague in the German tongue, and in 1587 a book *De Vite vinifera* (8), i. e. "Of "the Wine-bearing Vine," and in 1593 a book *De Noctambulis*, i. e. "Of Perſons who walk in their "Sleep (9)." In 1595 was publiſhed his diſſertation upon the golden tooth of a child in Sileſia (10). You will find in *Lindenius renovatus* (11), that his *Diſputationes Catholicæ de rebus ſecundum & præter naturam*, i. e. "Catholic Diſputations of things according to "and againſt nature," were printed at Wittemberg, in the year 1630, with Gregory Horſtius's *Compendium medicarum Inſtitutionum*, i. e. "An Abridgment of Phy-"ſical Inſtitutions," and that the abridgment of his *Herbarium, ſive de ſelectis plantis & radicibus Libri duo*; i. e. "Two Books concerning choice Plants and "Roots;" made by the ſame Gregory, was printed at Marpurg in the year 1630.

(1) *Epiſt. Philoſoph. & Medicin. Jacobi Horſtii*, pag. 79.

(2) Ibid. p. 153.

(3) In the year 1570, ibid. pag. 127.

(4) It is amongſt his *Philoſophical and Phyſical Letters*, pag. 209, & *ſeq.*

(5) Ibid. pag. 189.

(6) Ibid. pag. 203.

(7) Ibid. pag. 257.

(8) Ibid. pag. 354.

(9) Ibid. pag. 435.

(10) Ibid. pag. 373.

(11) In pag. 485. of the edition publiſhed in the year 1686.

Let us obſerve that he ſuffered himſelf to be groſly impoſed upon with regard to that pretended golden tooth. It was only an impoſture, and if you have a mind to know how the cheat was found out, you may conſult Van Dale in the laſt chapter of his firſt book *De Oraculis* (12). He obſerves, that our James Horſtius took this golden tooth for a great prodigy, which ought to be a comfort to thoſe Chriſtians, who were oppreſſed by the Turks; that is to ſay, that it was a good omen of the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. I have ſeen a letter which this Phyſician wrote to David Chytræus February the 7th 1595, in which he ſpeaks of the preſages of meteors. He aſſerts that the comet which was ſeen in the year 1556, and which appeared at Conſtantinople, when it was no longer viſible in Germany, might very well produce its dangerous effects in the year 1596, and that the new ſtar in the conſtellation of Caſſiopea would not then be idle (13), and that the golden tooth would alſo be ſure to act its part. *Dens aureus, dens pueri* &c. (14). He does not conclude without cenſuring the ſecurity of mankind, nor without earneſt wiſhes.

(12) Pag. 423, edit. 1700.

(13) *Stella prope Caſſiopeam nec tunc feriabitur.* Jac. Horſtius, *Epiſt. Philoſoph. & Medic.* pag. 521.

(14) Idem, ibid.

[*B*] *He prayed God to bleſs his preſcriptions, and he publiſhed a form of prayers upon this ſubject.*] Thus it was that he ſignalized himſelf at his firſt entering upon his poſt of Profeſſor of Phyſic in the Univerſity of Helmſtad. This book was the preſent the Univerſity received from him. *Helmſtadium ubi veniſſet, Librum dictum*, &c. (15). It muſt be obſerved in honour to the Phyſicians, that ſeveral of them gave him thanks for publiſhing thoſe prayers, and confeſſed that their art ſtood very much in need of God's aſſiſtance (16). See what a Phyſician of the city of Ratiſbon wrote to him. *Mittis ad me libellum medicorum*, &c. (17).

(15) Ibid. pag. 282.

(16) *Vide* Jac. Horſtii, *Epiſt. Philoſoph. & Medic.* pag. 283, & *ſeq.*

Amongſt the letters that were written to him upon this ſubject, there is one in which he is told, that very few Phyſicians in Bohemia followed the advice he gave, to call upon the name of God, but that a great many old women made uſe of charms and enchantments. *Cum paucis optime Horſti, habes*, &c. (18). Matthew Dreſſerus, Profeſſor of Eloquence at Leipſic, did very much commend him for his piety and prayers, and told him, that he had known a Phyſician, who never undertook any cure, nor preſcribed any thing without ſaying the Lord's prayer. *De precum medicarum formulis* &c. (19).

(17) *Vide eund. ibid.* pag. 284.

(18) Ibid. pag. 290.

(19) Ibid. pag. 293.

Compare this work with the remark [C] of the article KIRSTENIUS, and read (20) the pious letter which James Horſtius wrote to a Miniſter at Berlin. He ſeems to be determined to compoſe a treatiſe of Chriſtian Phyſic (21). I muſt add, that the bill or advertiſement.

(20) Ibid. pag. 294 & *ſeq.*

(21) *Binis literis tuis, quibus me &c.*

Torgaw, and was a man of great merit, as we learn from his Elogy, written by Reineccius (*i*). The book which I have quoted, contains a particular, which deſerves, I think, to be related [*C*].

(*i*) It is prefixed to the book intitled, *Jacobi Horſtii Epiſtolæ Philoſophicæ & Medicinales.*

vertiſement, in which he exhorted the ſtudents duly to celebrate St. Michael's Day in the Angel's honour (22), is a very devout piece.

(22) Ibid. pag. 493, *& ſeq.*

To conclude, I do not believe there ever was a Book of Devotion but what ſold better than theſe Prayers, which Horſtius wrote for the Phyſician's uſe.

[*C*] *His letters contain a particular which deſerves to be related.*] Jerom Nymnam, a Miniſter, and Horſtius's brother-in-law (13), wrote him a letter dated from Torgaw March the 10th 1556, in which he deſired him (24) to let him know whether a certain ſtory, which Sabinus had lately told at Wittemberg, were true or not. The ſtory was, that a certain Gentleman of the Marquiſate of Brandenburg, near Standel, having repulſed a poor woman who deſired him, for God's ſake, to abate ſomething of the price of the corn ſhe intended to buy of him, the piece of money ſhe gave him for it was changed into a ſnake, by an unknown perſon, whom that Gentleman met with in his way, and that the ſnake had twiſted itſelf round the Gentleman's neck, and would not leave it. Horſtius, who was then at Francfort upon the Oder, anſwered (25) his brother-in-law, that he knew nothing of this ſtory, and that if he heard any thing of it, he would write it to him. We have here an inſtance of the uncertainty of common reports. Prodigies often make much more noiſe in diſtant countries, than in that where it is pretended they happened. This is a mark of falſity; for true facts are known with more certainty in the places where they happen, than any where elſe. They, who deſign to tell falſe ſtories, muſt take care not to tell them too near the place where they ſuppoſe the ſtories happened; they do not always take ſuch a precaution, and yet they find credit, but then they run a greater riſk of being found out.

(23) Ibid. pag. 11.

(24) Ibid. pag. 53.

(25) Ibid. pag. 54.

HORSTIUS (GREGORY) nephew (*a*) of the preceding, gained ſuch a reputation in the practice of Phyſic, that he was uſually called the Æſculapius of Germany (*b*). He was born at Torgaw in the year 1571, and was admitted Maſter of Arts at Wittemberg in the year 1601 (*c*), and commenced Doctor of Phyſic at Baſil in the year 1606. He was that ſame year made Profeſſor of Phyſic in the Univerſity of Wittemberg; he left that City at a year's end, and went to Soltwedel in the Electorate of Brandenburg, to be the City-Phyſician there. He did not continue long in that City, for he accepted the Phyſic-Profeſſor's Chair, which the Landgrave of Heſſe offered him in the Univerſity of Gieſſen, in the year 1608, and the next year he was made firſt Phyſician to that Prince. Being tired at laſt with leading a ſingle life (*d*) he married in the year 1615. The great reputation he had gained made the Magiſtrates of Ulm offer him the poſt of firſt Phyſician to that City, which he accepted, and he performed the functions of it with great applauſe from the year 1622 till the year 1636, in which he died. He left four ſons [*A*] and two daughters by his firſt wife. He loſt her in November 1634; and finding too much trouble in the care of a family, he married again in June 1635. He met with very great comfort in this ſecond match [*B*]; but the gout, which he had more

(*a*) He was the ſon of George Horſtius, one of the Magiſtrates of the City of Torgaw.

(*b*) Konig. *Bibliotb.* pag. 413.

(*c*) Lindenius *renovat.* pag. 359.

(*d*) *Solitariæ vitæ pertæſo ſibi privato quoque invigilare curatio fuit.* i. e. "Being tired "with leading a ſingle life, he "imagined he "might alſo "take care of "his own particular affairs." Joh. Daniel Dietericus, *in Oratione funebri Gr. Horſtii, apud* Witte, *Memor. Medicor.* pag. 67, *& ſeq.*

[*A*] *He left four ſons by his firſt wife.*] Three of them were Phyſicians, and the other an Apothecary (1). JOHN DANIEL HORSTIUS, the eldeſt of them all, was born at Gieſſen, and was Profeſſor of Phyſic in the Univerſity of Marpurg, and afterwards in that of his native place, and Phyſician to the Landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtad, and laſtly to the city of Francfort. He was admitted under the name of *Phœnix*, a Fellow of the Society of Inquirers into Nature. He publiſhed a great many books, and died January the 27th, 1685, at the age of threeſcore and eight years (2). Here follow the titles of ſome of his works. *Phyſica Hippocratea, Takenii, Helmontii, Carteſii, Eſpagnet, Boylei, aliorumque recentiorum Commentis illuſtrata.* i. e. "The "Natural Philoſophy of Hippocrates, illuſtrated with a "Commentary from Takenius, Van Helmont, Des "Cartes, Eſpagnetus, Boyle, and other moderns." At Francfort 1682, 8°. *Decas Obſervationum & Epiſtolarum Anatomicarum, quibus ſingularia ſcitu digna, lacteorum nempe thoracicarum, & vaſorum lymphaticorum natura, embryoniſque per os nutritio, atque alia rariora exponuntur.* i. e. "A Decad (or ten books) of Anato-"mical Obſervations and Letters, in which ſome par-"ticulars worthy to be known are explained; namely, "the nature of Lacteal veins in the Thorax, and of "the lymphatic veſſels; and the manner how the "fœtus takes its nouriſhment by its mouth in the "womb, with other more curious particulars." At Francfort 1656, in 4to. *Pharmacopœa Galeno-Chemica Catholica.* i. e. "An Univerſal Pharmacopy or "Diſpenſary, Galeno-Chemical." At Francfort 1651, in folio. He gave a new edition with corrections and additions, of *Pauli Zachiæ Queſtiones Medico Legales.* i. e. "Paul Zachias's medical queſtions with regard to "the Law." At Francfort 1666, in folio; and of *Lazari Riverii Opera Medica Univerſa*; i. e. "All "Lazarus Riverius's Phyſical Works;" at Francfort, 1674, in folio (3). GREGORY HORSTIUS, the youngeſt of his brothers, was born at Ulm, September the 20th 1626. He commenced Doctor of Phyſic at Padua, Fortunius Licetus preſiding at his Diſputation, May the 11th, 1650. He was admitted a Fellow of the College of Phyſicians at Ulm, and declared public Profeſſor of Phyſic in the year 1653. He died May the 31ſt, 1661, and left ſome children behind him (4). He is the author of a treatiſe *De Mania*, i. e. "Of "Madneſs," and he promiſed *Hiſtoriam Zibethi* (5). i. e. "The Hiſtory of Civet."

(1) Paulus Freher. *in Theatro*, pag. 1366.

(2) Witte, in *Diario Biographico, ad ann.* 1615.

(3) Taken from *Lindenius renovatus*, pag. 564, 565.

(4) Paulus Freherus *in Theatro*, pag. 1389.

(5) Witte, in *Diario Biograph. ad ann.* 1661.

[*B*] *Finding too much trouble in the care of a family, he married again. ... He met with very great comfort in this ſecond match.*] He had lived leſs comfortably with his firſt wife, if we may credit the author of his funeral oration. *Huic optimæ conſorti ſuæ, dum fata Deuſque ſinebant, ex veteri formula feliciſſimè convixit, & optimè cohabitavit. Quid autem hic Archiater noſter glorioſus, conceſſit ne illorum in numerum, qui blanda venere detenti, omnem Muſis remittunt nuntium? Nullatenus, ſed potius domeſticis, privatiſque omnibus ſcitè adornatis, famæ ſuæ gloriam & calamo, & ore, & praxi expandere, & diffundere ſategit* (6). We ſee in the latter part of this paſſage, that Horſtius did not follow the example of a great many other men, who indulge themſelves ſo much in the pleaſures of the nuptial bed, that they bid the Muſes farewell for ever. Horſtius took care to ſpread his reputation more and more, by his writings, by his diſcourſes, and by his practice. As to his happineſs with his ſecond wife, here follows what the ſame author tells us of it. *Is ... poſteaquam ſecunda, quæ vocant, expleſſet vota, ... jamque conjugalem lineam ex animi ſententia duceret, amantiſſimè ab amantiſſima marita habitus, domique ac foris felix, optata ἰυπραξία gauderet: ecce! malo arthritico, quod multò antè non ſemel fortiter ſuſtinendo repulerat, invaditur* (7). i. e. "When he had married his ſecond wife, living "moſt lovingly with the moſt loving ſpouſe, being "happy both at home and abroad, and having a con-"ſiderable portion with her, he fell ſick of the gout, "which he had long before more than once ſuffered "with patience, and couragiouſly overcome." What I ſhall now quote relates both to his firſt and

(6) Joh. Daniel Dietericus, *apud* Witte, *Memor. Medicor.* folio (*e*) 4.

(7) Idem, ibid. pag. 67, 68.

more than once vigorouſly reſiſted, coming again upon him, and being attended with ſeveral dangerous ſymptoms, carried him to the grave Auguſt the 9th 1636. He was eminently poſſeſſed of three chief qualities of a good Phyſician; namely, honeſty, learning, and ſucceſsfulneſs (e) [C], as it is related at length in his funeral Oration. He publiſhed

(e) Taken from his *Funeral Oration*, delivered by Joh. Daniel Dietericus, *apud* Witte, *Memor. Medicor.* pag. 67, *& ſeq.*

to his ſecond marriage (8). *Quando autem factum ut Anno* 1634: *ſuavissimam hanc ipſius tori ſociam maligna febris deæſtuaret, in hoc infelix fuit, quod ſævam illam declinare neſciens, menſe Novembri miſeram viduitatem colere fuerit coactus: qua in cum ſex Liberorum Pater & occupatiſſimo functionis muneri & moleſtiſſimæ rei familiaris curæ vix non ſuccumberet, divina adlucente gratia, ad vota ſecunda accedens, Præclariſſimi Medici* Fingerlini *p. m. relictæ viduæ* (9), *matrimonialem addixit fidem, hoc ipſo iterum titulo felicitais privatæ redonatus, quod hæc caſtiſſimis illius amoribus mira morum amabilitate reſpondebat: ita ut charitate Conjugem, ſedulitate Miniſtram præſtaret.* i. e. "It happened in the year "1634 that the moſt dear partner of his bed was "taken ill of a malignant fever, which he not being "able to cure, he became a widower in November "that ſame year; and being a father of ſix children, "and having a great deal of buſineſs, he almoſt ſunk "under the care of his domeſtic affairs. So that he "determined to marry again, and took for his ſecond "wife the widow of a moſt eminent Phyſician, named "Fingerlinus; becauſe he found that her moſt agreeable behaviour anſwered the modeſt love he had for "her: ſhe was a tender ſpouſe by her affection for "him, and a ſervant by her care and diligence."

(8) Idem, ibid. pag. 5. before the end. I quote it thus, becauſe but few pages of this funeral Oration are numbered.

(9) The author had obſerved that Horſtius had married a maiden to his firſt wife, who was Hedwige Stammia. *Interea*, ſays he, pag. 69. *& maritalem conditionem exoſculatus,* HEDWIGEM STAMMIAM *Virginem lectiſſimam confarreatione ſibi ſacroſancta copulat.*

[C] *He was eminently poſſeſſed of the three chief qualities of a good Phyſician; namely, honeſty, learning, and ſucceſsfulneſs.*] I omit what relates to the two firſt of theſe qualities, and I ſhall only obſerve, that with regard to the third, his Panegyriſt aſſerts, that the good ſucceſs of our Horſtius's preſcriptions was not an effect of chance, but of the attention with which he examined the nature of the diſtempers, &c. On this occaſion that author caſts a very ſevere reflection upon thoſe Quacks, who boaſt that they have cured thouſands and thouſands, and who by their impudent bragging extort a great deal of money from unwary perſons. He applies to them what a certain Poet replied to a man who was at once a Chirurgeon and a Phyſician. I do not wonder at it, ſaid the Poet, for you kill a great many perſons both with your own hand, and with poiſon. *Ea eſt Empiricorum, Thalmudicorum, & Bullatorum Medicorum indoles & natura, ut mucoſam ſuam praxin pro admiranda felicitate venditantes, ſæpiſſimè animos Magnatum & Divitum (utpote hoc cenſu facile ſe defraudari patientium) à verò Medicorum vultu & cultu abalienent, egregiam ſpem & verè prodigioſæ ſuæ curæ (quippe illa ipſa excidium denunciant) expectationem concitando: qua ſuperſtitioſa, ſplendidiſque ſtrophis ſuffulta infeliciſſima felicitate Microcoſmum argento ſimul, & ſanguine emungere ſceleratiſſimè norunt: quibus Plagiariis interim Poetæ apprimè adaptari convenit,*

Es Medicus, ſimul Chirurgus,
Cur? mittis ſtygiam viros ad Orcum,
Et manu ſimul, & ſimul veneno:

Nequaquam autem hujuſmodi felicitatis exceſſum in Defuncto noſtro, *velut abſoluto Practici Exemplo, quæremus: quin potius fortunam illius in Praxi integram & illibatam, cumulatiſſimo rationis & experientiæ inſtructu partam demirabimur, &c.* (10).

(10) Dietericí, *Orat. fun. Gr. Horſtii, apud* Witte, *Memor. Medicor.* in the page after the leaf marked (e) 5.

I ſhall take this opportunity to obſerve, that there are ſome perſons who believe, that the ſucceſsfulneſs of a Phyſician is ſomething, which does not depend from his learning and knowledge. This is Joubert's opinion. "If a perſon recovers, *ſays he* (11), the Phy- "ſician is judged to be a very able man, though his "preſcriptions were nothing to the purpoſe; on the "contrary, the Phyſician is thought to be an igno- "rant man, if the patient dies, or lingers a great "while under a diſtemper, which the vulgar ima- "gines could be eaſily cured. Moderate perſons will "not think that Phyſician the more or the leſs learned "for it; if they know that he has the reputation of "learning amongſt the men of letters, but they will "ſay, that he has no ſucceſs with his patients, and "conſequently, that he is not a good Phyſician; for "they always judge from the event. It is certain "that there is good and bad luck in every thing, or, "as the Italians expreſs it *la buona è la mala ſorte*; "and it is a Phyſician's happineſs never to be called "to a Patient that is to die of his diſtemper; for he "gets neither fame nor friends by preſcribing for ſuch "patients; and yet he is not to be blamed; and if "he has done his duty, he ought to be as much eſteemed, "as if the patient had recovered.... It is indeed a "great advantage to be ſucceſsful in one's undertakings, "but ſuch a happineſs does not depend on learning and "ability; it is a particular favour from God, to be "called only to ſuch patients as are to recover, and "with regard to whom God bleſſes the remedies and "renders them ſucceſsful; as alſo not to be called by "them, who are to die, and with whom nothing ſuc- "ceeds well. It is therefore a very wrong way to "judge of Phyſicians by their ſucceſs, which is owing "to a particular luck and to God's bleſſing, rather "than to a man's learning (12)." A Flemiſh Phyſician, who has tranſlated Joubert's firſt book of popular errors into Latin, and added a commentary to it, was not of that opinion, and aſſerted, that the Phyſicians happineſs conſiſts only in their learning and ſkill, and that their unhappineſs is owing only to their ignorance. *Huic equidem Jouberti ſententiæ non ſubſcribam; quin potius ad Cratonis* &c. (13). He has alſo quoted a paſſage from Paracelſus, in which the the ſame thing is aſſerted. I believe, that he goes a little too far, and that there are Phyſicians, who ſometimes cure or kill their patients, though they cannot be juſtly commended or blamed for it. How learned and experienced ſoever they may be, they do not always know the true cauſe of a diſtemper, and they preſcribe according to the rules of their art, a remedy, which becomes pernicious, becauſe there is ſomething in the patient's conſtitution, which it is not in their power to diſcover. Such a particular diſpoſition of the body, the patient's fancy affected after a certain manner, ſome ſecret paſſions, &c. are capable to produce ſome effects, which the moſt learned and moſt experienced Phyſicians would never expect. The efficacy of thoſe unknown cauſes may be ſuch, that a remedy, preſcribed raſhly, ignorantly, fooliſhly, will cure the diſtemper, and that a remedy preſcribed according to all the rules of art, will kill the patient. There is therefore good and bad luck here, which does not depend upon the learning or ignorance of the Phyſician; and a man cannot be charged with ignorance, for not knowing the hidden paſſions of the heart, or the ſtrange qualities of a certain conſtitution, and for not foreſeeing how they will prevent the effects of the remedies he preſcribed. A Phyſician is reckoned to commit blunders through ignorance, only when he does not know thoſe things, which ſtudy and practice ought to have acquainted him with. The queſtion is, whether there be ſome Phyſicians, who, through a prerogative peculiar to themſelves, do by chance and yet often hit upon the very remedy that will cure, and whether the contrary happens to others by an ill-luck peculiar to them? Or elſe, the queſtion is this; are there Phyſicians who are called juſt when the patient is predeſtinated to be cured? And are there others, who are called juſt when the patient is predeſtinated to die? Joubert ſeems to have been of that opinion, and to have called this a particular favour or bleſſing from heaven, or the want of a divine favour. Crato ridicules ſuch an opinion. This controverſy is much of the ſame nature with that which I have mentioned in another place (14); whether there be an happineſs and a misfortune annexed to certain perſons, or whether the one be always the effect of a man's prudence, and the other of his imprudence? The antients were not of this laſt opinion; for when they reckoned up the qualities of a good General, they gave fortune a place by itſelf, and diſtinguiſhed it from the knowledge in the art of war. *Ego ſic exiſtimo,* ſays Tully, *in ſummo Imperatore quatuor has res ineſſe oportere, ſcientiam rei Militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem* (15), i. e. "I "am of opinion that theſe four things are requiſite "in a General; the knowledge of the military art, "courage, authority, and happineſs." He ſhews afterwards,

(11) Joubert, *Erreurs Populaires*, liv. 1. chap. 7. pag. m. 33. 34.

(12) Ibid. pag. 35.

(13) Joannes Bourgeſius, in *Scholiis*, ad cap. 7. Jouberti, *de Erroribus Vulgi*, pag. 105, 106.

(14) In the remark [K] of the article TIMOLEON.

(15) *Cicero pro Lege Manilia*, cap. 10. pag. m. 35. tom. 3.

lished a great many books [D], which have been very much esteemed. Two of his sons have also published some books (f).

(f) See the remark [E].

terwards, that these four qualities met most eminently in Pompey. *Reliquum est ut de felicitate quam præstare* DE SE IPSO *nemo potest, meminisse, & commemorare de altero possumus: sicut æquum est homini de potestate deorum, timide & pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, & ceteris magnis imperatoribus,* NON SOLUM *propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam, sæpius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profectò quibusdam summis viris quædam ad amplitudinem, & gloriam, & ad res magnas benè gerendas divinitus adjuncta fortuna* (16). i. e. "We come now to speak of the other's (Pompey's) "happiness, which a man can never have OF HIMSELF; but it is proper we should speak modestly and "sparingly of the power of the Gods. I am of opinion, that Fabius Maximus, Marcellus, Scipio, "Marius, and others, were so often placed at the head "of our armies, not only because of their courage, "but also on account of their happiness. For some "great men were certainly assisted by fortune, when "they gained so much glory and reputation, and performed such noble actions."

(16) Cicero, *pro Lege Manilia*, cap. 16. pag. 53. tom. 3.

[D] *He published a great many books.*] I believe that he begun with his *Institutiones Logicæ*, which he published, when he read private lectures on Philosophy at Wittemberg, about the year 1601 (17). He published in the same city in the year 1607 his treatise *De Natura Humana* (18). His *Dissertatio de natura Amoris, additis Resolutionibus de cura Furoris amoris, de Philtris, atque de pulsu Amantium*; i. e. "A Dissertation "of the nature of Love, on Philters, and on the "Lover's pulse:" this book, I say, was printed at Giessen in 4to, in the year 1611. He published in the same city his work *De tuenda Sanitate Studiosorum & Literatorum*; i. e. "Of preserving the health of Stu"dents and men of Letters;" in 4to. and in 1619, the treatise *De causis similitudinis & dissimilitudinis in fœtu, respectu parentum &c. cui annexa est Resolutio Quæstionis de diverso partus tempore, imprimisque quid de septimestri & octimestri partu sentiendum*; i. e. "Of the "causes why children are not like their parents &c. "to which is added a solution of the question concerning the time of the women's delivery, and what we "ought to think of their being delivered at the seventh, or eighth month;" in 4to. I refer the reader to *Lindenius renovatus* (19), where he shall meet with a particular account of the titles and editions of all this Physician's writings. I shall only observe, that there was a new edition of it published after his death, in one volume in folio, at Nuremberg in the year 1660, at Gauda (Tergou) in three volumes in 4to, in the year 1661.

(17) Dieterici, *Oratio Fun. Gr. Horstii, apud* Witte, *Memor. Medicor.* folio (s) 2.

(18) Idem, ibid. folio (e) 3.

(19) Pag. 359, &c.

HORTENSIA, sister to Hortensius the Orator. Thus a modern author names her (a): but, as he himself owns in another place (b), Valeria is the name which Plutarch gives to Hortensius's sister. See therefore VALERIA, for there is no reason why we should ascribe to Hortensius, two sisters of different names.

(a) Glandorpius, pag. 406.

(b) Idem, pag. 865.

HORTENSIA daughter of Hortensius the Orator, shewed her self worthy of such a father by the eloquence she displayed, when she pleaded the cause of the Roman Ladies before the Triumviri, who had sentenced fourteen hundred of them to declare the estates they possessed; intending afterwards to tax them at pleasure, towards defraying the expences of the war. The Triumviri were Mark Anthony, Octavius and Lepidus. These had declared at first, that all such women as did not give in a faithful and exact inventory of their estates should be fined; and that all persons impeaching others, who made such concealments, should be rewarded for their discoveries. The Ladies had recourse to the intercession of such among them as might have some interest with the Triumviri, and met with a gracious reception from Octavius's sister, and Mark Anthony's mother; but Fulvia, wife to the latter, shut her door against them, whereupon they resolved to address the Triumviri. Hortensia spoke in the name of all the rest, and made a very fine speech, which Quintilian has mentioned with applause (a). The Triumviri were so brutal as to be displeased with the Ladies, for the rigour they shewed in addressing them, and thereupon ordered their officers to turn them out of Court [A]. Upon this order the whole assembly murmured, which prevented the officers from putting it in execution, whereupon the Triumviri suspended the affair till the next day. The result was, that only four hundred women should be obliged to discover all their possessions (b). By this we are enabled to form a much more just idea of that incident than from Moreri's account, even from Valerius Maximus, whose words are quoted below [B].

(a) *Quinti Hortensii filiæ oratio apud Triumviros habita legitur non tantum in sexus honorem.* Quintil. *Instit.* lib. 1. cap. 1.

(b) *Ex* Appiano, lib. 4. *Bell. Civil.*

HORTENSIUS

[A] *The Triumviri . . . . ordered their officers to turn them out of Court.*] Instead of this, Jacobus Philippus Bergamensis, whom Prosp. Mandosius (1) copies, relates, that Hortensia's eloquence was so much admired by the auditors, that they imagined it was her father who spoke, and that it forced the Triumviri, not only to grant whatever they desired, but to bestow the highest applauses on them. He has committed two other errors, first in asserting that Hortensia wrote many things; and secondly, in saying that the Roman Ladies were taxed, because the necessity of the times required it; whereas it was owing rather to the tyrannical avarice of the Triumviri. How many errors do authors fall into, from their desire of applauding those on whom they write?

(1) *In Biblioth. Roman.* Cent. 2. num. 88.

[B] *From Moreri's account, or . . . . from Valerius Maximus, whose words are quoted hereunder.*] He says *that the Senate had laid a severe tax on the Roman women, ... and that Hortensia alone undertook the cause of all the women.* I. It was the Triumviri, and not the Senate, who laid this heavy tax, in case a tax was laid. II. It was not to affect all the women of Rome, but only the most wealthy; it was a tax on persons who were in flourishing circumstances. III. Hortensia was indeed the only woman who spoke, but she was not the only one who acted for the women, or undertook their cause; for all who were concerned in that affair, went in a body to sollicit the mothers, sisters, and wives of the Triumviri; after which they went to the Court where they were assembled, on which occasion, as in deputations of every kind, one spoke in the name of all the rest. I take no notice of Moreri's omissions, nor of the false citation from Appian of Alexandria, which was taken into the Dutch edition, with a small alteration that may impose upon the reader. That error is owing to the Printers. Moreri had certainly writ, *li. 4. belli civil.* instead of which the Printers of Lyons put *li. 4. b. li civil*; and those of Holland *li. 4. b. li. civil.* So small a mistake has been sufficient, on many occasions, to make people imagine, that an author had wrote several books which he had never so much as dreamt of. Who would not believe, seeing Ovid cited *in elog.* at the close of the article Hortensius the Orator, both in the Dutch edition and the preceding one, but that Ovid had wrote a Poem entitled *Elogia?* Every reader does not guess that instead of *in elog.* it should be *in eleg.* a citation a little too general, with submission to Vos-

sius

HORTENSIUS, the name of a Plebeian family in Rome, taken, in all probability, from their devoting themſelves to gardening, as that of *Fabius*, *Lentulus*, *&c.* ſprung from a like original. Antonius Auguſtinus had no reaſon to rank this family among the Patricians [*A*], ſince we find, in the *Faſti*, one LUCIUS HORTENSIUS, Tribune of the People, the year of Rome 331. He charged Sempronius Atratinus, Conſul the preceding year, with having attacked the Volſci raſhly; but his four collegues, who were preſent at the battle in queſtion, deſired Hortenſius ſo very earneſtly to drop the impeachment, that after having done all that was poſſible, on his ſide, to oblige them to allow him to proceed in it; he at laſt complied with their deſires, when he found they were firmly determined to lay aſide the enſigns of their dignity, all the time the trial ſhould laſt. He would not let the people ſee their Tribunes in that condition, nor quite ruin a Conſul, who at leaſt had gained the love of his ſoldiers. *Non videbit plebs Romana ſordidatos Tribunos ſuos. C. Sempronium nihil moror quando hoc eſt in imperio conſecutus ut tam carus eſſet militibus* (*a*). We find, above an hundred years after, one QUINTUS HORTENSIUS who was Dictator [*B*]. He brought back the people who had retired to the *Janiculum*; and enacted a Law, viz. that thenceforward all the Romans ſhould be obliged to obey the ordinances of the people [*C*]. He died in his office (*b*), which no one had done before (*c*). Moreri has committed ſtrange miſtakes with regard to this Dictator [*D*]. He

(*a*) Liv. lib. 4. cap. 42. *See alſo* Valer. Maxim. lib. 6. cap. 5.

(*b*) Livius, in *Epit.* lib. 11.

(*c*) Auguſt. *de Civ. Dei*, lib. 3. cap. 17.

(2) *De Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 48. *de Poet. Lat.* pag. 15.

ſius who made uſe of it (2); but yet true in the main. There are many other wrong citations in this article of Moreri's Dictionary: Pliny is cited there twice, and the firſt time falſely. The 5th chapter of book 3d *de re ruſtica* of Varro, and the 13th of book 3d of Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, are not juſt quotations; and ſhew that Moreri did not take care to verify, whether the Printers of Voſſius had put one figure for another.

Here follow the words of Valerius Maximus, which I promiſed to cite. *Hortenſia Q. Hortenſii filia cum ordo Matronarum gravi tributo à Triumviris eſſet oneratus, nec quiſquam virorum patrocinium eis accommodare auderet, cauſſam fœminarum apud Triumviros conſtanter & feliciter egit. Repræſentata enim patris facundia impetravit, ut major pars imperatæ pecuniæ his remitteretur* (3). i. e. "Hortenſia, the daughter of "Q. Hortenſius, upon the Triumviri's laying a very "heavy tax on the Ladies of Rome, and no man's "daring to appear in their favour, pleaded their cauſe "with great reſolution and ſucceſs before the Triumviri; for by her eloquence, which was equal to "that of her father's, ſhe prevailed ſo far as to get "the greateſt part of that tax remitted."

(3) Valer. Max. lib. 8. cap. 3. Moreri has cited lib. 3. Hofman lib. 2.

[*A*] *Antonius Auguſtinus had no reaſon to rank this family among the Patricians.*] The tract written by Antonius Auguſtinus *de Romanorum Gentibus & Familiis*, which I make uſe of, was printed at Lyons in 1592, in 4to. We there find word for word, on the family *Hortenſia*, what Richard Streinnius relates concerning it, in the book written by him on the ſame ſubject in 1559. Both proceed on a falſe foundation, in order to make this family Patrician, viz. that Cicero, ſay they, beſtows the epithet noble on Hortenſius, in his ſpeeches againſt Verres. Who does not know that the epithets *nobilis* and *plebeius* were conſiſtent in old Rome?

[*B*] *Above an hundred years after* .... QUINTUS HORTENSIUS *the Dictator.*] It would be very difficult to find exactly the year when our QUINTUS HORTENSIUS was Dictator. I fancy Sigonius was right in fixing it to the year 467. Father Hardouin (1) doubtleſs approved this opinion; but the printers of his work, by omitting a letter, make him ſay that the ſedition of the people, which was quieted by Hortenſius the Dictator, happened in the year CCCLXVII. St. Auſtin is of opinion, that Hortenſius was created Dictator, on account of the peoples retiring at that time to the Janiculum, which is very probable. *Poſt graves & longas Rom. ſeditiones quibus ad ultimum plebs in Janiculum hoſtili diremptione ſeceſſerat, cujus mali tam dira calamitas erat, ut ejus rei cauſa, quod in extremis periculis fieri ſolebat, & Dictator crearetur Hortenſius, qui plebe revocata in eodem magiſtratu expiravit, quod nulli Dictatori ante contigerat* (2). i. e. "The Plebeians "in Rome, after ſeveral grievous and long ſeditions, "withdrew at laſt in an hoſtile manner to the "Janiculum, which occaſioned ſo dire a calamity, "that on this account, as when the State was in "imminent danger, Hortenſius was created Dictator, "who having brought back the people, died in his "office, which no other Dictator had ever done before."

(1) *In* Plin. lib. 16. cap. 10. pag. 239. tom. 3.

(2) Auguſt. *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 3. cap. 17.

[*C*] .... *and enacted a law, viz. that thenceforward all the Romans ſhould be obliged to obey the ordinances of the people.*] An author cited by Aulus Gellius informs us, that the ordinances made by the report, or at the deſire of the Tribunes of the people, were not properly called laws, but *plebiſcita*; and that the Patricians, till the Dictatorſhip of Hortenſius, were not ſubject to ſuch kind of Ordinances. *Ne leges quidem proprie ſed plebiſcita appellantur, quæ tribunis plebis ferentibus accepta ſunt, quibus rogationibus ante Patricii non tenebantur, donec Q. Hortenſius Dictator eam legem tulit, ut eo jure quod plebs ſtatuiſſet, omnes Quirites tenerentur* (3): now Livy tells us the very contrary of this; for he ſays that Lucius Valerius, and Marcus Horatius, who were appointed Conſuls in the year of Rome 305, began to ſhew their complacency for the people, by enacting a law, which left it no longer in doubt, whether the laws eſtabliſhed by the people, were binding to the Senate. That law decided this affair to the advantage of the people. *Omnium primum cum veluti in controverſo jure eſſet tenerenturne Patres plebiſcitis, legem centuriatis comitiis tulere, ut quod tributim plebes juſſiſſet populum teneret, qua lege tribunitiis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum eſt* (4). i. e. "Firſt of all, it having been controverted in "ſome meaſure, whether the ordinances of the peo"ple were binding with reſpect to the Senators; "they enacted a law in the *Comitia Centuriata*, that "whatſoever the Plebeians or Commons might decree "in their tribes, ſhould bind the whole Roman peo"ple; which Law enforced prodigiouſly all the mo"tions the Tribunes might make." The Magiſtrates called *Decemviri* had been juſt before put down; and the ſeditious populace, who had retired to mount Aventine, recalled. The new Conſuls did all that lay in their power to make themſelves popular. Quintus Capitolinus acknowledged the ſame of this new law three years after; when repreſenting to the people all the advantages which the Senate had granted them, he brings into the account *ſcita plebis injuncta patribus* (5). This law was renewed in the year of Rome 415, Publius Philo the Dictator having ordained that the Plebiſcita ſhould oblige all the Romans (6). The author quoted by Aulus Gellius was therefore not juſtly informed. Had he ſaid that the Senators were ſo very artful as to elude the deciſion; and therefore that it was found neceſſary to renew it in an authentic manner, under the Dictatorſhip of Quintus Hortenſius, he would not be the juſt object of our criticiſm; but this he has not done. Pliny (7) ſpeaks of what was enacted by this Dictator in favour of the people, without ſaying whether ever ſuch a law had, or had not, been enacted before. Sigonius did not know what had been tranſacted under Valerius and Horatius the Conſuls; he ſaying (8), that Hortenſius's law had been already enacted by Publius Philo the Dictator, in the year of Rome 414.

(3) Lælius Felix, *apud* A. Gellium, lib. 15. cap. 27.

(4) Livius, lib. 3. cap. 45.

(5) Idem, cap. 47.

(6) *Ut plebiſcita omnes Quirites tenerent.* Livius, Dec. 1. lib. 8. cap. 12.

(7) Lib. 16. cap. 10.

(8) *In* Faſt. *ad ann.* 467.

[*D*] *Moreri has committed ſtrange miſtakes with regard to this Dictator.*] Two groſs blunders in a few words; one is, in ſaying that he was a *famous Civilian*

He who made himſelf the moſt famous, is HORTENSIUS the Orator of the following article.

lian and *Legiſlator*; the other, the affirming that Hortenſius the Orator was his grandſon. Were ever ſuch Magiſtrates, in the Commonwealth of Rome, who had procured the enacting of ſome laws, called Legiſlators? Had this been, the number of the Roman Legiſlators would be exceedingly great; neither are they the ſet of people called *Juriſconſulti* or Civilians. Now it is very plain, that Moreri knew no circumſtance relating to Q. Hortenſius the Dictator, but that he had enacted a law, whereby the Senate was ſubjected to the *Plebiſcita*. Farther, ſince Moreri obſerves that the Dictatorſhip of this Hortenſius falls under the year of Rome 468, how could he take him for the grandfather of Hortenſius the Orator, who, according to him, was a military Tribune, in the year of Rome 664? How ſhamefully inattentive and negligent muſt he have been on this occaſion!

HORTENSIUS (QUINTUS) contemporary with Cicero, and almoſt as great an Orator, was born the year of Rome 639 (*a*). He pleaded his firſt cauſe at nineteen years of age, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that he not only gained the applauſe of his hearers, but alſo that of the two Conſuls, who were the greateſt judges of eloquence in that age [*A*]. This was the cauſe which he pleaded for Africa, before the Senate, under theſe two Conſuls. He pleaded, ſome time after, for the King of Bithynia, and with ſtill greater ſucceſs than before. The ſocial war breaking out the year of Rome 663, ſo entire a ſtop was put in the city to all judicial proceedings, that Hortenſius embraced a military life (*b*). He was a military Tribune ſo early as his ſecond campaign; but I believe he roſe no higher; and that thoſe who declare him to have been Lieutenant General under Sylla, in the Mithridatic War, miſtake him for another [*B*]. He filled, ſucceſſively, all the exalted employments of the Commonwealth, ſuch as thoſe of Quæſtorſhip, Ædileſhip, Prætorſhip, and even that of Conſulate, which he obtained in conjunction with Q. Cæcilius Metellus the year of Rome 684. The lot fell upon him to go into Crete, to reduce the inhabitants of that iſland; but as his eloquence made him triumphant in Rome (*c*), he choſe to diſplay his talent at the bar, rather than to march into the field. Accordingly he gave up that employment to his collegue, who there gained the honour of a triumph, and the ſurname of *Creticus*. Hortenſius had a moſt wonderful memory [*C*]. He uſed a great deal of action when he

(*a*) See the remark [*B*].

(*b*) Cicero *in Bruto.*

(*c*) Xiphilinus ex Dione, lib. 35. *initio.*

[*A*] *He gained the applauſe . . . . of the two Conſuls, who were the greateſt judges of eloquence in that age.*] Theſe were Lucius Craſſus and Quintus Scævola, the former of whom was one of the greateſt Orators, and the latter one of the greateſt Civilians, that had ever appeared in Rome. *Eloquentium juriſperitiſſimus Craſſus, juriſperitorum eloquentiſſimus Scævola putaretur* (1). This Conſulſhip falls under the year 658; ſo that as Hortenſius was then but nineteen years of age, he conſequently was born in 639; which we may likewiſe gather from Cicero's being eight years younger than he; Cicero, I ſay, who was born in 647. *Me adoleſcentem* (Hortenſius) *nactus octo annis minorem quàm erat ipſe* (2). Here follows the proof of what I ſaid with regard to the firſt cauſe which Hortenſius pleaded (3): *Q. Hortenſii admodum adoleſcentis ingenium, ut Phidiæ ſignum ſimul aſpectum & probatum eſt. Is L. Craſſo, Q. Scævola Coſſ. primum in foro dixit, & apud hos ipſos quidem Conſules, & cum eorum qui affuerunt, tum ipſorum Conſulum qui omnes intelligentia anteibant, judicio diſceſſit probatus; undeviginti annos natus erat eo tempore.* i. e. "The genius of Quintus Hortenſius, whilſt "he was young, like the ſtatue of Phidias, was no "ſooner beheld but it was immediately admired. The "firſt made his appearance at the bar, under the "Conſulſhip of L. Craſſus and Q. Scævola; though "but eighteen years old at that time, he pleaded in "preſence of the Conſuls with the applauſe, not only "of the whole auditory, but of the Conſuls themſelves, "who were the moſt conſummate judges of that time." Cicero (4) makes this L. Craſſus ſpeak thus: *Ego eſſe jam judico* (omnibus iſtis laudibus, quas oratione complexus ſum, excellentem Hortenſium) *& tum judicavi cum me Conſule in Senatu cauſam defendit Africæ, nuperque etiam magis cum pro Bithyniæ rege dixit.* i. e. "I am now of opinion, that Hortenſius merited all "the applauſes which I beſtowed upon him; and I "thought this, when, during my Conſulate, he plead-"ed in favour of Africa in the Senate; and ſtill more "ſo, when he lately undertook the cauſe of the King "of Bithynia."

(1) Cicero in *Bruto*, cap. 39.

(2) Idem, in *Bruto.*

(3) Idem, ibid. cap. 64.

(4) *De Orat.* lib. 3. *ſub fin.*

[*B*] *Thoſe who declare him to have been Lieutenant-General under Sylla, in the Mithridatic war, miſtake him for another.*] What makes me conclude, that our Orator is not the Hortenſius who had that poſt in the armies of Sylla, is, on one ſide, Cicero's ſilence; and on the other, the character which Plutarch gives of this Lieutenant. Plutarch repreſents him as a man who was perfectly well ſkilled in the arts of war, and who never yielded (5); and relates ſome actions atchieved by him, which ſuit only an old experienced Officer, and that refer to the year of Rome 667. But where ſhould Hortenſius the Orator have gained this experience, ſince he did not embrace a military life till the year 663? And had he gained it, and had ſignalized himſelf under Sylla, how comes it that theſe circumſtances were not ſpoke of, in thoſe places where he is applauded, and ſaid to have been a military Tribune, even in his ſecond campaign? *Judicia intermiſſa bello . . . Erat Hortenſius in bello primo anno miles, altero Tribunus militum* (6). Glandorpius was doubtleſs miſtaken (7), in ſuppoſing him to be Sylla's Lieutenant-General. But what need is there to take advantage of Cicero's ſilence? What he ſays is much more favourable to me. Do not the three years during which Hortenſius made the greateſt figure at the bar, becauſe of either the death or abſence of the moſt renowned Orators, correſpond with the time that Sylla had the other Hortenſius in his army? *Triennium fere fuit urbs ſine armis, ſed oratorum aut interitu aut diſceſſu, aut fuga . . . . Primis in cauſis agebat Hortenſius, magiſque quotidie probabatur.* (8)

(5) Στρατηγικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλονικος. *Vir rei bellicæ pervicax* Plutarchus in *Sylla*, pag. 461.

(6) Cicero in *Bruto.*

(7) Onomaſt. pag. 404.

(8) Cicero, in *Bruto.*

[*C*] *Hortenſius had a moſt wonderful memory.*] He delivered his pleadings directly as he had meditated them, without writing down ſo much as a ſingle word, and did not forget one particular which had been advanced by his adverſaries. *Primum memoria tanta, quantam in viro cognoviſſe me arbitror, ut quæ ſecum commentatus eſſet, ea ſine ſcripto verbis iiſdem redderet quibus cogitaviſſet. Hoc adjumento illo tanto ſic utebatur, ut ſua & commentata & ſcripta, ut nullo referente omnia adverſariorum dicta meminiſſet* (9). What Seneca ſays of him, is ſtill much more remarkable. Upon a challenge that was made to Hortenſius, he ſtaid a whole day at a public ſale, and repeated in order, the ſeveral things which had been ſold, to whom, and at what price. His recital being compared with the account taken by the Clerk, it appeared that his memory had not made him miſtake in one particular. *Hortenſius à Siſenna provocatus in auctione perſedit diem totum, & omnes res, & pretia, & emptores ordine ſuo argentariis recognoſcentibus, ita ut in nullo falleretur, recenſuit* (10).

(9) Cicero in *Bruto.* See alſo *Tuſcul.* 1. & *Academ.* 2. *init.*

(10) Seneca, *Præfat.* lib. 1. *Controverſ.*

he pleaded [*D*], which once drew upon him a very ſevere ſtroke of raillery in preſence of the Judges; L. Torquatus giving him the name of *Dionyſia*, who was a famous female dancer. The anſwer which Hortenſius made to him is ſeen in Aulus Gellius. It cannot be denied but that he was vaſtly affected; or at leaſt, that he was exceſſively nice and finical in his dreſs [*E*]. He uſed to conſult his glaſs very earneſtly, all the time he was dreſſing; and it is ſaid that he commenced a ſuit againſt his collegue, for diſcompoſing or ruffling the order and ſymmetry of his gown, as he was paſſing through a narrow place (*d*). He had amaſſed great riches, of which he was no ways ſparing, to procure himſelf conveniences and pleaſures both in town and country. He had ſeveral country-houſes [*F*]; and being a great lover of ſumptuouſneſs, he oppoſed the ſumptuary laws (*e*) which the Conſuls would have enacted the year of Rome 699. He applauded them ſo very artfully for the ſplendor and magnificence in which they lived, that they did not dare to inſiſt farther on preferring of a law, which agreed ſo little with their own conduct. He was the firſt who eat peacocks (*f*), of which he had a courſe, in an entertainment he gave to the college of Augurs. He was very curious and ſplendid in his parks and fiſh-ponds (*g*), and was as ſollicitous for the health of his fiſh [*G*], as for that of

(*d*) Macrob. *Saturn.* lib. 2. cap. 9. Moreri, after Voſſius, cites lib. 3. cap. 13. Now there are but twelve chapters in the 3d book.

(*e*) Dion. lib. 39.

(*f*) Varro, *de Re ruſtica*, lib. 3. cap. 6. Plin. lib. 10. cap. 20. Ælian, lib. 5. *Hiſtor. Anim.* cap. 21. Tertullian. de Pallio, *ſub fin.*

(*g*) Varro, *de Re ruſtica*, lib. 3. cap. 13 & 17.

[*D*] *He uſed a great deal of action when he pleaded.*] *Neſcires utrum cupidius ad audiendum eum, an ad ſpectandum concurreretur, ſic verbis oratoriis aſpectus, & rurſus aſpectui verba ſerviebant. Itaque conſtat Æſopum & Roſcium ludicræ artis peritiſſimos viros illo cauſas agente in corona frequenter aſtitiſſe, ut foro petitos geſtus in ſcenam referrent* (11). Though his action was ſo fine, as to make the two fineſt Actors of that time (Æſopus and Roſcius) ambitious of imitating it on the ſtage, it is yet certain that it exceeded the juſt bounds of the Oratorial Art: *Vox canora & ſuavis*, ſays Cicero in his Brutus, *motus & geſtus etiam plus artis habebat quàm erat Oratori ſatis.* Moreri does not relate Torquatus's jeſt or raillery faithfully. *He uſed to move about ſo much in making his ſpeeches, that the name of Graſhopper*, Dionyſia Saltatricula, *was given him.* What perſon would not ſuppoſe from theſe words, but that Hortenſius had been plagued with this nickname in every part of the city? and yet there was but one man, who, on a ſingle occaſion, gave him the name, not of Graſhopper, but of *Dionyſia*, who was a famous female dancer. It is a very falſe tranſlation to render the words *Saltatricula, Graſhopper*. Here follows the paſſage from Aulus Gellius, Chap. V. Book I: *Cùm L. Torquatus, ſubagreſti homo ingenio & infeſtivo, gravius acerbiuſque apud conſilium judicum, cùm de cauſa Sullæ quæreretur, non jam hiſtrionem eum eſſe diceret, ſed geſticulariam Dionyſiamque eum notiſſimæ Saltatriculæ nomine appellaret; tum voce molli atque demiſſa Hortenſius*, Dionyſia, *inquit*, Dionyſia malo equidem eſſe quam quod tu Torquate, ἄμουσος, ἀγροϊκώτατος, καὶ ἀπροσώτατος. i. e. "Lucius Torquatus, a rude, moroſe "ſort of a man, having declared, in Sylla's cauſe, "after a harſh and ſevere manner, before the Judges, "that Hortenſius did not then behave as an Actor, "but like Dionyſia the famous female dancer; Hortenſius replied as follows, in a ſoft low tone of voice, "I had rather be Dionyſia, than, like you Torquatus, void of all taſte for learning, inelegant, and "without underſtanding."

(11) Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 10.

[*E*] *He was exceſſively nice and finical in his dreſs.*] The following paſſage from Aulus Gellius, which precedes the words above cited, ſerve both to prove Hortenſius's fondneſs for action, and his too great niceneſs with reſpect to dreſs. *Hortenſius omnibus fermè Oratoribus ætatis ſuæ niſi M. Tullio clarior, quod multa mundicia & circumſpectè compoſitèque indutus & amictus eſſet, manuſque ejus inter agendum forent argutæ admodum & geſtuoſæ, maledictis compellationibusque probroſis jactatus eſt, multaque in eum quaſi in hiſtrionem in ipſis cauſis atque judiciis dicta ſunt.* i. e. "Hortenſius who was almoſt the greateſt orator of his "time next to Cicero, being extremely nice and finical in his dreſs, and ſtudied in his pleadings, employing a great deal of action, was rallied and "abuſed, and was often reproached, in open court, "with being a player rather than an orator." With regard to the action he took out for the rumpling the folds of his robe, here follows the proof or teſtimony of it: *Hortenſius vir alioquin ex profeſſo mollis & in præcinctu ponens omnem decorem; fuit enim veſtitu ad munditiem curioſo, & ut bene amictus iret, faciem in ſpeculo ponebat: ubi ſe intuens togam corpori ſic applicabat, ut rugas non forte ſed induſtria locatas artifex nodus conſtringeret, & ſinus ex compoſito defluens nodum lateris ambiret. Is quondam cum incederet elaboratus ad ſpeciem collegæ de injuriis diem dixit; quod ſibi in anguſtiis obvius offenſu fortuito ſtructuram togæ deſtruxerat, & capitale putavit quod in humero ſuo locum ruga mutaſſet* (12). i. e. "Hortenſius was profeſſedly ſoft "and effeminate, and made all decency to conſiſt in "outward ſhew. He was vaſtly finical in his dreſs; "and to adjuſt it the better, he employed a looking-"glaſs, by whoſe aſſiſtance he ſo diſpoſed of his gown, "that the plaits did not fall at random, but were diſ-"poſed very carefully by means of a knot; and the "fold or lappet flowing or falling down with art, "went round the knot at his ſide. As Hortenſius "was one day walking in his elaborate dreſs, he took "out an action againſt his collegue; becauſe that, "meeting him in a narrow paſſage, he had acci-"dentally ruffled the order and oeconomy of his gown: "looking upon it as a capital crime, becauſe his col-"legue had changed one plait on his ſhoulder."

(12) Macrob. lib. 2. Saturn. cap. 9.

[*F*] *He had ſeveral country-houſes.*] Pliny (13) mentions Hortenſius's *Tuſculanum*, where he placed the Argonauts of the painter Cydias, which coſt him fourteen thouſand four hundred French livres, according to Father Hardouin's computation. He had a houſe at Bauli (14), one near Laurentium (15), and another near Porta Flumentana (16). The reader may judge of his expences, by the great number of hogs-heads of wine, above ten thouſand, which he left to his heir. *Hortenſius ſuper decem millia cadûm hæredi reliquit* (17). Here follows the proof of what I ſaid (18) with regard to the care which he himſelf took to pour wine, with his own hands, on his plane-trees. *Is Hortenſius platanos ſuas vino irrigare conſuevit, adeo ut in actione quadam, quam habuit cum Cicerone ſuſceptam, precario à Tullio poſtulaſſet ut locum dicendi permutaret ſecum, abire enim in villam neceſſario ſe velle, ut vinum Plantano quam in Tuſculano poſuerat ipſe ſuffunderet* (19). i. e "It was Hortenſius's cuſtom to refreſh his plane-"trees with wine, in which he was ſo exact and "punctual, that being engaged in a cauſe with "Cicero, he begged him to change the place of plead-"ing, being, as he declared, under an abſolute ne-"ceſſity of going into the country, to pour wine on "a plane-tree which he himſelf had planted at Tuſ-"culanum."

(13) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 11.

(14) Cicero, *II Acad. Quæſt.* Varro, *de Re ruſtica*, lib. 3. cap. 17.

(15) Varro, ibid.

(16) Cicero, *ad Atticum*, lib. 7. Epiſt. 3.

(17) Varro, *apud* Plin. lib. 14. cap. 14.

(18) In the body of this article, citation (*b*).

(19) Macrob. *Saturn.* lib. 2. cap. 9.

[*G*] *He was ſollicitous for the health of his fiſh.*] Varro (20) relates ſome very ſingular particulars on this ſubject. Hortenſius acted with regard to his fiſh, juſt as miſers do with reſpect to their money; I mean he did not dare to make uſe of it, but choſe rather to buy fiſh in any of the neighbouring towns, than take any out of his own fiſh-pond. Not ſatisfied with ſparing his fiſhes, and not ſuffering them to be killed for his repaſts, he uſed to have them fed very plentifully and delicately. *Neque ſatis erat eum non paſci piſcinis, niſi eos ipſe paſceret ultro . . . Celerius voluntate Hortenſii ex equili educeres rhedarias ut tibi haberes mulas, quàm è piſcina barbatum mullum . . . Non minor cura ejus erat de ægrotis piſcibus, quàm de minus valentibus ſervis: itaque minus laborabat ne ſervus æger, quàm aquam frigidam biberent ſui piſces.* i. e. "Nor was it "enough for him that he did not eat of the fiſh out "of his own ponds, he himſelf feeding them very "carefully . . . Such was Hortenſius's turn of mind, "that he would ſooner have given the mules out of "his

(20) *De Re Ruſtica*, lib. 3. cap. 17.

of his footmen. Hortenſius muſt have had a ſtrong paſſion for plane-trees, ſince he uſed to refreſh them with wine inſtead of water; and ſo far was he from making a ſecret of this, that he one day deſired Cicero to change with him the hour in which he was to plead; for I my ſelf, ſays he, muſt go and pour wine on a plane-tree, which ſtands in one of my country-houſes (*b*). Thoſe who are ever ſo little acquainted with human nature, will wonder much more that theſe two great Orators ſhould have given each other ſuch ſtrong teſtimonies of friendſhip on ſeveral occaſions [*H*], than to hear that they were not always true friends; for, after all, Cicero was the cauſe why Hortenſius did not preſerve the glory which he had enjoyed a conſiderable time, viz. of being the firſt Orator in Rome; and Hortenſius was the cauſe that Cicero was not without a dangerous rival, who trod cloſe upon his heels. Hortenſius had publiſhed, not only orations and annals, but alſo laſcivious poems [*I*]; but none of theſe compoſitions have been tranſmitted

(*b*) See the remark [*F*].

" his ſtable, than a mullet out of his fiſh pond. He " was equally ſollicitous of the health of his fiſh as of " that of his ſervants; and, when any one of theſe " was ſick, he was leſs anxious about his having freſh " water, than about the ordering it for his fiſh." We are told he was ſo paſſionately fond of a lamprey, that he bewailed the death of it with tears. *Apud Baulos in parte Baïana Piſcinam habuit Hortenſius Orator, in qua Murænam adeo dilexit ut exanimatam fleſſe credatur* (21). Which circumſtance Porphyry (22), Macrobius (23), and Tzetzes (24) have related of Craſſus the Orator.

(21) Plin. lib. 9. cap. 55.

(22) *De Abſtin.* lib. 3.

(23) Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 11.

(24) Chil. 8. Hiſt. 174.

[*H*] *People will wonder . . . that theſe two great Orators ſhould have given each other ſtrong teſtimonies of friendſhip.*] Perhaps there is nothing in which jealouſy is more apt to occaſion hatred between people than eloquence. I cannot ſay whether beauty or poetry are not to be excepted. We ſeldom find that two celebrated Preachers love one another; and a trifling matter ſhall make them quarrel with one another. It is much if they can conceal their jealouſy and ſave appearances; ſo that we may juſtly admire what Hortenſius did in Cicero's behalf; but we are not to be ſurpriſed to hear of any ill offices he might have done him privately. He got him admitted into the college of Augurs (23); he gave him the nobleſt applauſes at a time when encomiums might be of ſervice to him. *At Hercule alter tuus familiaris Hortenſius quàm plena manu, quàm ingenue, quàm ornate noſtras laudes in aſtra ſuſtulit, quum de Flacci Prætura & de illo tempore Allobrogum diceret. Sic habeto nec amantius, nec honorificentius, nec copioſius potuiſſe dici* (26): he ran the hazard of loſing his life for Cicero's ſake: *Vidi, vidi hunc ipſum Q. Hortenſium lumen & ornamentum Reipub. penè interfici ſervorum manu cum mihi adeſſet* (26); and Cicero himſelf owns, that they always indulged good offices one to the other. *Cùm præſertim non modo nunquam ſit aut illius à me curſus impeditus, aut ab illo meus, ſed contra ſemper alter ab altero adjutus, & communicando, & monendo, & favendo* (28). i. e. " Particu- " larly as neither of us oppoſed the intereſt of the " other; but on the contrary, gave mutual aſſiſtance " of counſel and favour." We are not to wonder ſo much at Cicero's good offices with regard to Hortenſius, as thoſe of Hortenſius towards him; becauſe though Cicero's heart, naturally ſpeaking, for many years, muſt have harboured the rancour of jealouſy, we muſt ſuppoſe that he threw out half of it when he found himſelf the ſuperior. There was a time when he did not equal Hortenſius; another time when he equalled him, and a third when he excelled him. This laſt period is an excellent medicament againſt jealouſy. But, on the contrary, how violent a heart-burning muſt it be to Hortenſius, to ſee the man who did but follow him in the beginning, overtake him ſome time after, and at laſt get beyond him? *Hortenſius . . . qui diu Princeps Oratorum, aliquando æmulus Ciceronis exiſtimatus eſt, noviſſimè quoad vixit, ſecundus.* Theſe are Quintilian's words in Chapter III, Book XI. I am ſenſible that it was not diſadvantageous to Hortenſius to have ſuch a rival as Cicero. The honours of the Conſulſhip had ſo much ſlackened the ardent and indefatigable application with which he had cultivated his mind from his younger years, that people took notice daily, that he flagged (29). However, he rouzed his ſpirits, when he perceived the great progreſs which Cicero's glory made; but he certainly would have diſpenſed with ſuch an incentive or ſpur, ſince it coſt him the firſt place. There were few great cauſes but theſe two famous Orators were employed in them; ſometimes for the ſame, and at other times for contrary parties (30). Verres that renowned plunderer, was to have Hortenſius for his Lawyer: which was one of the ſtrongeſt reaſons Cicero alledged, in order to exclude Cæcilius from being the accuſer. The reader may ſee by that pleading (31), how capable Hortenſius was of managing ſuch cauſes as he undertook. Cicero had all kinds of advantage on this occaſion. He was the accuſer; and it is ſaid that he made Hortenſius reſolve not to plead in favour of Verres (32), ſo numerous were the charges and proofs brought againſt him. *Multis diebus prima actio celebrata eſt, dum teſtes Verris producuntur criminum diverſorum, dum recitantur publicæ privatæque literæ. Quibus rebus adeò ſtupefactus Hortenſius dicitur, ut rationum defenſionis omitteret* (33). We have ſeen how Cicero has declared that Hortenſius would never do him an ill office; and we may ſee, in the ſame place, that he refutes thoſe who thought that Hortenſius was not favourable to him. *Dolebam quod, non ut plerique putabant, adverſarium aut obtrectatorem laudum mearum, ſed ſocium potius & conſortem glorioſi laboris amiſeram* (34). i. e. " I was afflicted, not as moſt " people imagined, becauſe I had loſt an adverſary " and an envious rival, but rather a companion and " ſharer in my glorious labours." Nevertheleſs it was in a different ſtrain he wrote to his brother Quintus, when he expreſſed himſelf as follows. *Quantum Hortenſio credendum ſit neſcio: me ſumma ſimulatione amoris, ſummaque aſſiduitate quotidiana ſceleratiſſimè infidioſiſſimèque tractavit, adjuncto quoque Arrio: quorum ego conſiliis, promiſſis, præceptis deſtitutus in hanc calamitatem incidi* (35). i. e. " How far Hortenſius may be " truſted, I cannot ſay; he and Arrius have treated me, " on the ſpecious pretences of affection and friendſhip, " in the moſt wicked and moſt inſidious manner. I " am involved in this calamity, by my being deprived " of their advice, their promiſes and directions." How few, even of thoſe who paſs for honeſt men, but have two ſorts of language, the one for printed books, the other for thoſe letters they write their friends? See the remark [*M*] of the article GROTIUS. So long as they are kept in manuſcript, the inſincerity or amphibious language does not appear; but I ſurely expect to find theſe at the publication of their letters. It would very much vex certain authors, ſhould they be obliged to repeat or to hear repeated in converſation, the ſame encomiums which they gave in a book. Prefaces, citations, the pleaſing neceſſity of compoſing a funeral panegyric, what multitudes do you impoſe upon! Be this as it will, it has been juſtly conſidered as the marks of a wonderful addreſs in Pomponius Atticus, that he was able to preſerve the intimate friendſhip both of Cicero and Hortenſius, and to have kept them from falling out. *Utebatur intimè Q. Hortenſio, qui iis temporibus principatum eloquentiæ tenebat, ut intelligi non poſſet, uter eum plus diligeret, Cicero an Hortenſius; & id quod erat difficilimum efficiebat ut inter quos tantæ laudis eſſet æmulatio, nulla intercederet obtrectatio, eſſetque talium virorum copula* (36). i. e. " He " had contracted an intimate friendſhip with Hortenſius, " who was the greateſt Orator of the age, inſomuch " that one could not tell, whether he was beſt beloved " by Cicero or Hortenſius: and he ſo ordered matters, " a moſt difficult circumſtance, that no jealouſy broke " out between theſe two mighty rivals; he being as " the band, which held theſe two friends together."

(25) Cicero in *Bruto, initio.*

(26) Idem, *ad Attic. Epiſt. ult.* lib. 2.

(27) Idem, *pro Milone.*

(28) Idem, *in Bruto.*

(29) Cicero *in Bruto, ſub fin.*

(30) *Sæpe in iiſdem, ſæpe in contrariis cauſis verſati ſumus.* Cicero, *Divinat. in Q. Cæcil.*

(31) *Divinatio in Q. Cæcilium.*

(32) It is to be obſerved that Hortenſius did not abandon Verres ſo far but that Quintillian, Book 10. chap. 1 ſpeaks of his *Pleadings for him.*

(33) Aſcon. Pedian. *in Præmio Act in Verrem.*

(34) Cicero. in *Bruto, init.*

(35) Idem, *Ep.* 3. lib. 1. *ad Quintum fratrem.* See alſo *Epiſt.* 9. *ad Attic.* lib. 3.

(36) Cornel. Nepos, *in Vita Pomponii Attici.*

[*I*] *Hortenſius publiſhed . . . laſcivious poems*] This Ovid informs us, in his ſecond book *De Triſtibus*, where he gives us the liſt of thoſe men, who had written Love Poems or Books with impunity.

mitted to poſterity; and it muſt be confeſſed that he was a much better ſpeaker than a writer [K]. Though he won the cauſe of Meſſala, his ſiſter's ſon, in whoſe favour he had employed the utmoſt efforts of his eloquence [L], finding him accuſed of engaging in a faction, he yet did himſelf great injury by it; and occaſioned his being laughed at and hiſſed in his old age, which ridicule he was the only man who had eſcaped before (*i*). He died the year of Rome 703, aged threeſcore and four years, forty four or forty five whereof he had ſpent with great glory and reputation at the bar (*k*). Some author ſays, that he wore out his voice to ſuch a degree, that he quite loſt it before he died. Others have the ſame judgment as the reſt. *Hortenſium magnum Oratorem ſemper putavi maximeque probavi pro Meſſala dicentem, cum tu abfuiſti. Sic ferunt, inquam, idque declarat totidem quot dixit, ut ajunt, ſcripta verbis oratio* (41). If Hortenſius was hiſſed next day, it was not becauſe he pleaded with leſs eloquence than uſual, but becauſe people were vexed that he had brought his client off. The people had already ſhewn their reſentment againſt the Judges in this cauſe. *Clamoribus ſcilicet maximis judices corripuerunt, & oſtenderunt planè eſſe quod ferri non poſſet ... Acceſſit huc quod poſtridie ejus abſolutionem in Theatrum Curionis Hortenſius introiit, puto ut ſuum gaudium gauderemus. Hic tibi* ſtrepitus, fremitus, clamor, tonitruum & rudentum ſibilus. *Hoc magis animadverſum eſt, quod intactus ab ſibilo pervenerat Hortenſius ad ſenectutem. Sed tum ita bene ut in totam vitam cuivis ſatis eſſet, & pœniteret eum jam viciſſe* (42). i. e. "They made a great "outcry againſt the Judges, and ſhewed that it was "not to be born with... Farther, Hortenſius, the "day after he was cleared, went into Curio's theatre, "probably, in expectation of being congratulated: but "ſo far from it, he was received with clamours and "hiſſes. The more notice was taken of this, becauſe "Hortenſius had, till then, attained old age without "ever being hiſſed; but he then got ſo much of it "as was ſufficient for a perſon's whole life, and which "made him ſorry that he had gained his cauſe." He pleaded a few days before his death, as Cicero informs us. He certainly was one of thoſe great men, who long preſerve their genius and fire. It is true indeed, that he ſhone more in his youth than in his more advanced age, which he aſcribed to two cauſes; the one, becauſe he had made choice of the Aſiatic eloquence, which was more becoming in young people than in thoſe advanced in years; the other, that his application was greater in his younger years. *Si quærimus, cur adoleſcens magis floruerit dicendo, quàm ſenior Hortenſius, cauſas reperiemus veriſſimas duas: primum, quod genus erat orationis Aſiaticum, adoleſcentiæ magis conceſſum, quàm ſenectuti. Genera autem Aſiaticæ dictionis duo ſunt... Hæc ... genera dicendi aptiora adoleſcentibus, in ſenibus gravitatem non habent. Itaque Hortenſius utroque genere florens, clamores faciebat adoleſcens ... Sed cum jam honores, & illa ſenior autoritas gravius quiddam requireret, remanebat idem, nec decebat idem: quodque exercitationem ſtudiumque dimiſerat, quod in eo fuerat acerrimum, concinnitas illa crebritaſque ſententiarum priſtina manebat, ſed ea veſtitu illo orationis, quo conſueverat, ornata non erat* (43). i. e. "If we ſhould "enquire, how Hortenſius came to be more famed for "eloquence in his youth than when he came to ad- "vanced years, two ſubſtantial reaſons will be found "for it: firſt, becauſe he made choice of the Aſiatic "ſtyle, which is more allowable in young, than in "old men. The Aſiatic eloquence is of two kinds... "Theſe... are better adapted to young people, but "have not gravity enough for old age. As Hortenſius, therefore, excelled in both, he could not fail of "gaining the higheſt applauſes. But when the honours he had obtained, and the authority which "age gives, required a graver ſpecies of eloquence, he "yet retained the ſame, though it had no longer "its former grace. Farther, having abated very "much of his application and ſtudy, which had once "been very great; the former neatneſs and frequency "of his ſentences remained, but the elegant dreſs in "which he uſed to clothe them was now gone." He was fortunate even in the time of his death; he dying juſt before the breaking out of the dreadful confuſions into which the commonwealth was plunged. *Perpetua quadam felicitate uſus ille ceſſit è vita ſuo magis quam ſuorum civium tempore, & tum occidit cum lugere facilius Rempub. poſſet ſi viveret, quam juvare* (44).

(*i*) *Epiſt.* 2. Ciceron. *ad Familiar.* lib. 8.

(*k*) *Eſt autem L. Paulo, C. Marcello Coſs. mortuus, ex quo videmus eum in Patronorum numero annos quatuor & quadraginta fuiſſe.* Cicero, *in Bruto.*

Is quoque Phaſiacas Argo qui duxit in undas
Non potuit Veneris furta tacere ſuæ.
Nec minus HORTENSI, *nec ſunt minus improba Servi*
Carmina. Quis dubitet nomina tanta ſequi?

"He, whom fam'd Argo ſet on Phaſis' ſhores,
"Could not conceal his private love-intrigues.
"Hortenſius, Servius, both obſcenely write:
"Who could refuſe ſuch mighty names to follow?

(41) Cicero *in Brut.*

Aulus Gellius doubtleſs hints at the ſame verſes of Hortenſius, when he ſays (37) that they were ungraceful, *invenuſta*. I know not whether the Poem which Varro (38) aſcribes to him be another work. As to the Annals, they have been cited by Velleius Paterculus. I believe Hortenſius was a man of learning, for Cicero has beſtowed that elogium on him; but I do not ſee that his Poem, his Annals, and the proffer of Lucullus, are ſuch good proofs of his erudition, as Corradus would perſuade us. *Sanè*, ſays he (39), *videtur benè doctus fuiſſe, ſiquidem Poëma ſcripſit, ut Autor eſt Varro libro primo de Analogia, & Annales, ut Paterculus affirmat: & certè cum Siſenna & Lucullo de Græce Latineque ſcribendo venit in eam contentionem, quam Plutarchus in Lucullo refert.* i. e. "He ſeems indeed "to have been a man of learning, for he wrote a "poem, as Varro tells us, Book I of his Analogy; "he alſo drew up Annals, as we are aſſured by Pater- "culus; and he certainly contended with Siſenna and "Lucullus, with regard to the ſuperiority of writing, "in Greek as well as in Latin, as Plutarch relates "in the Life of Lucullus." I do not ſee that Corradus underſtood Plutarch's meaning; for he does not there ſpeak of a challenge between Hortenſius, Siſenna and Lucullus, but of a ſmall preſumption of the laſt mentioned, who boaſted, in preſence of the other two, that he would write the ſocial war, either in Latin or in Greek, in proſe or verſe, as chance ſhould decide it. Plutarch conjectures, that the Greek proſe fell to him by lot, ſince the Hiſtory of that War, compoſed in Greek proſe by Lucullus, was extant in his time: but once again, this does not ſignify in any manner that Hortenſius and Siſenna would have engaged in the ſame work, had the lot fell to them. Catanæus who relates it thus (40) is miſtaken.

(37) Lib. 19. cap. 9.

(38) Lib. 1. *de Annal. apud* Corradum *in Cicer. Brutum*, pag. 428.

(39) Ibid.

(40) *In* Plinii *Epiſt.* lib. 5. pag. m. 283.

(42) Cælius ad Ciceron. *Epiſt.* 2. lib. 8. *ad Famil.*

(43) Cicero, *in* Bruto, *ſub fin.* pag. m. 451.

(44) Idem, ibid. *init.*

[K] *He was a much better ſpeaker than writer.*] This we are told by Quintilian, Chap. III, Book XI, where he obſerves that action has a very peculiar force or ſtrength in an orator; and the great talent of Hortenſius lay here: when his pleadings or ſpeeches came to be read, they were not found worthy of the author's reputation. *M. Cicero*, ſays he, *unam in dicendo actionem dominari putat, hac ... Antonium & Craſſum multum valuiſſe, plurimùm verò Q. Hortenſium, cujus rei fides eſt quod ejus ſcripta tantum infra famam ſunt ... ut appareat placuiſſe aliquid eo orante, quod legentes non invenimus.* i. e. "Action, according to Tully, is the "chief talent of an Orator... Anthony and Craſſus "were eminent for it; but above all Hortenſius, a "proof of which is, his writings falling ſo much be- "low his reputation; ſo that one would conclude, that "they had certain charms whilſt he was repeating "them, which are quite loſt to us in the reading." How many Preachers have we, to whom this may be applied? Mr. Morus is an inſtance of this.

[L] *He had employed the efforts of his eloquence*] This cauſe was pleaded the year of Rome 702. Hortenſius was then ſixty three years of age, notwithſtanding which he made an excellent plea. Brutus, who always thought him a great orator, had never admired him ſo much as he did on that day. The reſt of the auditors formed the ſame judgment; and Cicero having read the plea, publiſhed word for word as it had been ſpoke, formed

have miſtaken this thought ſo far, as to ſuppoſe it had been told of Hortenſius, that he died as he was pleading, the efforts of his voice having killed him. But this may be looked upon as a fiction, ſince he pleaded, a few days before his death, an important cauſe [*M*] ; and ſince Cicero, ſo far from ſaying that Hortenſius died in the above-mentioned manner, as he doubtleſs would have done had the Orator in queſtion met with ſuch an end, gives us reaſon to conclude otherwiſe. Conſult, with regard to all this affair, the remark [*M*]. Hortenſius married a daughter of C. Catulus in his younger days (*l*). I am not very ſure whether ſhe was likewiſe the daughter of Servilia (*m*) a Lady of as high quality as any in Rome. He was his ſon-in-law during Verres's trial. But nothing perhaps is more ſingular than his marriage with Marcia [*N*] wife

(*l*) Cicero, *de Orat.* lib. 3. *ſub fin.*

(*m*) *Ex ſocru tua, fœmina primaria Servilia.* Idem, Verr. 4.

[*M*] *Some writers ſay .... that he quite loſt ... his voice, others have miſtaken this thought... But this may be looked upon as a fiction, ſince he pleaded, a few days before his death, an important cauſe.*] The proof of the firſt of theſe particulars is found in the following paſſage of Quintus Serenus Samonicus.

Sic eſt Hortenſius olim
Abſumptus, cauſis etenim confectus agendis,
Obticuit, cum vox domino viuente periret,
Et nondum extincti moreretur lingua diſerti.

The ſenſe is,

" Hortenſius, worne with pleading, ſtill ſurvived
" His voice, which quite forſook him——

Glandorpius did not underſtand the meaning of theſe verſes. *Deceſſit è vita*, ſays he (45), *ſub bellum civile Cæſ. & Pompeii ... clamore in actione cauſæ diruptus, ut indicat Q. Serenus.* i. e. " He died in the time of " the civil war between Cæſar and Pompey ... having " burſt himſelf as Serenus relates, whilſt he was plead- " ing a cauſe with too great vehemency." The following words of Cicero do not agree with the paſſage above cited of Samonicus. *Perpaucis ante mortem diebus una tecum ſocerum tuum defendit Appium... Q. Hortenſii vox extincta fato ſuo eſt, noſtra publico* (46). i. e. " Not many days before his death, he and you " defended Appius your father-in-law... Hortenſius's " voice was ſilenced or loſt by his own fate, but ours " by that of the public."

(45) Glandorp. *Onomaſt.* pag. 405, 406.

(46) Cicero *in* Bruto.

[*N*] *But nothing can be more ſingular than his marriage with Marcia.*] Plutarch relates it in the manner following (47). Hortenſius deſired Cato to give him his daughter Porcia in marriage, ſhe being wife to Bibulus, and having had two children by him. Give her alſo to me (ſaid he to Cato) like a fruitful field wherein I may ſow children. I am ſenſible, ſays he, that, according to the common way of thinking of the world, there is ſome abſurdity in this ; but, in reality, can any thing be more excellent or more beneficial to ſociety, than not to ſuffer the fruitful field of a young woman to lie uncultivated ; and, on the other ſide, not to permit ſuch a one to bring too many children into a family, which is already burdened with them ? Not to mention that the reciprocal lending of wives, among men of honour, diffuſes virtue among a greater number of families, and forms a greater number of alliances in the State. But in caſe Bibulus ſhall not be willing to quite give up his pretenſions to Portia, I promiſe to reſtore her to him, after ſhe ſhall have brought me ſome children, which may prove a ſincere bond between you, him, and myſelf. Cato did not think proper to treat about this affair. But when Hortenſius told him he had a mind to Marcia, Cato's wife, conſidering that ſhe was ſtill very young, and that Cato had children enough ; the latter promiſed to acquieſce with his deſires, provided Martius, his wife's father, would agree to it. Martius gave his conſent, upon which Marcia was immediately tranſferred to Hortenſius. When ſhe became afterwards, both his widow, and the heireſs to his eſtate, ſhe was wife, a ſecond time, to her firſt huſband, a circumſtance which Cæſar did not omit in his *Anti-Cato*. " If he had need of a wife, *ſays he* (41), why did " he give her up to another ? And if he had no occa- " ſion for a wife, why did he take her back ? Does " not this ſhew that he employed this by way of " lucre, in order that, by lending a young wife to " Hortenſius, he might get her back very rich ?" Strabo (49, having related that the Tapyres (50), had a law among them, by which their huſbands gave up their wives to others, when they had had two or three children by them ; adds, that Cato had done the ſame thing, in order to gratify Hortenſius, who requeſted his wife Marcia ; and he obſerves that Cato did but follow an antient cuſton of the Romans. There is room to doubt whether this was their antient cuſtom ; for we not only find ſo few examples of it, that Tertullian cites only that of Cato (51) ; but we ſee alſo that Hortenſius owned there was ſomething very ſingular or very new, in his deſign, according to the common opinion of mankind. Δόξῃ μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἄτοπον εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον, φύσει δὲ καλὸν καὶ πολιτικόν. *Nam eſſe hominum quidem illud opinione novum* (in this manner Xylander tranſlates) *natura pulchrum tamen & civile* (52). i. e. " This, in the opinion of the world, " ſeems ſtrange and odd ; however, it is naturally " decent and politic." He does not oppoſe to this opinion the antient laws, or the antient cuſtom or practice of the Romans, which ſo great a Civilian would not have failed to alledge on this occaſion ; he, I ſay, oppoſes only nature. Bodinus (53) anſwers Plutarch without reaſon, as though the latter had ſaid, in the life of Cato Uticenſis, that the Romans were allowed to lend their wives ; for this hiſtorian does not ſpeak of it, as of a cuſtom founded on the laws, or as a thing that was uſually practiſed ; on the contrary, he introduces Hortenſius, who owns that his propoſal ſeemed odd or new. The abovementioned Bodinus is very raſh, in not believing that Cato lent his wife ; for this is a ſtory which Thraſeas had taken from the writings of Munatius, Cato's friend. Cæſar would not have dared to reproach Cato for it, had it not been pretty well known (54). The reaſon on which Bodinus grounds his not believing that ſtory is a new fault : It is, ſays he, becauſe by a law enacted by Romulus, and according to the antient practice revived by Tiberius, relations uſed to chaſtiſe at pleaſure ſuch wives as committed adultery. But what does this make againſt Cato's wife, who was given up, by her father and huſband, to another man ? I ſhall not animadvert on the following words, *Plutarchus & Strabo Parthos æque ac Lacedæmonios mutuas uxores amicis dare conſueviſſe ajunt* (55), though they may very eaſily miſlead the reader : for who, in reading theſe words, would not conclude, but that Plutarch aſcribes this conduct to the Parthians, and that Strabo imputes it to the Lacedæmonians ? Nevertheleſs Bodinus's meaning is, that Strabo aſcribes it to the Parthians (56), and Plutarch imputes it to the Lacedæmonians. This way of quoting is but too common, and it miſleads people ; it ſeeming to give many teſtimonies or vouchers of the the ſame thing, when there really is but one. Bodinus ſeems to ſay, that both Plutarch and Strabo declare, that the Parthians, as well as the Lacedæmonians, uſed to lend their wives. I have read in Menage, that Caſaubon affirms that Plutarch ſpeaks of the marriage of Hortenſius and Marcia, as a thing he doubted of. *Ad quem Strabonis locum notat Caſaubonus, Plutarchum de Catone rem ita narrare ut de ea dubitaſſe ſignificet* (57). Menage had reaſon to declare that this is falſe : Plutarch does not expreſs his doubt with reſpect to the fact itſelf, but ſays only that this part of Cato's life is like that part of a play, where the plot is not opened ; that is, in my opinion, people formed a very different judgment of it.

It is to be obſerved, that when I anſwer Bodinus for aſcribing the abovementioned to Plutarch, I conſider that he cites the life of Cato Uticenſis ; for had he quoted the parallel between Lycurgus and Numa Pompilius, he would not have erred. Plutarch affirms there, that the King of Rome allowed huſbands to lend their wives, but I believe he is wrong in affirming

(47) Plutarch. *in Catone Utic.* pag. m. 770.

(48) Idem, ibid. pag. 784.

(49) Strabo, lib. 11. pag. 355.

(50) A people living near the Parthians.

(51) *Ex illa, credo, majorum & ſapientiſſimorum diſciplina, Græci Socratis & Romani Catonis, qui uxores ſuas amicis communicaverunt ... O ſapientiæ Atticæ! & Romanæ gravitatis exemplum! lenones Philoſophus & Cenſor.* Tertull. *in Apologet* Socrates's example does not concern the Romans. Tertullian aſcribes to Cato the Cenſor, what ſhould have been ſaid of Cato Uticenſis.

(52) Plutarch. pag. 771.

(53) Bodin *Method. Hiſt.* cap. 4. pag. m. 78.

(54) Plutarch. in *Catone*, pag. 770.

(55) Bodin. *Method. Hiſt.* pag. 78.

(56) He ſhould have ſaid *to the Tapyri*, not to the Parthians.

(57) Menag. *Amæn. Juris*, cap. 10. I do not find this in Caſaubon's Notes on Strabo.

wife to Cato Uticenſis, and daughter to Marcius Philippus. He begged her of Cato by way of loan, and obtained her without much difficulty, though the child ſhe was at that time going with, ſhewed that there was no very great miſunderſtanding between Marcia and her huſband. He had a ſon, who proved the occaſion of great ſorrow to him; ſo that when Hortenſius pleaded for his nephew, he declared that he had made choice of him for his heir, in prejudice of his ſon; and yet, if Valerius Maximus may be credited, he left his eſtate to this unworthy ſon. See the following article.

ing this. Mr. Dacier thinks ſo too. "This is "true, *ſays he* (58), of Lycurgus; but it does not "appear to me in any manner that Numa ever had "ſuch a deſign. It might even be eaſily proved, "that this community of wives did not begin at Rome "under Numa, but much later; and that it was not "general."

(58) Dacier, in a marginal note of his tranſlation of Plutarch, in the parallel between Lycurgus and Numa, pag. 362, 363. Dutch edit. [pag. 399. Not. 10. tom. 1. Amſterd. edit. 1724.]

Lucian ſuppoſes that Marcia, being left a widow by Hortenſius, went to Cato, and beſought him moſt humbly to take her again. She declared to him, that being of years ſo as to be paſt child bearing, ſhe only deſired to be his wife nominally: She ſaid, that ſhe would lead a life of continence with him; and only wiſhed to divide with him the troubles and fatigues, which the unhappy ſituation of the affairs of the government had brought upon him. Lucian adds, that theſe words of Marcia ſtruck Cato; and although that was not a time proper for marriage, he yet granted her requeſt. It is true indeed that all the nuptial ceremonies were omitted, without even excepting that which is conſidered as the principal, and the completion of the work. Marcia did not lay aſide her widow's weeds, but embraced her huſband as a mother does her child.

Sic ut erat, mœſti ſervans lugubria cultus,
Quoque modo natos, hoc eſt amplexa maritum (59).

(59) Lucan. lib. 2. ver. 365.

Cato grieved ſo much at the calamities of his country, that, ever ſince the civil war, he deprived himſelf of diverſions of every kind: He let his beard grow, and ſpent his days like a man who was in a ſtate of mourning. Marcia's offers were accepted in a literal ſenſe. Lucian puts the following words into her mouth.

Dum ſanguis inerat, dum vis materna, peregi
Juſſa Cato, & geminos excepi fœta maritos.
Viſceribus laſſis, partuque exhauſta revertor
Jam nulli tradenda viro: da fœdera priſci
Illibata tori: da tantum nomen inane
Connubii: liceat tumulo ſcripſiſſe, Catonis
Martia: nec dubium longo quæratur in ævo,
Mutarim primas expulſa, an tradita, tædas.
Non me lætorum ſociam, rebuſque ſecundis
Accipis, in curas venio, partemque laborum.
Da mihi caſtra ſequi (60).

(60) Lucan. ibid. ver. 338.

"Whilſt nature yet with vigour fed my veins,
"And made me equal to a mother's pains,
"To thee obedient I thy houſe forſook,
"And to my arms another huſband took;
"My powers at length with genial labours worn,
"Weary to thee and waſted I return;
"At length a barren wedlock let me prove,
"Give me the name without the joys of love.
"No more to be abandon'd let me come,
"That Cato's wife may live upon my tomb,
"So ſhall my truth to lateſt times be read,
"And none ſhall aſk if guiltily I fled,
"Or thy commands eſtrang'd me from thy bed.
"Nor aſk I now thy happineſs to ſhare,
"I ſeek thy days of toil, thy nights of care.

ROWE.

It is my opinion, that had Lucian been as fond of fiction throughout his work, as in the above cited paſſage, he would not have been accuſed of adhering too cloſely to hiſtory, and of not throwing his work into a form that was ſufficiently poetical. But be this as it will, here follows what he ſays concerning the extreme rigidneſs of Cato.

Ille nec horrificam ſancto dimovit ab ore
Cæſariem, duroque admiſit gaudia vultu.
(Ut primum tolli feralia viderat arma,
Intonſus rigidam in frontem deſcendere canos
Paſſus erat, mœſtamque genis increſcere barbam,
Uni quippe vacat ſtudiiſque odiiſque carenti,
Humanum lugere genus) nec fœdera priſci
Sunt tentata tori: juſto quoque robur amori
Reſtitit: hi mores (61).

(61) Idem, ibid. ver. 372.

"Nor he, the chief, his ſacred viſage chear'd,
"Nor ſmooth'd his matted locks or horrid beard,
"Nor deigns his heart one thought of joy to know,
"But met his Martia with the ſame ſtern brow.
"For when he ſaw the fatal faction's arm,
"The coming war, and Rome's impending harm,
"Regardleſs quite of every other care,
"Unſhorn he left his looſe neglected hair;
"Rude hung the hoary honours of his head,
"And a foul growth his mournful cheeks o'erſpread.
"No ſtings of private hate his peace infeſt,
"Nor partial favour grew up in his breaſt,
"But ſafe from prejudice he kept his mind,
"Free, and at leiſure, to lament mankind.
"Nor would his former Love's returning fire
"The warmth of one connubial wiſh inſpire,
"But ſtrongly he withſtood the juſt deſire.

ROWE.

HORTENSIUS (QUINTUS) ſon of the preceding, behaved ſo unworthily of ſuch a father, that he had like to have been diſinherited by him [*A*]: but if he is the ſame who was Proconſul of Macedonia after the death of Julius Cæſar, we may preſume that he

[*A*] *He had like to have been diſinherited.*] Cicero hints pretty plainly, in his epiſtles (1), that Hortenſius's ſon was a worthleſs creature; and that his depraved diſpoſition (2), and a freedman called Salvius, had quite corrupted him. *Illa Hortenſiana omnia fuere infantia: ita fiet homo nequiſſimus: à Salvio liberto depravatus eſt* (3). He ſeems to ſay that his father did not love him (4); but let us hear Valerius Maximus, who is more than ordinary clear on this occaſion. *Q. Hortenſii, qui ſuis temporibus ornamentum Romanæ eloquentiæ fuit, admirabilis in filio patientia extitit. Cum enim eo uſque impietatem ejus ſuſpectam & nequitiam inviſam haberet, ut Meſſallam ſuæ ſororis filium bæredem habiturus ambitus reum defendens judicibus diceret, ſi illum damnaſſent nihil ſibi præter oſculum nepotum in quibus acquieſcerat ſuperfuturum: Hac ſcilicet ſententia, quam etiam editæ orationi inſeruit, filium potius in tormento animi quam in voluptatibus reponens: tamen ne naturæ ordinem confunderet, non nepotes ſed filium bæredem reliquit* (5). i. e. "The patience, which Hortenſius, "who was the glory of the Roman eloquence in the "age he lived in, diſcovered with regard to his ſon, "is wonderful. For notwithſtanding that he was ſo "highly exaſperated againſt him, on account of his "ungracious and ſhameful behaviour, that he de-"clared to the Judges, in a ſpeech he made in defence "of Meſſala, his ſiſter's ſon, whom he then intended "to appoint his heir, that, ſhould they condemn him, "the only comfort leſt him would be in the fondling "of grand-children: He ſhewed by this ſentence, "which he alſo inſerted in his ſpeech, when he pub-"liſhed it, that he looked upon his ſon as a torment, "rather than a pleaſure to him. However, that he "might not act contrary to the order of nature, he "appointed his ſon, and not his grand-children, his "heir." It is ſomething odd that Hortenſius ſhould have diſcovered, that he had appointed his nephew for his heir; for in caſe he thought that his ſon deſerved

(1) Epiſt. 3. lib. 6. *ad Attic.*

(2) *Natura metuenda eſt; hæc Curionem, hæc Hortenſii filium, non patrum culpa corrupit.* Ibid. lib. 10. Epiſt. 4.

(3) Ibid. Epiſt. 18.

(4) Ibid. Epiſt. 3. lib. 6.

(5) Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 9. num. 2.

he changed his conduct. He ſided very warmly with the fautors of liberty; and joined ſtrenuouſly with Brutus, in order to raiſe ſuch armies as might be powerful enough to maintain the cauſe for which they had drawn the ſword (*a*). He was taken at the battle of Philippi; and put to death by way of reprizal, by Mark Anthony's command, upon the grave of Caius Antonius. Some are of opinion that our Hortenſius is the ſame with him who had ſided with Julius Cæſar againſt Pompey [*C*]. Now as thoſe who mention him intimate plainly enough that he was Hortenſius's only ſon, we may conſider him as the father of Q. HORTENSIUS CORBIO, and of MARCUS HORTENSIUS HORTALUS, the former whereof was a monſter of impurity and debauchery [*D*], and the latter fell into poverty; but was ſo wiſe as not to marry, till Auguſtus had given him money ſufficient to ſupport a family (*b*); but as the ſums beſtowed by the beneficence of that Emperor, were not ſufficient to ſupply the neceſſities of all the children who ſprung from this marriage, Hortalus implored the aſſiſtance of the Senate [*E*]. Tiberius rejected, at firſt, this petition with great ſeverity; but obſerving afterwards that the Senate diſapproved

(*a*) Cicero, Philipp. 10.

(*b*) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 2. cap. 37.

ſerved to be diſinherited, could not he bequeath or transfer his eſtate to his grand-children, as he ſaid he ſhould be forced to do, in caſe they ſhould condemn his nephew? A ſtrange grandfather ſure, not to think of his grandſons, but after the failure of his ſiſter's ſon! Valerius Maximus has perhaps maimed this incident, by ſuppreſſing ſome eſſential clauſes. Perhaps too we are to conſider Hortenſius's declaration no otherwiſe than as a rhetorical figure. There are ſome ſtratagems in this profeſſion, which our author knew how to make an advantage of. He wanted to excite the pity of the Judges, in diſcovering a ſtrong deſire to have his client diſcharged, as one who ſhould be as ſon to him. Others ſay that Hortenſius's wife inherited his eſtate (6); the wife, I ſay, which Cato had lent him, whom he took back after the death of Hortenſius.

(6) Plutarch. *in Catone min.* pag. 784.

[*B*] *He was put to death by way of repriſal .... upon the grave of Caius Antonius.*] To know what was meant by theſe repriſals, the reader muſt call to mind that Caius Antonius, brother to Mark Anthony, fell into Hortenſius's hands, during the diſorders and confuſions which followed Julius Cæſar's death, and that Brutus having heard that the Triumviri, in their fury, had put to death, among other illuſtrious perſonages, D. Brutus and Cicero, he therefore commanded Hortenſius to ſacrifice his priſoner to their manes (7), which was accordingly done. Such was the end of Caius Antonius, and in this manner was his death revenged.

(7) Plutarchus *in* Bruto. *See alſo* Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 71. who declares that *Hortenſius's ſon loſt his life in that war.*

[*C*] *Some are of opinion, that our Hortenſius is the ſame with him who had ſided with Julius Cæſar againſt Pompey.*] A circumſtance which cauſes ſome difficulty here is, that Hortenſius's ſon was in Laodicea, in the year of Rome 702, and led a moſt ſcandalous life in that city (8). How is it probable then, will ſome ſay, that, two years after, he ſhould have ingratiated himſelf ſo well with Cæſar, that this conqueror ſhould entruſt him with the command of his troops, the day that he deſigned to croſs the Rubicon, and ſeize upon Ariminum, which was the firſt puſh to be made in the grand affair that was to determine the fate of the Empire? Yet this is what Cæſar did to Hortenſius, who was in his party (9). He, ſome time after, gave him the command of a fleet on the coaſt of Italy (10). We ought not to determine ſimply on appearances.

(8) Cicero, *Epiſt. ad Attic.* 3. lib. 6.

(9) Plutarch. *in Cæſar.* pag. 723.

(10) Appian. lib. 2. Brutus, *Bell. Civil.*

I do not find in Eutropius what Glandorpius (11) pretends to have taken from Book VI, viz. that Octavius and Libo, Pompey's Lieutenants, defeated this fleet of Hortenſius. It is Oroſius who informs us of this particular (12). However this be, Glandorpius inſiſts that the Admiral of this fleet is the ſame ſon of Hortenſius the Orator, of whom Valerius Maximus ſays ſo many ill things. He goes on a pretty good foundation here; for Cicero (13) does not leave us room to doubt, that Hortenſius's ſon in queſtion went over to Cæſar's party. I have not been able to find the time when he left it, nor in what manner he obtained the Pro-conſulate of Macedonia, an employment wherein he merited the applauſes of Cicero (14). Catanæus (15) confounding the father and ſon, falſely charges the Orator with joining in Pompey's party; with putting to death Caius Antonius, and being put to death by Mark Anthony.

(11) Onomaſt. pag. 406.

(12) Lib. 6. cap. 15.

(13) *Epiſt. ad Attic.* 4, 16, 17, 18. lib. 10.

(14) Philip. 10.

(15) *In* Plin. *Epiſt.* lib. 5.

[*D*] *Q. HORTENSIUS CORBIO, ... was a monſter of impiety and debauchery.*] Valerius Maximus (16), giving a liſt of thoſe children who have verified the proverb *Heroum filii noxæ*, forgets the ſon (17), but not the grandſon of Hortenſius. *Q. Hortenſii .... nepos Hortenſius Corbio omnibus ſcortis abjectiorem & obſceniorem vitam exegit, ad ultimumque lingua ejus tam libidini cunctorum inter lupanaria proſtitit, quàm avi pro ſalute civium in foro excubuerat.* i. e. "Hortenſius Corbio, grandſon to Q. Hortenſius, led a "life ſtill more miſerable and beaſtly than the "moſt abandoned whores; and at laſt his tongue "was no leſs proſtituted to the luſt of every one "in the ſtews, than his grandfathers had been "active for the ſafety of the citizens in the forum." Had Lipſius remembred, that this author mentions the grandſons of Hortenſius in the plural number, in Chap. IX of Book V, he would not have ſuppoſed (18) Hortenſius Hortalus, and Hortenſius Corbio, to be the ſame perſon. The character, which Tacitus gives the former, diſtinguiſhes him viſibly from the latter. Moreri and Hoffman commit the ſame error as Lipſius, ſince they cite Valerius Maximus, Chap. V. Book III; Tacitus in Book II of his Annals; and Suetonius in the life of Tiberius, with reſpect to Hortenſius's grandſon *who was prodigiouſly diſſolute*. Voſſius occaſioned their error, by his referring theſe three quotations to a grandſon of Hortenſius, as tho' they had related to the ſame perſon (19).

(16) Lib. 3. cap. 5.

(17) He ſpeaks of him on another occaſion, as has been ſeen in the note [*A*].

(18) *Comment. in Tacit. Ann.* lib. 2.

(19) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Latin.* pag. 48.

[*E*] M. HORTENSIUS HORTALUS *implored the aſſiſtance of the Senate*] This ſpeech is found in Tacitus (20). He had brought with him his four little ſons; and ſhewing them to the Senate, he beſought them to ſhew ſome regard to the deſcendants of ſo many Conſuls and Dictators, *en ſtirps & progenies tot Conſulum, tot Dictatorum.* In Lipſius's (21) opinion this hyperbole is ſomething ſtrong, ſince the family of Hortenſius has given but one Conſul and one Dictator. He endeavours to excuſe Hortenſius, by ſaying that he perhaps had his mother's anceſtors in view. Ryckius (22) ſpeaks in a more confident manner; and lays it down as a thing undeniable, and thinks that Hortenſius had chiefly in view the *Marcii Philippi*, from whoſe family, according to him, Marcia, Hortalus's grandmother, deſcended. But this laſt circumſtance has not the leaſt ſhadow of probability; for, on one ſide, it does not appear that Hortenſius the Orator had above one ſon, who was grown up to man's eſtate when Cicero paſſed through Laodicea, in the year 702. On the other ſide, Cato could not be very young, when he reſigned Marcia to Hortenſius, ſince his daughter Porcia had, at that time, born two children (23). Now Cato died at forty eight years of age, the year of Rome 407 (24). If therefore we ſuppoſe, as it is very probable, that he was at leaſt five and thirty years old, when he gave up Marcia to Hortenſius; we muſt conclude that this marriage was ſolemnized in the year of Rome 694. It is not therefore poſſible, that the ſon of Hortenſius, whom Cicero ſaw in the city of Laodicea, in the year of Rome 702, ſhould be Marcia's ſon. But why ſhould we have recourſe to conjecture, there being a particular in Plutarch which decides the queſtion? Marcia was ſtill Cato's wife, during the expedition of Cyprus (25), that is, in the year of Rome 696. We muſt not omit that Hortalus is called a young man by Tacitus, under the year of Rome 769; which could not coincide very well with the ſuppoſition, that Hortenſius's only ſon is the debauchee hinted at by Cicero

(20) *Annal.* lib. 2. cap. 37.

(21) *Comment. in Tacit.*

(22) *In Tacit.* pag. 41.

(23) Plutarch. *in Caton. min.* pag. 770, 771.

(24) Ibid. pag. 794.

(25) Idem, ibid. pag. 777.

proved of it, he ſaid that in caſe they deſired it, he would give a certain ſum to each of Hortalus's ſons (*c*) [*F*]. They thanked him for it; but Hortalus, either out of fear, or from a greatneſs of ſoul, which he rouzed on that occaſion, ſaid not a word; and from that time, as Tiberius did not aſſiſt him in any manner, Hortalus fell by degrees into the extremes of miſery. *Egere alii grates; ſiluit Hortalus, pavore an avita nobilitatis etiam inter anguſtias fortunæ retinens. Neque miſeratus eſt poſthac Tiberius, quamvis domus Hortenſii pudendam ad inopiam dilaberetur* (*d*).

(*c*) *Ducena ſeſtertia ſingulis qui ſexus virilis eſſent.* Tacitus, ibid. Rijckius makes this amount to 5000 Ducatoons.

(*d*) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 2. cap. 38.

and Valerius Maximus, who loſt his life a little after the battle of Philippi, in the year 712. But it is much more natural to conclude, that Tacitus was not ſo accurate as he ought to have been with reſpect to Hortalus's age, than to cavil about the ſpeech which Valerius Maximus had read, and which Hortenſius ſpoke a little before his death. Now it is manifeſtly ſuppoſed in this ſpeech, that he had but one ſon; for if Hortenſius, beſides the profligate youth who waited upon Cicero in the city of Laodicea, had had one ſon or more by Marcia, he would not have been obliged to appoint his grandſons for heirs, in default of a debauched ſon, and of Meſſala his nephew.

[*F*] *Tiberius . . . . ſaid . . . . that he would give a certain ſum to each of Hortenſius's ſons.*] This would incline one to ſuppoſe, that Hortalus had brought only his four ſons with him, and had left ſome daughters at home; ſo that, to ſpeak with accuracy, we muſt not ſay with Suetonius (26), that his wife had brought him four children; for had ſhe brought him no more, Tacitus would aſcribe an abſurdity to Tiberius. Neither do I think that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, it can be affirmed that Tiberius gave nothing to Hortalus (27). Did not he offer to give him a ſum of money, in caſe the Senate ſhould approve of his ſo doing? Was he not thanked for it? Could he ſuppoſe that the aſſembly would not be inclined to favour this poor Senator? It is therefore highly probable that this ſum was given, but as that Prince did not indulge him any further liberality, it did not prevent Hortalus from falling into want. Let not Suetonius be urged (28), who pretends that the benefactions which Tiberius beſtowed on the poor Senators, were made on certain conditions that excluded the perſon in queſtion. Theſe conditions, ſays he, were, that thoſe who deſired the benefactions, ſhould diſcover their indigence to the Senate (29); *quo pacto pleroſque modeſtia & pudore deterruit, in quibus Ortalum Q. Hortenſii Oratoris nepotem.* i. e. "The "greateſt part, through ſhame and modeſty, were "hindred by thoſe conditions; and, among the "reſt, Hortalus, Hortenſius the Orator's grand-"ſon." But it is a great falſity to aſſert, that either ſhame or modeſty prevented the grandſon of Hortenſius from fulfilling the condition. Did he not confeſs the miſerable ſtate to which he was reduced? Did not he bring his four ſons, in order to beſeech the Senate to indulge them their compaſſion? Did he not implore the Emperor to keep them from ſtarving? *Nec ad invidiam iſta, ſed conciliandæ miſericordiæ refero: adſequentur florente te, Cæſar, quos dederis, honores; interim Q. Hortenſii pronepotes, divi Auguſti alumnos ab inopia defende* (30). i. e. "Nor is this petition offered up "invidiouſly, but in order to excite compaſſion. O "Cæſar, theſe children, in the courſe of your auſpici-"ous reign, may attain thoſe honours which you will "pleaſe to beſtow on them; in the mean time pre-"ſerve them from want, for they are the great grand-"ſons of Hortenſius, and the foſter ſons of Auguſtus." Achilles Statius (31), who ſaid that our Hortalus is perhaps the perſon mentioned in the ſixty ſeventh epigram of Catullus, did not conſider that what he relates out of Tacitus, and which the reader has juſt now ſeen, relates to the year of Rome 769. I know very well that Catullus did not die in 697. Scaliger refutes, in a ſolid manner, this falſity of St. Jerom, but it is noways probable that he lived till the year 763. I have refuted Joſeph Scaliger on this head in the article CATULLUS. It is certain that the Hortalus of this antient Poet was Hortenſius rather than his grandſon; and I cannot forbear being ſurprized that Iſaac Voſſius, in the ſame book (32) where he aſſerts againſt Scaliger, that Catullus died in the year 704 or 705 of Rome, ſhould pretend (33) that the Hortalus of this Poet is the ſame with him mentioned by Tacitus.

(26) *In* Tiber. cap. 47.

(27) This is affirmed in the Dutch edit. of Moreri, under the word *Hortalus.*

(28) *In* Tiber. cap. 47.

(29) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 1. cap. 75. ſays the ſame.

(30) Tacit. *Ann* lib. 2. cap. 37.

(31) *Notis, in Catull. Epigr.* 67.

(32) *Obſervat. ad Catull.* pag. 83.

(33) Pag. 252.

HORTENSIUS (JOHN) in French DES JARDINS, Phyſician to Francis I, was born in the neighbourhood of Laon in Picardy, and ſon to John Des-Jardins Captain of de Hamelle Caſtle, in the Dioceſe of Laon. He taught Claſſical Learning at Paris in Cardinal le Moine's College; and afterwards applying himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſic, took his Bachelor's degree therein in the year 1514; that of Licentiate in 1517, and his Doctor's degree in 1519. It appears by the Regiſters of the Univerſity of Paris, that he was Regent-Doctor there in 1521, and Dean of the Faculty in the year 1524. Being perfectly well ſkilled in the Greek, he ſtrongly exhorted his pupils to ſtudy that language; and, in order that every one might have an opportunity to conſult Galen in the original, he made a preſent of the Greek edition of that antient Phyſician to the Library of the Faculty; for the Phyſicians of Paris at that time had a public Library in their ſchools (*a*). He acquired ſo great a reputation, that he was thought able to cure diſeaſes of every kind, provided the fatal hour was not come (*b*). That only was excepted [*A*]; ſo that the following proverb was commonly applied to him, *Contra vim Mortis non eſt medicamen in Hortis* (*c*). He is applauded in ſeveral books [*B*]: but he himſelf never printed any thing; and no compoſition of his was publiſhed after his death.

(*a*) Hemeræus, *Diſſert. de Academ. Pariſienſi.*

(*b*) Bulæus, *Hiſt. Academ. Pariſienſis.*

(*c*) He was called, in Latin, *Hortenſius*, or *de Hortis.*

[*A*] *That only was excepted.*] Vulgarly ſpeaking that is ſaying a great deal; but, in reality, it was excepting a great deal, for provided death does not interfere, there is no diſeaſe but is within the reach of the Phyſician's ſkill. Nature only, on this occaſion, may work a perfect cure. Nevertheleſs, according to our uſual way of judging things, figuring to our ſelves a numberleſs multitude of very poſſible Conditions, which would change the chain and the courſe of events, it is giving a very high idea of a Phyſician, to ſay that he will reſtore a patient to his health, provided a ſuperiour force does not interpoſe. This recalls to my mind the too blunt expreſſion aſcribed to certain Admirals, who, being ready to engage the enemy under favourable circumſtances, and after having taken the beſt meaſures, declared that they were ſure of gaining the victory, provided God would ſtand neuter, and leave the combatants to themſelves.

[*B*] *He is applauded in ſeveral books.*] Menage (1) cites Arnaud d'Oſſat, in his expoſition againſt James Charpentier; Renatus Moreau, in the Life of James Sylvius; du Boulay, in the Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Paris; Louïs d'Orleans, in the Plante humaine; Peter Myrault, in his books *de Ordine judiciario*; John Vaſſé, in an Epiſtle Dedicatory. *Ei præterea & Martino Acaciæ & Michaëli Dumontio, Medicis Pariſienſibus doctiſſimis interpretationem librorum Hippocratis & Galeni de victus ratione in morbis acutis nuncupavit Johannes Vaſſæus Medicus & ipſe Pariſienſis doctiſſimus* (2).

(1) *Remarques ſur la Vie de Pierre Ayrault*, pag. 150.

(2) Menagius, *in eodem Volumine*, pag. 512.

death. He married Jane Bourdin in 1520, and Mary le Tellier in 1541, leaving ſeven children by the former, and four by the latter. The ſettlements they had [C], and the real eſtate he left, are a proof that he had amaſſed great ſums. He was ſeized with an apoplexy of which he died, whilſt he was at an entertainment which he gave his relations and friends, on his birth-day, in the year 1547; a circumſtance which gave occaſion to a fine ſonnet of Des-Portes [D], which is taken, entire, into the remarks. Menage, who ſprung from John Des-Jardins by the mother's ſide [E], has given us his life (d), whence we have extracted this article.

(d) It is in Latin, in the volume he publiſhed at Paris in the year 1675 in 4to, containing the *Life of Ayrault*, of *William Menage*, &c. with a great number of remarks.

[C] *The ſettlements . . . which his children . . . had.*] Menage ſpeaks as follows (3), *Prædivitem fuiſſe, ut tum erant tempora, teſtantur & ejus ædes plurimæ, & prædia multa & liberi undecim, qui nido majores pennas, ut Flacci verbis utar, extenderunt.* By the particular account we have of the eleven children mentioned in this Latin paſſage, it appears that the daughters were married to perſons of figure; the firſt to William Verſoris, Counſellor in the Chatelet, ſon of John Verſoris, a famous Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris; the ſecond to John Metayer, Counſellor of the Exchequer; the third to Peter Ayrault, Lieutenant-Criminal of Angers. One of the ſons was Counſellor at the Chatelet, another was Canon of Senlis, and a third was Counſellor in the Exchequer. This Counſellor in the Chatelet left a ſon who exerciſed the ſame employment; was *Echevin* of Paris in 1600; and left a ſon, to whom was brought, among other children, the wife of Denys Godefroi, Hiſtoriographer of France. There ſurvived, among all the deſcendents of John Des-Jardins, only one perſon who bore his name, at the time that Menage was writing this book. *Petrum Hortenſium militem ſtrenuum, qui Margaretam de Gravella uxorem ſibi adjunxit* (4).

(3) Ibid. pag. 514.

(4) Menage, *Remarques ſur la Vie de P. Ayrault*, pag. 517.

[D] *His death . . . . gave occaſion to a fine ſonnet of Des-Portes.*] The reader will not be diſpleaſed to meet with it here. It was tranſlated into Latin by father Vavaſſeur, and Menage compoſed an epigram on the ſame thought (5).

Après avoir ſauvé par mon art ſecourable
Tant de corps languiſſans que la mort menaçoit,
Et chaſſé la rigueur du mal qui les preſſoit,
Gagnant comme Eſculape un nom toujours durable.
Cette fatale ſœur, cruelle, inexorable,
Voyant que mon pouvoir le ſien amoindriſſoit;
Un jour que ſon courroux contre moi la pouſſoit,
Finit quant & mes jours mon labeur profitable.
PASSANT, *moi qui pouvois les autres ſecourir,*
Ne dis point qu'au beſoin je ne me pus guerir,
Car la mort qui doutoit l'effort de ma ſcience,
Ainſi que je prenois ſobrement mon repas,
Me prit en trahiſon, ſain & ſans defiance,
Ne me donnant loiſir de penſer au trepas.

The ſenſe is,

" After having ſaved by my friendly art ſuch a number of languiſhing bodies which were threatned with death, and expelled the fury of the diſeaſe that attacked them; gaining, like Eſculapius, an ever-memorable name: That fatal, cruel, inexorable being, obſerving that my power leſſened his; one day, that he was highly exaſperated againſt me, at once put an end to my conqueſts which were ſo advantageous to human nature. Paſſenger, ſay not that I, who was ſo good a friend to the reſt of the world, could not, when ſick, perform a cure upon myſelf; for Death, who dreaded the efforts of my ſkill, as I was taking a meal calm and undiſturbed, ſeized me treacherouſly at a time when I did not harbour the leaſt ſuſpicion; not allowing me leiſure to think of the other world."

(5) All this is found ibid. pag. 514. The French Sonnet is in pag. 519.

[E] *Menage . . . ſprung from John Des-Jardins by the mother's ſide.*] Peter Ayrault, grandfather by the mother's ſide to Menage, married Anne Des-Jardins, daughter to our Hortenſius, and of Mary le Tellier his ſecond wife, who was of the ſame family from which Chancellor le Tellier deſcended (6).

(6) Menage, *Remarques ſur la Vie de P. Ayrault*, pag. 515, 517.

HORTENSIUS (LAMBERT) born at Montfort in the Province of Utrecht, the firſt of April 1518 [A], has been ranked among the learned men of the age in which he flouriſhed. He ſtudied with extreme application the learned languages at Louvain, under very excellent maſters, and alſo heard Ludovicus Vives on Logic. He publiſhed a tranſlation in Latin verſe, of Ariſtophanes's Plutus, with notes, and thereby ſhewed what advances he had made in the Greek tongue. He wrote ſeveral other books [B]. He taught ſchool a great number of years at Naerden in Holland; and very narrowly eſcaped being taken, when that town was plundered by the Spaniards in 1572, under the conduct of Frederic of Toledo, ſon to the Duke of Alva. This houſe had been plundered; a baſtard ſon of his had been killed before his face (a); and he himſelf, though a Prieſt, was going to be murthered; but by good luck a Gentleman (b), who had been his ſcholar, and carried arms under the Spaniards, happened to be there very ſeaſonably to ſave his life. It was obſerved that he was ſollicitous of ſaving nothing from the common wreck but his Notes on Lucan's Pharſalia. He wrote a Deſcription of the plundering and ſlaughter of Naerden, the manuſcript whereof is at Utrecht. Hortenſius did not long ſurvive that cataſtrophe, he dying in 1573 (c) in a country ſeat (d) near Naerden (e).

(a) *Occiſo in oculis filio ſuo naturali.* Valer. Andreas, *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 613. But it is to be obſerved, that Brandt in his Flemiſh *Hiſtory of the Reformation, under the year* 1584, pag. 702, 703. ſpeaks of Jerom Hortenſius Miniſter of the Hague, and afterwards at Waſſenaer, who, he ſays, was ſon to Lambert.

(b) His name was Weldam.

(c) *Anno à lanigena quæ ſoli propter doctrinam ſingularem parſerat altero, à nato Chriſto* MDLXXIII. See the epitaph which the people of Naerden ſet up to his memory in St. Vitus's church, and which is found in Valerius Andreas.

(d) Freherus, in his *Theatrum*, pag. 1473, ſays in *præſidio ſuburbano*; but he ſhould have ſaid *prædio*.

(e) *Ex* Valer. And. *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 613.

HORTENSIUS

[A] *He was born at Montfort . . . the 1ſt of April* 1518.] I differ, on this occaſion, from Valerius Andreas, my author, who declares that he was born in 1500. He doubtleſs was miſled by the following words of Swertius (1) *Naſcitur anno* CIↃ. IↃ. XVIII. *Kal. Aprilis.* He doubtleſs imagined that theſe numerical letters XVIII referred to the word Kalends, for want of calling to mind, that there is not, in the Roman Calendar, any eighteenth day before the Kalends of April. This is not the only reaſon which determined me to joyn XVIII with the preceding letters; I having been alſo prompted to it from the following conſideration. Valerius Andreas ſays that he was very young (2) when he came to ſtudy at Louvain, under Rutgerus Reſcius, Profeſſor of the Greek tongue; now he ſays in another place (3), that Reſcius died in 1545, at which time he had ſat near ſeventeen years in the Profeſſor's chair, and conſequently he did not begin to fill it till the year 1528. How therefore was it poſſible for Hortenſius to come and ſtudy very young under this Profeſſor, if he was born in 1500? But if he was born in 1518, all is eaſily reconciled. Paul Freherus (4) is miſtaken, both in the year of his birth and in that of his death, ſince he ſays that Lambert Hortenſius was born in 1501, and died in 1577.

(1) Athen. *Belg.* pag. 508.

(2) *Admodum adoleſcens*, pag. 615.

(3) Pag. 806.

(4) In *Theatro*, pag. 1473 Konig ſays likewiſe that he was born in 1501.

[B] *He wrote ſeveral other books.*] Here follow the titles of them: *Enarrationes in Virgilii Æneïda*, in fol. *Explanationes in Lucani Pharſaliam*, printed at Baſil in 1578, folio. *Satyrarum in ævi ſui vitia & mores libri II. Epithalamiorum liber I. Seceſſionum civilium Ultrajectinarum libri VII. De bello Germano à Carolo V. Cæſare geſto libri VII. Tumultuum Anabaptiſtarum liber I* (5).

(5) I have quoted this book in the remark [B] of the article PICARDS. I add here, that it was reprinted at Amſterdam in 1636, with the *Hiſtoria Anabaptiſtica de factione Monaſterienſi of Conrad Heresbachius*, under the direction of Theodore Strackius, Miniſter of Burik, in Cleves.

HORTENSIUS (MARTIN) a native of Delft in Holland, and Profeſſor of Mathematics in Amſterdam, might have made a very great progreſs in the Sciences he profeſſed, had he not been ſnatched away in the flower of his age (*a*) in the year 1639 [A]. The preface he wrote to a work of Philippus Lanſbergius, tranſlated by him into Latin, and wherein he raiſes very ſtrong objections to Tycho Brahe's ſyſtem, ſhews in what manner he cultivated the ſtudy of Aſtronomy; wherein he was aſſiſted by the converſations of Lanſbergius, to whom he was recommended by Beekman, Rector of the ſchool of Dort, a man very much ſpoken of in Des Cartes's hiſtory. That book of Lanſbergius is intitled, *Commentationes in motum terræ diurnum & annuum, & in verum aſpectabilis cæli typum*, and was printed at Middleburg in the year 1630, in 4to. Hortenſius alſo tranſlated the aſtronomical inſtitution of William Blaeuw; and wrote a Diſſertation *de Mercurio ſub Sole viſo & Venere inviſa*, inſcribed to Gaſſendi; and an anſwer to what Kepler had prefixed to his almanack in 1624 (*b*). The letters which Gaſſendi wrote to Hortenſius, ſhew that he had a ſingular eſteem for him. Hortenſius's letters to that famous Philoſopher are printed among thoſe of the latter. I thereby found that he was born in 1605 (*c*), and had been admitted Profeſſor in Amſterdam in the year 1634 (*d*). He did not appear ſatisfied with his condition; and he ſpeaks (*e*) of the ſpirit that prevailed in that renowned city, as a man who was highly offended becauſe people did not come to his Lectures, nor encourage the making of thoſe machines he had projected, and from which he expected ſuch a ſucceſs as would be ſuperior to any thing Tycho Brahe had done (*f*). He has left ſome Orations, one *De utilitate & dignitate Matheſeos*, and another *De Oculo ejuſque præſtantia*. He ſays in one of his letters to Gaſſendi (*g*), that the only reaſon why the publication of his anſwer to the book which Peter Bartholinus had publiſhed againſt him in defence of Tycho Brahe, was deferred, was for want of paper. In all probability that work kept company with the Pleiadographia (*h*), which our author left in manuſcript at his death. Des Cartes has not ſpoken advantageouſly of his abilities: *As to the School-profeſſors*, ſays he (*i*), *not one of them underſtands my Geometry; no not Golius, much leſs Hortenſius, who has not made a ſufficient progreſs for that purpoſe.*

(*a*) Val. And. *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 652.

(*b*) *See* Voſſius, *de Scient. Math.* pag. 201, 202.

(*c*) *Oper.* Gaſſendi, pag. 418. tom. 6.

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 422. tom. 6.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 429.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 423. *See alſo* pag. 429, and 432.

(*g*) Pag. 129.

(*h*) Val. And. *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 652.

(*i*) *Lettres*, tom. 3. pag. 191.

[*A*] *He might have made a very great progreſs in the ſciences he profeſſed, had he not been ſnatched away in the flower of his age in the year* 1639.] I have not here followed Valerius Andreas, who ſays that he died in 1640. The circumſtance, which prompted me to depart from him is, a paſſage of Des Cartes that deſerves to be copied. I extract it from one of his letters to Father Merſenne (1), which, though it be not dated, yet fixes in a ſolid manner the date I want, ſince the author informs us in the very opening of his letter, that he wrote it in anſwer to a letter of the laſt day of December 1639. Here follows what I judged proper to tranſcribe from it. "Hortenſius being "in Italy ſome years ſince, ſet about calculating the "ſcheme of his own nativity; and told two young "men of this country who were with him, that he "ſhould die in 1639, and that they ſhould not live "long after him. Now he dying this ſummer as you "know, the two young men abovementioned were "ſeized with ſuch a pannic, that one of them is already "dead; and the other, who is Heinſius's ſon (2), is "ſo melancholy, and in ſo languiſhing a condition, "that he ſeems to do whatever lies in his power, to "verify the Aſtrologer's prediction. This indeed is a fine "ſcience, which kills people, who perhaps would not "otherwiſe have been ſick." It would be wrong in any perſon to object to me, that Des Cartes might have writ this letter, after the ſummer of the year 1640, and conſequently that he does not contradict Valerius Andreas; for he had ſo frequent a correſpondence with Father Merſenne, that ſuch an objection cannot but be falſe. But farther, I find in a letter of Boxhornius (3), dated the 13th of September 1639, that he bewailed the loſs of Hortenſius, who was lately dead.

(1) It is the 35th of volume 2. in the edit. of 1659.

(2) It is doubtleſs Nichol. Hortenſius, who died but in 1681. Baillet ſays the contrary, he declaring that Heinſius had two ſons; and that he of whom Des Cartes ſpeaks actually died, and that his name was Daniel.

(3) *See* Epiſt. Boxhornii, pag. 144. edit. Francof. 1679.

HOSIUS (STANISLAUS) Cardinal and Biſhop of Warmia, was one of the greateſt men that Poland ever gave birth to. He was born at Cracow in 1504. The reader will find in Moreri (*a*) an account of his actions, and the honours to which he was raiſed. It was not thought, whilſt he was one of the Preſidents of the Council, that he was maſter of all the addreſs requiſite for ſuch a ſtation [*A*]. His controverſial writings are very

(*a*) And ſtill better in the Sieur Bullart, *Academie des Sciences*, tom. 1. pag. 64, & *ſeq.*

[*A*] *It was not thought, whilſt he was one of the Preſidents of the Council, that he was maſter of all the addreſs requiſite for ſuch a ſtation.*] The Cardinal of Mantua dying the 2d of March 1563, thoſe who had preſided with him in the Council, ſent immediate notice of it to the Pope. He who was the firſt Preſident (1), required to have a Legate ſent that ſhould be above him. Hoſius deſired that leave might be given him to go into Poland; but Simonetta adviſed the Pope not to ſend a new Legate to Trent, hoping thereby to get poſſeſſion of the direction, not only becauſe Cardinal Seripando was grown weary of this Council, and did not care to have the direction of it any longer, but becauſe Cardinal Hoſius was a weak man, who was eaſily governed. *Simoneta deſideroſo che la ſomma di guidare il Concilio reſtaſſe à lui, & havendo ſperanza di condurlo bene, con ſodisfattione del Pontefice, & honor proprio; conſiderando che Seripando era ſatiato di quel negotio, & poco inclinato a volerlo guidare, & che Varmienſe era ſemplice perſona, diſpoſta a laſciarſi reggere; miſe in conſideratione ael Pontefice, che, ritrovandoſi le coſe del Concilio, &c* (2). Any one will eaſily perceive that Amelot has not tranſlated theſe words faithfully. Here follows his verſion. "Simoneta earneſtly deſiring to have the direction, and hoping to acquit "himſelf of it with honour, and to the Pope's ſatisfaction, repreſented to him; that as affairs were not "in a very happy poſture, the leaſt novelty or innovation would only make them go worſe; ſo that "he did not ſee, there was occaſion of ſending another Legate; that ſince Seripando who hated trouble, "had not a mind to have the direction of the Council; "and that the Biſhop of Warmia was a weak man, and "entirely governed by other people, he offered to go in "their ſtead, boaſting that he would ſteer the ſhip hap-"pily (3)." 1. The original does not ſay, that Hoſius was *entirely governed by other people*. 2. It is not true, that Simoneta told the Pope by letter, that Hoſius was a *weak man*. He thought ſo indeed, and built upon it; but then he did not inform the Pope of this circumſtance. Father Paul diſtinguiſhes very clearly what was thought, from what was written by him, which diſtinction ought to have been obſerved by the tranſlator.

It is to be obſerved that Cardinal Palavicino (4) pretends to prove, by authentic pieces, that whatever Father Paul advances with regard to the ambitious artifices of Simoneta is a falſhood.

(1) It was Cardinal Sepirando.

(2) Fra-Paolo, *Iſtoria del Concilio di Trento*, lib. 7. pag. m. 693. Compare with this the paſſage of book 6. pag. 548. It is page 517. in Amelot's tranſlation.

(3) *Hiſt. du Concile de Trente*, pag. 657, 658. edit. d'Amſterd. 1686.

(4) *Hiſt. Concil. Trident.* lib. 20. cap. 6. num. 6.

very little inferior to the beſt of that age. Caſaubon is not in the wrong, for charging him [B] with apologizing for what a controverſial writer had advanced, viz. that the holy Scriptures, were it not for the authority of the church, would have no more weight than Eſop's fables. The Jeſuit who criticiſed Caſaubon on that occaſion, did but betray his ignorance (b). Hoſius died near to Rome the 5th of Auguſt 1579. Moreri has committed ſome errors [C].

(b) See the remark [B].

This

[B] *Caſaubon is not in the wrong for charging him &c.*] Let us go on with the progreſs of that diſpute, and begin with the words of that great critic (5). *Verbo Dei viventis ſcripto minus etiam tribuit* (Scioppius in Eccleſiaſtico, cap. 135.) *quam ſive Pighius, ſive alius qui dixit Patrum memoria:* Scripturam, ſi auctoritate Eccleſiæ deſtituatur, non plus per ſe valere quam fabulas Æſopi. *Quod blaſphemum dictum poſtea defendere auſus eſt Cardinalis Hoſius.* i. e. "Scioppius in Eccleſiaſt. Chap. 135, aſcribes not ſo much authority to "the written word of the living God, as Pighius, or "another perſon, who ſaid in the memory of our Fa"thers, *that were the Scriptures diveſted of the authority "of the Church, they would be of no more authority than "Eſop's fables*; which blaſphemous expreſſion Cardi"nal Hoſius dared to defend." Eudæmon-Joannes the Jeſuit aſſerted, that this was a calumny invented by Brentius, and he pretends to prove it in the following manner. *Jam vero quando non memorat, neque quis Æſopicæ hujus fabulæ auctor ſit; neque quo loco eam Hoſius defenderit, vel ne convinci impoſturæ poſſit, vel quod in aliquo alio rem eam legerat, & auctorem, & calumniam ex Hoſio detegam: videant deinde lectores, quàm bona fide infideles iſti fidei patroni diſputent. Is igitur lib. 3. in prolegomena Brentii, ipſo fere initio:* Magna pars, *inquit*, libelli *prolegomenorum Brentii* non aliunde conſtant, quàm è ſannis, dicteriis, conviciis; in quo ſic etiam ludit Scripturis, ſic eas tractat jocularitèr; ut verè de ipſo dici poſſit, quod venerabili viro Petro à Soto falſo impingit, eum haud aliter Scripturis, quàm Æſopi fabulis uti. *Non eſt igitur ea Catholici cujuſquam Scriptoris vox, ſed calumnia Brentii: quam vir illuſtriſſimus falſo in virum doctiſſimum excogitatam, in auctorem ipſum vere convenire defendit* (6). i. e. "Now "ſince he does not mention who was the author of "this Eſopic fable, nor in what place Hoſius defended "it, and this either to prevent his being found guilty "of an impoſture, or becauſe he had read this inci"dent of ſome other perſon; I will point out both "the author and the calumny from Hoſius himſelf; "and after this let the reader judge, in how inge"nuous a manner theſe faithleſs defenders of the faith "diſpute. Hoſius therefore, in Book III, in oppoſi"tion to the Prolegomena of Brentius, almoſt at the "beginning ſays; *the greateſt part of the* Prolegomena "of Brentius, *are made up merely of ſneers, taunts and "reproaches, wherein he is ſo ludicrous with the Scrip"tures, and treats them in ſo burleſque a manner, that "we may juſtly ſay of this writer, what he falſely aſ"cribes to the venerable Peter à Soto; that he uſed the "Scriptures juſt as one would uſe Eſop's fables.* This "therefore is not the aſſertion of any Catholic writer, "but a calumny of Brentius, which our moſt illuſtrious "author ſhews to be a falſe invention with regard to "that very learned man, and to belong properly to the "inventor himſelf." We here have four things. I. A complaint that Caſaubon did not ſpecify the place in Hoſius's work where this is to be found. II. That Brentius accuſes Soto of making the ſame uſe of the Scriptures as of Eſop's Fables. III. That Hoſius aſſerts that ſuch an accuſation is a ſlander with reſpect to Soto, and very true with regard to Brentius. IV. That theſe words of Hoſius gave occaſion to the reflection or reproach mentioned by Caſaubon. The firſt of theſe four particulars is juſt. We cannot complain too much againſt the negligence of thoſe writers who do not quote the particular chapter, in accuſations of importance. Great authors are moſt ſubject to this fault; they imagine that the public will believe them on their bare words, and ſo they will not give themſelves the trouble to quote: it is enough for them to ſay, *Plutarch, Cicero, St. Auſtin, ſay this.* Numberleſs readers had rather give credit to what they ſay, or continue in doubt, than be at the trouble of verifying ſuch an aſſertion. Although Caſaubon did not really intend to hinder any perſon from diſcovering whether his accuſation was true or falſe, he yet has given occaſion to ſuch a ſuſpicion. Why did he quote after ſo random a manner? The ſecond and third of theſe four things form two indiſputable facts (7), but then they are abſolutely nothing to the diſpute itſelf. But the fourth is a notorious blunder of the Jeſuit, as the reader will ſee below. The confidence with which he accuſes Caſaubon of ſlandering Cardinal Hoſius, raiſes I know not what prejudices to the diſadvantage of that Critic; but when we ſee the apologiſt for Caſaubon ſtop ſhort, and flatly own that he has no book of Hoſius, we are prompted to conclude that the accuſation of Eudæmon-Joannes is well grounded. *Si nihil gravius dixit Hoſius, erit hæc in Brentium calumnia, non in Spiritum S. blaſphemia. Ego Pighii, Hoſii, nihil habeo, nec Hermanni, cui blaſphemam hanc Scripturæ cum Æſopi fabulis comparationem tribuentes viros magnos audivi* (8). Can one eaſily believe that a Miniſter who undertakes to refute the cenſurer of Caſaubon ſhould not ſearch for Hoſius's works till he finds them? Are they ſo hard to be met with? One is apt therefore to ſuſpect, that this confeſſion of his want of them is a ſubterfuge, invented on purpoſe that we may not be forced to own this Cardinal's ignorance. However, the reader need not be in pain about Caſaubon, he charging Hoſius with nothing but what is perfectly true. *Fingamus autem nunc verum eſſe*, theſe are Hoſius's words (9), in the ſame book quoted by Eudæmon-Joannes, *quod tu ſcripſiſſe neſcio quem narras, nam nomen non exprimis, ac fieri poteſt ut ſit commentum tuum, Scripturas valere quantum fabulas Æſopi, ſi deſtituantur autoritate Eccleſiæ. Cedo, Brenti, num hic minus reverenter de Scripturis loquutus eſt, quam qui vocat eam librum Hæreticorum* (10), *cum tamen nullorum ſit minus quam Hæreticorum: eſt enim Catholicorum propria, qui tot ſeculis in ejus poſſeſſione præſcripſerunt. Et potuit illud tamen pio ſenſu dici, quem homo pius, qui charitatem habeo, quæ non cogitat malum, ex iis verbis eliceret. Nam revera, niſi nos Eccleſiæ doceret autoritas hanc ſcripturam eſſe canonicam, perexiguum apud nos pondus haberet.* i. e. "Let us take it "for granted that it is true, which you declare to "have been written by ſome one or other, for you "name no perſon, and it may perhaps be a fiction of "your own, viz. that the Scriptures, were it not for "the authority of the Church, would be of no more "value than Eſop's fables. But Brentius, did this "man ſpeak leſs reverently of the Scriptures, than he "who calls them the Book of Heretics, when indeed "they belong to none leſs than to the Heretics; theſe "being certainly the property of the Catholics, who, "by a poſſeſſion during ſo many ages have a right to "them? Nevertheleſs theſe words might have been "ſaid in a pious ſenſe, which a pious man, who has "a ſpirit of charity and harbours no evil thought, "may draw out of them. For indeed, did not the "authority of the Church teach us, that theſe Scriptures "are canonical, they would have very little weight "with us."

[C] *Moreri has committed ſome errors.*] I. It was not to Pavia, but to Padua, that Hoſius's relations ſent him to ſtudy. Moreri might have found his error, had he known that Lazarus Bonamici, whom he declares to have been Hoſius's maſter, was Profeſſor in Padua. Du Sauſſai (11) ſuppoſes that Hoſius having been ſent into Italy, by the advice of Peter Thomicki Biſhop of Cracow, ſtopt at Bologna. Now this is not diſtinguiſhing particulars juſtly. He ſhould have ſaid that Hoſius having ſtudied ſome time at Padua, went to Bologna, and there took his degrees of Doctor of Laws. *Patavii, dein Bononiæ . . . Juriſprudentiæ induſtriam primo addixerat, & lauream ſub ipſo Hugone Boncompagno qui S. S. Gregorii XIII. nomine dein præfuit, poſtremo adeptus eſt* (12). i. e. "He firſt applied "himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law in Padua, and after"wards in Bologna; and at laſt took his degree "under Hugh Boncompagnus, who afterwards ſat in "the Pontifical chair, and was called Gregory XIII."

(5) Caſaubon, in *Baronium*, Exercit. 1. cap. 33. pag. m. 134.

(6) Andr. Eudæmon-Joannes, *Caſtigat. Exercitat. Iſaaci Caſauboni*, lib. 2. cap. 5. pag. 147.

(7) Hoſius's words quoted by Eudæmon-Joannes, are found in book 3. of Brentius's *Prolegomena*, pag. 196. Colen. edit. of 1558, folio.

(8) Jacobus Capellus, *Vindic. If. Caſaub.* lib. 3. cap. 5. pag. 78.

(9) Hoſius, lib. 3. in *Prolegom. Brentii*, pag. 230, 231.

(10) Hoſius had ſaid juſt before that Luther called the holy Scriptures *the Book of Heretics.* Gretſer remarks this alſo *Proleg. Exam. Myſterii Pieſſæani*, pag. 90. and cites Luther's words *ex Poſtil. Eccleſ. Domin. 8. poſt Trinitat.*

(11) *Continuat. de Script. Eccleſ.* cap. 32. pag. m. 23.

(12) Thuan. lib. 68. *ſub fin.* pag. m. 297.

This Cardinal was thought to be the author of an anonymous piece that was highly injurious to the Swiſs, which was refuted by Bullinger, in the preface to Joſias Simler's treatiſe *de æterno Dei filio* (c).

(c) *See* Hottinger *in Pentade Diſſert. Miſcell.* pag. 214.

He certainly (d) wrote the anonymous piece juſt mentioned. He compoſed it in 1564, and intitled it, *Judicium & Cenſura de Judicio & Cenſura Miniſtrorum Tigurinorum & Heidelbergenſium de dogmate contra adorandam Trinitatem in Polonia nuper ſparſo.* It has been inſerted in the collection of his works (e), and I don't doubt but that it is taken into the editions which the author himſelf publiſhed. I believe that the moſt complete edition of his works, is that of 1584 [D]. It contains a volume of poſthumous works, among which are a great number of letters, where Cardinal Hoſius repeats often the ſame particulars, viz. that the heretics muſt be extirpated, and their diviſions diſcovered ſufficiently the injuſtice of their pretended reformation. He had ſtudied with great application the writings which the Zuinglians and Lutherans had publiſhed againſt one another, and thoſe concerning the violent diſputes which had broke out among the Lutherans. He was for ever drawing odious concluſions from them; and he artfully took advantage of this circumſtance, viz. that theſe new Doctors wrote books in defence of penal Laws againſt thoſe who erred; and that ſuch as were moſt powerful among the Schiſmatics which divided the Lutherans, baniſhed, impriſoned, &c. thoſe Lutherans who differed from them.

(d) Crenius, Part 12. *Anim.* pag. 65. ſays only, *that it is reported.*

(e) From pag. 669. to pag 707. tom. 1. of the Colen edit. My copy is dated, in the title 1639.

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This ſhews the ſecond falſity of Moreri. He ſays that Hoſius took his *Doctor's degree* at Pavia. III. *He was made Biſhop of Culm, at the requeſt of King Sigiſmund I:* but this is another error, Sigiſmund Auguſtus having procured him that Biſhopric. IV. How could it have been poſſible for Sigiſmund I *to ſend him to Rome, to Pope Julius III?* for he died in 1548, and this Pope was not raiſed to the Papal throne till 1550. V. He ſhould not have ſaid, that retiring to Poland, after the concluſion of the Council, *he wrote thoſe admirable works which are extant of his*; for he is declaring, that he had not wrote any books before that time, and yet it is certain, that his anſwer to Brentius was printed at Colen in 1558; it is a folio volume, and conſiſts of four hundred pages. His book intitled *Confeſſio Catholicæ fidei Chriſtiana* (13), had been publiſhed already in Mentz. His work *De Communione ſub utraque ſpecie*, that *De Sacerdotum conjugio*, and that *De Miſſa vulgari lingua celebranda*, had been publiſhed at Paris in 1561 (14). Du Sauſſai (15) ought to be cenſured a little here; he inſerting moſt of theſe works in the catalogue of books which Hoſius cauſed to be printed after the holding of the Council. VI. He ſhould not have ſaid in general, that there were thirty two editions of Hoſius's works during his life-time; but ought to have made ſome exception to this, as Bullart has done. *Several of his works*, ſays he (16), *have been printed thirty two times, during his life, in the chief cities of the Chriſtian world; and tranſlated into French, Italian, German, Flemiſh, Poliſh, Engliſh, Scotch, and the Armenian language.* De la Rochepozai (17) is wrong in making no exception. Read the following remark.

(13) See the preface to his *Anſwer to Brentius's Prolegomena.*

(14) Oldoinus, *in Athen. Romano*, pag. 615.

(15) In *Continuat. de Scriptor. Eccleſ.* pag. 23.

(16) Bullart, *Academie des Sciences*, tom. 1. pag. 70.

(17) In *Nomenclatore Cardinalium*, pag. 151.

I take no notice of what Moreri ſays, concerning the reaſons which obliged Cardinal Hoſius not to be preſent at the twenty fourth ſeſſion. He declares that it was becauſe Hoſius did not approve thoſe deciſions which had been made with reſpect to clandeſtine marriages. It is very certain that he diſapproved of this deciſion, and endeavoured three or four times to get it repealed, a circumſtance which made him be looked upon as an obſtinate man (18); but it is no ways certain that his abſence is grounded on the reaſon given by Moreri; for he was preſent in the precedent ſeſſion, notwithſtanding he diſapproved part of the particulars which had been decreed therein, with reſpect to the ſacrifice of the maſs. He did not ſcruple to oppoſe them. Why therefore did he not dare to do as much with reſpect to clandeſtine marriages? Would he not have been ſeconded by Cardinal Simonetta his colleague, and by ſome others? Did he not ſend his opinion, in writing, which was contrary to the decree? Did he not declare, in writing, that he referred with regard to all thoſe things, to the Pope's judgment? In a word, his ſickneſs was very real, and of very long continuance. Theſe are moſt of the reaſons which Palavicino (19) employs to refute a ſtory adopted by Father Paul, viz. that Hoſius pretended to be ſick purpoſely to prevent his being preſent at the ſeſſion, in which the decree with regard to clandeſtine marriages was to paſs into a law. Sometimes writers have reaſon to ſay, that the ſickneſſes of perſons in high ſtation are either counterfeit, or mere political grimace; but then Hiſtorians who are over ſpeculative, are alſo ſometimes miſtaken in making ſuch aſſertions.

(18) Palavic. *Hiſt. Conc. Trid.* lib. 22. cap. 9. num. 6.

(19) Ibid. lib. 23. cap. 7. num. 17.

[D] *I believe that the moſt complete edition of his works, is that of* 1584.] It was printed by Cologne by Maternus Cholin, and conſiſts of two volumes in folio. The firſt volume containing the works which had been already publiſhed, but then they were printed, as laſt reviſed by the author. The ſecond volume conſiſts of pieces that had never been printed; and which were collected by Staniſlaus Reſcius, who dedicated them to Stephen Battori, King of Poland. His Dedication is dated from Rome the 1ſt of September, 1582. From the manner in which Crenius delivers himſelf (20), I conclude that the Treatiſe entitled *Judicium & Cenſura, &c.* is not inſerted in the Antwerp edition of 1566 in folio; but I think it is in the Venice edition which the author himſelf dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII, the 15th of Auguſt 1573. He had reviſed and enlarged his works, for that edition. He dedicated the firſt treatiſe of it to Henry de Valois, King of Poland; and dates the Epiſtle Dedicatory, the ſame day with that of the whole volume. This firſt treatiſe is entitled *Confeſſio Catholicæ Fidei Chriſtianæ.* The author had wrote part of it three and twenty years before; and that part being ſent to Rome by the Archbiſhop of Geneva, was approved in that City; ſo that Cardinal Otho Truchſes, Biſhop of Auſburg, had it printed in his own City of Dillingen. The things that were wanting having been added, the whole work was printed at Mentz, under the direction of the Archbiſhop of Gneſna. This edition was ſoon followed by others. Hoſius's name was not yet prefixed to the work; and was not printed till Ruard Tapper intreated the author to put his name to it, becauſe it was uſual in Germany to diſcourage the ſale of anonymous books (21). This met with the beſt reception of any of Hoſius's works. Pope Pius IV made Paulus Manutius print it in Rome (22). If there be no hyperbole in the thirty two editions ſpoken of (23), it muſt relate chiefly to this piece. Reſcius extends it to all the works publiſhed by Cardinal Hoſius: *Ipſo etiam Authore vivente bis & trigeſies in præcipuis Chriſtiani Orbis urbibus, Latinâ, Germanicâ, Gallicâ, Flandricâ Linguâ omnes Hoſii Libri typis excuſi, in Polonicam etiam & Italicam tranſlati videbantur, & fortaſſe etiam in Armenicam, ſicut ex ſermone viri cujuſdam in hac urbe illuſtriſſimi accepimus* (24); i. e. "All Hoſius's works were printed thirty two "times in his life-time, in the chief cities of Chriſten- "dom, in the Latin, German, French and Flemiſh "tongues; they were tranſlated into Poliſh and Ita- "lian, and perhaps into the Armenian language, as "I have been told by a moſt illuſtrious man in this "city." But as his poſthumous writings, which make a pretty large volume in folio, ought to be excepted, I had juſt reaſon for anſwering Moreri's too general expreſſion on this occaſion.

(20) Crenius, *Animadv.* Part. 12. pag. 65.

(21) Extracted from Hoſius's Dedication, to Henry de Valois King of Poland.

(22) See the ſame Epiſt. Dedicat.

(23) See the preceding remark citation (16).

(24) Stan. Reſcius, *Epiſt. Dedicat* tom 2 *Operum Hoſii*, fol. 3 *verſo.* edit. Coloniæ *apud* Cholinum 1584.

HOSPINIAN (RODOLPHUS) in Latin *Hoſpinianus*, was one of the greateſt writers that Switzerland has given birth to. He was born at Altorf, a village of the county of Kiburg in the canton of Zurich, the 7th of November 1547; and was ſent, at ſeven years of age, to Zurich, there to begin his ſtudies. He made a great progreſs in them, under the direction of John Wolphius (*a*) his uncle on the mother's ſide; and having loſt his father (*b*) in 1563, he found a moſt affectionate Patron in Rodolphus Gualterus (*c*) his godfather. He left Zurich in order to viſit the other Univerſities in March 1565, and ſtaid two years in Marpurg, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the affiduity with which he applied himſelf to his ſtudies, and by his good behaviour. He did the ſame at Heidelberg during the ſix months he ſpent in that city; after which he was recalled by his Superiors, and received into the miniſtry in the year 1568, and this was to go and preach twice a week in a country church, four or five leagues from Zurich. He diſcharged theſe ſeveral duties very exactly for eight years together, though he had a great deal of other buſineſs in the city; for he was appointed maſter of the third claſs or ſchool in 1569, and was made Proviſor of the Abbey-ſchool in 1571. He was Proviſor of Caroline-ſchool five years after; and it was a kind of Siſyphean ſtone, which he rolled with prodigious patience during nineteen years [*A*]. He obtained the freedom of the city (*d*) in 1569, and was happily married the ſame year [*B*]. His paſtoral labours were ſomewhat leſſened in 1576, he being appointed Miniſter of a Church that ſtood but a league from Zurich. Though his ſchool engroſſed ſo much of his time, he yet had courage enough to undertake a noble work of a vaſt extent [*C*]. As he devoted all his leiſure moments to the ſtudy of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, he laid down the plan

(*a*) He was a Miniſter, and has publiſhed ſeveral books.

(*b*) He was a Miniſter in Altorf.

(*c*) He was a famous Miniſter, and wrote ſeveral Homilies in Latin.

(*d*) *Jus Civitatis Tigurinæ rara felicitate ipſi collatum eſt.* Heideg. *ubi infrà* Citat. (*e*).

[*A*] *It was a kind of Siſyphean ſtone, which he rolled with prodigious patience during nineteen years.*] I borrow this thought from the author of his Life. *Hanc quoque Spartam ornavit*, ſays he (1), *quantum potuit, ſaxumque hoc vere Siſyphium volvit revolvitque, & novemdecim annorum orbe circumegit indefeſſus athleta pari & induſtria & ſucceſſu.* i. e. "He alſo adorned this pro- "feſſion exceedingly, and rolled this truly Siſyphean "ſtone with incredible labour during nineteen years, "with equal induſtry and ſucceſs." What he ſays a little afterwards is very judicious. He is ſurprized that Hoſpinian's genius was not debaſed by theſe painful employments. *Ferreum certe adamantinumque dixeris qui tot labores exantlare, & ſimul ingenium à ſitu & ſqualore vindicare poſſet.*

(1) Jo. Henr. Heidegger, *in Vita Hoſpiniani*, pag. 8.

[*B*] *He was happily married in* 1569.] His wife was Anne Lavater, daughter of Lewis Lavater, at that time Archdeacon of Caroline church, and afterwards principal Miniſter. He was ſon to Rodolphus Lavater, Burgomaſter of Zurich. The mother of Anne Lavater was daughter to Henry Bullinger, one of the chief Reformers. Our Hoſpinian lived in great unity for upwards of thirty years with his wife; *Annoſque pluſquam triginta concorde in matrimonio tenuit* (2); and had fourteen children by her, the youngeſt of whom, Elizabeth, was living in 1681. She was the widow of Rodolph Stuckius, fourſcore and eight years of age; and as ſhe had preſerved her judgment and memory, ſhe furniſhed materials to the author of her father's life. *Quæ annum agens* 88, *ſic ſatis vegeta etiamnum integro judicio & memoria, ex qua non pauca mihi ſuggeſſit hiſtoriam hancce locupletantia, pollet* (3). John Henry Hospinian, her brother, was Miniſter of Bulac church, and Dean of the Chapter of Reinſburg. Rodolphus Hospinian, his brother, Profeſſor of Hebrew in Zurich, and Deacon of the Caroline Church, left two ſons, Rodolphus Hospinian, who was Provoſt of the Chapter of the ſame city, when Heidegger was writing the Life of our Rodolphus, and John Henry Hospinian, Miniſter of the Church of Glattfield. Heidegger gives an account of ſeveral other perſons deſcended from our Rodolphus, who loſing his wife in 1612, made ſuch reflections as became a good Chriſtian, and it was not long before he ſought for conſolation in a ſecond wife. *Patienter tamen domeſticam illam calamitatem, utcunque acerbam, tulit, memor utique, & mortalem ſe duxiſſe, & ad æternam beatitudinem præmiſiſſe. Conſolabantur etiam mox orbitatem ejus ſecundæ nuptiæ cum matrona honeſtiſſima* Magdalena Wirzia, *nobilis & eximii viri* Conradi Wirzii, *Præfecti quondam Vadivillani, filia, bonis omnibus contractæ, & d.* XIII. *Maji An.* M. DC. XII. *ſolenniter celebratæ* (4). i. e. "He yet ſubmitted with patience to "this domeſtic and bitter calamity, calling to mind "that he had married a mortal woman, and that ſhe "was gone before him to everlaſting bliſs. He con- "ſoled himſelf for his widowhood ſome time after, "by his marrying for his ſecond wife a moſt virtuous "matron named Magdalen Wirz, daughter to that "renowned and good man Conrad Wirz, formerly "Governor of Wediſchewyl; which nuptials were "ſolemnized the 13th of May, 1612." He had found by experience, that a wife did not interrupt his ſtudies in any manner. *Cujus conſortium tantum abeſt ut, quod Romanenſes noſtris objiciunt, impedimentum aliquod ſtudiis ejus piis objecerit, ut magno illi contra & dulci ad omne opus bonum incitamento adjumentoque fuerit* (5). i. e. "Whoſe company and fellowſhip was ſo far from "being an hindrance to his pious ſtudies, as the Ro- "maniſts object to us, that it was a ſweet excitement "and help to every good work."

(2) Idem *in Vita Hoſpiniani*, pag. 9.

(3) Idem, ibid.

(4) Idem, pag. 23.

(5) Heidegger, ibid.

[*C*] *He . . . . had courage enough to undertake a noble work of a vaſt extent.*] This was the Hiſtory of the Errors of Popery. The circumſtance which firſt ſuggeſted this thought was, upon his engaging in converſation, in a country alehouſe, with the landlord, who was ſo ſilly as to imagine, that the monaſtic life came immediately from Paradiſe. *Faſſum aliquando ferunt, cum illa excurſione neceſſum haberet in hoſpitio pernoctare, hoſpitem ruſticum non incurioſum crebra ſecum colloquia miſcentem, & de Origine Papatus, vitæ in primis Monaſticæ, quam ille pro ſimplicitate ſua ex Paradiſo arceſſendam ridiculè ſuſtinuerit, anxiè inquirentem, anſam ſibi libros de Origine errorum ſcribendi præbuiſſe* (6). He conſidered that the Papiſts, when defeated by the holy Scriptures, had recourſe to tradition; and were for ever vaunting their antiquity, and deſpiſed the Proteſtants for their being ſo modern. Now Hoſpinian, to deprive the Papiſts of this ſanctuary, ſearched into the riſe and progreſs of the Romiſh doctrines and ceremonies; and by what gradations the truth, which had been taught by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, had given way to innovations. *Impetum concepit animo ſuo plane heroicum, & laude nunquam intermoritura digniſſimum fictitiæ illius vetuſtatis ſpectrum debellandi, Gibeonitaſque artes & fraudes, monſtratis genuinis errorum, qui paulatim Eccleſiam inundaverant, originibus detegendi, convellendique. Et magnæ quidem molis, immenſique laboris opus aggrediebatur, cùm de cæleſti doctrina, & ceremoniis veræ primitivæ Eccleſiæ, tum de inclinatione & depravatione ejuſdem doctrinæ, deque ceremoniarum mutatione, auctione, & progreſſu iis ſeculis, quæ Chriſtum & Apoſtolos primùm, deinde verò Conſtantinum Imperatorem, imprimis autem Gregorium M. ſecutæ ſunt* (7). i. e. "He meditated a deſign that was truly "heroic, and worthy of immortal honour, viz. of "ſubduing that ſpectre of fictitious antiquity; and of "diſcovering and rooting out all their gibberiſh arts "and frauds, by exhibiting the real and genuine "origin of thoſe errors, which overſpread the church "by inſenſible degrees. And indeed the work in "queſtion was of vaſt importance and of immenſe la- "bour, it being to treat, not only of the celeſtial "doctrine, and the ceremonies of the truly primitive church;

(6) Ibid. pag. 8.

(7) Ibid. pag. 11.

plan of a work, which might ſhew the Roman Catholics, that it is idle in them to boaſt of the conformity of their doctrines to antiquity. He could not complete his work; but then he publiſhed conſiderable parts of it [*D*], which gained him great reputation; and obliged his Superiors to take him out of the duſt of the ſchools, in order to fix him in a higher ſtation. He was appointed Arch-deacon of Caroline Church the 25th of September 1588; ſix years after which he was appointed Miniſter of the Abbey Church; a function, which was ſo much the more commodious, as it did not prevent much his continuing the great work he had in view. The work he publiſhed on the Euchariſt, and that which he intitled, *Concordia diſcors*, exaſperated the Lutherans in a high degree. They exaſperated him by their anſwers [*E*], to which he did not finiſh his reply, becauſe

" church; but likewiſe of the decay and corruption " of that doctrine, as well as of the change, increaſe " and progreſs of theſe ceremonies; firſt in thoſe ages " which followed our Saviour and his Apoſtles, and " then in thoſe which followed the Emperor Conſtan- " tine, but particularly in thoſe ages which came after " Gregory the Great." He intended to write chiefly concerning Baptiſm, the Euchariſt, Churches, Feaſts, Faſts, Orders, Monks, the Pope's Primacy, and Burials (8). He alſo began to write the Lives of the Popes, and ſome animadverſions on Gratian. *Anti-Gratianum inſuper moliebatur, quo demonſtrare inſtituerat, Gratianum in ſuo Decreto multa falſa, pugnantia, commentitia & notha recitare, tum vero impudenter, fallaciter, malitioſe & impie corrumpere* (9). He was above forty one years of age when he meditated this vaſt deſign.

(8) Heidegger, ibid.

(9) Idem, ibid.

[*D*] . . . *he publiſhed conſiderable parts of it.*] Here follows a catalogue of the books he publiſhed. The firſt was an Oration *de origine & progreſſu Rituum & Ceremoniarum Eccleſiaſticarum.* He ſpoke it in an academical aſſembly, and printed it in 1585. Two years after he publiſhed his Treatiſe *de Templis, hoc eſt de origine, progreſſu, uſu, & abuſu Templorum, ac omnino rerum omnium ad Templa pertinentium.* In 1603 he publiſhed a ſecond edition of it, not only corrected, but alſo greatly augmented; he adding to it a confutation of the arguments which Bellarmin and Baronius had alledged, in behalf of thoſe of their party on that ſubject, ſince the firſt edition. In 1588 he publiſhed a Treatiſe *de Monachis, ſeu de origine & progreſſu Monachatus ac Ordinum Monaſticorum, Equitum militarium tam ſacrorum quam ſecularium omnium.* He publiſhed a ſecond edition of it in 1609, in which he confuted Bellarmine's book *de Monachis*, publiſhed ſince the firſt edition of his work. In 1589 he was juſt going to publiſh a Treatiſe *de origine & progreſſu Jejuniorum*, when he found by a work of Bellarmine juſt printed, that this Jeſuit promiſed to write a book on that ſubject; for which reaſon he ſuſpended the publication of his work, till he might annex to it a confutation of what Bellarmine ſhould alledge. However, having applied himſelf to other matters in the mean time, he never compleated that treatiſe. Theſe other matters were the Feaſts or Holy Days, on which he publiſhed two volumes, the firſt in 1592, and the ſecond in 1593. The firſt Treatiſe, *de Feſtis Judæorum & Ethnicorum, hoc eſt de origine, progreſſu, ceremoniis, & ritibus feſtorum dierum Judæorum, Græcorum, Romanorum, Turcarum, & Indianorum.* He printed it in 1611, with ſeveral corrections and additions. The ſecond volume treats *de origine, progreſſu, ceremoniis, & ritibus feſtorum dierum Chriſtianorum.* He printed it in 1612, with conſiderable ſupplements, which were of uſe to refute Bellarmine upon the idolatry of the church of Rome, and James Gretſer on Corpus Chriſti day. In 1598 he publiſhed the firſt volume of his *Hiſtoria Sacramentaria: Hoc eſt libri quinque de Cœnæ Dominicæ prima inſtitutione, ejuſque vero uſu & abuſu in primitiva Eccleſia, nec non de origine, progreſſu, ceremoniis, & ritibus Miſſæ, Tranſubſtantiationis, & aliorum pæne infinitorum Errorum, quibus Cœnæ prima inſtitutio horribiliter in Papatu polluta & profanata eſt.* i. e. " Five books relating to the inſti- " tution of the Lord's Supper, and of its true uſe and " abuſe in the primitive church; alſo concerning the " origin, progreſs, ceremonies and rites of the Maſs, " of Tranſubſtantiation, and almoſt numberleſs multi- " tude of errors, whereby the primitive inſtitution of " the Lord's Supper has been horribly polluted and " profaned in the Romiſh church." Four years after he publiſhed the ſecond volume of this Hiſtory, containing the conteſts that have been carried on between thoſe of the Auſburg Confeſſion, and other Proteſtants, with regard to the Lord's Supper. This work is intitled, *de origine & progreſſu Controverſiæ Sacramentariæ de Cœna Domini inter Lutheranos & Orthodoxos quos Zwinglianos & Calviniſtas vocant exortæ, ab anno Chriſti Salvatoris* 1517 *uſque ad annum* 1602. i. e. " Concerning the origin and progreſs of the Sacramenta- " rian Controverſy, with regard to the Lord's Supper, " between the Lutherans and thoſe of the orthodox " faith called Zwinglians and Calviniſts, from the year " of our Lord 1517, till 1602." In 1607 he publiſhed a work intitled, *Concordia diſcors, ſeu de origine & progreſſu Formulæ Concordiæ Bergenſis.* i. e. " The " diſcording Concord, or of the riſe and progreſs of " the Formulary of the Concord of Berg." In 1619 he publiſhed a work againſt the Jeſuits: *Hiſtoria Jeſuitica, hoc eſt de origine, regulis, conſtitutionibus, privilegiis, incrementis, progreſſu, & propagatione Ordinis Jeſuitarum, item de eorum dolis, fraudibus, impoſturis, nefariis facinoribus, cruentis conſiliis, falſa quoque ſeditioſa & ſanguinolenta doctrina* (10). i. e. " A Hiſtory " of the Jeſuits, that is, of the origin, rules, conſtitu- " tions, privileges, increaſe, progreſs and propaga- " tion of the Order of Jeſuits; alſo of their treacheries, " frauds, impoſtures, wicked crimes, and bloody coun- " ſels; their falſe, ſeditious, and bloody doctrine." Here he put an end to his compoſitions, being reſolved to ſpend his life hereafter in nothing but prayer, in the peruſal of good books, and in pious meditations.

(10) Extracted from his *Life* wrote by Heidegger.

[*E*] Two of his works . . . . *exaſperated the Lutherans in a high degree. They exaſperated him by their anſwers.*] The Hiſtory of the Sacramentarian War between the Lutherans and Calviniſts, and the Hiſtory of the Formulary of Concord, ſhew ſo much confuſion, ſo much paſſion, ſhuffling, and cavilling on the Lutheran ſide, that it would have been a miracle had not theſe two books exaſperated the Saxon Divines in a furious manner. In Saxony they chooſe to refute Hoſpinian, a man who was fit to dazzle and impoſe on the public; a man, I ſay, who treated his adverſaries in the moſt contemptuous manner, and aſſumed a magiſterial air. Nothing is ſo well adapted as this, to conceal the bad or weak ſides of a cauſe. *Hiſtoriæ Sacramentariæ pars poſterior & concordia illa diſcors vehementer eos, qui Lutheranarum partium aſſeclas ſe profeſſi ſunt, urebant; qui eorum operum vim Chryſippeis ſophiſmatis, & tortuoſis argutiis, acribuſque dicteriis convellere maximopere laborabant. Conſtat autem, utriuſque operis refutandi in Saxonicis oris negotium Leonhardo Huttero, Wittebergenſi Profeſſori, homini arroganti & prave facundo, datum eſſe. Et primum quidem Ann.* M.DC.XI. *perſonatus ille, uti prudenter conjectabant, prodiit, larva ſcilicet aſſumpta cujuſdam Chriſtophori à Vallo, S. Theologiæ Candidati, ſub qua adverſus ea, quæ Hoſpinianus in Annalibus Sacramentariis ad annum* M.DC.XIX. (11) *geſta prodidit, vernacula ſcriptione ingenii ſui libidinem procaciter ſatis exercuit* (12). i. e. " The ſecond part " of the Sacramentarian Hiſtory, and the diſcording " Concord, greatly exaſperated the Lutherans, who " employed their utmoſt endeavours to defeat the ef- " fects they might have, by ſophiſtry, cavilling, and " ſcoffing. It is certain that the taſk of refuting them " both was given to Leonard Hutterus, Profeſſor at " Wittenberg, a man whoſe wit was of an arrogant " and peeviſh caſt. He firſt appeared in public in the " year 1611, diſguiſed, as was well conjectured, un- " der the name of Chriſtopher à Vallo, ſtudent in Di- " vinity. In this fictitious dreſs he haughtily exer- " ciſed the licentiouſneſs of his wit, in his native " tongue, againſt thoſe particulars which are con- " tained

(11) This is an error of the preſs, it ſhould be M. D. XXIX.

(12) Heidegg. *in Vita Hoſpiniani*, pag. 22.

cauſe he was ſenſible that the common enemies of the Proteſtant Faith were too much diverted with ſuch a ſcene; but he turned his arms againſt the Jeſuits. I don't doubt but that ſome Princes were pleaſed that he had ſuppreſſed his reply [*F*]. He was deprived of his ſight for near a year, by a cataract, notwithſtanding which he preached as uſual; but he was happily couched the 18th of September 1613. At threeſcore and ſixteen years

" tained in Hoſpinian's Sacramentarian Hiſtory, till " the year 1529." The inſtant David Pareus had ſeen this firſt work of Hutterus (13), he gave Hoſpinian notice of it, and adviſed him to draw up an Anſwer in the German language, without waiting till his adverſary ſhould finiſh his confutation. *Adverſus Commentarium tuum alterum de re ſacramentaria, nec non Concordiam diſcordem comperimus, mandatum ex aula Saxonica D. Huttero datum, hiſtoriam tuam ut refutaret. Laboraſſe etiam illum ea in re ex domeſticis meis ſtudioſis cognovi. His nundinis Lipſenſibus prodiit Germanica hæc Hiſtoriæ Sacramentariæ conſignatio, uſque ad annum* 29 *deducta. Credo vobis non eſſe viſam. Author magna pollicetur, & triumphus eſt, ut audio, noſtris vicinis, &c. Percurri librum. Præter magnifica mendacia nihil video novi. Suaſerim ut veſtigia hujus ſcriptoris, qui haud dubiè eſt ille Hutterus, premas illico, neque exſpectes, dum tota moles te opprimat. Feceris magnum operæ pretium Germanicè reſpondendo* (14). i. e. " I am " told that D. Hutterus is commanded, by the Court " of Saxony, to anſwer the ſecond part of your Sacramentarian Hiſtory, and your diſcording Concord; " and ſome ſtudents who lodge with me, ſay, that he " has been employed for ſome time in it. The German refutation of this Sacramentarian Hiſtory, continued to the year 1529, was publiſhed laſt Leipſic " fair. I believe you have not ſeen that piece. The " author promiſes mighty things; and it is ſaid that " our neighbours triumph upon it, &c. I have peruſed the book, and find nothing new in it, but notorious falſhoods. I would adviſe you to tread cloſe " upon the heels of this writer, who doubtleſs is the " abovementioned Hutterus; and not wait till you are " oppreſſed with the whole load. It would be of " great uſe to anſwer him in the German language." Hoſpinian immediately drew up a reply, but did not publiſh it. *Non defuit bonæ cauſæ Hoſpinianus, utpote qui . . . . perſonato larvam egregiè detraxit, adornata ſcriptione vernacula, quo & hiſtoriæ à ſe conſignatæ veritatem in arce collocavit, & adverſantis vanitatem ſolidè detexit. Neque tamen reſponſio iſthæc, omnibus numeris abſoluta, lucem vidit* (15). In 1614 a new work of Hutterus was publiſhed, entitled *Concordia concors, ſeu de origine & progreſſu formulæ Concordiæ Eccleſiarum Confeſſionis Auguſtanæ*. i. e. " Concording Concord; " or, concerning the origin and progreſs of the For" mulary of Concord of the Churches of the Auſburg " confeſſion." In this work Hutterus undertook to deprive Hoſpinian of all the reputation he might have gained, either with reſpect to learning or candor. *Quo quantum de libro ipſo, tantundem de eruditionis, candoris & judicii* Hoſpiniani *fama, ſuæque Eccleſiæ infamia ſe detrahere poſſe ſperavit. Opus ipſum haud exiguæ molis, & μῆλα πολλῆς φανλασίας prodiit, aſt ſi inanem verborum ſtrepitum, & rerum, convitiorum, ſplendidarumque calumniarum tumorem ei demeres, tantùm non ad incitas redigi, atque in nihilum recidere liquebat* (16). i. e. " Wherein he hoped to take as much from the " fame of Hoſpinian's erudition, candor and judg" ment, and from the infamy of his own Church, " as he could detract from the book in queſti" on. This work, which was of no inconſiderable " ſize, made its appearance with mighty pomp; " but ſhould we ſubſtract or take from it the empty " ſound of high-flown words, and the idle reproach" es, and ſlanders, it would be reduced to a very " narrow compaſs." Hoſpinian's friends adviſed him to draw up an anſwer immediately, and to humble his adverſary's pride. *Sine mora reprimendam exultantem hominis audaciam* (17). He immediately took up the pen, and ſet about an anſwer, but never finiſhed it. Heidegger aſſures us that this is an excellent work. In all probability the author was diſheartned, becauſe he had to do with ſo abuſive an enemy. He alſo was afraid of affording the Jeſuits too great a farce, in caſe he ſhould ſtill carry on the civil-war; but however this be, his work was never publiſhed. *Neque tamen opus iſthoc ad metam perduxit, ſeu tædio victus eſt maledicentiæ adverſarii, qui neſcio quibus agitatus furiis ubique inſultare, quàm cum ratione quadam diſputare maluit; ſeu faſtidium ſubiit ducendi funem moleſtiæ adeò contentionis, qua non tantùm animos veritatis factâ copiâ ſauciatos ægroſque magis exulceratum iri, ſed etiam capitales religionis hoſtes, Jeſuitas cumprimis, infauſti certaminis illius futuros ſpectatores avidiſſimos, delicias jucundo ejuſmodi ſpectaculo ſibi facturos . . . . metuit* (18). Hence one would conclude that the Lutherans came off victorious; the public being pretty much inclined to aſcribe it to him who has the laſt word, which may be called remaining maſter of the field. We ſhall ſoon take notice of a reaſon, which contributed, in all probability, to Hoſpinian's ſilence.

(13) It is to be obſerved that ſome ſay, that Chriſtophorus Wilhelmus à Vallo, *was* Chr. Wilh. Walpurgerus, a Divine of Leipſic. *See* Mollerus, *Iſagoge Hiſt. Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ*, Part 3. pag. 133.

(14) Heidegg. in *Vita Hoſpiniani*, pag. 22.

(15) Idem, ibid.

(16) Idem, ibid.

(17) Idem, pag. 24.

(18) Idem, ibid.

[*F*] *I do not doubt but that ſome Princes were pleaſed that he had ſuppreſſed his reply.*] About the time that Hoſpinian printed his *Concordia diſcors*, Frederic IV, Elector Palatine, wrote to the magiſtrates of Zurich, concerning a conference that was negotiating between the Lutherans and Calviniſts, to ſearch out expedients for an accommodation which might ſerve as a league among the Proteſtant Princes, againſt the bloody deſigns of the Jeſuits. For this reaſon Hoſpinian was thought to have publiſhed his book very unſeaſonably. He juſtified himſelf as to that affair in the beſt manner he could, in a letter which he wrote to Maurice Landgrave of Heſſe. He ſays, that though theſe conferences are only apt to inflame the wound, as has been often found by experience, he yet would have ſuſpended the impreſſion of his work, or even kept it in manuſcript in his cloſet, had he known the intention of the Princes. " *Libri intempeſtivi editi culpam, . . ſic ſtudioſe amoli" tur, ut ſimul de inſtitutis ejuſmodi Colloquiis ſenten" tiam graviter proferat hunc ferè in modum:* Etſi " ego de hujuſmodi colloquio nihil boni polliceri " poſſim, & majores animorum diſtractiones & contur" bationes, odia item, contentiones, ac diſſidia poſt illud " nocentiſſima vehementer metuam, præſertim ſi mecum " reputem, quæ Marpurgenſe, Maulbrunnenſe, Mom" pelgardenſe, & Ratiſbonnenſe colloquia ſecuta ſint; " & adverſarii palam proteſtentur, ſe non diſcere, ſed " docere, & ne in minimo quidem articulo ſententiam " mutare, ſed in ſemel concepta opinione firmiter per" manere velle: nihilominus editionem hujus libri " vel in aliud tempus rejeciſſem, ac reſervâſſem; vel, " ſi ex uſu eccleſiæ fuiſſet, prorſus ſuppreſſiſſem, ſi hoc " conſilium & inſtitutum Illuſtriſſ. Principum vel ante " ſemeſtre mihi cognitum fuiſſet, ne illud impediiſſe " accuſari meritò poſſem (20)." i. e. " *He apologizes* " *for his having publiſhed his book ſo unſeaſonably; and* " *at the ſame time gravely delivers his opinion, with* " *regard to ſuch ſort of conferences, as follows.* Though " I my ſelf cannot hope for any good from ſuch a " conference, but am prodigiouſly afraid that it will " be followed by ſtill greater diſtractions of men's " minds, ſtronger hatred, contentions, and moſt dan" gerous diviſions; particularly when I reflect on what " were the conſequences of the conferences at Mar" purg, Maulbrun, Montbeliard, and Ratiſbon; and " that the adverſaries proteſt publicly, that they will " teach but not learn; that they will not alter their opi" nion in the leaſt article, but adhere ſtedfaſtly to the " principles they firſt imbibed: nevertheleſs I would " have ſuſpended the publication of this book for " ſome time; or, had it been of advantage to the " Church, would have ſuppreſſed it intirely, had I " but known the intention of theſe illuſtrious Princes " ſix months ago, in order that I might not be juſtly " accuſed of hindering it." The fear he was under leſt he ſhould diſpleaſe ſome Princes, and expoſe great numbers to very grievous dangers, obliged him not to inſert in his work all he knew. (21) *Faſſus eſt ingenuè, operi illi* de Concordia diſcorde, *deeſſe plurima; nulla equidem ſua culpa, ſed tum quod ad cognitionem & manus ſuas plura non pervenerint; tum quod nonnulla dedita opera, omitti conſultius viſum ſit, propter admonitionem ex aula potente inſinuatam, ut in ſcribenda ea hiſtoria caute circumſpecteque agat, ſi quid ſecretorum ex cameris Principum, præſertim vero exoris Saxonicis habeat. Fore alioquin, ut res hæc ingenti periculo non*

(19) The 22d of Auguſt 1607.

(20) *Vita Hoſpiniani*, pag. 21.

(21) *In Literis ad Wolphangum Amlingum, Eccleſiæ Serveſtanæ Paſtorem & Superintendentem, die* 22 *Aug.* 1607.

years of age he grew childiſh; and continued in that wretched condition till his death, which happened the 11th of March 1626, he being then in his threeſcore and nineteenth year. The public had entertained ſo high an idea of his learning from his writings, that he was exhorted from all quarters to refute Baronius's Annals; and no one was thought to have greater abilities for ſuch a taſk (*e*). A new edition of his works was publiſhed at Geneva in the year 1681, in ſeven volumes in folio [*G*].

(*e*) Extracted from his *Life* wrote by John Henry Heidegger, and prefixed to the edition of his works printed in 1681.

non careat, propter orthodoxos iis in locis ſuſpectos, ne cum iis ludus Crellianus vel Procerianus (22) *ludatur*. i. e. "He frankly owned, that many things were wanting in the *Diſcording Concord*; however, that this was no way his fault, but was partly occaſioned, becauſe many particulars never came to his knowledge; and becauſe he had thought it more adviſeable to omit certain things on account of an admonition which had been ſent him from a very powerful Court, viz. that it would be proper for him to act very cautiouſly in compoſing that Hiſtory, in caſe he had got any ſecrets from the cabinets of Princes, particularly thoſe who ſided with Saxony. That otherwiſe, this might be of very dangerous tendency with reſpect to the welfare of ſuch of the orthodox as might be ſuſpected in thoſe places, and the Crellian and Procerian game might be played a ſecond time." It is therefore probable enough, that he laid aſide his anſwer, becauſe, among other reaſons, he ſhould be conſidered as the cauſe of an Eccleſiaſtical War, which might prevent the ſeveral Proteſtant powers from purſuing, in concert, their common intereſt (23). We may be very well aſſured, that both the Lutheran and Calviniſt Princes of the Empire were highly pleaſed at his continuing ſilent; for we are told by the hiſtory of that period, that the quarrels between Divines perplexed Princes very much; and they every now and then, even to this day, cauſe the greateſt uneaſineſs to magiſtrates in ſeveral Imperial cities. Was not Hamburg lately (24) involved in great troubles, occaſioned by the conteſts and diſputes of the Clergy, which divided the people, and occaſioned ſeditious aſſemblies? An end is very ſeldom put to theſe conteſts, except by the exile of him whoſe faction is weakeſt; ſo that, if one might dare to employ compariſons, it might be ſaid that the quarrels in queſtion are like thoſe of two bulls who fight for a heifer; the weaker bull runs away and hides himſelf.

(22) I fancy it is an error of the preſs for *Peucerianus*.

(23) Heidegger, *in Vita Hoſpiniani*, pag. 21.

(24) About two or three years ago, the Flemiſh News-papers ſpoke of nothing elſe. I write this in Sept. 1695.

Nec mos bellantes una ſtabulare: ſed alter
Victus abit, longeque ignotis exulat oris,
Multa gemens ignominiam, plagaſque ſuperbi
Victoris, tum quos amiſit inultus amores:
Et ſtabula aſpectans regnis exceſſit avitis (25).

(25) Virgil. *Georg.* lib. 3. ver. 224.

" Nor when the war is over, is it peace;
" Nor will the vanquiſhed bull his claim releaſe:
" But finding in his breaſt his antient fires,
" And curſing fate, from his proud foe retires.
" Driven from his native land, to foreign grounds,
" He with a generous rage reſents his wounds;
" His ignominious flight, the victor's boaſt,
" And more than both, the lives, which unreveng'd
" he loſt.
" Often he turns his eyes, and, with a groan,
" Surveys the pleaſing kingdoms once his own.
Dryden.

Perhaps the reaſon I took notice of, might oblige Hoſpinian not to compleat his Hiſtory of the Reformation, projected in Saxony under the Elector Chriſtian. Some Memoirs had been communicated to him, which might have exaſperated his ſucceſſors. The title of this Hiſtory was to have been as follows. *Chriſtianus redivivus, hoc eſt, de ortu & progreſſu ſuſceptæ a Chriſtiano Electore Saxoniæ Eccleſiarum & Scholarum in Saxonia ſuperiore Reformationis Hiſtoria, ex actis & originalibus, ut ſint optimi Principis defuncti vindiciæ perennes, fideliter congeſta, & tribus libris comprehenſa* (26). i. e. " Chriſtianus redivivus, that is, a Hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of the Reformation of the Churches and Schools in upper Saxony, begun by Chriſtian Elector of Saxony. Faithfully taken from originals and authentic papers, that they may ſerve for ever as a laſting apology for that beſt of Princes. In three books." Heidegger ſays as follows, concerning the memoirs which had been furniſhed. *Grande ſcilicet volumen ex Saxonia ſubmiſſum in hæredum manibus verſatur, quo Chriſtiani Electoris illius Principis & pientiſſimi & fortiſſimi, dicere crebrò ſoliti:* Ego nec Calvinianus ſum, nec Flaccianus, ſed Chriſtianus. Habent Flacciani ſuum Cœlum, in quo etiam ipſum orcum collocant; *Ephemerides accuratiſſimè texuntur, & inſtituta ab ipſo Eccleſiarum Saxonicarum Reformatio, ſubita & improviſa ejus morte interrupta, pleniſſimè exponitur, ex quibus, aliiſque etiam irrefragabilibus monumentis Chriſtianum illum redivivum orbi Chriſtiano, non parum arte pia Principis illius meditamenta admiraturo, repræſentare ſtatuerat* (27). i. e. " His heirs are poſſeſſed of a large volume, ſent him from Saxony, wherein are very accurately drawn up the annals of Chriſtian, that moſt pious and moſt courageous Prince, who uſed often to ſay; *I am neither a Calviniſt, nor a Flaccian, but a Chriſtian. The Flaccians have their heaven, wherein they place even hell itſelf.* This work contains likewiſe a compleat Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Saxon Churches, begun by our author, but interrupted by this ſudden and unexpected death, from which, and ſeveral other indiſputable authorities, he intended to exhibit his *Chriſtianus redivivus* to the Chriſtian world, which could not have failed greatly to admire the pious deſigns of that Prince."

(26) Heidegger, in *Vita Hoſpiniani*, pag. 22.

(27) Idem, ibid.

[*G*] *A new edition of his works was publiſhed at Geneva, in the year* 1681, *in ſeven volumes in folio.*] The editors did not inſert any tract of the author, but what had been compleated by him. His heirs have followed very religiouſly his intentions, they not being willing to communicate them to the public, but only furniſhed a few remarks, which the author had added to his works after they were in print. *Neque contemnenda etiam illa quæ inchoata & affecta, quod nondum juſtus ordo, lima & colophon iis adhibita, ultimaque manu necdum perpolita eſſent, neque ipſe ſuperſtes prodire paſſus eſt, ceu imparia ſuſtinendæ famæ nominis ſui; neque præter ejus voluntatem & conſilium hæredes, cimeliorum iſtorum cuſtodes, edere voluerunt* (28). We are told in his life, what pieces he had advanced very far in, as well as thoſe that were but juſt ſketched by him; circumſtances which repreſent him as a very learned and very laborious writer.

(28) Idem, ibid. pag. 11.

HOSPITAL (MICHAEL DE L'), Chancellor of France in the ſeventeenth Century, was one of the greateſt men of his age. He was of Auvergne, and of a family not very conſiderable. He raiſed himſelf by degrees [*A*], and was Counſellor in the Parliament

[*A*] *He was of Auvergne, and of a family not very conſiderable. He raiſed himſelf by degrees.*] His father was a Phyſician, and in that quality ſerved the Conſtable Charles de Bourbon. *He never abandoned him, attending him in diſguiſe, ſharing in all his misforunes, ſeconding him in all his deſigns againſt the King, againſt the Emperor, and againſt Rome, the Cardinals, and the Pope himſelf* (1). When he followed him *in his retreat to the Emperor Charles*, he left " in France all his children, both ſons and daughters, who being very young could not bear the fatigues of ſuch a journey. Our Michael was at Toulouſe, and aged eighteen years; and though he lived there on no other account than that of his ſtudies, he was ſeized upon ſuſpicion, and committed to the public priſon till there was an expreſs command from the King to releaſe

(1) Naudé, *Coups d'Eſtat*, cap. 5. pag. m. 787.

Parliament of Paris, when the Princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to King Henry II, having had the Duchy of Berri ſettled on her, choſe him for her Chancellor (*a*). He continued in the ſame poſt under her in Italy after ſhe had married the Duke of Savoy, and he was at Nice, when he was raiſed to the dignity of Chancellor of France under King Francis II in the year 1560 (*b*). It was thought that the Guiſes had procured him this poſt, and that they did it with no other view, but that they imagined, as he had an obligation to them [*B*], he would do whatever they ſhould deſire. They were miſtaken; for he propoſed as his maxim the good of the Kingdom and the true intereſts of the King his maſter. It is true, he was obliged to uſe addreſs [*C*]; for if he ſhould have openly oppoſed the deſigns of the Guiſes, he would not have been in a ſituation to remedy the confuſions of France. It was neceſſary for him therefore to ſwim between two ſtreams, and by

(*a*) Paſquier, *Lettres*, lib. 22. pag. 758. of the ſecond tome.

(*b*) La Planche, *Hiſt. de François II*, pag. m. 228.

" releaſe him, that he might purſue his ſtudies, ſince " he was not found engaged in any deſign, that could " render him criminal (2)." He went to ſee his father at the time, when the Conſtable being returned *found affairs much embarraſſed there* (3); for Francis I had laid ſiege to Milan (4): and " becauſe this ſiege " would probably laſt long, that Phyſician fearing " leſt his ſon, by too great a diſcontinuance, ſhould " make a dangerous breach in his ſtudies, ordered " ſome Couriers to take him away with them from " Milan diſguiſed like a Muletier; and he paſſed, " not without great danger of his life, the river Abdua, " and afterwards went to Padua, where from all anti- " quity the ſtudy of law had flouriſhed. In this Uni- " verſity his father left him for the ſpace of ſix years, " and then ſent him to Bologna and Rome, where he " was honoured with the place of Judge, under the " title of Auditor of the Rota. But reſigning this by " the advice of his father on account of the promiſes " made to him by the Cardinal de Grandmont of ad- " vancing him to the higheſt poſts in his country, he " was diſappointed of his expectations both ways; " for the poſt of Auditor was given to another per- " ſon; and the ſudden death of the Cardinal de Grand- " mont fruſtrated the hopes, which had engaged him " to return to France. Being in this ſituation he ap- " plied himſelf to the Bar, where he had not conti- " nued three years before he married Mary Morin, " daughter of the Lieutenant Criminal Morin, who " brought for a portion the place of Counſellor in the " Parliament (5), which he held about nine years, " and afterwards was ſent Embaſſador to Bologna for " King Henry, where the general Council of all the " Biſhops had been appointed in order for ſome reforma- " tion." Thevet adds, that he was afterwards Chancellor to the Ducheſs of Berri, and then " Head and " Superintendant of the Finances of his Majeſty in his " Chamber of Accounts, and after the death of King " Henry was choſen of the Privy Council (6)." Obſerve, that his father, after the Conſtable's death, followed ſome time the Court of the Emperor Charles V (7), and afterwards entering into the ſervice of the ſiſter of his firſt Patron Renée de Bourbon, wife of Anthony Duke of Lorrain, ſpent there the reſt of his life (8). He has been repreſented as the ſon of a man, who *was born, and always lived, and died a Jew in the city of Avignon* (9). Mr. Varillas, from whom I borrow theſe words, remarks in another place (10), that Michael de l'Hoſpital's father was a Jew. He is very ſubject to this kind of confuſion. Monſieur Teiſſier aſſures us, that Mr. de Mezerai relates, that the Chancellor's father *was ſon of a Phyſician to a Queen of Navarre, wife of Anthony de Bourbon* (11). He cites (12) page 1156 of the ſecond Tome of Mezerai's Hiſtory of France. I find nothing relating to the Chancellor l'Hoſpital in the ſecond Tome to that author. I only ſee in page 22 of the third Tome, that he was the *ſon of the Phyſician to Renée de Bourbon, wife of Anthony de Lorrain.*

(2) Thevet, Elog. tom. 7. pag. 363. edit. in 12mo. He has taken this, as he owns, from the will of the Chancellor l'Hoſpital. See the *Bibliotheque Choiſie* of Colomiés, pag. 53.

(3) Ibid. pag. 369.

(4) Ibid. What he ſays is to be found in the Chancellor's will. See the *Biblioth. Choiſie* of *Colomies*, pag. 53.

(5) Obſerve that there is a miſtake with regard to the time in Moreri, where we are told, that he was Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris in 1524, and that his poſt of Chancellor to the Princeſs Margaret was poſterior to all the reſt except that of Chancellor of France.

(6) Thevet, *Elog.* tom. 7. pag. 371.

(7) *Teſtam. de l'Hoſpital*, cited by Colomiés, *Biblioth. Choiſie*, pag. 55.

(8) Belcarius, lib. 28. num. 57.

(9) Varillas, *Hiſt. de l'Hereſie*, lib. 22. pag. m. 170. Dutch edit. He has taken this from Beaucaire, lib. 28. num. 57.

(10) *Hiſt. de Francois II.* pag. m. 194.

(11) Teiſſier, *Addit. aux Elog.* tom. 1. pag. 396. edit. 1690.

(12) Ibid. tom. 2. pag. 413. edit. 1683.

[*B*] *It was thought, that the Guiſes had procured him this poſt, and that they did it with no other view but that they imagined, as he had an obligation to them*, &c.] Lewis Regnier Sieur de la Planche relates, that after the death of the Chancellor Olivier they offered his poſt to *Morvilliers Counſellor in the Privy Council, and Biſhop of Orleans . . . a ſervant very zealouſly attached* to their family, and that they *artfully ſerved themſelves by his refuſal.* " For imagining that they could make " better uſe of Michael de l'Hoſpital, brought up, " advanced, and formed by their hand, they took " Morvilliers at his word, and ſent for the other from " Nice, where he was Chancellor to the Ducheſs of " Savoy, who was given to underſtand that the King " out of regard to her would take her Chancellor for " his own (13)." But other Hiſtorians ſay that the Queen-Mother was the real cauſe of this choice, being urged to it by the Ducheſs of Montpenſier, who deſigned to lay an obſtacle in the way of the ambition of the Guiſes. See the article of LONGVIC (14). Thuanus (15) adds, that when they agreed to this choice the affair was already concluded, and that Catherine de Medicis informed Monſieur de l'Hoſpital, that it was not at their recommendation, but at hers, that the King had honoured him with that dignity; and that therefore ſhe hoped to ſee him more attached to the intereſts of his Prince and thoſe of the Queen-Mother, than to thoſe of that family, whoſe ambition was deteſted by the whole world. The ſame Hiſtorian obſerves, that it was the more eaſy for the Queen-Mother to ſucceed, becauſe Monſieur de l'Hoſpital was very much in favour with the Cardinal of Lorrain. Remark, that Mr. Teiſſier is miſtaken in ſaying under the quotation of the twenty fourth book of Thuanus, that *Catherine de Medicis obliged Henry II to make Michael de l'Hoſpital Chancellor of France* (16). He ſhould have ſaid *Francis II.*

(13) La Planche, pag. m. 228. *Hiſt. de François II.*

(14) Remark [*I*].

(15) Thuanus, lib. 25. *ſub fin.*

(16) Teiſſier, *Addit. aux Elog.* tom. 1. pag. m. 396.

[*C*] *He was obliged to uſe addreſs.*] Let us again make uſe of the Sieur de la Planche for a Commentator upon this text. " As to the Chancellor de l'Hoſpital, " few perſons were pleaſed at firſt to ſee him raiſed to " that dignity, who had been ſo familiar with the " Cardinal (17); ſo that it was ſuppoſed, that he " would not venture to contradict him in any thing, " having received ſo many favours and preferments " from him. But as he knew the diſpoſition of the " Guiſes, having had long experience of it, he was " dextrous enough to prevent their ſtratagems, if not as " he ought, at leaſt as he could, conſidering the iniquity " of the time, warding off their moſt furious blows with " a peculiar induſtry. For having reſolved as ſoon as he " was ſettled in his poſt to proceed in a right courſe like " a prudent man, and not to favour either one party " or the other, and by this means to ſerve his King " and country, he was obliged to make uſe of won- " derful addreſs in order to reſtrain the houſe of " Lorrain within their proper bounds. This he was " deſirous to perform in ſuch a manner, that they " might not perceive, that he deſigned in any point to " oppoſe or diſpleaſe them, knowing, that if they once " conceived ſuch an opinion of him, he ſhould be able " to do nothing of conſequence. Thus with a great deal " of diſſimulation many things paſſed through his " hands, which were thought to be of a very dan- " gerous nature. Notwithſtanding this he kept a " medium, giving hopes to thoſe who loved the pub- " lic intereſt, that every thing at laſt would turn to " its advantage, provided he was ſuffered to bring it " about. Few people underſtood his intention; but " time ſhewed, that he had purſued the ſervice of the " King and the ſafety of the people in a way quite " different from what had been imagined. And to " ſpeak the truth, his prudent management cannot be " ſufficiently diſplay'd. For certainly, though if he " had taken a ſhorter way in oppoſing reſolutely what " was wrong, he would have been more to be com- " mended, and God perhaps would have bleſſed his " conſtancy; yet as far as we may judge, he alone, by " his moderate conduct, was the inſtrument made uſe of " by God to ſtop thoſe impetuous waves, which would " have drowned all France; and yet the outward ap- " pearances were againſt this. In ſhort, when he was " put in mind of any approaching misfortune, he had " always this expreſſion in his mouth; *patience, pa- " tience, all will go well* (18)."

(17) Thuanus, lib. 13. *ſub fin.* pag. m. 278. obſerves that Michael de l'Hoſpital, Preſident of the Chamber of Accounts in 1554, favoured the Cardinal of Lorrain's deſign of making the Parliament of Paris ſit half a year.

(18) La Planche, *Hiſt. de François II*, pag. 359, 360.

by this management he diverted ſeveral ſtorms which threatened the Kingdom, he retarded ſome others, and found means to do good ſervice to his country as far as the unhappy condition of the time would permit him. He prevented among other things the introduction of the inquiſition, by agreeing to an edict (c) much ſeverer againſt the Proteſtants than he could have wiſhed [D]. It was that of Romorantin. There is no doubt but that if he had had the whole management of theſe affairs, he would have procured a full toleration for thoſe of the reformed Religion. His good offices and his addreſs were undoubtedly one of the cauſes, which changed the diſpoſition of people in their favour; this change was ſo remarkable, that in the ſecond year of his adminiſtration there were almoſt as many voices for them as againſt them in the council, which examined the petition, which they preſented to the King [E] to deſire the free exerciſe of their religion. His influence was no leſs effectual in the reſtrictions of the edict of July 1561 (d), and in the liberty which they had of not obſerving it (e). The edict of January, which

(c) Dated in May 1560.

(d) Theſe reſtrictions diſpleaſed the zealous Roman Catholics. See the remark [E] towards the end.

(e) See the remark [F] citation (33).

[D] *He prevented the ... introduction of the inquiſition, by agreeing to an edict much ſeverer againſt the Proteſtants than he could have wiſhed.*] Here is the ſequel of the Sieur de la Planche's account (19). "To make "ſhort, when the queſtion was about expediting the "edict for the Spaniſh inquiſition, he knowing that the "members of the Privy Council and the Parliament "had agreed to this, moderated the affair by an expreſs edict, and gave ſuch cogent reaſons, that the "Guiſes themſelves, who had procured the former "edict, were of his opinion, and obliged the Spaniards "to approve of it, who had been deſirous, that France "ſhould be regulated after their model. This happened in May in the city of Romorantin, and that "edict was ever after called the edict of Romorantin." Mr. Varillas obſerves (20), that "this moderate conduct "diſpleaſed the Calviniſts, and did not ſatisfy the Catholics. The Calviniſts complained, that thoſe of "the oppoſite party and their irreconcileable enemies "were made their Judges (21); and the Catholics ſuſpected from that time that the Chancellor was of "the new religion ... They reproached him with "going to maſs merely for form-ſake, and uſed the "Chancellor's maſs as a proverb to expreſs a maſs, "which people went to only out of obedience to the "King. The Houſe of Guiſe had not a better opinion of that magiſtrate, and repented of having "contributed with the Ducheſs of Savoy to the making him what he was. They imagined that this "able Politician would endeavour to throw off his dependence on them, by forming at Court a third party "with the Queen-Mother, which might ballance the "other two in ſuch a manner that the one might not "ſupplant the other." This puts me in mind of the following paſſage in Brantome (22). *He was taken for an Huguenot, though he went to Maſs; but it was ſaid at Court, God keep us from the Maſs of Monſ. l'Hoſpital.*

(19) Ibid. pag. 361.

(20) *Hiſt. de l'Hereſie*, lib. 22. pag. 170.

(21) This edict gave the Biſhops alone the cogniſance of the crime of hereſy, and took it away from the King's Judges.

(22) *Eloge du Connet. de Montmorenci*, tom. 2. of his *Memoires*, pag. 89.

REFLECTION upon moderate meaſures generally diſpleaſing two oppoſite parties.

This is the common fate of thoſe, who ſeek a medium between the pretenſions of two oppoſite parties; they ſatisfy neither of them. But this inconvenience is ſometimes a leſs evil than accommodating one's ſelf to the paſſion of one of the parties; and there are many conjunctures, in which the greateſt good, which can be done, is to divide the diſadvantages, that each may have his ſhare. Our Chancellor would have ruined all, if he had undertaken at firſt to give full ſatisfaction to the Guiſes. This would have been running upon a rock. Prudence required, that he ſhould not attack that faction but by a ſide-wind; they had the wind in their ſtern, and it was not proper to ſteer againſt that wind. I believe that many Calviniſts, who had more zeal than knowledge of the world, always condemned this conduct of the Chancellor. They would have had him declare himſelf openly and reſolutely the protector of their cauſe: but could he have maintained his poſt three months together, if he had not uſed ſome management? He knew well enough, that the beſt way of oppoſing a ſtorm, was that mentioned by Plutarch, when he ſpeaks of the government of commonwealths. "As "Mathematicians tell us, that the ſun does not abſolutely follow the courſe of the firmament, and yet "his motion is not quite oppoſite or contrary, but declining a little, and taking an oblique courſe, by "this means preſerves all things, maintaining the "world in proper temperature. So in affairs of government, to oppoſe upon all occaſions, and in all "points the inclination of the people is too harſh and "ſevere a method of acting; as on the other hand an "eaſineſs to be led away by the diſpoſition of the people is a very dangerous precipice. But the middle "way, in ſubmitting ſometimes to the humour of the "people in order to make them obey in other points, "and granting them a thing which is agreeable, in order to demand a thing which is uſeful, is a ſafe method of governing men, who are prevailed upon by "gentle means to perform a great many things, which "they would refuſe to do, if they were required in a "violent and magiſterial way (23)." Our Chancellor was not ignorant of what Cicero obſerves, that politicians ought to imitate ſailors. *An, cùm videam navem ſecundis ventis curſum tenentem ſuum, ſi non ea eum petat portum, quem ego aliquando probavi, ſed alium non minùs tutum atque tranquillum, cum tempeſtate pugnem periculoſe potius, quam illi ſalute præſertim propoſita obtemperem & paream? neque enim inconſtantis puto ſententiam tanquam aliquod navigium, atque curſum ex Reipub. tempeſtate moderari* (24). i. e. "Shall I, when "I ſee a ſhip carried on by the winds, though it does "not go towards the port, which I before deſired, "but another no leſs ſafe and calm, expoſe myſelf to "danger by contending with the ſtorm, rather than "give way to it for my ſafety? For I do not think "it to be the ſign of inconſtancy to govern one's reſolution like a ſhip, and to ſteer one's courſe as the "ſtorms which agitate the commonwealth direct." Though he had not the good fortune of that Lepidus, who maintained the eſteem of Tiberius by a juſt medium between low flattery and too great ſtiffneſs; yet he deſerved the commendation which Tacitus has expreſſed in this manner. *Hunc ego Lepidum, temporibus illis, gravem & ſapientem virum fuiſſe comperio. Nam pleraque ab ſævis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit: neque tamen temperamenti egebat, cum æquabili auctoritate & gratia apud Tiberium viguerit. Unde dubitare cogor, fato & ſorte naſcendi, ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio in hos, offenſio in illos: an ſit aliquid in noſtris conſiliis, liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam, & deforme obſequium, pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum* (25). i. e. "This Lepidus I find to have been a "man of gravity and prudence in thoſe times. For "he ſoftened and diverted the cruel meaſures propoſed "by the flatterers, and yet did not want addreſs enough "to preſerve ſtill an equal ſhare in Tiberius's favour. "This leads me to doubt whether there is not a certain fatality in this, as well as other things, that "Princes are inclined toward ſome perſons, and averſe "to others; or whether this does not depend upon "our own management, and we have it not in our "power to purſue a courſe free from ambition and "danger by ſteering between harſh ſtiffneſs and mean "flattery."

(23) Plutarch, *in Phocione, init.*

(24) Cicero, *Orat. pro Plancio*, cap. 39. pag. m. 619. *See alſo* Epiſt. 9. lib. 2. *ad Famil.* pag. m. 56.

(25) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 4. cap. 20.

[E] *There were as many voices for them as againſt them in the Council, which examined the petition which they preſented to the King.*] This particular ſeems to me curious, and I imagine that the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the circumſtances of it here. I make uſe of the commentary, which a Catholic writer furniſhes me with (25). "The Huguenots preſented a "petition to the King, in order that they might be allowed to have a ſeparate Church from ours. The "King referred this petition to the Parliament, to "conſult about it with the Lords of his Council. They "have declared their opinions there on both ſides with "great freedom; ſome for the Catholic party, and "others for thoſe of the new religion. The Catholics "carried it by three voices, it being reſolved by them, "that

(26) Paſquier, Lett. lib. 4. pag. 196. of the 1ſt tome.

which they obtained ſome time after, was undoubtedly his work; now this edict allowed them public aſſemblies and many other privileges. This was the only remedy for the evils of the Nation; all the ſhocking misfortunes, which afflicted the Kingdom for thirty years, ſprung from the infraction of that edict; and after theſe dreadful calamities it was neceſſary to make uſe of the ſame remedy in a ſtronger doſe. It was neceſſary to grant the edict of Nantes, which was much more advantageous to the reformed Church, than that which the Chancellor Hoſpital had procured for it. But I own likewiſe, that the Romiſh Religion did not run ſo great a riſque, when the edict of Nantes was granted, as when he procured the edict of January [*F*]. The obſtacles to be ſurmounted by him were not removed after he had ſealed it; new ones aroſe upon its being regiſtred

" that people ſhall be obliged either to follow the " Church of Rome like our anceſtors, or to leave the " Kingdom with permiſſion to ſell their eſtates. " When the voices came to be caſt up, there was no " ſmall murmur; becauſe thoſe of the other party " aſſerted, that in a point of ſuch importance it was " not reaſonable, that on account of three voices all " France ſhould be reduced to a flame; as this me- " thod of baniſhment was impoſſible to be executed, " and as beſides this, to oblige thoſe, who continued in " France, to ſubmit to the Romiſh Religion againſt " their conſcience, was an abſurd attempt, which " was equal to an impoſſibility. The Admiral and " ſome other Lords cannot be ſilent. Monſieur de " Guiſe on the other hand, though the time " ſeemed to oppoſe his intention, declared openly and " plainly, that ſince it had been reſolved ſo, it was " neceſſary to ſtand to that determination, and that " his ſword ſhould never reſt in his ſcabbard, when " it ſhould be queſtioned whether that decree was to " take effect. Things in this conteſt paſſed without " concluſion ... (27). Afterwards to ſatisfy both par- " ties by a kind of neutrality, there was publiſhed an " edict in July laſt (28). The zealous Catholics com- " plain of this edict, and ſay, that thoſe of the new " or pretended reformed religion being not to be " ſearched for in their houſes, it is in plain terms " making the firſt article of the edict a mere illuſion, " and yet releaſing them from the power of a magiſtrate; " which will afterwards occaſion an opportunity to " ſhake off the yoke entirely from their neck (29)."

(27) Ibid. pag. 197.

(28) In 1561.

(29) Paſquier, pag. 198.

[*F*] *The Romiſh religion did not run ſo great a riſque, when the edict of Nantes was granted, as when he procured the edict of January.*] Thoſe of the reformed religion were very near gaining the aſcendant in the beginning of the reign of Charles IX; and if they had gained it, God knows what would have become of the religion, which had perſecuted them under the three preceding reigns. If the King of Navarre, who had declared reſolutely for them, had been able to perceive the ſnare, which the other party had laid for him, he would have continued firm in their communion. Nothing more was wanting to procure them the ſuperiority; for he poſſeſſed the poſt of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and it would not have been difficult then to oblige Catherine de Medicis to profeſs the reformed religion (30). But he ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by chimerical hopes; he had not ſagacity enough to diſcover the groſſneſs of the ſnare: he took the iſland of Sardinia, a country of baniſhment, a country miſerable and diſgraced (31); he took it, I ſay, ſo well he knew the map, for one of the fortunate iſlands mentioned in the fables. Being ſo groſly impoſed upon by theſe artifices of the Spaniards and the Cardinal Legate, he abandoned the reformed (32). See here how very little was wanting to render them maſters. I am going to cite a paſſage, which will inform us of the intereſts which they had by his favour among the States of Orleans, and the liberty, which they enjoyed under his protection. They aſſembled publickly, even in the capital of the Kingdom before there were edicts, which permitted them to do ſo. But we are to obſerve, that the Queen Regent, Catherine de Medicis, agreed with the King of Navare in this point (33). " (34) The Huguenots .... " repoſed all their confidence in this King (35), as one " whom they had ſupported upon their ſhoulders, and " for whom they had procured the government of " France by their intrigues and practices in the aſ- " ſembly of the three States. And indeed as an ac- " knowledgment of this he had by connivance allow- " ed them to preach with the doors open, not only " at Paris, but even at the Court of St. German en " Laye. In truth, it was very difficult for him to " ſupport himſelf in his grandeur, except by the means " of thoſe, who on the other hand received their aſ- " ſiſtance and ſupport from him. However he chang- " ing his mind, was the firſt inſtrument by which the " Catholics armed themſelves againſt the others. But " becauſe this is a ſecret to many perſons, and per- " haps you have not heard in what manner theſe prac- " tices were carried on, you muſt know, that the " Pope ſeeing the meaſures taken by us, ſent the " Cardinal of Ferrara, uncle to Madam de Guiſe, " Legate into France, with very ample powers .... " (36) We have likewiſe there the Lord of Charenton- " neau, ſon of the late Chancellor Granvelle. This " Embaſſador of King Philip is ſaid to be gained by " ſome of our great Princes, who did not approve " of this diverſity of religions. He, according to " the agreement between them, went diſguiſed to the " King of Navarre, aſſuring him, on the part of his " maſter, that as ſoon as he would undertake the pro- " tection of the Church of Rome, he would reſtore to " him the Kingdom of Navarre, or at leaſt an equi- " valent, in as rich and fruitful a country. This " ſcheme beginning to work, the Legate applied himſelf " on the other hand, and promiſed on the part of the " holy ſee the county of Venaiſſin, and to obtain for " him from the Catholic King the iſland of Sardinia, " which the Pope would erect into a Kingdom, in caſe " that King would not reſtore to him the Kingdom of " Navarre. It is ſaid, that the Conſtable and Mar- " ſhal de St. André uſed their endeavours to make " him reliſh theſe promiſes. That this is as true as " the Goſpel, I would not venture to aſſure you; " but the common report was ſo (37). This I can " affirm, that in an inſtant his countenance and diſ- " poſition were ſeen to be changed with regard to the " Huguenots. For he forbid the Miniſters to preach " at the Caſtle, as they had taken the liberty to do " five or ſix months before. Even in the aſſembly " of St. German, where the cauſe of the two churches " was debated, he oppoſed the reformed to the utmoſt " of his power; but the Prince of Condé, the Ad- " miral, and others, who then enjoyed not the leaſt " ſhare of the King's favour, oppoſed him, and car- " ried the point with regard to the publication of the " edict (38)." The ſame author proceeds to inform us of the proſperity, which the reformed enjoyed, even before the edict of January, and while Anthony King of Navarre favoured them. " The ſame day, *that is*, " *the 29th of September* 1561, the Queen of Navarre, " in the ſight of all the people, cauſed the marriage " between young Rohan and the Lady Brabançon, " niece to Mademoiſelle d'Eſtampes, to be ſolemnized " by Beza, after the manner of Geneva, at the Bo- " rough of Argenteuil. There were preſent the " Prince of Condé and the Admiral. This being " done without any controul near the gates of Paris, " and St. German en Laye, where the King reſided, " greatly raiſed the ſpirits of the Miniſters. And in " fact in October following they preached without the " walls of Paris, near the Monaſtry of St. Anthony " des Champs, between eight and nine thouſand per- " ſons being preſent. Upon their return a popular " ſedition was raiſed, which was eaſily ſuppreſſed by " the authority of the King of Navarre. They after- " wards proceeded ſtill further. For on the eve of " All Saints day there was held a public aſſembly in " the houſe of the Counteſs de Senignan, which was " guarded by the Provoſts of the Mareſchals and their " Archers, to pervent any commotion of the people. " A few days after, without confining themſelves to

(36) Paſquier, Lett. tom. 1. pag. 219.

(37) This common report was true: the moſt faithful Hiſtorians own it.

(38) That is to ſay, the edict of January 1562.

(30) See the remark [*B*] of the article SOUBISE (John &c.)

(31) See above the remark [*G*] of the article CHATEL (Tannequi du) *and* Tacitus, *Annal.* lib. 2. cap. 85.

(32) See the remark [*L*] of the article HENRY IV.

(33) Beze, *Hiſt. des Egliſes*, liv. 4. pag. 670. *and* Beauclaire, lib. 29. num. 34. pag. 966.

(34) Paſquier, Lett. liv. 4. pag. 218. of the 1ſt tome.

(35) That is, the King of France.

regiſtred in Parliament; and he was obliged to make uſe of the utmoſt efforts of his genius

" the edicts of the King, but breaking through that " of July, they undertook to preach two ſermons al- " ternately, one in the ſuburbs of St. Marcellus, in " the place called the Patriarch, the other without the " gate of St. Anthony, in the place called Popin- " court. It would be incredible to relate what a " multitude of people flocked to thoſe new devotions. " Gabaſton, Captain of the watch, and his Archers, " guarded them. L'Aulnay and l'Eſtang preached " at Popincourt, Malo and Viret at the Patriarch. " The Catholic Lords ſeeing that it was neceſſary to " give way to the ſtorm, Monſieur de Guiſe in a rage " retired to his houſe at Nanteuil, the Cardinal of " Lorrain to his Biſhoprick of Reims, Monſieur de " Nemoux to Savoy, the Conſtable to Chantilly, " &c. (39)." See in others of Paſquier's Letters (40) the prodigious multitudes which flocked to theſe aſſemblies, and the ſupport afforded them by the ſecular arm. The reader may alſo conſult the Letters of Hubert Languetus (41), where he will find among other things (42), that the aſſemblies held near Paris conſiſted ſometimes of fifteen thouſand perſons (43), the women in the midſt being ſurrounded with men on foot, and the latter ſurrounded by others on horſeback; and during the ſermon the Governor of Paris cauſed the avenues to be guarded by ſoldiers, who beat, or impriſoned, or repreſſed in any other manner all thoſe, who attempted to diſturb the devotions of the aſſembly.

(39) Paſquier, *Lett.* tom. 1. lib. 4. pag. 200, 201.

(40) Ibid. pag. 202, 203, & *ſeq.*

(41) Lib. 2. pag. 145, 150, 155. edit. Hal. 1698.

(42) Ibid. pag. 155.

(43) In a letter written Jan. 23, 1562 the edict was then made, but not regiſtered) he affirms, that there were preſent in the aſſemblies between 30 and 40000 people, and that two or three Miniſters were obliged to preach at the ſame place and time. Ibid. pag. 196.

WHETHER it can be ſaid, that the Reformed behaved in too oſtentatious a manner.

Many perſons, who judge of things only by the event, will be very apt to ſay, that thoſe of the reformed religion would have acted more prudently, if they had affected leſs haughtineſs at that time, for this oſtentation of their numbers was reckoned a bravado, which exaſperated their enemies, and induced them to have recourſe to the moſt preſſing remedies. We ſee from a letter of the Cardinal Legate, that he hoped for a fortunate iſſue of theſe haughty proceedings. His letter is dated at St. Germans, February 27, 1562. Here is a paſſage of it. " There happened lately a " conteſt between thoſe of the two religions, in which " ſome were left dead upon the place; and yet the " danger proved greater than the loſs. The Catho- " licks are immediately come hither, to complain of " the inſolencies of the Huguenots. They have re- " monſtrated, that for their part they had, according " to his Majeſty's expreſs order, laid down their " arms, but that their enemies had done quite the " contrary. For this reaſon they earneſtly requeſted, " that they might be permitted to reſume them, in or- " der to ſecure themſelves from their ambuſcades, " which had made them apprehenſive, upon good " grounds, that being encouraged by theſe ſoldiers, they " might hereafter do violence to their goods and per- " ſons. But the others on their ſide did not fail to " excuſe themſelves, or to alledge, *that the jealouſies* " *raiſed in them every day by the Catholicks on account* " *of their great number, were the reaſons why they did* " *not lay down their arms.* The anſwer of the King and " Queen of Navarre was greatly favourable to thoſe of " our party; for they invited them to take courage, " and even promiſed them, that *they would take great* " *care to provide for their particular ſafety, and the* " *common repoſe of the city.* So that after ſuch oblig- " ing words from the mouths of their Majeſties, " by which they declared more affection than " was before imagined, they returned fully ſatiſ- " fied. On the contrary the Huguenots were aſtoniſhed, " when they were told in very rough terms, *that if* " *they would not be more quiet, and refrain from ſuch* " *violencies, they ſhould be taught how to behave.* The " King of Navarre went much further, for he ſaid to " the Queen in their preſence, *that her Majeſty needed* " *only to command, and that when ſhe thought proper,* " *he would find means to ſtop the courſe of their inſolence.* " I ſhall add this particular, which is no inconſider- " able one, that not only their Majeſties, but all " other people in general, are greatly ſcandalized, that " Beza goes about Paris, attended conſtantly by Mon- " ſieur d'Andelot, and a great number of Gentlemen. " After all, notwithſtanding diſorders and ſcandals are " almoſt always prejudicial, they ſometimes produce " this advantage, that by raiſing the reſentments of the " great men, they engage them in generous enter- " prizes. This leads me to think, that we ought " ſo much the leſs to be uneaſy at this, ſince it is " probable, that in the temper in which the minds of " the moſt powerful men now are, theſe diſorders will " immediately fall on the heads of thoſe, who occa- " ſion them (44)." However let us obſerve to theſe Critics, that it was very natural for thoſe, who had groaned near forty years under ſo ſevere and cruel an oppreſſion, to make a full uſe of their liberty, and to ſpread like waters upon the opening of the ſluices. There were even reaſons of prudence, which might urge them to this conduct. They might reaſonably imagine, that it would be thought neceſſary to treat well a party, whoſe power would appear formidable. Laſtly, I obſerve, that neither the Miniſters nor private perſons could pervent Monſieur d'Andelot, and other brave men of quality, from mixing with their zeal for religion the airs of Soldiers and Gentlemen, which courage and habit made them aſſume. However that be, the other church eſcaped narrowly; for if notwithſtanding the deſertion of the King of Navarre, the Proteſtants ſupported very well the firſt war, what would not they have done under the protection of the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, which would undoubtedly have procured that of the Queen-Mother? Languetus informs us of the good opinion one might have of their forces. *Re patefacta plerique noſtrorum venerunt armati ad Concionem, & jam idem quotidie faciunt, & inter reliquos ſtudioſi magno numero. Iis præbent ſe Duces Dandelotus Frater Amirali, Princeps de Rohan, & Frater nothus Reginæ Scotiæ, ac alii Illuſtribus familiis nati, quod, meo judicio, non faciunt ſine conſenſu Reginæ: aliter enim graviter peccarent in leges regni. Monmorantio urbis præfecto mandatum eſt, ut huc inducat, præſidii cauſa, duas alas equitum, & certum numerum peditum, quibus præerit Dandelotus. Interea autem dum iſti milites præſidiarii expectantur, nobilitas & ſtudioſi funguntur eorum officio, & tota urbs armis perſtrepit. Pontificii deſperant fere de reliquis urbibus Galliæ, ſed exiſtimant ſummam rerum in hoc conſiſtere, ut hanc ſibi addictam retineant. Verum ita creſcunt hic ſtudia factionum, ut verear, ne eam omnium primam amittant. Quamvis enim à partibus eorum ſint plures Cardinales, Epiſcopi, Abbates, Præſides, Aſſeſſores, & alii, qui opibus & auctoritate valeant; noſtri tamen viribus & ferocia videntur eſſe potiores, & ſi ad vim deveniatur, totius ipſorum ſapientiæ nullus erit uſus. Mihi venit in mentem facetum dictum Ludovici 12 Regis Galliæ, cui ſuſcepturo bellum adverſus Venetos, cum quidam dicerent fore periculoſum illud bellum propter eximiam Venetorum ſapientiam: ego, inquit, multitudine ſtultorum ipſorum ſapientiam obruam . . . . Heri hic celebrarunt Jubilæum, ex mandato Legati Pontificii: noſtri vero convenerunt (ut exiſtimo) ad quadraginta millia, & præcipuas plateas urbis armatis compleverunt. Tres concionatores tantæ multitudini vix ſufficiebant* (45). i. e. " The thing being diſcovered, moſt of our party came " armed to the ſermon, and they now do the ſame " every day, and among the reſt a great number of " ſtudents. They are headed by Monſieur d'Andelot, " brother of the Admiral, the Prince of Rohan, and " the baſtard-brother of the Queen of Scotland, and " others of noble families; and this they do, in my " opinion, not without the conſent of the Queen; for " otherwiſe they would greatly offend againſt the laws of " the Kingdom. Montmorency, Governor of the City, " has been ordered to bring hither, as a guard, two " ſquadrons of horſe and a certain number of foot, " which will be commanded by d'Andelot. But while " theſe guards are expected, the Gentlemen and Stu- " dents ſupply their place, and the whole City re- " ſounds with arms. The Papiſts deſpair almoſt of " the reſt of the Cities of France; but think the whole " affair turns upon retaining this City in obedience to " them. But the other party gains ſo much ground " here, that I am apprehenſive, the Papiſts will loſe " it firſt of all. For though the Cardinals, Biſhops, " Abbots, Preſidents, Aſſeſſors, and others eminent " for their riches and authority adhere to them; yet " our party ſeems ſuperiour in ſtrength and reſolution, " and

(44) *Negotiations, ou Lettres d'Affaires eſcrites au Pape Pie IV, & au Cardinal Borromée, par Hippolite d'Eſt, Cardinal de Ferrare, Légat en France*, pag. 93, 94.

(45) Hub. Languet. *Epiſt.* 70. lib. 2. pag. 207, 208. It is dated at Paris in March 1562. See alſo the 67th Letter of that book.

genius and the reſolution of his mind, to ſurmount the ſcruples and ill humour of the Parliament of Paris [G]. The ſpeeches which he made in order to inſpire a ſpirit of toleration rendered him very much ſuſpected to the Roman Catholics, and extremely odious to the Court of Rome [H]; and becauſe he was perpetually declaring againſt a civil war, he was prevented from being preſent at the councils of war (f). He appeared

(f) See the remark [H] citation (*).

" and if the affair comes to force, all their wiſdom " will be of no uſe. There comes into my mind a " witty ſaying of Lewis XII, King of France, who " undertaking a war againſt the Venetians, and being " told by ſome, that it would be dangerous on account " of the admirable wiſdom of the Venetians, anſwer- " ed; *I will overwhelm their wiſdom by a multitude* " *of fools* . . . . Yeſterday the Jubilee was ſolemnized " at the command of the Pope's Legate: but our party " met, to the number, I think, of forty thouſand, " and filled the chief ſtreets of the City with armed " men. Three Preachers were ſcarce ſufficient for ſo " great a multitude."

[G] *He was obliged to make uſe of the utmoſt efforts of his genius, and the reſolution of his mind, to ſurmount the ſcruples and ill humour of the Parliament of Paris.*] This Parliament refuſed to regiſter the edict of January, and deputed to the King a Preſident and Counſellor to make their remonſtrances. Theſe two Deputies " having laid before the King all that induced the " Parliament not to receive the edict, the Chancellor, " on account of the dignity of his office, and the mi- " nority of the King, undertook to ſpeak, and told " them, that he did not doubt, but that all the rea- " ſons repreſented by them were of great weight; " but yet he deſired them to conſider, that they had " not been forgot in the Grand Aſſembly at St. Ger- " man; that the queſtion before them was one of " thoſe, which had its difficulties, on whatever ſide it " was viewed; and to ſpeak the truth, in the reſolu- " tion of it, the Magiſtrate was to be excuſed, what- " ever ſide he might take. He owned, that the foun- " dation of a State required, that there ſhould be but " one religion; but when things were come to ſuch a " paſs, as they were then in France, whoever rejected " the edict, muſt chooſe one of theſe two things; " either to put all the adherents of the new religion to " the ſword, or to baniſh them intirely, allowing them " to diſpoſe of their effects. The firſt point could not " be executed, ſince that party was too ſtrong both " in leaders and partizans; and though it could be " done, yet as it was ſtaining the King's youth with " the blood of ſo many of his ſubjects, perhaps when " he came to age, he would demand it at the hands of " his governors. And with regard to the ſecond " point, it was as little feaſible; and though it could " be effected as we intend, it would be raiſing by this " means as many deſperate enemies as exiles. With " reſpect to the edict of July, though there was a " plauſible pretext for it, yet it would lead men to " Atheiſm, by allowing them not to frequent the Ca- " tholic Churches, and yet prohibiting the exerciſe of " their religion. To obviate therefore all theſe incon- " veniencies it had been thought proper to eſtabliſh in " France two Churches, till God ſhould pleaſe to re- " unite them; and this had been formerly practiſed by " the Emperors Galerius, Maximian, and Conſtantius, " in order to compoſe the diviſions between the Chri- " ſtians and Pagans; remonſtrating to them and de- " ſiring them to give way to the preſent neceſſity; " in ſhort, to tolerate this ſcandal to avoid a greater; " and that if they committed a fault in this, it was " in imitation of the neighbouring nations, which in " ſuch an exigence had been obliged to do the ſame. " This anſwer being reported to the Parliament, and " the Chambers again aſſembled, they did not change " their opinion (46)." This oppoſition of the Par- liament troubled the Court, and a new conſultation was held there with ſome of the Deputies of Paris, what was to be done (47). The plurality of voices carried it for maintaining the edict, and " it was " committed to the Prince de la Roche-ſur-yon to " procure it to be publiſhed in Parliament, with ex- " preſs orders, that if they refuſed or delayed to do " it, he ſhould cauſe it to he publiſhed without the " judicial forms, being aſſiſted only by ſome private " Counſellors, whom he ſhould chooſe. This com- " miſſion was violent; but the prudent Prince exe- " cuted it in a very gentle manner, remonſtrating that " the King's intention was founded upon the neceſſity " of the times; that the Court of Parliament might " know well enough what paſſed in their ſight in " Paris, but was not acquainted with the complaints " which came daily from all parts of the Kingdom to " the ears of the King and his Council; deſiring " them to reſolve immediately, and without any long " diſcourſe, whether to anſwer yes or no. Upon this " it was agreed unanimouſly, that all who had been " preſent at the Council of St. Germans ſhould have " a deliberative voice in that affair as well as others; " ſo that at laſt it was reſolved that the edict ſhould " paſs." Indeed in the execution they " ſhewed plain- " ly, that it was by a forced conſent; for on Friday " the 26th of March, an extraordinary day of plead- " ing, it was confirmed with all the marks of con- " ſtraint, ſince with the edict were publiſhed all the " orders of the King, which was not cuſtomary in ſuch " publications. Beſides, the Attorney-General re- " quired nothing publickly, but declared that he had " given his concluſions in writing. It was ordered " therefore by the Court, that upon the back of the " letters it ſhould be written, that they had been " read, publiſhed, and regiſtered, after the King's " Attorney-General had been heard, but without any " approbation of the new religion; the whole by way " of proviſion, and till the King ſhould otherwiſe or- " der. Thus paſſed this edict at Paris (48)." This has ſome connexion with the Hiſtory of Monſieur l'Hoſpital, and contains ſuch particular circumſtances, which are not to be found ſo minutely in a general Hiſtory, that the reader will have ſome reaſon to be pleaſed with my mentioning of them.

(46) Paſquier, *Lett.* lib. 4. tom. 1. pag. 212, & *ſeq.*

(47) Ibid. pag. 214.

(48) Ibid.

[H] *The ſpeeches, which he made, in order to inſpire a ſpirit of toleration, rendered him very much ſuſpected by the Roman Catholics, and extremely odious to the Court of Rome.*] We have ſeen above (49) in a paſſage from Varillas, what was ſaid in France by way of raillery of the Chancellor's maſs. Beaucaire de Peguillon, ſpeaking of the aſſembly of St. German (50), and reporting the ſubſtance of the ſpeech, which the Chancellor l'Hoſpital made there, obſerves, that this firſt magiſtrate ſerved as an example to Judges, who favoured the ſectaries, and that he loved only the Calviniſts. *Deinde Regios miniſtros, qui juri dicundo præſunt & Regia edicta non ſatis accurate exequuti ſunt, excuſat: inter quos ille merito accuſatus eſt, qui illis exemplo erat, & nullos, niſi Calvinianos in oculis habebat: quique præclara hac oratione, & multis aliis perverſis machinis ad condendum ſatis celebratum poſtea ſuum Januarii ſequentis edictum viam præparavit* (51). i. e. " He then excuſes the King's Judges, who had not " been careful in executing the King's edicts; among " whom he was juſtly accuſed, who had been an " example to them, and regarded none but Calviniſts, " and by this excellent ſpeech and many other perverſe " arts prepared the way for forming his famous edict " of January following." This Hiſtorian has the aſſurance to call that great man atheiſt: here is what he ſays, when he remarks that the Cardinal of Lorrain procured him the dignity of Chancellor. *Interim Olivario Cancellario vita functo Cardinalis Lotharingus præter domeſticorum ſuorum omnium ac familiarium ſententiam, ut Michaël Hoſpitalis homo quidem doctus, ſed nullius Religionis, aut ut vere dicam ἄθεος, in ejus locum ſurrogaretur, effecit* (52). i. e. " In the mean while " upon the death of Olivier the Chancellor, the Car- " dinal of Lorrain, contrary to the opinion of all his " ſervants and friends, procured, that Michael l'Hoſ- " pital, a man of learning indeed, but of no religion, " or, to ſpeak truly, an atheiſt, ſhould be advanced " to his poſt." Something has been ſaid elſewhere (53) concerning this accuſation. Odoric Raynaldus has revived this cruel reproach, and made uſe of the very expreſſions of Beaucaire. It is in that paſſage where he ſpeaks of a certain attempt of the Preſident du Ferrier, which I have mentioned above (54). Monſieur Couſin is juſtly angry at this injuſtice and outrage of Raynaldus, and quotes a fine paſſage from the letter, which the

(49) In the remark [D] citation (20).

(50) Held in 1561.

(51) Belcar. lib. 29. num. 30. pag. 964.

(52) Idem, lib. 28. num. 57. pag. 937.

(53) See *Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes*, pag. 539. & *Critique Generale du Calviniſme de Maimbourg*, Letter 16. num. 2. of the 3d edit.

(54) In the remark [C] of the article FERRIER (Arnaud).

peared to be greatly afflicted, when he ſaw that both parties were preparing to take arms after the affair at Vaſſi. He declared his ſentiments plainly upon that point, and returned a good anſwer to the Conſtable, who had ſaid to him, that *it did not belong to men of the long robe to give their judgment with relation to war: though ſuch men*, anſwered he, *do not know how to bear arms, yet they know when they ought to be uſed* (g). Cardinal Hippolyto

(g) Paſquier, *Lettres*, tom. 1. lib. 4. pag. 226. *See alſo* Baptiſt le Grain, lib. 1. of the *Hiſtory of Henry IV.* p. m. 129, 130. where he commends him as much as he blames thoſe who excluded him from the council of war.

the Chancellor l'Hoſpital wrote to Pius IV, September the 29th 1562 (55). Father Paul (56) informs us, that this Pope found the ſpeech the Chancellor had made at the conference of Poiſſi to be *heretical in many points*. He adds, that the ſame Pope *threatned even to ſummon him before the inquiſition*, and that *the Court of Rome, where copies of that ſpeech had been diſperſed, ſpoke very ill of him, and ſuppoſed, that all the Miniſters of the Kingdom, had the ſame ſentiments of the Court; and the French Embaſſador had much ado to defend himſelf.* Obſerve, that Pius IV having reſolved to give the King of France an hundred thouſand crowns by way of preſent, and to lend as many more, ſtipulated among other things, that *the Chancellor, the Biſhop of Valence, and ſome others whom he named, ſhould be impriſoned* (57). We ſhall quote here a paſſage from a letter, which the Cardinal Legate Hyppolytus d'Eſte wrote to that Pope June 14, 1562. It is dated at Bois de Vincennes. "It is not one of the leaſt difficulties to remove from "Court the Chancellor and many other perſons of "rank, as your Holineſs deſires. For you place in this "number both heretics, and thoſe who are ſuſpected "of hereſy. But if it be neceſſary to remove from "Court all the latter, it would undoubtedly be empty, "theſe new opinions having already made ſuch an "impreſſion upon the minds of the Courtiers, that "there are but few, who have not at leaſt ſome "ſmall tincture of them ... But to return to the moſt "turbulent of the Court, your Holineſs is not igno-"rant, how difficult it was to remove the Chaſtil-"lons ... But as for the removal of the Chancellor *, "which is deſired, it is quite another thing; for be-"ſides that his poſt does not permit him to abſent him-"ſelf from Court except on very important reaſons, "he cannot yet be deprived of his place without ex-"preſs orders from the King, or for ſome conſiderable "fault, if he has committed any; nor can it be juſtly "ſaid, that he has deſerved death, unleſs it be ſhewn "by indubitable proofs. Now to bring him to a "tryal upon ſuch an accuſation cannot be done with-"out employing a great deal of time in the affair. "Beſides, ſuch an accuſation would undoubtedly be "ill grounded, ſince he is commonly ſeen to go to "maſs, to confeſs, and to communicate, ſo that he "cannot be openly convicted of not being a Catho-"lic (58)." The letter which he wrote the day following to Cardinal Borromeo ſhews, that Catherine de Medicis was not pleaſed with his propoſal of removing certain perſons, and that ſhe was ſtill more angry *than before*, when he named *particularly the Chancellor according to expreſs orders, which he had from Pius IV* (59). Hence it appears, that Mr. Varillas is greatly miſtaken, when he ſays, that the Triumviri obliged Monſieur de l'Hoſpital to retire, and that the Queen made a ſacrifice of him (60). He aſſerts, that this pretended retreat preceded the declaration of April the 7th 1562, and that it continued during all the firſt war (61). This is contradicted both by the ſilence of the other Hiſtorians, and the letters of the Legate dated June the 15th and July the 8th 1562 (62).

It was not a miſtake to believe that Monſieur de l'Hoſpital approved in his heart the doctrine of the reformed. Catherine de Medicis did not advance any falſity in all the diſcourſe, which is related by Monſr. de Mezerai. "She uſed all her arts to ſap the credit, "which he had gained with the young King, whom "ſhe aſſured by her confidents, that he certainly was a "favourer of heretics; that his wife, daughter, ſon-"in-law, and all his family, being of that religion, "there was no doubt but he was ſo in his heart, and "that he was only reſtrained by the apprehenſion of "loſing his poſt from publicly profeſſing Calviniſm. "Therefore as concealed enemies are much more dan-"gerous than open ones, it was neceſſary to be more "cautious of him than of the Admiral; and that his "Majeſty ought not any longer to ſuffer him to poi-"ſon his whole Council by theſe fine maxims of peace, "under which, as under the ſkin of a ſerpent varie-"gated with the moſt beautiful colours, was concealed "a moſt deadly poiſon, which by flattering would "prove fatal (63)." She had no reaſon to ſay, that Monſieur de l'Hoſpital was a dangerous enemy; for if he favoured the Proteſtants, it was not by diſloyal artifices, but by maxims the moſt conformable to the intereſt of the Kingdom and the ſervice of his Majeſty. *The integrity of his manners, his experience, and prudence in the management of affairs, were allowed by all the world; as his unbiaſſed affection to the intereſt of the Kingdom, the preſervation of the Laws, and the eaſe of the people, and his conſtant reſolution in oppoſing the injuſtice of great men, were highly applauded by good men* (64). Catherine de Medicis ſpoke the truth, when ſhe affirmed that the Chancellor's family was of the reformed religion (65). Now this is a good proof that he diſapproved of the doctrines of the Church of Rome. He has been pictured with a lighted candle behind him in the *Icones* of Theodore Beza, to ſignify, ſays Mr. Spondanus (66), that he carried a torch to light others, but not to light himſelf. The diſcourſe, which attends this *Icon*, informs us, that two reaſons reſtrained him from publicly profeſſing the truth. He was apprehenſive of loſing the means of ſerving the cauſe, and he hoped, that the time would come, when he ſhould not any longer be obliged to diſſemble. He in vain expected this conjuncture, and afterwards being deſirous of declaring himſelf he could not execute his reſolution. He ſacrificed himſelf, for others. Beza's Latin expreſſes this very well. *Huic ... ad juſtum laudis cumulum id videtur defuiſſe, quòd partim ne ſibi ad pios juvandos aditum præſtruere, ſi veram religionem apertè profiteatur, partim vana quadam expectatione deluſus, eo luto ex quo erutos omnes optabat, penitus extricare ſeſe quum diu neglexiſſet, poſtea volens id præſtare non potuit. Sed ecquis illius memoriam non celebrarit, qui, ut aliis conſuleret, ſeipſum tamdiu pene neglexit* (67)? i. e. "This "ſeems to have been wanting to compleat his cha-"racter, that partly left he ſhould diſqualify himſelf "from aſſiſting the faithful, if he ſhould openly pro-"feſs the true religion, and partly being deluded by "a vain expectation, after he had long neglected "wholly to extricate himſelf from that mire, out of "which he deſired all might be reſcued, when he "afterwards deſired to do it, he had not the power. "But who would not celebrate his praiſe, who ſo long "almoſt diſregarded himſelf, that he might ſerve "others?" His will is a proof, that in his heart he was not a Papiſt: there is no mention in it of the Maſs, or Purgatory, or Prieſt, or any thing of that kind; and he obſerves there, that Chriſtians *have no great eſteem* for funeral ceremonies or burials (68). Spondanus pretends, that this is the language of a profane perſon (69); and Monſieur Maimbourg ſays theſe terms are unworthy of a Chriſtian (70). Genebrard had already ſhewn his reſentment againſt theſe expreſſions in the funeral oration of Peter Danes. Obſerve, that it is ſaid, that Monſieur de l'Hoſpital had been engaged in the enterpriſe of Amboiſe. Conſider well theſe words of the Sieur d'Aubigné. "The Chancellor "Olivier dying at that time in the manner which we "have repreſented, L'Hoſpital, a man highly eſteemed, "ſucceeded him, though he had been one of the Con-"ſpirators in the affair of Amboiſe. This I affirm in "oppoſition to every thing which has been written, "ſince the original of the enterpriſe was conſigned into "the hands of my father, in which was his name at "length between that of Andelot, and one Spifame; "a thing, which I have ſhewn to many perſons of "diſtinction (71)." Mezerai endeavours to refute all this by a very weak reaſon: it is, ſays he (72), that *L' Hoſpital departed from France in the month of November*. But did not he know how many journeys la Renaude cauſed to be made? Was it ſo difficult to diſpatch one of the accomplices to Monſieur de l'Hoſpital in Piedmont? However this be, I imagine, that if he ſigned this conſpiracy, he was ſhewn only the fair ſide of it, and that he never expected, that it ſhould

(55) See *Journal des Savans* of Feb. 28, 1689, pag. 118, 119. of the Dutch edit.

(56) *Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*, lib. 5. pag. 438. of Amelot's verſion.

(57) Ibid. lib. 6. pag. 487. *ad ann.* 1562.

(*) *He accommodated himſelf in the Council to the deſigns of the Queen, who had ſecretly inſtructed him; but becauſe he voted for peace contrary to the ſentiments of the Duke of Guiſe and the Conſtable he was ill treated by both parties,* and under pretence that he was a man of the gown, he was excluded from the councils of war, where the Queen afterwards found that ſhe wanted one of her chief Miniſters. Davila, *Hiſt.* lib. 2.

(58) *Negotiations ou Lettres d'Affaires eſcrites par le Cardinal de Ferrare Légat en France*, pag. 224, 225.

(59) Ibid. pag. 240, 241.

(60) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Charles IX*, of tom. 1. pag. m. 151.

(61) Ibid. pag. 353.

(62) See *Negotiations du Cardinal de Ferrare*, pag. 308.

(63) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 85.

(64) Ibid. pag. 296.

(65) *See* Spondan. *ad ann.* 1573, num. 15. pag. m 745.

(66) *Ad ann.* 1561, num. 18. pag. 609.

(67) Beza *in Iconibus*, folio V, iii.

(68) See the *Bibliotb Choiſie of Colomies*, pag. 70.

(69) *Ad ann.* 1573, num. 15. pag. 745.

(70) *Hiſt. du Calvin.* pag. 105. See what has been anſwered to him in the *Critique Générale* of his book, Letter 16. num. 3.

(71) D'Aubigné, *Hiſt. Univerſelle*, tom. 1. lib. 2. cap. 18. pag. m. 129.

(72) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 22.

Hippolyto d'Eſte, Legate *à latere* in France, received orders to endeavour to remove him from Court, but he returned anſwer to the Pope, that he ſaw no probability of ſucceeding in that affair (*h*). He propoſed it however to the Queen-Regent, who was extremely angry at it. If Mr. Varillas had known this, he would not have committed the miſtake, which we ſhall ſee below (*i*). The pacific counſels of the Chancellor contributed more to his diſgrace than any thing elſe; I have given good proofs of this (*k*). He retired voluntarily, when he ſaw that his enemies had exaſperated the King againſt him; and he ſpent the remainder of his life in a country ſeat (*l*), which he had in Beauce. He retired in June 1568. The ſeals were demanded of him ſome days after. He reſigned them *very readily, ſaying that indeed he was not any longer fit for the affairs of the world, which he ſaw to be too much corrupted* (*m*). We ought not to think it more ſtrange, that he could ſupport himſelf ſeven or eight years in ſo corrupt a Court, than to find that he fell at laſt into diſgrace. There would have been ſomething wanting to the luſtre of his virtue and glory, if he had continued in the poſt of Chancellor till his death; for under ſuch a reign it was a kind of blemiſh and an ill ſign to be thought very proper for that great office. A man of integrity was not what thoſe, who had the direction of affairs then, wanted. We may remark, that Monſieur de l'Hoſpital took care however to procure excellent laws [*I*], and flattered neither the ſubjects nor the Prince. He had a great zeal for maintaining and confirming the Royal Majeſty and Authority, and by the gravity

(*h*) See the citation (58) about the middle.

(*i*) Citation (60).

(*k*) In the remark [*H*] towards the end.

(*l*) Named *Vignai* and not *Vignan*, as Mezerai calls it, pag. 186. of the 3d tome of his larger *Hiſtory*. He is not exact in proper names.

(*m*) Brantome, au *Diſcours du Connetable de Mommorenci*, pag. 17. of tome 2.

ſhould be executed in the manner in which it was concerted.

Father Garaſſe, tranſported with a blind deſire of cenſuring the Proteſtants, has charged them with calumny *in endeavouring to perſuade all France, that the Chancellor de l'Hoſpital was of their faith.* He compares them to the *Novatians*, who publiſhed *in lying writings, that St. Cyprian died in their communion*; and he ſays, that *this has been from all antiquity an ingenious piece of malice of wicked men* (73). He only diſcovers his ignorance.

(73) See *Doctrine Curieuſe de Garaſſe*, pag. 918, 919.

I cannot avoid inſerting here two obſervations, which I find in an anonymous piece, which is an excellent one. They inform us of the cauſes of the Chancellor's diſgrace. I do not think, ſays this unknown author (74), "that a great Miniſter, who is "employed in the important affairs of a Prince, "ought to be ſilent, whatever may happen; otherwiſe he would be the cauſe of his maſter's ruin by "his ſilence, as well as others by their attempts and "conſpiracies. For this reaſon I cannot be of their "opinion, who think that the Chancellor de l'Hoſpital had no occaſion to inſiſt ſo ſtrongly againſt the "reſolution which had been taken * * * * contrary to "the prudent advice of the late Conſtable, of engaging the King to depart * * * * at the beginning "of the ſecond troubles. For ſince that wiſe and prudent Miniſter judged, and judged very rightly, as "the event ſhewed, that this ſuddain departure being "put in execution ... would undoubtedly prevent a "reconciliation, and reduce matters to extremities; "there is no manner of doubt, but that if he had "concealed his opinion, and not inſiſted upon it, as "he did, he would have been guilty of a baſeneſs "unworthy of a man, who had been raiſed by his "virtue only to ſo high a dignity. For though afterwards he was ſinking, and his enemies, that is, the "enemies of his virtue, integrity, and ſincerity begun "from that time to conſpire to remove him; yet this "was not any reaſon for him to fail in his duty, ſince "the aim of thoſe, who have the honour to be employed in ſuch poſts, ought not to be to keep them "by injuring their honour and conſcience, but to ſerve "well and faithfully. Beſides, matters taking the "turn, which they did afterwards, a man of great "probity and courage, as this worthy Chancellor was, "ought to be very well ſatisfied with retiring ... (75). "A good Miniſter, who is really a man of virtue ... "will never give his advice contrary to his opinion, "and being commanded to ſpeak, and declare his ſentiments, will acquit himſelf faithfully and courageouſly. This is what the ſame Chancellor did, "when the queſtion was about the bulls, which allowed "the ſale of the Church-Lands to the value of an "hundred and fifty thouſand livres, for the extirpation of heretics; for this clauſe being contrary to "the edicts of the pacification, the maintenance of "which the Chancellor thought neceſſary to the good "of the Kingdom; beſides that as they had been "granted ſolemnly, he thought they could not be contravened, and that this was one of the effects of the "league, which was then concerting; and therefore "he declared openly his opinion, which was followed, "that they ſhould procure new bulls without that "clauſe, which was the laſt ſtumbling-block and occaſion of involving that great man under the ſuſpicion of "hereſy, and depriving him of the ſeals, in order to "give them to a man, who was thought more proper "for the time; and ſoon after every thing was diſpoſed for war."

(74) *Fragment de l'Examen du Prince de Machiavel*, pag. 95, & *ſeqq.* edit. 1622 in 12mo.

(75) Ibid. pag. 97, & *ſeq.*

[*I*] *He took care however to procure excellent Laws.*] Stephen Paſquier has furniſhed me with this reflection. I ſhall quote his words (76). "We have ſeen in "our time a young King Charles IX in France, "whoſe minority at firſt, and afterwards the extraordinary violence of his temper gave him no leiſure "to make Laws; yet never any King before him "made ſo many excellent edicts as he did; witneſs "that in 1560 in the States held at Orleans; the "other, which he made at Rouſſillon in 1563; and "the third at Moulins in 1566. Theſe three edicts "contain a prodigious number of articles in point "of policy, and excellent regulations, which vaſtly "ſurpaſs our ancient ordinances. To whom do we "owe this advantage? To no other than Michael de "l'Hoſpital, his great and wiſe Chancellor, who, under "the authority of the young King his maſter, was "the principal mediator of the firſt, and inſtigator, "promoter, and author of the two others. And I "ſhould be extremely glad that they were obſerved "with the ſame zeal as they were introduced." I am ſurprized that Paſquier does not mention the excellent edicts, which Monſieur de l'Hoſpital procured under Francis II. An Hiſtorian of that time (77) ſpeaks of three, which were very good and of great uſe. I ſhall ſhew what the firſt conſiſted of; it was that which regulated wills or donations of widows, who quickly married again. I ſhall make uſe of the words of an author of that age (78). "It was at "the ſollicitation of the Chancellor de l'Hoſpital, "that ſeveral ordinances, edicts, and ſtatutes were "made and publiſhed by our Kings of France for the "relief of the people, and the maintenance of juſtice. "Among others we have the edict of King Francis II, "which reſtrains ſecond marriages by taking away "the liberty, which thoſe women who married a-"gain, had to give more to their ſecond huſbands, "than to one of the children of their firſt. The occaſion of this edict was, that it happened, that a "woman of this Nation, who was very rich, fell in love "with a young Nobleman, who, becauſe ſhe ſeemed "too old, had no inclination to marry her. She was "ſo tranſported by her paſſion after him, that know-"ing he loved money, ſhe gave him all her eſtate, "reſerving only what belonged to her children by "her firſt huſband as their lawful portion. So that "her children for a morſel of bread were in a man-"ner deprived of their mother's inheritance, which "was transferred to a ſecond huſband. To prevent "ſuch frauds the Chancellor introduced into France "the ordinance of the Emperor Leo, mentioned in "the Law *hac Edictali* 6, *tit. de ſecund. nupt.* in the "fifth

(76) Paſquier, Lett. lib. 19. tom. 2. pag. 520, 521.

(77) Lewis Reignier, Sieur de la Planche, *Hiſt. de François II*, pag. 515, & *ſeq.*

(78) Thevet, *Eloge.* tom. 7. pag. 375.

gravity of his cenſures knew how to make Parliaments ſenſible of their ill conduct in diſobeying their King [*K*] ; but on the other hand he took care, that the Prince ſhould obey

" fifth book of the Juſtinian Code, which prohibits " the giving or leaving to a ſecond huſband more " than to one of the children of the firſt." It was very juſt and very neceſſary to renew this Law for the intereſt of the children of the firſt huſband ; for there were too many women, who being deſirous to marry again, would deprive them of their rights, in order to make themſelves the more agreeable to their new huſbands. They would ſupply by their liberality the charms which time had deprived them of; and beſides, the liberty of diſpoſing of their eſtates would expoſe them to lovers, who otherwiſe would not come to diſturb the reſolution, which they might have taken of edifying their neighbours by a virtuous widowhood.

[*K*] *Knew how to make Parliaments ſenſible of their ill conduct in diſobeying their King.*] An Attorney could not reprimand a Clerk who has committed a groſs blunder, more ſeverely than the Chancellor de l'Hoſpital did the Parliament of Bourdeaux, when Charles IX held his bed of juſtice there April the 12th 1564 before Eaſter. " The King, *ſays he* (79), has found a " great many faults in this Parliament, which having " been the lateſt erected, ſince it is but of an hundred " and twelve years ſtanding, you have the leſs excuſe " for departing from and neglecting ſo ſoon the antient ordinances, which would be excuſable in other " Parliaments, that are old ; and yet you are as much " or more corrupted than the old ones . . . . I have " received a great many complaints of your diſſentions . . . . See here an houſe ill governed ; and you " are accountable for it. The firſt fault is your diſobedience to your King ; for though his ordinances " are preſented to you, you obſerve them as you " pleaſe. If you have any remonſtrances to make to " him, bring them immediately, and he will hear " them. You rob him of his royal power, when you " refuſe to obey his royal ordinances, which is worſe " than to rob him of his demeſnes. I am informed " that the ordinance made at the requeſt of the States, " is not yet publiſhed here. And addreſſing himſelf " to the Preſident and King's Council, he ſaid, I ſhall " now ſpeak to you, Preſident and King's Council, " who ought to require and ſollicit the publication of " the edicts and ordinances of the King ; and you " Preſident, ought to propoſe, for you are the King's " Preſident in the Court. I am alſo informed, ſaid " he, that the ordinance of juſtice has not been publiſhed. I have likewiſe an account of ſome others, " which I ſhall not inſiſt upon to avoid prolixity. I " think, that you imagine yourſelves wiſer than the " King, but your wiſdom is limited to judge of proceſſes ; do you not think your ſelves wiſer than the " King, Queen, and his Council ? He has procured " peace, and at preſent there is war between him " and his Court of Parliament . . . (80). You deſpiſe " the Queen and King's Council. I ſee that you " value your own decrees ſo highly, that you prefer " them to ordinances, which, after you receive them, " you interpret as you pleaſe. It is not your buſineſs, " but the King's, to interpret ordinances, even thoſe " which concern the public good." I omit the concluſion of his diſcourſe, which is ſtill more ſevere than what I have cited. Obſerve, that this is a Commentary on what the King had ſaid in a few words in this Parliament, " that he would for the future be " better obeyed than he had been ; that he would " not ſuffer any of his ſubjects to take arms without his " leave ; and that he would likewiſe have his edicts " obſerved (81)." It is undoubted, that Monſieur de l'Hoſpital ſuggeſted to him this diſcourſe, as alſo the vigorous declaration, which had been made by the ſame Prince ſometime before to the Deputies of the Parliament of Paris. He had made remonſtrances to him concerning the edict of his majority, which they had not regiſtered. " The King, whoſe voice " and countenance were compoſed to a ſtudied ſeve- " verity, anſwered them, that they muſt obey ; that " they ſhould not interpoſe any more in public affairs ; " and that they ſhould diveſt themſelves of this old " error, *that they were tutors of the King, defenders of* " *the Kingdom, and guardians of the City of Paris.* " The Deputies having made their report to the " Court, it was divided (82)," and they ſent a new deputation to the King, " who ordered that the " edict ſhould be publiſhed and regiſtered without de- " lay, and that all the Preſidents and Counſellors " ſhould be preſent upon pain of interdiction (83)." It is eaſy to conceive, conſidering the King's age, that in this caſe he only repeated the leſſon of Monſieur de l'Hoſpital. " He made once a ſpeech to the " Parliament with the doors open, upon their refuſing " to paſs ſome of his edicts . . . . and complaining of " the adminiſtration of juſtice and corruption there, " and the rejecting of his edicts, ſaid with a noble, " and at it were menacing reſolution, It is your " buſineſs to obey my ordinances, without diſputing " what they are, for I know better than you what is " proper for the good of my Kingdom. Though " he had not yet any beard, he ſpoke thus before " theſe old and wiſe perſons, who were all ſurprized " at this reſolute and grave ſpeech, which favoured " more of his own generous courage, than the leſſons " of Monſieur Amiot his Preceptor (84)." Brantome ſhould have added that this ſpeech was dictated to him by Michael de l'Hoſpital. The Prince, who had already diſgraced him (85), well remembred the inſtructions which he had received from his Chancellor, that it was of importance to him to humble the preſumption of the Parliament of Paris, which was ſo pernicious at that time to the whole Kingdom.

Here I ought to examine in a few words the diſcourſe which we hear every day, and which repreſents as a principle of miſery the ſuppreſſion of the right, which Parliaments had formerly of rejecting thoſe edicts, which appeared to them unjuſt. This, it is ſaid, was a bank, which prevented the people from being drowned under the arbitrary power of the Monarch. The breaking down of this bank ought to be compared to the blow, by which Æolus ſhook the mountain, which ſerved as a priſon to the winds.

Cavum converſa cuſpide montem
Impulit in latus : ac venti, velut agmine facto,
Quâ data porta, ruunt, & terras turbine perflant.
Incubuêre mari, totumque à ſedibus imis
Unà Euruſque Notuſque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus ; & vaſtos volvunt ad littora fluctus.
Inſequitur clamorque virûm, ſtridorque rudentum (86).

" He ſaid, and hurl'd againſt the mountain's ſide
" His quiv'ring ſpear, and all the God apply'd :
" The raging winds ruſh thro' the hollow wound,
" And dance aloft in air, and ſkim along the ground :
" Then ſettling on the ſea the ſurges ſweep,
" Raiſe liquid mountains, and diſcloſe the deep,
" South, eaſt, and weſt, with mix'd confuſion roar,
" And roll the foaming billows to the ſhore ;
" The cables crack, the Sailors frightful cries
" Aſcend, and ſable night involves the ſkies,
" And Heav'n itſelf is raviſh'd from their eyes.

DRYDEN.

They illuſtrate this with a great many maxims, which have a great appearance of ſolidity ; but they go no further ; they never turn the tables ; they never conſult experience ; they never examine whether a perſon may not anſwer, I appeal to experience. Now this is the weak ſide ; for it is eaſy to prove, that France never was ſo diſtreſſed and unhappy, as when the Parliament moſt enjoyed the authority of rejecting the edicts and ordinances of the Prince under Charles IX and Henry III. It is eaſy to prove alſo, that the exerciſe of this authority was the principal ſource of the calamities of the Kingdom from the year 1562 to 1594. The Chancellor de l'Hoſpital had laid the foundation of the public peace by the edict of January. The Church of Rome had no longer any reaſon to fear the danger, which I have mentioned above (87) : the King of Navarre had abandoned the Huguenots ; Catherine de Medicis no longer thought of taking off the maſk. They would have been ſatisfied with having their fill of preaching ; and thus the Kingdom might have

(79) See *Recueil de divers Memoires*, printed at Paris by Peter Chevalier 1623 in 4to, pag. 424.

(80) Ibid. pag. 426.

(81) Ibid. pag. 421.

(82) *Mezerai, Abregé Chronolog.* tom. 5. pag. 80. *ad ann.* 1563.

(83) Ibid.

(84) Brantome, *Eloge de Charles IX*, pag. 33, 34. of the 4th tome of his *Memoires.*

(85) Without doubt Brantome ſpeaks of the ſame ſpeech of Charles IX, which Mezerai mentions under the year 1571, pag. 239. of the 3d tome of his *Great Hiſtory.*

REFLEXION on what is ſaid by many people, that it is for the intereſt of the Kingdom of France, that Parliaments ſhould have much more authority than they have.

(86) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 85.

(87) In the remark [*F*].

obey juſtice and reaſon. He oppoſed to the utmoſt unjuſt edicts, and if notwithſtanding he was obliged to ſeal them, he ſhewed that it was againſt his will [L]. One of the occaſions, in which he diſplayed his great preſence of mind, was when the demands of the Embaſſadors of England concerning the reſtitution of Calais were conſidered in the King's Council. He anſwered with ſo much force their firſt reaſons and replies, that he manifeſtly

have continued in peace, if the edict of January had been obſerved. But the Catholics infringed it, and this occaſioned the firſt religious war, the root of all the evils, which afflicted the Kingdom till the extinction of the league; for all theſe evils were grafted upon or ſprung from one another, by a well connected train of cauſes and effects (88). Now to what muſt we principally aſcribe the infraction of this edict of January? Is it not to be imputed to the Parliament of Paris? Did not they encourage all the world not to obſerve it? They did not regiſter it without defaming it (89), that is, after three commands, and with ſuch reſtrictions and clauſes, as ſhewed, that they only regiſtered it by compulſion, and as a tranſient and very pernicious regulation. Who after this would ſcruple to break ſuch an edict? Might not one be aſſured, that a Parliament, which judged in this manner, would not trouble themſelves with puniſhing thoſe, who ſhould infringe it? Now at that time it was abſolutely the ſame thing to be acceſſary to the infraction of the edict, and to ſound an alarm for a civil war. Obſerve Monſieur Varillas's words, when he begins to relate the meaſures taken againſt thoſe of the reformed religion a little before the maſſacre of Vaſſi. *The houſe of Guiſe*, ſays he (90), *judged from the oppoſition, which the edict of January had met with in the Parliament, that it would not ſubſiſt long, and did not doubt but that civil wars would ſoon break out.* Let us ſay in general, that the Parliaments of France, by refuſing to regiſter the edicts of pacification, or by regiſtering them with an ill grace, and afterwards by a natural conſequence not taking care to ſee them obſerved, were one of the principal cauſes of the long calamities, which diſtreſſed the Kingdom, and were very near deſtroying abſolutely the Monarchy. If Charles V had reigned at that time, it would infallibly have become a province to his dominions, and been divided into a thouſand pieces.

But ſome body will ſay, you alledge only the abuſe which the Parliament then made of the right, which they had to reject the edicts of the Prince. To this I anſwer, are tyranny and moſt other diſorders any thing elſe than the abuſe of good things? It is ſufficient to refute your reflections, that it may be ſaid, that this bank or barrier, which you ſpeak of, and which properly ſpeaking includes this contradiction, that a State is and is not monarchical, cannot be reckoned a good remedy, ſince it has done much more harm than good. What compariſon is there between the advantages, which reſult from the rejecting of ſome pecuniary edicts (91), and the deplorable ruin, which the Kingdom ſuffered for above thirty years? Theſe horrible calamities are much leſs to be imputed to the Court, than to the Parliaments. The Court was become wiſe through the inſtructions of a very able and very virtuous Chancellor. Monſieur de l'Hoſpital had induced it to prevent, by the edict of January, all misfortunes, and to deſtroy the root of civil wars. The Parliaments inſtead of ſeconding this, oppoſed and rendered ineffectual the remedy which he had found; a remedy which could not but be good, ſince there was no other (92). The Court would have followed the ſteps which the Chancellor had directed it to; and left it only on account of the confuſions, into which the Kingdom fell, through the fault of thoſe, who diſobeyed the edict; and theſe were the Parliaments, which opened a wide path to this diſobedience. They are anſwerable therefore for the profanation, plundering, and demoliſhing ſo many Churches, of which ſome are pleaſed to give catalogues, in order to render the Huguenots odious. It was not owing to them, that the miſeries of the Kingdom were not perpetual, even after the League was ſubdued. They oppoſed the edict of Nantes, the only remedy for the inteſtine diſorders; the Parliament of Paris would never have regiſtered it, if Henry IV had not made uſe of intreaties, but with a tone, which ſhewed, that he knew how to make himſelf obeyed (93). Obſerve, that the

(88) Compare this with the remark made by d'Aubigné chap. 2. lib. 5. of the 3d tome of his *Hiſtory*, pag. m. 628.

(89) See remark [G].

(90) Varill. *Hiſt. de Charles IX.* tom. 1. pag. m. 121. *ad ann.* 1562.

(91) The 9th of September 1578, the Parliament regiſtered but two pecuniary edicts of 22 which were preſented. See Father du Londel's *Faſtes*, pag. 88.

(92) *Optimum remedium quia unicum.*

(93) *See* Matthieu, *Hiſtoire de la Paix*, liv. 2. Narrat. 1. num. 7. pag. 210, & *ſeqq.*

ſpeech of Monſieur de l'Hoſpital to the Parliament of Bourdeaux (94), ſhews, that at that time, when little regard was paid to the King's ordinances, the adminiſtration of juſtice was full of corruption and ſhocking diſorders. Let us conclude with remarking, that a popular government is ſomething ſo perplexed, that the remedies, which ſeem to be the beſt, are ſometimes worſe than the diſeaſe, and the ſource of the greateſt diſorders. I have juſt given an eminent inſtance of this.

(94) I have cited it above quotation (79).

[L] *If he was obliged to ſeal* unjuſt edicts, *he ſhewed, that it was againſt his will.*] A Miniſter of State, and eſpecially a Chancellor to a King, ought to do two things, if he would diſcharge his duty. One is to recommend very ſtrongly to ſubjects ſubmiſſion and obedience; he ought not to ſpeak to them of any thing elſe; let him not amuſe himſelf with diſputing with them, whether they have a right ſometimes of taking up arms, and refuſing to obey the ordinances, which they think unjuſt and burthenſome. He muſt lay it down as a thing inconteſtible that they have no ſuch right. The other thing, which he ought to do, is to repreſent in a lively manner, and inceſſantly to the Prince, that the royal authority does not diſpenſe him from an abſolute ſubmiſſion to juſtice, and that he has no right, nor privilege, to violate juſtice, equity, his word, &c. Monſieur de l'Hoſpital acquitted himſelf exactly of both theſe duties. He took the part of the King before his ſubjects, and the part of the ſubjects before the King. He repreſſed with great vigour thoſe, who made any attempt upon the royal authority. See (95) the cenſures, which he made, or which the King made to the Parliament, by his advice. See alſo (96) what he anſwered to the Deputy of the Parliament of Dijon. But you will now ſee with what integrity, with what firmneſs, he reſiſted the unjuſt propoſitions, which were ſuggeſted to the King. He oppoſed them by his reaſons as far as was in his power; and if his remonſtrances did not prevent the concluſion of the affair, he waſhed his hands of it, he ſhewed, that he did not give his conſent to it. "Ah, "Sir, what a foul and venomous tail it is in an "edict, when the regiſtring of it is ſtopped by theſe "words, *by the expreſs command of the King often "repeated*, which produce only a condemnation among "wiſe and good men, againſt the injuſtice of it, ſupported only by the commands, which the Chancellors are frequently obliged to ſeal contrary to their "opinion, in which are ſeen theſe odious and reproachful words: *Notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances made and to be made, which we hold as heard "and underſtood, and for which we will not have it "deferred:* That is to ſay, in deſpite of reaſon, by a "malignant counſel, by an unjuſt will, by a precipitate deliberation, by the rebuke of virtue, by the "toleration of evil, by the hatred of honour, and by "an affected ignorance, and the contempt of right. "It was therefore to avoid partaking in this diſgrace, "that the good and very worthy Chancellor de l'Hoſpital wrote generally theſe words with his own "hand upon the back of ſuch letters, *Me non conſentiente*, that is to ſay, I have been obliged to "ſeal them againſt my will; as he did in the letters "about the reception of the powers of the Cardinal "of Ferrara, ſent as Legate into France by Pope "Pius IV (*), to which reſolute conduct of the Chan-"cellor, the Court of Parliament having ſeen theſe "words upon the back of the letters, joined themſelves, and would never regiſter theſe powers (97)." The Preſident de la Place will inform us more particularly of what relates to this laſt fact. "Now for as "much as among other articles decreed in the States, "it was ordered, that the benefices of this Kingdom "ſhould be collated by the Ordinaries, each in his "dioceſe, and no longer by the Pope, and that no "diſpenſations ſhould be admitted; there was a great "difficulty to admit the powers of the ſaid Legate, "the Chancellor remonſtrating, that he could not do "any

(95) In the preceding remark.

(96) In the article BEGAT.

(*) La Popeliniere, lib. 7.

(97) Le Grain, *Décade d'Henri le Grand*, lib. 8. pag. m. 898.

manifeſtly had the advantage (*n*), and gave the King his maſter occaſion to flatter himſelf, that by keeping that place he ſhould not contravene the treaty of peace of Cateau. His vigilance, great as it was, could not ſecure him from the artifices of a Secretary, who was a diſhoneſt man [*M*]; and this gave him great uneaſineſs. It was obſerved, that he reſembled Ariſtotle in the face [*N*]. Some aſcribe to him the compariſon of the apes; and probably

(*n*) See Thuanus, lib. 41. pag. 840, 841. *ad ann.* 1567. *and* Varillas, *Hiſtoire de Charles IX.* pag. m. 39, *& ſeqq.* of the 2d tome. *See alſo* pag. 256. of the 1ſt tome.

" any thing contrary to what had been ſo readily re-
" ſolved and concluded by the ſaid States. But not-
" withſtanding this, the ſaid Legate giving them to
" underſtand, that as he was allied to the houſe of
" France, it would be a great reproach and diſhonour
" to him to be the firſt Legate refuſed there, offering
" not to make uſe of his ſaid powers, but to return
" immediately after the regiſtering of them; the
" Chancellor was ordered to ſeal the letters, which he
" did after many altercations between the ſaid Legate
" and him; and after he had written under the ſeal of
" theſe letters with his own hand theſe words, *me non*
" *conſentiente*, that is to ſay, *againſt my conſent*:
" Which being ſeen by the ſaid Court, they were re-
" fuſed, and it was declared, that they could not and
" ought not to receive them (98)." There are ſome Hiſtorians, who ſay that at laſt the Legate, " not-
" withſtanding the Chancellor's opinion, procured that
" his powers ſhould be admitted in the Council of
" State, in which he was allowed a ſeat (99)." Every one knows the vaſt authority of the Guiſes under Francis II; yet it was not capable of biaſſing the Chancellor: he was the only perſon, who refuſed to ſign the ſentence of death againſt the Prince of Condé (100).

(98) La Place, *Commentaires de l'Eſtat de la Religion & République*, lib. 6. fol. m. 214. *verſo, ad ann.* 1561. See concerning this Legate the book *de l'origine des Cardinaux*, pag. 265, *& ſeq.* Dutch edit. 1670.

(99) Le Grain, *Décade de Henri le Grand*, lib. 1. pag. 118.

(100) Idem, ibid. lib. 1. pag. 109.

Languetus has preſerved a lively repartee, which the Chancellor made to the Legate. The latter had preſumed to charge him with not knowing what his poſt required of him. At leaſt, replied the Chancellor, I have endeavoured to learn it; but you, who hold ſeveral Biſhoprics, have never had any thoughts of inſtructing yourſelf in the duties of the Epiſcopal function. *Solus Cancellarius pertinaciſſime reſtitit, & dixit in ea re fieri ſummam injuriam Regi puero, ac regni Gallici jura, & Majeſtatem proſtitui, nec ſe paſſurum, ut Regio ſigillo ſibi concredito ad eam rem abuterentur. Ad quæ incandeſcens Ferrarienſis, dixit eum ignorare, quæ eſſent ſui muneris & officii. Ego vero, inquit Cancellarius, hoc ſaltem egi, ut id intelligerem, ſed tu ne quidem cogitaſti unquam quod ſit officium Epiſcopi, cum tamen aliquot Epiſcopatus poſſideas. Tandem victus aliorum importunitate tradidit eis Regium Sigillum, ſed tamen voluit inſtrumento permiſſionis inſeri, ſe contradicente hoc eſſe permiſſum* (101). i. e. " The Chancellor alone reſolutely
" oppoſed it, and urged that by this affair a great in-
" jury would be done to the King in his minority,
" and that the Privileges and Majeſty of the Kingdom
" of France would be proſtituted; and that he would
" not ſuffer them to abuſe to ſuch a purpoſe the King's
" ſeal intruſted with them. The Cardinal of Ferrara
" being provoked at this, ſaid, that he did not know
" what belonged to his office. But I, returned the
" the Chancellor, at leaſt have done thus much,
" that I have endeavoured to underſtand it; but you
" have never thought of what is the duty of a Biſhop,
" though you are poſſeſſed of ſeveral Biſhoprics. At
" laſt being overcome by the importunity of others
" he delivered up the King's ſeal to them, but would
" have it inſerted in the inſtrument of permiſſion, that
" this was done againſt his will."

(101) Languet. *Epiſt.* 62. lib. 2. pag. 157.

Here follows a paſſage of Bodin. " It is very cer-
" tain, that the Laws, Ordinances, Letters Patents,
" Privileges, and Grants of Princes have no force but
" during their life, if they are not ratified by the expreſs
" conſent or at leaſt the permiſſion of the Prince, who
" has the cognizance of them ... This was the reaſon
" that Monſieur de l'Hoſpital Chancellor of France,
" refuſed to ſeal the confirmation of the Privileges and
" exemption from taxes for St. Maur des Foſſes,
" whatever orders he had to do it, becauſe they con-
" tained a perpetual exemption, which is againſt the
" nature of perſonal privileges, and leſſens the power
" of ſucceſſors, and cannot be given to any bodies of
" men or colleges, except during the life of the Prince,
" who grants them, although the word *perpetual* be
" inſerted (102)."

(102) Bodin, *De la Republique*, lib. 1. cap. 8. pag. m. 131, 132.

[*M*] *His vigilance ... could not ſecure him from the artifices of a Secretary, who was a diſhoneſt man.*] I ſhall cite upon this ſubject what I have read in a book intitled, *La Fortune de la Cour*. The Chancellor de l'Hoſpital, who was blamed becauſe being na-
" turally very ſevere in expediting juſtice, and ſtiff to
" thoſe who came to ſollicit him, yet was not ſo
" with regard to his domeſtics, and eſpecially his Se-
" cretary Bouvaut, who ſurprized him as often as he
" thought proper; which he continued to do till com-
" plaint was made to the Council upon occaſion of a
" very rude letter. The Chancellor was aſhamed to
" be ſurprized in this manner, and was obliged to
" turn away, with a thouſand reproaches, a ſervant
" whom he had a great affection for before (103)." The author mentions another thing, which has no relation to my text; but I ſhall quote it, as it is a remarkable fact. " He was likewiſe ſeverely repri-
" manded by the late Monſieur de Montpenſier in a
" full Council, becauſe having ſhewn himſelf almoſt
" inexorable to paſs the Grants, which the King had
" made him of no large ſum, yet ſome days before he
" had received from the Treaſurer fifty thouſand
" livres in ready money; and he was greatly re-
" proached for it, though it was certain, that the
" King, even of his own accord, had preſſed him to
" take it (104)."

(103) *Fortune de la Cour*, pag. 349. This book was printed at Paris in 1642 in 8vo. See *Bibliotheque Françoiſe de Sorel*, pag. 414. edit. 1667.

(104) Ibid. pag. 350.

[*N*] *It was obſerved, that he reſembled Ariſtotle in the face.*] Theodore Beza aſſures us of this in very ſtrong terms. *Ut ex antiquiſſimo numiſmate apparuit, ſummum illum omnium Philoſophorum principem Ariſtotelem ſic ore toto retulit, ut alterius ex altero imago expreſſa videri poſſet* (105). i. e. " It appears from a very old
" coin, that he ſo much reſembled Ariſtotle, the Prince
" of Philoſophers, in the face, that the picture of
" one might ſeem to be taken from the other." Thevet refutes this. *And with regard to the reſemblance*, ſays he (106), *which Beza feigns between Ariſtotle and our Chancellor, if he means the traces and lineaments of the face, there is no man, who compares the true picture of Ariſtotle, which I have given above, with that of the Chancellor, which had been drawn to the life, but will perceive at firſt ſight, that there is a difference.* But Stephen Forcadel informs us of the circumſtances, which favour Beza. He tells us, that while Charles IX viſited the cities of his Kingdom, there was dug up a ſtatue, which bore the name of Ariſtotle, and perfectly reſembled Michael de l'Hoſpital. He adds, that verſes were written upon it, which pleaſed the Chancellor. I ſhall cite at large his words, becauſe they contain the praiſes of this great man, and becauſe my Dictionary ought, at leaſt ſometimes, to reſemble thoſe compilations in which are collected the judgments of learned men upon eminent perſons. Here then is what Stephen Forcadel writes (107). *Legis pervigil & excellens cuſtos Cancellarius: qualem re ipſa ſe præbuit, dum viveret, ideoque à fato maxime laudabilis vir Michaël Hoſpitalis, cui Muſæ ſtatuam libentiſſime ponerent, niſi Juriſprudentia, ſimulque Philoſophia hoc decus præripuiſſet. Idque non ambigue ſignificatum eſt ſuperioribus annis, Carolo IX Rege ſuam Galliam oppidatim luſtrante, cum forte eruta fuit, & è ſinu terræ altius effoſſæ ſtatua inciſo Ariſtotelis titulo, quæ apprime M. Hoſpitalem lineamentis ac figuram referebat, ut nec ſibi ipſi magis ſit ille ſimilis, ſicut nec animi dotibus ab inſigni Philoſopho multum differt. Unde bene ominare cæpi de componendo turbulentæ Reipublicæ ſtatu, quia Gallorum Cancellarius Regi maximo intimus Magni illius Alexandri doctorem effigie exæquaſſet... Nos itaque Hoſpitali humaniſſimoque viro, honoris gratia, tunc verſiculos dedicavimus comiter ſupra expectationem accipiendos:*

(105) Beza, *in Iconibus*, fol. vilj.

(106) Thevet, *Eloges*, tom. 7. pag. 367.

(107) Stephanus Forcatulus, *de Gallor. Imperio & Philoſophiâ*, lib. 7. pag. m. 1086, 1087.

Quiſquis Ariſtoteli doctum te contulit, idem
Blanditus docto fertur Ariſtoteli.

i. e. " A Chancellor, a vigilant and excellent
" Guardian of the Law, as Michael l'Hoſpital really
" ſhewed himſelf to be, while he lived, and therefore
" deſerved the higheſt commendations after his death.
" The Muſes would gladly raiſe a ſtatue to him, if

probably they do in this point what is very common, not only with thoſe who talk at random, but even with writers; I mean, that they aſcribe to one what belongs to another [O]. He made an excellent will, which has been printed, and he expreſſed in it among other things his inclination to peace [P], and his indifference for funeral ſolemnities (o). He died

(o) See remark [H] citation (63).

" Civil Law and Philoſophy had not beforehand taken " away this honour. And this was plainly ſignified " ſome years ago, when during the time that Charles IX " made a progreſs through the cities of France, a ſtatue " with Ariſtotle's name upon it was dug up, which ſo " much reſembled Monſieur de l'Hoſpital, that he was " not more like himſelf, as he was not much un- " like that famous Philoſopher in the endowments of " his mind. Hence I began to preſage that the tur- " bulent ſtate of affairs in the Kingdom would be " compoſed, becauſe the Chancellor of France, who " was intimate with our great King, reſembled the " Tutor of Alexander the Great ... I therefore wrote " verſes in honour of de l'Hoſpital, a man of the " utmoſt humanity, which were received beyond my " expectation.

" *Whoe'er compared you to learn'd Ariſtotle,*
" *Paid him the greateſt compliment in nature.*"

Thuanus confirms what Theodore Beza has aſſerted (108). Obſerve that Brantome mentions another reſemblance. The Chancellor de l'Hoſpital, ſays he (109), *had all the appearance of Cato, a great white beard, a pale countenance and grave air, ſo that to ſee him, one would have ſaid, that he was the true picture of St. Jerom; and ſeveral perſons at Court ſaid the ſame.*

[O] *Some aſcribe to him the compariſon of the apes, and probably .... they aſcribe to one what belongs to another.*] They transfer to the Chancellor de l'Hoſpital a thought of his predeceſſor. Read the following words of Montagne (110): " I have found the ſhorteſt " and eaſieſt way ... to rid myſelf of this deſire, and " to ſit ſtill ... judging rightly of my powers, that " they are not capable of great things; and remem- " bering the ſaying of the late Chancellor Olivier, " that the French are the apes, which leap up a tree " from branch to branch, and do not ſtop till they " reach the higheſt branch, to ſhew their breech " when they are there (§α)." Mr. Menage (111) cites theſe words of Montagne, after having quoted ſome Greek verſes (112), in which Scaliger made uſe of the ſame thought againſt Lydiat, and the Latin verſes, which Salmaſius wrote againſt Father Petavius; and which turn upon the ſame compariſon. Coſtar intimates that the Chancellor ſpoke thus in a ſpeech. This is what I am not eaſily led to believe. *The Chancellor Olivier*, ſays he (113), *made no ſcruple publicly to compare the French to apes, which leap from branch to branch, and ſhew their breech when they are at the top of the tree.* We ſhall ſee preſently, that an Advocate of the Parliament of Paris aſcribes this compariſon to the Chancellor de l'Hoſpital. This Advocate is little known but by the name of *Gutherius* (114), which may be tranſlated five or ſix different ways, without receding from the analogy, according to which the French latinize their names. Let this be ſaid by the bye. Here is the fact. *Sæpe ego audivi à fori noſtri principibus viris, Michaëlem Hoſpitalium Franciæ Cancellarium, cui nulla ætas habuit parem, ſolitum dicere, multos, qui ad honores à fortuna pelluntur, ſimiarum eſſe ſimillimos, quæ altiorem arborem nactæ, eouſque conſcendunt, ut cum ad ſummum arboris faſtigium evaſerint, foliis vento ſtridentibus opertæ totæ poſteriora tantum prætereuntibus ridiculè oſtentant* (115). i. e. " I have often heard of the " principal men of our Court of Judicature, that " Michael de l'Hoſpital, Chancellor of France, whoſe " equal has been in no age, uſed to ſay, that many " perſons, who have been raiſed to honours by for- " tune, are very like apes, who meeting with an " high tree, mount to the top of it, but the wind " moving the leaves they expoſe themſelves to laugh- " ter by ſhewing only their breech." There are a thouſand inſtances which prove, that the ſame thought is aſcribed to ſeveral perſons. I ſhall mention but one, which relates to the reign under which our Monſieur de l'Hoſpital held the office of Chancellor. " It was ſaid one day to Monſieur de Villeroy, that " he was the fitteſt man in the world to write the " Hiſtory of Charles IX, ſince he had a ſhare in the " whole of it; and that upon this account he ought " to write it. I have too many obligations to that " Prince, ſaid he, and I love his memory too much " to write his hiſtory (§β); meaning, that the truths " which he ſhould be obliged to relate, would be a " diſgrace to the King (116)." This is what the author of the book, intitled, *La Fatalité de Saint Clou*, ſays; but Mr. le Laboureur (117) tells us, that Morvillier made that anſwer. I ſhould chooſe to follow this latter tradition.

(§α) The edition of Montagne's Eſſays in 16mo printed at Lyons by Francis le Fevre 1595 has ſuppreſſed this as injurious to the French Nation. However it is no more than that of Livy, lib. 10. *Gallorum prima prælia plus quam virorum*, &c. a ſaying, which Rabelais has not ſcrupled to put into the mouth of one of Garagantua's Generals, in a ſpeech which he makes in a full council, and before his maſter. CRIT. REM.]

(§β) It is probable that this repartee, which in Matthieu's *Hiſtory of Louis XI*, pag. 571. edit. 1610, is related of a certain Lord to one Monſieur de Tinteville, who had ſaid to him, that none could write the Life of his late maſter better than he, was originally made by Chancellor Morvillier, whom Lewis XI had affronted by diſowning ſome ſevere words which he had charged him to deliver in his name to the Count of Charolois. CRIT. REM.]

[P] *He expreſſed in his will his inclination to peace.*] He was deſirous, in this laſt act of his life, to do himſelf honour on account of the ſame thing, which Cicero boaſted in a full Senate. *Quo quidem in bello*, ſaid that great Roman Orator, *ſemper de pace agendum, audiendumque putavi; ſemperque dolui, non modo pacem, ſed orationem etiam civium pacem efflagitantium repudiari; neque enim ego illa, nec ulla unquam ſecutus ſum arma civilia: ſemperque mea conſilia pacis, & togæ ſocia, non belli, atque armorum fuerunt ... Quod quidem meum conſilium minimè obſcurum fuit, nam & in hoc ordine, integra re, multa de pace dixi; & in ipſo bello eadem etiam cum capitis mei periculo ſenſi* (118). i. e. " In which war, I always thought it was pro- " per to treat of peace, and was always ſorry, that " not only peace, but likewiſe the petitions of the " citizens for it, were rejected; for I never followed " thoſe nor any other civil wars, and my advices " have been conſtantly on the ſide of peace, and not " of arms ... This opinion of mine was far from " being concealed; for in this aſſembly, while affairs " were yet entire, I ſpoke amply in favour of peace, " and during the war itſelf I declared my ſentiments " to the ſame purpoſe even to the danger of my life." There is ſcarce any thing in this but what Monſieur de l'Hoſpital might have ſaid; but here is what he wrote in his will (119). " I can affirm, that tho' " arms have been taken up four times, and four or " five battles have been fought, I always adviſed " peace, eſteeming nothing ſo injurious to a country " as a civil war, or more advantageous to it than " peace upon any terms whatſoever (120)." Having afterwards ſpoken of the enemies whom that maxim had raiſed againſt him, and the misfortunes in which France was plunged, &c. he adds (121): " I gave " way to arms, which were the ſtrongeſt, and retired " into the country with my wife, family, and little " children, requeſting but this one thing of the King " and Queen at my departure, that ſince they had re- " ſolved to break the peace, and purſue by war thoſe, " with whom a little before they had concluded " a peace, and ſince they had removed me from " Court, becauſe they underſtood, that I was averſe " to and had a bad opinion of their deſign; I requeſted " the King and Queen, I ſay, if they would not ac- " quieſce in my advice, yet at leaſt, ſoon after they " had ſatiated and glutted their heart and thirſt with " the blood of their ſubjects, that they would embrace the " firſt opportunity of peace, which ſhould offer, before " things

(116) *Fatalité de Saint Clou.* I have mentioned that book in the article of HENRY III, quotation (89), and at the end of the remark [R].

(117) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mémoires de Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 522.

(108) *Qui non vultu tantum Ariſtotelis os, quod ex utriuſque imaginum ubique proſtantium comparatione conſtat, ſed Solonis ... pectus ... referebat.* Thuan. lib. 56. pag. 43.

(109) Brantome, *Mémoires*, tom. 2. pag. m. 73. in the *Elogium of the Conſtable Montmorenci.*

(110) Montagne, *Eſſais*, lib. 2. cap. 17. pag. m. 576, 577.

(111) Menage, *Modi di dire Italiani*, at the end of his *Etymologies of the Italian Tongue.*

(112) You will find them tranſlated into Latin in Voſſius *de Scient. Mathem.* pag. 237.

(113) Coſtar, *Suite de la Defenſe de Voiture*, pag. 189.

(114) His French name was *Goutiere*, as I learn from the Sieur Guichenon, pag. 36. of the *Hiſt. de Breſſe.*

(115) Jacobus Gutherius, *de Jure Manium*, lib. 2. cap. 26. pag. 351. edit. Lipſ. 1671.

(118) Cicero, *pro Marcello*, pag. m. 581.

(119) *Teſtament de Michel de l'Hoſpital*, quoted by Colomies, *Biblioth. Choiſie*, pag. 60.

(120) See *Paſquier's Letters*, lib. 10. pag. 626, & *ſeq.* tom. 1. in which he repreſents the miſery of civil wars.

(121) *Teſtament*, &c. *Biblioth. Choiſie*, pag. 62.

died March the 13th 1573, aged about ſixty eight years [Q]. He made his only daughter, whom he had married to Robert Hurault, his heireſs, and left his library to Michael Hurault, his ſecond grandſon, who has been well known by the name of Monſieur du Fay [R]. I could have mentioned a great many other particulars, but I have omitted them becauſe they may be met with in Moreri, and in Monſieur Teiſſier's Additions to the Elogies of Thuanus, or in the Elogies of Thevet, or in Brantome's Memoirs. This laſt, who was a man of the ſword, has ſucceeded better in the elogium of this Chancellor (*p*), than all the profeſſed writers, whom I have read, though I own, that Thuanus, and Scevola Sammarthanus have written very fine elogies on him. Ronſard's Ode (*q*), deſigned as a compliment on this great officer of juſtice, has been eſteemed an excellent one; but in ſhort, in ſome reſpects, I think nothing equal to Brantome's deſcription. It ſhews us, that Monſieur de l'Hoſpital was a perſon, who might be oppoſed to all great and generous men of the gown among the antient Greeks and Romans. I ſhall quote in my remarks ſo many other paſſages, that to avoid prolixity, I ſhall wave citing what Brantome has written. I only deſire my readers to conſider two things. The firſt is, what he remarks concerning the diſpute which the Chancellor maintained with the utmoſt reſolution againſt the Cardinal of Lorrain, who demanded, that the Council of Trent ſhould be received (*r*); the other relates to the intrepidity which Monſieur de l'Hoſpital ſhewed after the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, when he had reaſon to believe, that the aſſaſſins had received orders to do execution in his houſe (*s*). I will add this one particular more. A famous author (*t*) having defined the force of the ſoul to be a "certain temper and diſpoſition of mind always equal in itſelf, firm, ſtable, heroic, capable of ſeeing every thing, hearing every thing, and doing every thing without trouble, confuſion, or amazement," adds, that this *is very near the ſame with what Juvenal has deſcribed in ſix fine verſes of his tenth ſatyr* (*u*). "The Chancellor de l'Hoſpital, continues he (*x*), who was endowed with this ſtrength of mind as much as any who went before him or followed him, deſcribed it ſtill more briefly, though in terms much bolder, which he had taken for his device, *Si fractus illabatur Orbis, impavidum ferient ruinæ* (*y*)." See the margin (*z*). Shall I forget the ſervices which he did even after his death? Is it not juſt to obſerve, that the maxims of State, upon which he regulated himſelf, were of great advantage to France, ſince he formed ſome diſciples, who oppoſed in proper time the pernicious attempts of the Leaguers, and rendered them abortive [S].

I ſhall

(*p*) It is inſerted in that of the Conſtable de Montmorenci.

(*q*) It is the 10th of the 1ſt book. *Richelet*, who has commented on it, ſays, it is a maſter piece in Poetry. *See alſo* Paſquier, lib. 22. of his *Letters*, p. 758.

(*r*) Brantome, *Memoires*, tom. 2. pag. m. 85. *See in* Varillas, *Hiſt. de Charles IX.* lib. 6. pag. m. 5, & *ſeqq.* a particular account of this diſpute.

(*s*) Brant. *Mem.* tom. 2. pag. 87, 88.

(*t*) Naudé, *Coups d'Eſtat*, cap. 5. pag. m. 784.

(*u*) *Fortem poſſe animum, mortis terrore vacantem*, &c.

(*x*) Naude, *Coups d'Eſtat*, pag. 785, 786.

(*y*) Theſe words are Horace's, *Ode* 3. lib. 3. and ſignify, *that if the world ſhould fall in ruins about him, it would not ſtrike him with the leaſt terror.*

(*z*) The vigour which the Court of France ſhewed in 1565 againſt the Pope, who had cited the Queen of Navarre, &c. and who had been obliged to revoke his monitory, was the work of Monſ. d'Hoſpital and the Conſtable Montmorenci. *See* Thuanus, lib. 80. pag. m. 32, 33.

"things were reduced to extreme deſtruction; for "whatever would be the iſſue of that war, it could "not but be very pernicious to the King and Kingdom."

[Q] *He died ... aged about ſixty eight years.*] He begins his will in this manner (122): "I have always "been uncertain about my age, becauſe my friends "ſaid that they have had various accounts from my "father (*), who ſometimes ſaid that I was born before the war againſt the Genoeſe, ſometimes ſaid, "that I was born at the time when that war was concluded by the late K. Lewis XII, in which my father "ſerved as Phyſician to Charles Duke of Bourbon." It would be ſtrange, that an ignorant ſtupid peaſant ſhould not know the age of his ſon, and yet even this happens but ſeldom: but it is very ſtrange, that a man of parts and learning, as Michael de l'Hoſpital's father was, ſhould vary in that point not a day or a week, but ſeveral months. His ſon determines (123), that he was eighteen years old when the Conſtable of Bourbon left France (124); he thought therefore, that he was born in 1505. Obſerve, that the war of Lewis XII againſt the Genoeſe was concluded in April 1507. Brantome, who has inſerted in his memoirs (125) the Chancellor's will, does not omit the preface (126), which declares that the teſtator was ſixty eight years old. The will is dated *the third* (127) *day of March* 1573. This is ſtill placing his birth in 1505. If Thuanus (128) and Scevola Sammarthanus (129) had attended to theſe particulars, they would not have ſaid, that Michael de l'Hoſpital lived about ſeventy years.

(122) Ibid. pag. 52.

(*) John de l'Hoſpital.

(123) Ibid. pag. 53.

(124) He departed in 1523.

(125) Tom. 2 in the *Eloge de Connétable de Mommorenci.*

(126) It is not in the edition of Colomies.

(127) The 12th in Colomies's edition.

[R] *His ſecond grandſon ... has been well known by the name of Monſieur du Fay.*] We ſee in his elogium written by Sammarthanus, that he was a man of conſiderable parts and learning, and Chancellor to the King of Navarre, and that he might have been advanced to the dignity of Chancellor of France, if, inſtead of engaging unſeaſonably in the profeſſion of a ſoldier, he had continued to apply himſelf to the functions and buſineſs of the gown. We find there that he died of regret in 1592, on account of his having been obliged to reſign the government of Quillebeuf (130); but we do not find there, that he was actually of the reformed religion. Some have charged him with being ready to change his religion. See the *Confeſſion Catholique de Sanci* (131), and the notes, which accompany it in the edition of 1699. He wrote in 1588 a piece intitled, *Le franc & libre Diſcours* (132), which was reckoned an excellent one. See the *Perroniana* in the word *Fay*, and Thuanus L. XCII.

(128) Thuan. *Hiſt.* lib. 56. *in fin.* pag. 43.

(129) Sammarth. an *Elog.* lib. 1. pag. m. 60.

(130) See the *Elogia of Sammarthanus*, lib. 2. pag. m. 177, & *ſeq.*

(131) Chap. 5. lib. 1. and cap. 9. lib. 2.

(132) It is inſerted in the 3d tome of the *Mémoires de la Ligue*, pag. 1, & *ſeqq.* under the title of *Excellent & libre Diſcours ſur l'eſtat preſent de la France.*

[S] *He formed ſome diſciples, who oppoſed .... the pernicious attempts of the leaguers, and rendered them abortive.*] An anonymous author, whom I have already cited, furniſhes me with a commentary, which I have occaſion for. He ſays (133), that "if the devotion *of a Miniſter or Counſellor of a Prince* is not "well grounded, and his zeal well regulated, it is impoſſible to imagine the evils which he may do. Firſt, "he ſuffers himſelf to be deceived, and afterwards deceives his maſter. For in the affair of devotion the "ableſt men are impoſed upon. Many perſons think "themſelves extremely pious and devout, if they are "greatly ignorant of what concerns religion, for which "they refer themſelves to thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is; ſome "of whom, being practiſed upon, lead them a fine "dance. We have ſpoken of the great misfortunes, into "which ſeveral great Princes, who were otherwiſe men "of prudence, have been involved for want of underſtanding this cabal. We ſhall ſpeak one word of "ſome of their Miniſters ... There were two ſorts of "them; for thoſe, who had been educated under the "diſcipline of the Chancellor de l'Hoſpital, held "maxims, that were not only agreeable to Chriſtian "piety and moderation, but likewiſe uſeful for the "preſervation of the peace, and the maintenance of "the King's authority. The reſt, on the contrary, "whether through conſcience, without much knowledge, or in order to make a ſeparate party, applied "themſelves in ſuch a manner to the externals of "religion, that they thought it better to ſuffer the "Kingdom to fall into a combuſtion, than to allow the "leaſt accommodation in points of religion. Now "the conſequence of this diverſity of opinions was, "that this latter greatly aſſiſted in forming, raiſing, "and ſtrengthening the league; and the other in "deſtroying it and reſtoring the Kingdom, which the "contrary faction had brought very near to ruin."

(133) *Fragment de l'Examen du Prince de Machiavel*, pag. 83, & *ſeqq.*

(aa) In the remark [R].

I ſhall add ſomething to the remark, which relates to Mr. du Fay, his grandſon (*aa*) [T].

[T] *I ſhall add ſomething to the remark which relates to Monſieur du Fay, his grandſon.*] He wrote ſeveral treatiſes upon the affairs of thoſe times. There are aſcribed to him the *Anti-Sixte*, *Ante-Eſpagnol*, and the *Francophile contre les Conſpirations du Roi d'Eſpagne, du Pape, & des Rebelles de France* (134). Mr. Baillet, from whom I take this, doth not give us any character of the firſt of theſe three tracts, and I know not whether he means a book which I have ſeen an edition of *printed at Cologn by Herman Jolin* (135) in 1586 in 8vo. The title of it is, *Moyens d'abus, entrepriſes & nullitez du reſcrit & bulle du Pape Sixte V du nom en date da mois de Septembre* 1585, *contre le Sereniſſime Prince*, HENRY DE BOURBON, *Roy de Navarre . . . &* HENRY DE BOURBON . . . . . *Prince de Condé, par un Catholique, Apoſtolique, Romain : mais bon François, & très-fidele Subjet de la Couronne de France.* i. e. "A Proof of the Abuſes, Incroachments, "and Nullities of the Reſcript and Bull of Pope "Sixtus V, dated September 1585 againſt the moſt "ſerene Prince, Henry of Bourbon King of Navarre, "and Henry of Bourbon .... Prince of Condé ..... "by a Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman, but a true "Frenchman and faithful Subject of the Crown of "France." As for the ſecond edition of theſe three tracts, Mr. Baillet writes as follows. The *Anti-Eſpagnol* "has been printed at different times with ſome al- "terations. That which was publiſhed in 1594 in "12mo, is intitled. *L'Anti Eſpagnol, & Exhortation "de ceux de Paris qui ne ſe veulent faire Eſpagnols, "à tous les François de leur parti, de ſe remettre en l'o- "beiſſance du Roi Henry quatriéme, & de ſe delivrer de "la Tyrannie de Caſtille.* i. e. *The Anti-Eſpagnol, and "Exhortation of ſuch Pariſians as are unwilling to be- "come Spaniards, to all the Frenchmen of their party, to "return to their obedience to King Henry IV, and to de- "liver themſelves from the tyranny of Caſtille.* It is "the fourth and laſt of theſe excellent diſcourſes con- "cerning the ſtate of France, publiſhed in 1695. "But that which was afterwards reviſed, was publiſhed "with the title of *L'Anti-Eſpagnol*, ou *Brief Diſcours "du but où tend Philippe Roi d'Eſpagne ſe meſlant des "affaires de France.* i. e. *The Anti-Eſpagnol, or a brief "Diſcourſe concerning the Deſigns of Philip King of "Spain in meddling in the affairs of France.*" It is inſerted in the fourth volume of the *Memoirs of the League*, publiſhed in 1604 by Samuel du Lis (136). There is an edition antecedent to both theſe, printed in 1590 in 8vo, and intitled only, *Coppie de l'Anti-Eſpagnol faict à Paris.* i. e. "A Copy of the Anti- "Eſpagnol compoſed at Paris." My edition of the fourth volume of the *Memoirs of the League* is printed in the year 1595 ; the *Anti-Eſpagnol* is inſerted in it at page 230. If Mr. Baillet ſaw an edition in 1604, it is not the firſt. What I ſhall now quote may ſerve as a ſupplement to a remark in the article of Gregory VII (137). It is that in which I obſerve, that it is not a certain method to judge of Princes by the pieces, which are publiſhed againſt them during the violence of factions. "It is uſual for all factions to "produce libels. He who wrote the *Anti-Sixte*, would "not have ſtopped there, if he had not had expreſs or- "ders from the King to do ſo, long before he had the "happineſs of being reconciled to the Church. His "Majeſty, who never had any eſteem for theſe turbu- "lent and violent ſpirits, ordered that ſatyrical piece "to be ſuppreſſed. But it was impoſſible to do ſo; "and if it be preſerved to another age, it will be made "uſe of as a ſword and ſhield by the enemies of the "Church, who will riſe out of the aſhes of theſe people, "to attack the head of the Church, according to their "cuſtom (138)."

(134) *See* Baillet in the *Recueil des Anti*, Art. 34.

(135) I believe that this is ſuppoſititious.

(136) Baillet, *Recueil des Anti*, Art. 122.

(137) It is in remark [O].

(138) Florimond de Remond, *l'Anti-Papeſſe*, cap. 16. num. 3. fol. 406.

HOSPITAL (FRANCIS DE L'), created Mareſchal of France April the 23d 1643 (*a*), was ſtiled before that time Monſieur du Hallier. Moreri copying Father Anſelme ſpeaks amply of his genealogy, and mentions his exploits and dignities; but he ſays nothing of a thing which I have read in an account of the State of France [A]. I ſhall relate it. I ſhall give likewiſe a ſupplement to an obſervation which I have made above concerning the firſt wife of the Mareſchal de l'Hoſpital [B].

(a) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Offic.* pag. 266.

I have

[A] *Moreri ſays nothing of a thing, which I have read in an account of the ſtate of France.*] It is, that Mareſchal de l'Hoſpital "was originally of Calabria, "of a very noble family, having had a great many "alliances with the Kings and Queens of Naples. "But the affection, which his predeceſſors had for "Charles of Anjou ſecond King of Naples, engaging "them in his intereſts in oppoſition to the King of "Arragon and Caſtile, they were obliged to retire "into France, when theſe Spaniſh Princes reſumed "the ſceptre of that Kingdom (1)." Since Father Anſelme has omitted this, he muſt either have been ignorant of it, or thought it not certain. He begins the genealogy of that family with one Francis de l'Hoſpital, who lived in 1314 and 1338 (2), and in another work (3) he goes no higher than Francis de l'Hoſpital, Chamberlain, &c. to Charles VI in 1404, and fifth grandfather to the perſon who is the ſubject of this article (4). Obſerve, that the author of the notes upon the *Coups d'Eſtat* of Gabriel Naudé is extremely miſtaken in aſſerting that our Mareſchal de l'Hoſpital was deſcended from the Chancellor of that name.

(1) *Etat de la France*, printed in 1657, pag. 92, 93.

(2) Anſelme, *Palais de l'Honneur*, pag. 414.

(3) Idem, *Hiſt. des grans Offic.* pag. 232.

(4) Pag. 905.

[B] *I ſhall give a ſupplement concerning the firſt wife of the Mareſchal de l'Hoſpital.*] We have ſeen elſewhere (5), that he had ſo little delicacy, that he made no ſcruple to marry Charlotte des Eſſars, mother of ſeveral illegitimate children, ſome of whom ſhe had by King Henry IV, and others by the Cardinal de Guiſe. I forgot, when I wrote that remark, what I had read in the notes upon the amours of Henry the Great. But ſince I recollect it now, it is neceſſary to inform the reader of a new circumſtance concerning the victory which Mr. du Hallier had gained over matrimonial ſcruples. You will ſee, that Charlotte des Eſſars was a baſtard herſelf, and that after the death of the Cardinal de Guiſe, ſhe was miſtreſs to another Prelate. Henry IV "was ſtill fond of Charlotte des Eſſars, "the natural daughter of the Baron de Sautour in "Champagne, and the Lady de Dheny, by whom "he had two daughters. She had attended the "Counteſs de Beaumont Harlay in her embaſſy to "England. Then ſhe was miſtreſs to the Cardinal "de Guiſe, who had ſeveral children by her, the "Count de Romorantin, the Abbe de Chailly, the "Chevalier, Madam de Rhodes, &c. Then ſhe was "miſtreſs to Monſieur de Vic, Archbiſhop of Auſch, "three years. Then ſhe married Francis de l'Hoſ- "pital, Count de Roſnay, Baron de Beine, Mareſ- "chal of France (6)." Father Anſelme informs us, that ſhe married about the year 1629, and that her huſband "married for his ſecond wife, Auguſt the 28th "1633, Frances Mignot, by whom he had a ſon, "who died a few days after he was born (7)." Moreri obſerves, that the adventures of this Francis Mignot are very ſingular. This has been ſuppreſſed in the Paris Edition of 1699. The Mareſchal de l'Hoſpital's ſtars were not fortunate in that point.

(5) Above remark [B] of the article GUISE (Lewis de &c.)

(6) *Obſervations ſur l'Hiſtoire des Amours du grand Alcandre*, pag. m. 299.

(7) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Offic.* pag. 266.

Father Anſelme (8) remarks, that Charlotte des Eſſars died in the year 1651. It muſt be concluded from this, that our Francis de l'Hoſpital procured his marriage to be diſſolved, for he married another wife in 1633 (9). I know nothing how this affair came about, nor whether there are any books, which give us the particulars of it. I believe that many of my readers will imagine, that he diſcovered his miſtake after he had committed it, and that in hopes to repair it, he carried on a ſuit againſt his wife. He did not perhaps find her ſo rich as he had thought. He probably imagined, that a woman, who had been ſucceſſively miſtreſs of the King of France and two Archbiſhops, had amaſſed a vaſt fortune; and that if a man of quality is allowed to marry a maid of mean

(8) *Hiſt. Généalog. de la Maiſon Roiale*, pag. 156.

(9) See the marginal note at the end of this remark.

I have ſaid in the ſecond edition of this Dictionary, that Father Anſelme has not obſerved, that the family of this Mareſchal was originally from the Kingdom of Naples, as another writer, whoſe words I cited, had remarked. I ſhall confirm this by the teſtimony of another author, and ſhew that the Marquis de l'Hoſpital, one of the moſt profound Mathematicians of the ſeventeenth Century, was of the ſame family with this Mareſchal of France [*C*].

birth, but who brings him the treaſures of a financier, he ought not to be blamed for putting his own affairs into a good condition by marrying a woman, whoſe gallantries had raiſed her a great fortune. If he reaſoned in this manner, and found afterwards that the Lady's fortune would not repair either her want of youth or reputation, what remained for him to do but to annul the contract? However that be, the Lady gained the great end of thoſe of her ſex: ſhe had an huſband; ſhe entered the port in ſpite of ſo many ſtorms and ſhipwrecks. It is very probable, that the notion of her being rich procured her an huſband. Let us conclude this remark with ſome verſes of Regnier:

Je ne ſuis point adroit, je n'ay point d'éloquence
Pour colorer un faict, ou deſtourner la foy,
Prouver qu'un grand amour n'eſt ſujet à la loy,
. . . . . .
Deſbaucher une fille, & par vives raiſons
Luy monſtrer comme Amour fait les bonnes maiſons,
Les maintient, les eſleve, & propice aux plus belles
En honneur les advance, & les fait Damoiſelles.
. . . . . .
Et pour le faire court
Dire qu'il n'eſt rien tel qu'aymer les gens de court
Allegant maint exemple en ce ſiecle ou nous ſommes
Qu'il n'eſt rien ſi facile à prendre que les hommes,
Et qu'on ne s'enqueirt plus s'elle a fait le pourquoy,
Pourveu qu'elle ſoit riche, & qu'elle ait bien dequoy.
Quand elle auroit ſuivy le camp à la Rochelle,
S'elle a force ducats elle eſt toute pucelle.
L'honneur eſtropié, languiſſant, & perclus,
N'eſt plus rien qu'un idole en qui l'on ne croit plus (10).

(10) Regnier, Sat. 3. fol. m. 12. He ſays in Sat. 13. fol. 66 *verſo*, *que lors qu'on a du bien, il n'eſt ſi decrepite, Qui ne trouve (en donnant) couvert à ſa marmite.*

" I have no art nor eloquence to colour
" A faulty action, or to overthrow
" Juſtice and right, or prove that powerful love
" Is ſubject to no law.
. . . . . .
" Debauch a girl, or ſhew her by ſly reaſons,
" That love's the cauſe of raiſing families,
" Exalts the fair, propitious to their fortune,
" And gives to them the rank of Gentlewomen.
. . . . . .
" And in ſhort, to ſay,
" 'Tis honourable to intrigue with Courtiers,
" Urging examples of the preſent age;
" That men are eaſy to be gain'd upon,
" And that the only queſtion now in vogue,
" Is what a woman has, not how ſhe got it;
" And tho' to Rochelle ſhe the camp has follow'd,
" If ſhe be wealthy, ſhe is ſtill a maid.
" Honour's an idol now no longer worſhipp'd."

There are truths as well as hyperboles in the expreſſions of this Satyriſt. See the margin (11).

[*C*] *I ſhall confirm this by the teſtimony of another author, and ſhew that the Marquis* DE L'HOSPITAL, *one of the moſt profound Mathematicians of the XVIIth century, was of the ſame family with this Mareſchal of France.*] The Count de Sainte-Meſme, who died December the 4th, 1701, " was of the family de l'Hoſ-
" pital, a family much more illuſtrious of itſelf (ſince
" the origin of it is loſt in royal and conſular fami-
" lies) than celebrated for the great poſts and high
" dignities, which it held in France for above four
" hundred years, that it was ſettled there. It was
" originally of Naples, and bore the name of Gallucy,
" which it quitted to aſſume a French name, which
" was that of the Eſtate of L'Hoſpital, which one
" Gallucy, the head of that houſe in France, bought
" upon his arrival there (12)." You will obſerve, that this Count de Sainte-Meſme was deſcended (13) of ALOLF DE L'HOSPITAL, Sieur de Choiſy, Captain of the Foreſt of Orleans, elder brother of CHARLES DE L'HOSPITAL, Sieur de Vitry, from whom the Mareſchal of France ſprung. Theſe two brothers were ſons of HADRIAN DE L'HOSPITAL and Anne Rouhault, daughter of Joachim Rouhault, Mareſchal of France. He paid homage to the King at Paris, November the 27th, 1498. The Count de Sainte-Meſme was *Lieutenant-General of the King's armies, Governor, Bailif, and particular Judge of the Waters and Foreſts of the County of Dourdan, firſt Maſter of the Horſe to* Gaſton of France, Duke of Orleans, *Gentleman of Honour, and firſt Maſter of the Horſe to the Ducheſs Dowager of Orleans* (14), *and afterwards to the Great Ducheſs of Tuſcany* (15). You will find his elogium in the book, which I quote (16). He was married to Elizabeth Gobelin, daughter of Monſieur Gobelin, Counſellor of State and Intendant of the Armies, and left two ſons. The elder is the Marquis DE L'HOSPITAL, Author of the *Analyſe des infiniment petits*. The younger is the Count DE L'HOSPITAL, who enjoys the ſame place under the Ducheſs of Tuſcany, which his father held (17).

The Marquis de l'Hoſpital, Author of the *Analyſe des infiniment petits*, and one of the greateſt Mathematicians of our age, died at Paris the 2d of February 1704, aged forty three years. See his elogium in the *Memoirs de Trevoux* (18), and in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (19). " He married Made-
" moiſelle Romilley de la Chenelaie, with whom
" he lived always in ſo perfect an union, that he
" communicated to her his genius for the Mathe-
" matics. He left four children, a ſon and three
" daughters (20)."

(11) See the remark of the article ESSARS (Charlotte des) you will find there that the ſecond marriage of our Mareſchal was poſterior to the death of his firſt wife.

(12) *Mercure Galant*, for Jan. 1702, pag. 170, 171. See alſo *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for June 1704, pag. 61, & *ſeq.*

(13) Father Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grands Officiers*, pag. 232.

(14) Wife of Gaſton of France.

(15) *Mercure Galant*, January 1702, pag. 169.

(16) Ibid. pag. 172, & *ſeq.*

(17) Taken from the *Mercure Galant*, ibid. pag. 179, 180.

(18) In the *Addition* to the month of Feb. 1704, pag. 24, & *ſeq.* of the edit. of France. *See alſo* June 1704, pag. 1014, & *ſeq.*

(19) June 1704, Art. 2.

(20) *Journal de Trevoux*, June 1704, pag. 1016.

HOTMAN (FRANCIS), in Latin *Hotomanus* (*a*), was one of the moſt learned Civilians of the ſixteenth Century. He was born Auguſt the 23d 1524 at Paris, where his family, originally of Sileſia [*A*], had flouriſhed for ſome time. At fifteen years of age he was ſent to Orleans to ſtudy the Civil Law, and he became capable of a Doctor's degree in three years. His father, a Counſellor in the Parliament, who had already deſigned his employment for him, ſent for him home, and placed him at the bar. But the young man was ſoon diſpleaſed with the chicane of the Court, and applied himſelf vigorouſly to the ſtudy of the Roman Law and of Polite Learning. He reliſhed the new opinions, on account of which a great many perſons were put to death in the Kingdom; and finding that he could not profeſs them at Paris, went to Lyons in the year 1547, where he publiſhed a book. This was the ſecond work which he had committed (3).

(*a*) Thus he writes his name at the beginning of his books. Many perſons write it *Hottomanus*, or *Hotomannus*.

(3) *Redimendo Franciſco Regi ad Ticinum capto, ingentem pecuniæ vim ſolus fide ſua curaverit ſummo Galliæ bono, ſummaſua rum laude.* Petrus Nᵘs veletus Doſchius, *in Vita Fr. Hottomanni*, pag. m. 208.

[*A*] *His family was originally of Sileſia.*] There are ſeveral families of the name of Hotman at Breſlaw, the capital of Sileſia, and from theſe are deſcended ſeveral others ſettled in Luſatia, in Miſnia, in the country of Cleves, &c. LAMBERT HOTMAN (1) went into France to bear arms in the ſervice of Lewis XI (2), and married advantageouſly at Paris. JOHN HOTMAN, his eldeſt ſon, was ſo rich, that he diſburſed very great ſums for the ranſom of Francis I (3). PETER HOTMAN, the youngeſt of the eighteen children of Lambert, was Chief-Juſtice in Eyre, and afterwards Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris. FRANCIS HOTMAN was his eldeſt ſon (4). The Supplement to Moreri aſſerts, that HENRY HOTMAN, born at Cleves in the year 1466,

(1) Born at Emmerick in the county of Cleves, according to Mr. Baillet, tom. 2. of the *Anti*, p. 131.

(2) Thus I correct the miſtake *Ludovici VI*, in the *Life of Hotman* in the edition of Leipſic 1686, and that of Amſterdam 1700.

(4) Idem, ibid.

mitted to the preſs [B]. Seeing that he had nothing to hope for from his father for his ſubſiſtence, he went to Lauſanne [C], where the Magiſtrates of Berne gave him the place of Profeſſor of Polite Literature. He publiſhed there ſome books, and married a French Gentlewoman (b), who had retired thither on account of Religion. His merit was ſo well known in all parts, that the Magiſtrates of Straſburg offered him a Profeſſorſhip of Civil Law; and while he was diſcharging the functions of it, he received invitations from the Duke of Pruſſia and the Landgrave of Heſſe. He did not accept of thoſe invitations; but he did not refuſe to go to the Court of the King of Navarre at the beginning of the troubles. He went twice into Germany, to deſire aſſiſtance of Ferdinand in the name of the Princes of the blood, and even in the name of the Queen-mother (c). The ſpeech which he made at the Diet of Francfort is publiſhed. Upon his return to Straſburg he was prevailed upon by John de Monluc to go and teach Civil Law at Valence [D]; which he did with ſuch ſucceſs, that he raiſed the reputation of that Univerſity. Three years after he went to be Profeſſor at Bourges, at the invitation of Margaret of France, ſiſter of Henry II; but he left that city in about five months, and retired to Orleans to the heads of the party, who made great uſe of his advice. The peace made a month after did not prevent him from apprehending the return of the ſtorm; upon which account he retired to Sancerre, and waited there for better times. It was there that he wrote an excellent book *de Conſolatione* (d). He returned afterwards to his Profeſſorſhip at Bourges, where he was very near being killed in the maſſacre in 1572. But having the good fortune to eſcape he left France, fully reſolved never to return thither, and went to Geneva. He read there Lectures upon Civil Law, and publiſhed books againſt the perſecutors with ſuch ſtrength, that great promiſes were made to

(b) She was of Orleans and her name was Claudine Aubelin. Petrus Niveletus, *ubi infra*, citation (e).

(c) See below the citation (23).

(d) His ſon publiſhed it after his father's death.

1466, was the firſt of that name, who came into France, and that he came thither with Engilbert, Duke of Cleves, who was the firſt Duke of Nevers.

[B] *This was the ſecond work which he had committed to the Preſs.*] For he had already publiſhed a little Tract *de gradibus cognationis*, which was greatly eſteemed. *Pene puer libellum* de gradibus cognationis *adjuncto diagrammate publicavit à doctiſſimis viris in precio habitum, & mox à quodam haud ignobili Juriſconſulto probatum, ita ut eum ſuis in inſtitutiones commentariis vehementer commendatum inſereret* (5). i. e. "While he was very young he publiſhed a ſmall tract *of the Degrees of Affinity*, to which he added a table, and this tract was highly eſteemed by men of the greateſt learning, and approved of ſo much by a conſiderable Civilian, that he inſerted it with great commendations in his Commentaries on the Inſtitutions." The ſecond work was a Commentary *ad titulum Inſtitutionum de actionibus*. The beauty of the ſtile, and the knowledge of the Roman antiquities, which were very conſpicuous in this piece, made it prodigiouſly eſteemed (6). Monſ. Teiſſier (7) ought not to have applied this fine encomium to the little tract upon the Degrees of Affinity. If he had conſulted with a little more attention the work, which he quotes (8), he would not have taken one for the other.

(5) Idem, Neveletus in *Vita Hottomanni*, p. 210.

(6) *Juriſconſultis etiam magnis gratum ob Latini ſermonis elegantiam, & Rom. antiquitatis exquiſitam ſcientiam.* Idem, ibid.

(7) *Addit. aux Eloges*, tom. 2. pag. 115.

La Croix du Maine will inform you, that the French tranſlation, which Hotman made of the Apology for Socrates, written by Plato, was printed in 1549 at Lyons, by Sebaſtian Gryphius, in 8vo.

(8) Nevelet, *Vita Hottomanni.*

[C] *He went to Lauſanne.*] Mr. Teiſſier ſays, that Francis Hotman, when he left France, *retired to Geneva, and lived ſome time in Calvin's houſe* (9). I believe that he is in the right, though the Life of Hotman, which he quotes, mentions nothing of it. It ſeems that Nevelet has ſuppreſſed a particular, which he ought not to have omitted. Is it not very probable, that the Magiſtrates of Bern ſhould offer a Profeſſorſhip in Polite Literature in the Univerſity of Lauſanne to a youth of three and twenty years old, who lived at Lyons. But it is probable that they offered it to him, if we ſuppoſe that he lived at Geneva, and that he had gained the affection of Calvin. Here we ſee the want of exactneſs, which is to be found in the beſt books, becauſe good Authors generally are thoſe, who value themſelves upon making their Narration conciſe. They do not always conſider, that by contracting it in this manner they ſometimes ſtrangle it. *Brevis eſſe laboro, obſcurus fio* (10). This may have been the caſe of Nevelet here: or we may ſay, that not having ſeen in the memoirs given him the journey from Lyons to Geneva, he thought, that Francis Hotman did not leave Lyons till he went to be Profeſſor of Polite Learning at Lauſanne. *In urbem Equeſtrium . . . . ad humaniorum quæ dicuntur literarum profeſſionem honorifice à Senatu Bernenſis Reipub. evocatus, cujus in ditione urbs illa ſe contulit* (11). But let us not determine in favour of what is moſt probable, for as there was then at Lauſanne ſeveral eminent Refugees, who knew and had a great eſteem for the merit and piety of Francis Hotman (12), they might eaſily obtain of the Magiſtrates of Bern to ſend an invitation to him, while he lived at Lyons. Mr. Teiſſier obſerves, that it was *by mediation of Theodore Beza*, that the city of Lauſanne offered to Hotman the poſt of *Profeſſor of Polite Learning*. I believe, that he is miſtaken, and that he ſhould rather have ſaid, that it was by Calvin's mediation; for Hotman was Profeſſor at Lauſanne, before Theodore Beza went to be Profeſſor of Greek there: *Erant Lauſannæ tunc temporis doctrina & pietate viri inſignes Petrus Viretus Eccleſiæ Paſtor . . . . . Franciſcus Hottomannus eloquentiæ Profeſſor* (13): And it is certain Theodore Beza had occaſion for the intereſt of Calvin to obtain that Profeſſorſhip. Is it poſſible, that a man ſhould procure for another a Profeſſorſhip in a city, where he is not, and in which he cannot ſettle himſelf but by the intereſt of another? Mr. Teiſſier undoubtedly thought, that Beza was Profeſſor of Greek at Lauſanne before Hotman was ſent for thither. Judge how important it is in a narration of this ſort of little particulars, to conſult well the dates and niceties of Chronology.

(11) Neveletus, *in Vita Hottomanni*, pag. 211.

(12) Idem, ibid.

(13) In *Vitæ Theodori Bezæ*, *apud* Melchior Adam, pag. 205.

[D] *Upon his return to Straſburg, he was prevailed upon by John de Monluc to go and teach Civil-Law at Valence.*] If Thuanus had conſulted dates, he would not have ſaid, that John de Monluc took Hotman from Lauſanne, to ſettle him at Valence. *Lauſanæ primum docuit,* INDE *à Joanne Monlucio Valentiæ Epiſcopo, & poſtea à Margarita Biturigum Duce evocatus repetitis vicibus Valentiæ & Avarici Biturigum, ubi eum aliquando audivi, evocatus, &c.* (14). i. e. "He firſt taught at Lauſanne, and thence was ſent for by John de Monluc, Biſhop of Valence, and afterwards by Margeret Ducheſs of Berry, two ſeveral times, to Valence and Bourges, where I heard him." Theſe words *repetitis vicibus*, were not underſtood by the French tranſlator: he thought that they meant, that Hotman *taught Civil Law by turns, ſometimes at Valence, and ſometimes at Bourges* (15). It is not ſo: he did not teach again at Valence after he had once left it. It ſhould therefore have been ſaid, that the Ducheſs of Berry ſent for him twice to Bourges, as may be ſeen in the body of this article. Thoſe who ſee in the life of Francis Hotman the ſeries of his removals from one City to another, will pay no regard to the Memoirs given to Thuanus, ſince he ſays, that after the maſſacre in 1572, Hotman went to Montbelliard, and thence to Baſil. He ſhould have ſaid, that he went to Geneva, thence to Baſil, thence to Montbelliard, afterwards to Geneva, and at laſt to Baſil.

(14) Thuan. lib. 99. pag. 378, *ad ann.* 1590.

(15) See the *Eloges tirez de Mr. de Thou par Mr. de Teiſſier*, tom. 2. pag. 136. edit. 1696.

(10) Horat. *de Arte Poet.* ver. 25, 26.

to him, to engage him not to write any more in that manner; but he did not regard thoſe offers [*E*]. Some time after he went to Baſil, and taught Civil Law there. The plague obliging him to leave that city he retired to Montbelliard, where he loſt his wife. He went afterwards to Geneva, and wrote a book there upon the rights of the King of Navarre [*F*]; after which he returned to Baſil, and died there February the 12th 1590. He

[*E*] *He publiſhed at Geneva* (16) *books againſt the perſecutors with ſuch ſtrength, that great promiſes were made to him.... but he did not regard thoſe offers.*] Here is what the author of his life ſays (17). "*Ad* "*Allobroges igitur iterum tanquàm in portum ſe refert,* "*ſcriptiſque aliquot eruditis contra fidem immò per fidem* "*ipſam cæſorum innocentiam conſtanter tuetur: & qui-* "*dem adeò efficaciter, ut qui mollem putabant futurum* "*ejus in tanta calamitate animum, prolixis pollicitationi-* "*bus hortarentur ab iſtiuſmodi ſcriptionis genere abſtineret;* "*quibus ille hoc tantum repoſuit,* Nunquam ſibi pro "pugnatam cauſam quæ iniqua eſſet: nunquam quæ "jure & legibus niteretur, deſertam præmiorum ſpe "vel metu periculi; opprimi enim in bona cauſa me-"lius, quam male cedere. Non modò non excuſan-"dum parricidium, ultro etiam defendendam cauſſam "innocentium." i. e. "He retires therefore again "to Geneva, as to a ſecure haven; and in ſeveral "learned treatiſes boldly defends the innocence of "thoſe, who were killed contrary to all faith, nay "on account of their faith; and this he did with ſuch "force, that thoſe, who thought his mind would be "broken in that great calamity, urged him with "large promiſes to refrain from that way of writing; "to whom he made only this anſwer; *that he never* "*defended an unjuſt cauſe, and never deſerted a good one* "*through hope of reward or fear of danger, ſince it* "*was better to fall in a righteous cauſe than to retreat* "*with diſhonour. That the maſſacre was ſo far from* "*deſerving to be defended, that the cauſe of the inno-* "*cent ought voluntarily to be undertaken.*" A little after he mentions the book *de Regni Galliæ ſtatu*, which Hotman publiſhed about this time under the title of *Franco-Gallia*. It is a work valuable on account of its learning, but very unworthy a French Civilian, even in the opinion of many Proteſtants. Here is what Mr. Teiſſier ſays. "His book intitled *Franco-Gallia* drew "upon him WITH REASON the cenſure of true French-"men. For in this work he endeavours to prove (18), "that this Kingdom, the moſt flouriſhing one in "Chriſtendom, is not ſucceſſive, as the inheritances "of private men are; and that antiently perſons were "advanced to the Crown only by the ſuffrages of the "nobility and people; ſo that as antiently the power "and authority of electing Kings belonged to the "States of the Kingdom, and to the whole nation "aſſembled in a body, ſo it was the States who de-"poſed them from the government. And to this pur-"poſe he produces the examples of Philip de Valois, "John, Charles V, Charles VI, and Lewis XI. But "what he principally inſiſts upon is to ſhew, that as it "has always been judged, that women were incapable of "the crown, ſo they ought always to be excluded from "all public poſts and adminiſtration (19)." Let us join to this paſſage of Mr. Teiſſier the following judi-cious words of Bongars, extracted from a letter to Thuanus (20). "I will frankly own to you, *de Franco-* "*Galliâ, vellem parciùs*, both becauſe the book is un-"ſeaſonable, and it ſeems to me, that the good man "is groſsly miſtaken in this diſpute. Grief (21) "gave ſome colour to this work, when it was printed "at firſt; and we ſuffer a great many words to eſcape "us in extreme ſorrow, which we ſhould be aſhamed "to have repreſented to us, after our paſſion is over. "I write you what I think, not knowing your judg-"ment about it. I am ſorry, that I did not do it "ſooner. I know well enough that the good man "was pleaſed with this piece; he ſhewed it by the re-"peated editions of it. It is a diſeaſe, which many, "too many of our nation are ſeized with, who would "gladly reduce our monarchy to an anarchy. If "there be any evil in a thing, we muſt not ſay "therefore, that it ought to be deſtroyed (22)." Bongars, it will be ſaid, put his finger upon the wound; Hotman was in a paſſion againſt his country, when he wrote that book; and not content with having revenged himſelf upon thoſe, who governed at that time, endeavoured to diſcharge his reſentment upon the monarchy itſelf, and the whole body of the nation; and this with ſo little judgment, that he furniſhed very ſtrong arms to the league for the excluſion of Henry IV; for according to his principles, the Catholics of France had a full right to elect the Duke of Guiſe King, to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood. A paſſionate writer (will it be farther ſaid) is not capable of conſi-dering what may happen: he thinks only of the preſent: he does not reflect that times may change, and that the doctrine, which agrees at preſent with the intereſt of our cauſe, will be one day favourable to our enemies. This is what happened in France under Charles IX and under Henry III: each party was obliged to confute itſelf, as Montagne has finely ob-ſerved. See the remark [*T*]. It is certain that if Cathe-rine de Medicis had eſpouſed the reformed religion, and eſtabliſhed it in France, Hotman would have wrote an excellent book to prove that the regency of women is a very good thing, and agreeable to the deſign of our fundamental laws. With what force would he have confuted the Papiſts, who ſhould have written againſt that Queen? The ſtrongeſt reaſon, which the Pro-teſtants of France urged to juſtify their firſt taking of arms, is what Catherine de Medicis wrote to the Prince of Condé. They owned therefore the authority of that woman. Did not Hotman deſire aſſiſtance in Germany in the name of that Queen? *Ab his paullo poſt, immo & ab ea, quæ tum minorem annis regem reg-numque adminiſtrabat, in Germaniam bis miſſus eſt de Regis regnique rebus legatus, & auxilium à Cæſ. Fer-dinando ordinibuſque Germaniæ rebus ruentibus petere juſſus. Exſtat dicta tum ab eo in comitiis Imperii Fran-cofordienſibus oratio* (23). i. e. "He was ſoon after "ſent Embaſſador into Germany on account of the "affairs of the King and Kingdom by theſe, and alſo "by the Queen who was Regent during the King's "minority, and was ordered to deſire aſſiſtance from "the Emperor Ferdinand and the States of Germany "to prevent the ruin of the Kingdom. His Speech "made in the Diet at Francfort is ſtill extant." We ſhall ſee elſewhere (24), that he was accuſed of want of ſincerity in his *Franco-Gallia*, and we ſhall endeavour to ſay ſomething in favour of this learned man.

[*F*] ... *and wrote a book there upon the rights of the King of Navarre.*] It was that concerning the right of the Nephew againſt the uncle. *Vexatam illam re-bus ita poſtulantibus & magnis viris hortantibus tractavit controverſiam*, de ſucceſſione inter patruum & fratris filium, *atque in univerſum de jure ſucceſſionis regiæ in regno Galliæ* (25). The league had put it into the head of Cardinal de Bourbon, uncle of the King of Navarre, to ſet up for the lawful ſucceſſor, and they employed an Italian Civilian, who wrote a treatiſe *Of the Right of the Uncle againſt the Nephew.* Francis Hotman refuted it learnedly. Let us cite Father Maim-bourg: "Anthony Hotman, *ſays he* (26), Advocate "General of the league in the Parliament of Paris, "wrote the treatiſe *Of the Right of the Uncle againſt* "*the Nephew to ſucceed to the Crown.* But it happened "by a lucky and pleaſant co-incidence, that Francis "Hotman the Civilian, brother to the Advocate, ſee-"ing this book, which was ſold in Germany, where "he was at that time, maintained with great ſtrength "and learning the right of the nephew againſt the "uncle, and ſhewed plainly in a learned treatiſe, "which he publiſhed upon that ſubject, the weakneſs "and all the falſe reaſonings of his adverſary's book, "without knowing that it was his brother who had "not put his name to it." There are ſeveral miſtakes in this paſſage. I. It is not true that Francis Hotman wrote againſt an unknown author. He wrote againſt one Matthew Zampini, of Recanati, an Italian Civilian. *Id Matthæus Zampinus Racanatenſis de trivio J. C. à fœderatis pecunia ſubornatus, edita conſultatione probare conatus fuerat, quam Fr. Hotomannus magni nominis noſtra ætate J. C. contraria conſultatione itidem edita con-futavit.*

(16) Mezerai was miſtaken in ſaying in his *Great Hiſtory*, tom. 3. pag. 293. that Francis Hot-man was a re-fugee in the Pa-latinate, when he publiſhed his *Franco-Gallia*.

(17) Pag. 221.

JUDGMENT concerning the book intitled, *Franco-Gallia*.

(18) This is only a tranſlation of the Latin of Thuanus, lib. 57. pag. 49. *ad ann.* 1573.

(19) Teiſſier, *Additions aux Eloges de Mr. de Thou*, tom. 2. pag. 139.

(20) It was written from Straſburg in 1595 upon the ſubject of the *Life of Francis Hotman* written by Ne-velet.

(21) It is in the original *la doute*; but I think it ought to be *la douleur*.

(22) *Lettres de Bongars*; pag. 651. edit. de la Haye, 1695.

(23) Nevel. *in Vita Hottomanni.*

(24) In the re-mark [*H*].

(25) Neveletus, *in Vita Hotto-manni*, pag. 224.

(26) *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, liv. 4. pag. m. 367, *ad ann.* 1589.

He had refuſed to go to Leyden, where there had been offered him a Profeſſorſhip. He had time to put his works in order for a new edition (e), which was not publiſhed till a long time after his death in three volumes in folio (f). It does not contain all that he had publiſhed [G]. His *Franco-Gallia*, which he greatly valued (g), is that of his writings which is leaſt approved of, and has perſuaded ſome perſons that he was the author of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* [H], which is a book entirely conformable to Republican notions.

(e) Taken from his *Life* written by Petrus Neveletus Doſchius, whom we ſhall ſpeak of below in the remark [O]. It is one of the ten *Lives of Civilians*, reprinted by Leickherus at Leipſic 1686. I make uſe of that edition.

(f) They were printed at Geneva by the care of James Lectius in 1599.

(g) See the remark [E].

futavit (27). i. e. "Matthew Zampini of Recanati, "a mean Civilian, being hired by the Leaguers, endeavoured to prove this in a diſſertation, which he "publiſhed, and which was confuted in another treatiſe, publiſhed by Francis Hotman an eminent Civilian of our age." II. Conſequently it is no true, that he wrote againſt his brother. III. It is not true, that he wrote this book in 1589 (α): he wrote it about the year 1585, as Thuanus obſerves; which agrees with Nevelet, who repreſents him as ſixty years old at that time. IV. He was then at Geneva, and not in Germany. V. Anthony Hotman was not one of the Advocates General of the League in 1589: he was not ſo till two years after (28), when John le Maître, who performed that office with Lewis d'Orleans, was advanced to the Poſt of Preſident au Mortier. The Preſident Briſſon was then dead. VI. It was Anthony Hotman, who wrote againſt his brother Francis Hotman, and not Francis who wrote againſt Anthony. *Poſtea & peculiari libro quem conſultationi à Franciſco fratre pro Navarro editæ... oppoſuiſſe videri voluit,* (Antonius Hotmannus) *rationes amplificatæ* (29). i. e. "Afterwards the arguments were propoſed more amply "in a particular book, which he (Anthony Hotman) "ſeemed to oppoſe to a diſcourſe publiſhed by his "brother Francis in favour of the King of Navarre."

(27) Thuan. lib. 81. *init. ad ann.* 1585.

(28) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 999.

(29) Thuan. lib. 91. *ſub finem.* See alſo Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 708.

§ (α) I have a treatiſe intitled, *Ad Tractatum Matthæi Zampini J. C. Recannatenſis, de ſucceſſione prærogativæ primi Principis Franciæ; Ornatiſſimi viri P. C. A. F. Civis Pariſienſis & Regii Conſiliarii Reſponſio.* It is in 8vo, and conſiſts of 80 pages, printed by the heirs of Wechelius 1589. Francis Hotman was a Pariſian, and alſo Counſellor of State to the King of Navarre, who came to the Throne of France by the name of Henry IV during the life of Hotman. So that this may be his book. CRIT. REM.]

[G] *It does not contain all that he had publiſhed.*] There are not inſerted the burleſque pieces, which he wrote againſt Matharel and againſt Papyrius Maſſo, nor the book which he publiſhed at Geneva in 1553 under the name of Francis de Villiers, *Ad Remundum Rufum defenſorem Rom. Pontificis contra Carolum Molinæum de ſtatu primitivæ Eccleſiæ &c* (30), nor the *Nullitatis proteſtatio adverſus formulam Concordiæ* (31), which he publiſhed under the name of *Johannes Palmerius*; nor the apology for this laſt book, in which he diſguiſes himſelf under the name of *Johannes Franciſcus Aſpaſtis Salaſſi V. D. M.* (32). There is omitted his *Anti-Tribonianus*, which was publiſhed in French in 1603, and a Latin tranſlation of which was printed in Hamburg in 1647. See concerning this book the curious Mr. Baillet (33). Laſtly they have left out his *Brutum Fulmen*, which is not a burleſque piece, as Thuanus affirms. It is a work intirely ſerious, in which Francis Hotman refutes the bull, which Sixtus V publiſhed in 1585 againſt the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé. *Poſtea*, ſays Thuanus (34), *& in cenſuram illam ſcripſit Franciſcus Hotmannus J. C. joculari iſto ſtilo, libroque Brutum Fulmen titulum fecit, quo & de B. Franciſci & B. Dominici vita ac moribus veteres hiſtoriæ, ab obſolete devotis viris ſcriptæ ridicule diſcutiuntur.* i. e. "And "Francis Hotman, a Civilian, wrote againſt that bull "in a burleſque ſtyle, and intitled his book *Brutum* "*Fulmen*, in which the old accounts of the lives and "actions of St. Francis and St. Dominic, written by "ſuperſtitious men, are expoſed to ridicule." Francis Hotman treats of nothing leſs than of this ſubject. Deckher (35) was miſled in this point by Thuanus, but he has committed an error of his own: he aſſerts, that this learned Civilian was baniſhed France on account of this piece. This is a miſtake. Hotman left France in the year 1572, fully reſolved never to return thither. *Neque unquam poſtea induci potuit, ut in patria conſiſtendum ſibi judicaret: non Andegavenſis ipſius Ducis literis inflexus, non promiſſis, non denique cum ab eo Magiſter ſupplicum apud ſe libellorum dictus eſſet: hoc ſæpe uſurpans:* Fruſtra Neptunum accuſat, iterum qui naufragium facit (36). The *Brutum Fulmen* was publiſhed in 1585, as Deckher obſerves againſt Goldaſt, who has placed the edition under 1586. I have ſaid nothing of the treatiſe *de regno Vulvarum*, which d'Aubigné aſcribes to our Hotman in the ſecond chapter of the firſt book of the *Confeſſion of Sanci*: I know not what it is (β).

(30) *Epitome Bibliotb. Geſneri*, pag. m. 239.

(31) Placcius, *de Pſeudon.* p. 233.

(32) Idem, ibid. pag. 153.

(23) Baillet, tom. 2 *des Anti*, pag. 156.

(34) Lib. 82. pag. 33. *ad ann.* 1585.

(35) *De Scriptis adeſpotis*, pag. 84. edit. 1686.

(36) Nevelet. in *Vita Hottomanni*, pag. 221.

§ (β) The following epigram was in every body's hands about the year 1561 (*), occaſioned by the greateſt part of the Kingdoms of Europe being then governed by women, or at leaſt under their adminiſtration.

(*) Le Laboureur, *Addit. au Memoires de Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 773.

Vulva regit Scotos (a), *hæres* (b) *tenet illa Britannos,*
Flandros & Batavos nunc nothæ vulva (c) *regit.*
Vulva regit populos quos ſignat Gallia portu (d)
Et ſortes Gallos Itala vulva regit (e).
His furiam furiis, vulvam conjungite vulvis,
Sic natura capax omnia Regna capit.
Ad Medicem (†) *artem incertam Gallia ſaucia tendit* (††).
Non uti Medicis eſt medicina tibi.
Non credas Medicis, vena qui ſanguinis hauſta
Conantur vires debilitare tuas.
Ut Regi, matrique ſuæ ſis fida Deoque,
Utere concilio Gallia docta meo.
Et pacem tu inter proceres non ponito bellum,
Hoſpita (f) *lis Artus rodit agitque tuos.*

(a) Mary Stuart.

(b) Queen Elizabeth.

(c) Margaret, Ducheſs of Parma, natural daughter of Charles V.

(d) Catherine of Auſtria ſiſter to Charles V, widow of John III King of Portugal and Regent during the minority of Sebaſtian her ſon

(e) Catherine de Medicis.

(†) Medicam.

(††) Tendis.

(f) An alluſion to the name of the Chancellor de l'Hoſpital, to whom Catherine de Medicis chiefly owed the Regency.

This poſſibly is the pretended treatiſe *de Regno Vulvarum*, aſcribed to Francis Hotman by d'Aubigné. This Civilian was a Latin Poet, and his *Franco-Gallia*, which he publiſhed about twelve or thirteen years after, ſhews, that he did not approve of the adminiſtration of women. REM. CRIT.]

[H] *Perſuaded ſome perſons that he was the author of the* Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos.] When I ſpoke of this work in the plan of this Dictionary, I ſaid (37), that the miſtake of thoſe, who aſcribed to Francis Hotman the book of Junius Brutus, is a ſmall one. Hotman, continued I, "left France on account of "religion, and though he was not like thoſe, who "fly from perſecution, *breathing out threatnings and "ſlaughter* (38) as vehemently as the perſecutors themſelves, yet he complained and murmured in his retreat. He wrote a book intitled *Franco-Gallia*, to "ſhew, that the French Monarchy is not what it is "ſuppoſed to be, and that in right the people are the "true Sovereigns in it. Here is what made it believed, that he alſo wrote the book of Junius "Brutus, beſides that we ſee a great many maxims "of the *Franco-Gallia* diſperſed in it. Barclay refutes only this laſt reaſon, which ſeems to him "plauſible enough, and pretends to overthrow it by "ſomething ſtill more plauſible: It is, ſays he (39), "that Brutus makes uſe of divers arguments, which "Hotman had ridiculed and confuted, and that he "falls into ſuch childiſh errors with regard to the "Civil-Law, as ſuch a man as Hotman could not "be capable of. This is more obliging towards "this learned Civilian, than what Boeclerus ſays. *I "wiſh*, ſays he, *that Hotman had not affected ſo obſtinately to appear among thoſe writers, who ſound "an alarm againſt Kings, and who by their private "authority convert them into tyrants, by means of chicaneries, which corrupt not only true Philoſophy, but "alſo the holy Scriptures. I wiſh that he had not ſhewn "this bad example to others in his* Franco-Gallia, *and "had not falſified Hiſtory more than once, in order to "indulge his prejudices with too ſervile a complaiſance.* "Boeclerus's Greek phraſe has much more force than "this, Εἰς το ἁλιτεῖν τῇ ὑποθέσει, *etiam hiſtoriam non "ſemel corrumpit* (40). . . . . (41) I cannot forbear "ſaying, that Boeclerus extremely ill treats Hotman, "who, once more, was not one of thoſe men, who "after the example of ſome Engliſh Catholics of the "laſt age, left their country for religion with threat-

(37) Pag. 90.

(38) Ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς καὶ φόνου, ſays the Scripture in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, cap. 9. ver. 1. concerning Saul.

(39) Barclay, *contra Monarchomacos*, lib. 3. cap. 1. pag. 311.

(40) In Grot. *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, lib. 1. cap. 4. pag. m. 275.

(41) In the *Plan*, pag. 92.

notions. His own maxims were retorted upon him ſome time after [*I*]. It is difficult to avoid this inconvenience when a perſon writes upon certain ſubjects. He was well rewarded

" ning airs, caſting out fire and flame, vomiting a " thouſand imprecations, thundring out *Maranatha*, " ſeeking to return thither ſword in hand, or by the " aſſiſtance of the moſt exterminating armies; in ſhort, " deſiring a return, preceded, like the departure from " Egypt, by all the plagues of Pharaoh, not excluding " the paſſage of the deſtroying angel. Hotman was " contented with the ſeverity of his pen, and touching " upon certain things, which were not agreeable. It " is true, that without thinking of it, he laboured " for the League (42), and forged arms for Bellar- " mine. It is true likewiſe, that his blows were like " thoſe of the Parthians (43); I mean, that in the " condition of a fugitive he fought better than he " could have done, if he had not retired: but his " writings by no means deſerve the blame, which " ought to fall on others, which have been publiſhed " in the ſame circumſtances. For inſtance, the Engliſh " Catholics in vain wrote ſatires and violent invec- " tives againſt Queen Elizabeth (44): theſe writings " are all loſt, and the leaſt uſe is not made of them " by any party. However that be, the appearances " were a little againſt Hotman with regard to the " book of Junius Brutus; and as I have already ob- " ſerved, it was a very ſlight error to make him the " author of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*."

(42) See the following remark.

(43) *Navita Boſphorum Pœnus perhorreſcit . . . Miles ſagittas & celerem fugam Parthi.* Horat. *Od.* 13. lib. 2.

(44) See the remark [*K*] of the article ELIZABETH.

[*I*] *His own notions were retorted upon him ſome time after.*] It was by accident, and by a very common fatality, which changes the intereſts of parties, that Hotman's book was ſubject to the inconvenience, which I ſpeak of. The revolutions in France changed the ſcene in ſuch a manner, that the maxims of the two parties paſſed reciprocally to the direct contraries. It is pleaſant to ſee how finely Montagne ridicules the Catholics. " See, *ſays he* (45), the hor- " rible impudence, with which we throw about di- " vine reaſons, and how irreligiouſly we have re- " jected them and taken them up again, according " as fortune has altered our ſituation in theſe public " ſtorms. This ſo important a propoſition, whether " it is lawful for a ſubject to rebel and take up arms " againſt his Prince in defence of religion, you may " remember to have been laſt year zealouſly affirmed " by a certain party, and denied by the other party. " But obſerve now in what quarter the affirmative is " maintained, and whether arms rattle leſs for this " cauſe than that. We burn thoſe perſons, who ſay, " that truth ſhould ſubmit to the yoke of neceſſity; and " yet how much worſe does France than ſay ſo? &c." While the world continues as it is, there will always be every where ambulatory doctrines, dependent upon times and places; true birds of paſſage, which are in one country in ſummer, and in another in winter; and wandering lights, which like the comets of the Carteſians, inlighten by turns different vortices. Whoever ſhould endeavour to act the Cenſor upon this occaſion, would only be conſidered as an ill-natured Critic, a native of Plato's Republic. So that Hotman is not anſwerable for what the famous Advocate of the holy League found means to take advantage of from the *Franco-Gallia*. " They cannot complain, (it is Lewis " d'Orleans who ſpeaks in the name of the Engliſh " Catholics), that the ſame meaſure is meeted out to " them as they have meeted out to others. Follow " their counſels, tread in the paths which they have " taken to eſtabliſh themſelves, you will eſtabliſh your- " ſelves, and cover them with ſhame and confuſion. " In their *Franco-Gallia*, which is one of the moſt de- " teſtable books ever publiſhed, and written on pur- " poſe to throw all France into a combuſtion, they " affirm, that it is lawful to chooſe a King to one's " taſte. Say therefore to the Heretics, that the King " of Navarre is not to your taſte, and therefore let " him ſtay in his own country of Bearn, till you have " an inclination for him. Thus ſhould they be whip- " ped with the rods which they have made, that they " may know, that the powerful hand of God chaſtiſes " them by their own evil counſels and pernicious " writings (46)." This book of Hotman is at the bottom an excellent one, well written, and full of learning, and ſo much the more troubleſome to the contrary party, as the author contents himſelf with alledging facts, as he repreſents himſelf to his cenſurers. *Cur vel Maſſonus*, ſays he (47), *vel Matharellus Francogalliæ ſcriptori & ſimplici hiſtoriarum narratori ita terribiliter iraſcitur? Nam ut dicit Sylva nup. lib.* 1. *num.* 10. *quomodo poteſt aliquis ei ſuccenſere qui eſt tantum relator & narrator facti? Francogalliſta enim tantum narrationi & relationi ſimplici vacat, quod ſi aliena dicta deleverentur, charta remaneret alba.* i. e. " Why is Maſſon or Matharellus ſo terribly angry at " the author of the *Franco-Gallia*, who is a mere re- " later of facts? For as the *Sylva Nuptialis* ſays, how " can any perſon be diſpleaſed at one, who only gives " an account of the fact? The writer of the *Franco-* " *Gallia* does nothing but lay down a plain narrative: " and if his quotations were removed, there would be " nothing left but blank paper." He was reproached, that his book appeared to be the production of a man drunk, furious, and mad: he anſwers, that this reproach is a piece of impudence, which deſerved puniſhment, ſince he had always kept up in this book the character of a moderate and cool relater. *Quod dicit Franco-Galliam compoſitam ab auctore bene poto in aliquo cænopolio, & eum evomuiſſe ſcriptum plenum furoris & inſaniæ, video multos auctoris amicos, dictum iſtud appellare meretriciam impudentiam flagris & carcere dignam . . . . Ubi ullum iracundi animi ſignum? Ubi vox ulla perturbati animi in toto libro, ac non potius ſedatæ & moderatæ narrationis* (48)? This is a vaſt advantage in ſuch kind of books. For the reſt, though his anſwer is written in a burleſque ſtile, it contains a thouſand things, which muſt be ſeriouſly underſtood. *Ridentum dicere verum quid vetat* (49)? Such, for inſtance, is what he ſays there to his antagoniſt, that it is not ſufficient that he had brought in his accuſation, and given ſecurity *de Lite proſequendâ*; but that he ought likewiſe to engage expreſſly to ſuffer the *Lex Talionis*, in caſe he ſhould be convicted of calumny. *Sed adhuc requiritur tertius ut ſe expreſſe obliget ad pœnam talionis, in caſu quo probetur calumniator; quod probatur per L. ult. C. de calumniat. & omnes Canoniſtas; ſed maxime per Hieronym. de Zanetinis in repetit. cap.* 1. *Extr. de accuſat. De quo ſi ſumus concordes, & Matharellus ſe ſubjiciat talioni in caſu quòd calumniæ convincatur, totum negotium noſtrum bene vadit, niſi forte, &c* (50).

(45) *Eſſais*, lib. 2. cap. 12. pag. m. 193. Mezerai makes the ſame remark, pag. 792. of the 3d tome of the *Hiſtory of France*.

(46) *Advertiſſement des Catholiq. Anglois*, pag. 74, 75. edit. 1587 in 8vo.

(47) *Matagonis de Matagonibus, Monitoriale adverſus Italo-Galliam ſive Antifrancogalliam Antonii Matharelli.* It is a piece of Hotman's in the Macaronic ſtyle.

(48) Idem, ibid.

(49) Horat. Sat. 1. lib. 1.

(50) Matagonis Monitoriale, &c.

If we believe an Hiſtorian, who had been a Miniſter, this book of Hotman did not pleaſe all who were of the Reformed Religion, and did not diſpleaſe all the Catholics of France, and was not written without ſome relation to the cabal of the Mareſchal d'Amville. " A little after, *ſays he* (51), the Duke of Alençon, " brother to his Majeſty, retired from the Court with " ſeveral Lords, being practiſed upon by the ſaid " Mareſchal d'Amville, and taking the name of male- " contents joined themſelves to the Huguenots, ſome of " whom began then to write differently from what " they had done before; and Hotman the Civilian in " his *Franco-Gallia* undertook to ſhew, *That the French* " *people had a ſovereign authority, not only to elect* " *Kings, but alſo to reject the ſons of their Kings, and* " *elect ſtrangers*: and he ſays upon this ſubject many " things, *commending thoſe people, who reſtrain the li-* " *centiouſneſs of their Kings, and reduce them to rea-* " *ſon*. He proceeds, after diſcourſing upon other points, " to except *againſt the regency of Queens, the mothers* " *of Kings*; which he did, becauſe the Queen-Mother " had been declared Regent, till the return of the King " of Poland her ſon. In ſhort, he cited our antient " Hiſtories, right or wrong, according to his paſſion. " This book was agreeable to ſome of the Reformed, " and to ſome united Catholics, who wanted innova- " tions, but not to all." D'Aubigné (52) gives the ſame plan of this book; but he repreſents it as being publiſhed in 1573, during the life of Charles IX. Thuanus (53) and Mezerai (54), who give the ſame plan, place it, the former ſimply in the reign of Charles IX, the latter before the departure of the King of Poland. This overthrows the hypotheſis of Cayet, viz. that the Regency's being conferred on Queen Catherine at the time of the death of Charles IX, was one of the grievances of Francis Hotman. It is certain, that his book was printed before the Queen was declared

(51) Peter Victor Cayet, *Avant-propos de la* Chronologie Novenaire.

(52) *Hiſt. Univerſ* tom. 2. pag. 670. Simler, *Epit. Bibliotb. Geſneri* fixes the impreſſion of the *Franco-Gallia* in 1573, and he is in the right. This book was printed at Geneva by Jacobus Stoerius in 1573. The epiſtle dedicatory to the Elector Palatine dated Aug. 21, 1573.

(53) Thuan. *Hiſt.* lib. 57.

(54) *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. in fol. pag. 293.

warded for his *Brutum Fulmen* [K] by the King of Navarre. He was one of thoſe who would never conſent to be painted (*h*), but his picture was taken while he was in his laſt agony. He left two ſons and four daughters. JOHN HOTMAN Sieur de Villiers, his eldeſt ſon, paſſes for the author of the *Anti-Chopinus*, a burleſque piece, and of the *Anti-Colazon*, which is an apology for his treatiſe *of the Embaſſador*, in which it was ſaid, he had been a plagiary from Charles Paſchal. See Mr. Baillet (*i*). Moreri has not committed many miſtakes [L].

(*h*) Nevelet *in Vitâ Hotomanni*, pag. 229.

(*i*) In the firſt tome of the *Anti*, pag. 120, & *ſeq.*

I am ſurprized that there has been omitted in the Life of Francis Hotman a particular, which is very much to his honour: it is, that at the age of twenty three years he read public Lectures in the ſchools of Paris [M]. There is likewiſe no mention (and I do not wonder at it) of certain things which Baudouin had publiſhed againſt him, and which would blacken his memory horribly, if they were true [N]. One could not credit them, without

declared Regent by the edict of the 30th of May, 1574; but he foreſaw perhaps that ſhe would be ſo; and it is very probable, that he had her in his view, in what he wrote againſt the Regency of women. He remembred the evils, which that Princeſs had cauſed during her firſt Regency. This able Civilian, who had quitted the place of Counſellor of Paris for his religion, would have done better to anſwer his adverſaries (55) in a ſerious and modeſt manner, than to make uſe of the Macaronic ſtile. See what Mr. Baillet ſays in pag. 336 of the ſecond Tome of the *Anti*.

(55) Anthony Matharel, *and* Papyrius Maſſo.

[K] *He was well rewarded for his* Brutum Fulmen.] Let us begin our Commentary by theſe words of the Author of his Life. *His meritis præmium deberi cum intelligeret Henricus tum Navarræ Rex, ultro codicillos ad eum miſit Senatoriæ in Conſiſtorio ſuo dignitatis: cujus tamen eum fructum non tulit, quem beneficus Princeps voluerat: ac opinor in tantis rerum omnium anguſtiis factum, ut ex annuo quod debebatur ſalario, vix ad eum quidquam, ſicut audio, pervenerit* (56). i. e. "Henry then King of Navarre finding, that a "reward was due to him on account of theſe merits "of his, he ſent him of his own accord a patent to "be one of his Counſellors of State; but he did "not enjoy that advantage of the place, which the "generous King intended; and I believe it happened "through the diſtreſs of the affairs, that of his an-"nual ſalary ſcarce any thing came to him, as I "am informed." Bongars, to whom Nevelet addreſſes the Life of Hotman, has made a reflection upon this paſſage. "(57) There is another paſſage. After "having ſaid, that the King had, on account of his "*Brutum Fulmen*, given him the place of Counſellor "of State, *cujus tamen eum fructum non tulit quem beneficus princeps voluerat* (58: I aſſure you, Sir, that "the King never bought a book ſo dear as that: it "was paid for much above the value of it. It will "be ſaid to me, that I ought to have delivered my opi-"nion upon theſe paſſages ſooner; but it often hap-"pens, and to me too often, that we never conſider "till after the thing is done. I wrote to Mr. Hotman "what I thought about the firſt (59); I do not touch "upon the ſecond; he might be offended, not know-"ing how the affair paſſed." Obſerve, that Nevelet does not ſpeak there of the *Brutum Fulmen*, as Bongars ſuppoſes, but of the book againſt Zampini *de ſucceſſione inter patruum & fratris filium*.

(56) Nevel. *in Vita Hotomanni*, pag. 225.

(57) *Lettres de Bongars*, p. 651. printed at the Hague 1695.

(58) Theſe words are full of miſtakes in the edition of the *Letters of Bongars*, which I quote; I cite them as they ought to be.

(59) That is, of what relates to the *Franco-Gallia*. See above the words of Bongars, remark [E] citation (22).

[L] *Moreri has not committed many miſtakes.*] I. He falſely ſuppoſes, that Hotman was ſaved by his ſcholars at Bourges, at a different time from that of the maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's day; that is, of one event he makes two. II. The year of his death is not rightly expreſſed: it ſhould be 1590, and not 1591. And III, this miſtake ſhould not be imputed to Spondanus in citing him under the year 1591, n. 22. for it is under that *numero* in the preceding year that he ſpeaks of Hotman's death.

[M] *At the age of three and twenty years he read public lectures in the ſchools of Paris.*] I prove this by the following words of Stephen Paſquier (60). "I "can tell you, that one of the moſt lucky things "which happened to me in my youth, was, that the "day after the Aſſumption of our Lady in 1546, Hot-"man and Baudouin began their lectures of Law in "the ſchools *du Decret* of this city of Paris; the for-"mer at ſeven in the morning, reading upon this "title, *De notionibus*; the latter at two in the after-"noon, reading this title, *De publicis Judiciis*, in a "great aſſembly of Auditors. And the ſame day, "under theſe two learned men, I began to ſtudy the "Law."

(60) Paſquier, *Lettre a Mr. Loyſel.* It is in the 19th book of his *Letters*. The words, which I quote, are in page 501. of the 2d tome.

[N] *Certain things which Baudouin had publiſhed againſt him . . . would blacken his memory horribly, if they were true.*] Baudouin affirms, that Hotman was excommunicated at Straſburg for the crime of adultery. *Argentinæ propter adulterium excommunicarat ſodalem tuum Hottomannum* (Petrus Alexander) (61). i. e. "Pe-"ter Alexander excommunicated your companion "Hotman at Straſburg for adultery." Theſe words are addreſſed to Theodore Beza. The author had already mentioned this fact with more circumſtances, and added, that the ſame Hotman loſt likewiſe his canonry and office in the univerſity. *Recitata tunc quoque noſtris fuit cauſa tui Hotmanni, nempe propter quod facinus illic aliquando primum fuiſſet excommunicatus abs ſuo Gallo Concionatore Petro Alexandro, te quidem propter antiquam ſocietatem ſubmurmurante, ſed aſſentiente tamen tuo ſi minus parente, at certe avo Gulielmo Farello, ſæpius illum juriſperditum appellante. Addebant & complura ejuſdem generis quæ pervulgata erant per Joannem Infantium, teſtem valde idoneum, & cujus non ſolum opera, ſed & opibus quamdiu opus habuiſti, tam liberaliter es abuſus, ut fidem ei detrahere vix audeas. Altera cauſa fuit expoſita cur tuus ille Hotmannus (cujus cauſa non eſt abs te ſejuncta) ut antea Eccleſia, ſic deinde ſchola & ſuo Canonicatu pulſus eſſet: tandemque quid in eo Sturmius ipſe graviſſime accuſaret narratum eſt, & perlecta Sturmiana adverſus eum terribilis expoſtulatio, quæ profecto non modo de iſtius flagitiis, ſed de veſtræ conjurationis myſteriis narrabat nimis multa* (62). i. e. "Then "the caſe of your friend Hotman was related to us, "viz. for what crime he was excommunicated there "formerly by his own French Preacher Peter Alexander, "while you complained on account of your old friend-"ſhip with him, though at the ſame time William "Farel, who is, if not your father, at leaſt your "grandfather, conſented to it, and frequently ſtyled "him *Juriſperditus*. They added alſo a great many "other things of the ſame kind, which were told "about by John L'Enfant, a competent witneſs, "whoſe aſſiſtance and wealth you made uſe of ſo "freely, as long as you had occaſion, that you will "ſcarce preſume to detract from his credit. There "was another ſtory related, why your friend Hotman, "whoſe cauſe is connected with yours, was deprived "of his ſchool and canonry, as he was before expelled "the Church; and at laſt the grievous charge laid "againſt him by Sturmius was told, and Sturmius's "terrible expoſtulation againſt him was read, which gave "an account of too many things relating not only to "his crimes, but likewiſe to the myſteries of your ca-"bal." All theſe things were before the year 1562. Baudouin a little after (63) mentions, that having known Hotman at Paris to be a man, who loved learning, he adviſed him to go and viſit Geneva; that he entertained him in his houſe at Straſburg, with all poſſible civility, as an old friend, when Hotman retired thither, after having deſired his intereſt for a profeſſorſhip of Civil Law, and declared a great deal of diſlike to teaching at Lauſanne; *Alterum Balduini ex non diſſimili errore peccatum quod fuit Hotmanni tui Lauſannæ languentis & in cædendis quos in tuo ludo Grammaticam docebat, pueris defatigati, & ex eo carcere liberari miſere cupientis, & commendatione Balduini ad aliquam juris profeſſionem redire literis temere crediderit* (64); that he ſoon perceived, that he kept a viper in his boſom, ſince Hotman uſed all his endeavours to ſupplant him by ſecret artifices. Here follows one of his tricks: having by fraudulent inventions engaged Dua-

(61) *Reſponſ. ad Calvin. & Bezam pro Franciſco Balduino*, folio 77.

(62) Ibid. fol. 70 *verſo*.

(63) Ibid. fol. 86.

(64) Ibid.

without believing, that it is much eaſier to be a perfect ſcholar and a great enemy to the perſecuting religion, than to be a tolerably honeſt man. I ſhall ſpeak one word concerning

renus to addreſs to him an invective againſt Baudouin, he diſperſed it all over the city, taking care at the ſame time to conceal it from Baudouin. At laſt he was obliged by Sturmius to go to him, and bear his reproaches, and expreſſed great regret for his conduct. There is cited (65) a fragment of the letter, which Sturmius wrote to him, in which he accuſes him of having employed a great many artifices to ſupplant Baudouin. They ſucceeded; for he made Baudouin weary of Straſburg, and induced him to ſeek another poſt (66), and Hotman ſucceeded him. All theſe particulars are found in the third reply of Baudouin to Calvin. He had before cited in the ſecond Reply this letter of Sturmius, and had drawn from it a great many things diſadvantageous to Hotman. He had mentioned a paſſage, which contained a reproach of an execrable perjury. Hotman, the ſame day that he received the communion, proteſted to Sturmius, that he prayed to God that the ſacrament, which he received, might change him to a Devil, if he falſely denied what he denied (67). And yet adds Sturmius, he denied a thing which was very true. Baudouin mentions this as a proof, that his antagoniſt, who undertook to diſpute about the Lord's Supper, paid no great regard to it; and he takes that opportunity to reproach him with being excluded from the ſacrament in Germany on account of adultery. *Etiam de myſterio Cœnæ Dominicæ diſputat, & me cum ſua Gallica (ut vocat) Eccleſia non idem ſentire narrat, qui ab ea propter Clodianum facinus in Germania excommunicatus aliam quæcunque illi fortaſſe patuit menſam occupavit. Vis ſcire quanti faciat totum iſtud myſterium tuus Myſtagogus? Audi Sturmium* (68). i. e. "He alſo diſputes concerning the "myſtery of the Lord's Supper, and affirms, that I "am not of the ſame opinion with his French Church, "(as he calls it) though he was excluded from it in "Germany on account of adultery, and went to the "next table which offered, and which would admit "him. Would you know what a reverence your ex"plainer of myſteries has for this myſtery? Hear "Sturmius." Here is another paſſage from the ſecond Reply of Baudouin (69). *Nonne ille eſt qui ... Sileſium ſe eſſe finxit, cum in Germania negaret ſe eſſe Gallum ut in aulam Auſtriacam irreperet? Nonne ille eſt qui cum tuam* (70) *Eccleſiam clam fugeret & ſcholam, in qua tamen docuit aliquot annis Grammaticam, depoſita Juriſconſulti perſona, venit in Germaniam tuis ad Sturmium literis inſtructus quæ Sturmium ſefellerunt? Nonne ille eſt cujus (ut nunc dicebam) vitam perfidiæ, nequitiæ, ſceleris, & omnium maleficiorum plenam ipſe Sturmius nuper deſcripſit? ... Nonne ille eſt magnus ardelio, qui cum in Germania Principes miris modis eſt ludificatus, huc & illuc diſcurrens, modo in Gallia tumultuatur, modo ad Rheni ripas adverſus Regem ſuum milites cogit? Nonne ille eſt quem Sturmius ... oſtendit etiam Galliæ Principibus plus quam proditorie maledicere, cujuſque lingua nullum veneficium magis veneficum eſſe ait & probat? Nonne ille eſt qui ſuperioribus annis in Germania pinxit ſive ſuum ſive tuum tumultum Amboſianum, & Tigrim* (71) *peperit, & ejus generis formulas quotidie concipit novus magiſter libellorum, non (ut jactabat) ſupplicum ſed famoſorum? Denique nonne eſt ille tenebrio qui ad me aliquando ſcripſit, σκοτισίον ἐν τῷ νῦν χρόνῳ* (72). i. e. "Is it not he, "who pretended to be a Sileſian, when in Germany "he denied himſelf to be a Frenchman, that he might "be admitted into the Court ot Auſtria? Is it not he, "who, when he had clandeſtinely fled from your "Church and School, in which he had taught Gram"mar for ſeveral years, having laid aſide the character "of a Civilian, came into Germany recommended by "your letters to Sturmius, which letters deceived Stur"mius? Is it not he, whoſe life, as I ſaid juſt before, "being full of perfidy, wickedneſs, and all kinds of "guilt, has been lately deſcribed by Sturmius him"ſelf?... Is not he, that buſy-body, who after he had "impoſed upon the Princes of Germany, runs about "here and there, ſometimes raiſing tumults in France, "and at other times levying ſoldiers againſt his own "King upon the banks of the Rhine? Is it not he, "whom Sturmius ... has ſhewn to have curſed the "Princes of France in a moſt traiterous manner, and "whoſe tongue he proves to be as dangerous as poiſon "itſelf? Is it not he, who ſome years ago deſcribed "his or your tumult at Amboiſe, and brought forth "the *Tiger*, and is daily compoſing libels of the ſame "kind? Laſtly, is it not that knave, who wrote to me "formerly, that *in theſe times one ought to ſeek the "ſhades?*"

Here is the reaſon why I made a diſtinction between what we read in the third reply of Baudouin, and what is in the ſecond. Theodore Beza has refuted the ſecond, but ſaid nothing in anſwer to the third; ſo that the third is not of ſuch great conſequence againſt our Civilian Hotman; for we may preſume, that if Beza had anſwered it, he would have juſtified that Civilian. We ought therefore to attend more to the reproaches contained in the ſecond, ſince they may be compared with a piece, in which Theodore Beza refuted it. We muſt judge by that refutation, what might be the foundation upon which Baudouin proceeded. I have found, that his antagoniſt advances nothing, which may clear Hotman: he only ſays, that the reproach of ignorance in Latin, and being an atheiſt would not at all trouble Hotman, who would not condeſcend to open his mouth with regard to the latter charge. *Magnum tibi certamen ſupereſſe video. Nam quæ tibi objecit magnam inſcitiam arguunt, quæ tamen (ut ajunt) refellere non poſſis. Illa verò quæ regeris, cujuſmodi ſunt quæſo? Latinè ſcilicet neſcit, ut eum oportuerit ad Latinam epiſtolam ſcribendam alterius operam requirere. Crimen autem ἀθεότητος, etſi omnium eſt graviſſimum, ille tamen, ut opinor, ne reſponſo quidem dignam putabit. Quid enim hoc aliud eſt quam latrare* (73). i. e. "I ſee, that you have a hard "taſk to undertake. For what he objects to you, "are marks of great ignorance, which, they ſay, you "cannot confute. But what is it, that you ſay in re"turn? He does not underſtand Latin; ſo that he "was obliged to make uſe of the aſſiſtance of another "perſon in writing a Latin letter. With regard to the "charge of atheiſm, though it is the moſt grievous of "all, yet he, I believe, will not think it worthy "of an anſwer. For what elſe is this but mere bark"ing?" There is nothing in this relating to the accuſations, which I have tranſcribed, and which are to be found in page 176, 180, 181, 182 of Baudouin's ſecond reply. All that Beza has anſwered in defence of Hotman relates to page 175, where we find I, that Francis Hotman took to himſelf an Epiſtle Dedicatory, which Sturmius had compoſed. II. That he then commended the ſame works of Duarenus, which he had deſpiſed before when he wrote againſt Rufus for Du Moulin. III. That an elegant maſter of Cicero's atheiſm is not a fit perſon to catechiſe others. *Noſter magiſter Latinitatis prius quam de meis ſcriptionibus garriat, ſuarum oblitus reſpondeat Sturmio & aliis à quibus accuſatus eſt quod ſuo nomine ediderit epiſtolam abs Sturmio ſcriptam, eamque inſtitutionibus præfixam tamquam ſuam vendiderit Duci Saxoniæ ... Oportet iſtius tui patroni incredibilem eſſe, non jam dicam, impudentiam quia latitat, ſed nequitia cum quidem poſteaquam edito libello de ſacerdotiis adverſus Ruffum pro Molineo, proſcidit illos Beneficiarios commentarios* (Duareni) *nunc eos ſe adorare fingat ... ſcilicet religionem nos docebit elegans magiſter Ciceronianæ ἀθεότητος* (74).

I am certain, that all my readers will agree, in comparing theſe paſſages of Baudouin with that of Beza, that nothing could be more diſadvantageous to Hotman than to anſwer as Beza has done. Silence would have done him infinitely leſs harm. To compleat the misfortune, Beza publiſhed (75) a letter of Sturmius, which diſowns all that could be alledged from him to the diſadvantage of Calvin and Beza; but there is nothing of this kind with regard to Hotman.

Languet, a true Refugee, and a perfectly honeſt man, having ſeen Sturmius's accuſations againſt Hotman, made ſeveral very ſenſible reflections, and worthy of a pious man; but it was with a ſevere regret, that his countrymen ſhould behave ſo ſcandalouſly in Germany, and that perſons, who under pretence of religion ſought only to gratify their vanity, did more injury to the Proteſtant Religion, than the King of Spain and the Pope. He could not believe that Hotman could forget

(65) Ibid. pag. 87.

(66) He went to Heidelberg.

(67) Balduin. *Reſponſio altera ad Joann. Calvin.* pag. m. 176.

(68) Idem, ibid.

(69) Idem, ibid. pag. 181, 182.

(70) Theſe words are addreſſed to Calvin.

(71) It is a Libel, which I ſpeak of in the article of GUISE (Francis) remark [I].

(72) That is to ſay, *in theſe times one ought to ſeek the ſhades.*

(73) Beza, *Reſponſ. ad Balduin, ſub finem*, pag. 223. tom. 2. *Operum.*

(74) Balduin. *Reſponſ. altera ad J. Calvinum*, pag. 175.

(75) Beza, *Reſponſ. ad Balduin. Oper.* tom. 2. pag. 234.

ing the author of the Life of Francis Hotman [O]. The work printed at Amſterdam (k) under the title of *Franciſci & Joannis Hotomanorum Patris ac Filii & clarorum Virorum ad eos Epiſtolæ* would furniſh me with a great many additions to this article, with regard to our Civilian's application to the ſearch after the Philoſopher's ſtone, which was very injurious to his circumſtances (l), and to many other particulars of his life; but it is better to refer the reader to Monſieur Bernard's *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (m). The extract which he gives of that work leaves nothing wanting. The reader may alſo conſult the firſt volume *Obſervationum ſelectarum ad Rem Litterariam ſpectantium* printed at Hall in 1700.

(k) In 1700 in 4to.

(l) See the *Funeral Oration of Scipio Gentilis apud* Witte, *Memor. Juriſconſ.* pag. 33.

(m) March 1701, pag. 268, *& ſeqq.*

forget himſelf ſo much as to be guilty of ſuch crimes. Let us quote his own words. *Hæc ſunt levia ſi conferantur cum turpibus factis noſtrorum hominum in Germania, & quidem eorum qui ornati ſunt eruditione, & religionis ſpecie, inſinuarunt ſe in amicitiam bonorum virorum, qui ipſis ſumma beneficia exhibuerunt. Ut alios omittam, nuper vidi accuſationem Sturmii adverſus Hottomannum, quæ, ſi vera eſt, miſeret me Sturmii; & pudet alterius, ſed talia ſunt, ut mihi videantur vix poſſe venire in mentem erudito viro. Quidam mecum egerunt, ut ipſius accuſationis capita, ad te preſcriberem, ſed a talibus miniſteriis ego plane abhorreo, cum præſertim ſciam, te nec voluptatem nec utilitatem ex iis percipere poſſe, & ad me nihil pertineant, niſi forte infamiæ pars in me redundet, eo quod a noſtris hominibus talia perpetrentur in ipſa Germania. Hæc ſane tanto dolore me afficiunt, ut neſciam an ex ulla re majorem unquam ſenſerim. Video ubique eorum ambitionem, qui prætextu religionis ſua quærunt, magis obeſſe ipſius religionis progreſſui, quam Pontificem Ro. Regem Hiſpaniæ, & omnes ipſorum miniſtros. Sed de re odioſa nimis multa ſcribo* (76). i. e. "Theſe "are light things, if compared with the ſcandalous beha- "viour of our countrymen in Germany, and indeed of "thoſe who are eminent for their learning, and under "pretence of religion have inſinuated themſelves into "the friendſhip of worthy perſons, who have done "them the higheſt ſervices. To omit others, I lately "ſaw Sturmius's accuſation againſt Hotman, which, if "true, I pity Sturmius, and am aſhamed of Hotman; "but the facts are of ſuch a kind, that I ſcarce think "that a man of learning could be guilty of them. "Some perſons have deſired me to write the heads of "the accuſation to you; but I am greatly averſe to "ſuch an employment, eſpecially as I know, that you "can find neither pleaſure nor advantage from it, and "as they have no relation to me, unleſs perhaps part "of the diſgrace is reflected upon me, becauſe ſuch "things are done by our countrymen in Germany. "This gives me ſo much regret, that I know not "whether I ever felt greater upon any occaſion. I ſee "every where, that the ambition of thoſe, who under "pretence of religion ſeek their own intereſt, is more "injurious to the progreſs of religion itſelf, than the "Pope, the King of Spain, and all their adherents. "But I inſiſt too long upon a diſagreeable ſubject." The letter from which I extract theſe words, is dated at Paris December the 11th 1561. Another of his letters dated at the ſame city January the 23d 1562 informs us, that the Duke of Guiſe, who was gone to meet the Biſhop of Straſbourg at Saverne (77), had begun a proſecution againſt Francis Hotman for defamatory libels; and that many perſons affirmed, that in conſequence of this he had undertaken that journey. Languet could not think, that ſo ſlight a motive would have engaged the Duke of Guiſe to go to Saverne: but I do not doubt but that he judged it to be a diſgrace to Hotman to be proſecuted as a libeller.

(76) Languet. *Epiſt.* 64. lib. 2. pag. 186, 187.

(77) Idem, ibid. *Epiſt.* 67. pag. 197.

[O] *I ſhall ſpeak one word concerning the author of the life of Francis Hotman.*] His Latin name *Petrus Neveletus Doſchius*, ſignifies Peter Nevelet, Lord of Oſche. The title of this Lordſhip is given him in Paſquier's letters, as alſo that of *Advocate in the Court of Parliament at Paris* (78). He was ſon of a ſiſter of Peter Pithou, as appears from a letter, which that uncle wrote to him, and which was printed at the end of Quintilian's declamations in ſome editions. Iſaac Nicholas Nevelet his ſon publiſhed Æſop and the other antient Fabuliſts, with notes in 1610. It was the firſt fruits of his ſtudies, and he dedicated it to his father.

(78) See the 8th book of Paſquier's *Letters*, pag. 467. of tome 1.

HOTTINGER (JOHN HENRY) one of the moſt famous authors of the ſeventeenth Century, was born in Zurich the 10th of March 1620. The progreſs he made in his firſt ſtudies gave ſuch promiſing hopes, that the truſtees of the ſchools reſolved to ſend him to ſtudy in foreign countries, at the expence of the public. He began his travels the 26th of March 1638; and went to Geneva, whence, after two months ſtay, he went to France. He afterwards viſited Flanders and Holland, and made choice of Groningen for the ſeat of his ſtudies; but being very deſirous of improving himſelf in the Oriental tongues, he went, a year afterwards, to Leyden (a), to be tutor there to the children of Profeſſor Golius, who was the beſt ſkilled in thoſe languages of any man in the world. He improved greatly, by the inſtructions which Golius gave him and the aſſiſtance of a Turk, in the ſtudy of the Arabic. He would have followed the Embaſſador (b) of the States General in 1641, in quality of Chaplain, to Conſtantinople, had the Magiſtrates of Zurich conſented to it; but they choſe rather to recall him, in order to employ him for the glory and advantage of their public ſchools. They permitted him to viſit England before he returned to Switzerland; and the inſtant he was returned from that country, they appointed him (c) Profeſſor of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; and a year after they gave him two Profeſſorſhips, that of Catechetical Divinity, and that of the Oriental Tongues. He married at twenty two (d), and ſet up for an author at twenty four years of age [A]; and was ſo well pleaſed with

(a) In 1639.

(b) William Boſwell.

(c) In 1642.

(d) See the remark [F].

[A] *He ſet up for an author at twenty four years of age.*] And this was not for a ſmall enterprize, but to attack, on a very delicate and knotty ſubject, one of the moſt learned men of Europe at that time; Hottinger undertaking to refute father Morin's diſſertations on the Samaritan Pentateuch (1). We may therefore apply to him the following words of the *Chapelain décoiffé*.

(1) Printed in 1631, and not in 1651, as is ſaid in Father Morin's *Life*, pag. 22. edit. Francof.

Mes pareils avec toi ſont dignes de ſe batre,
Et pour des coups d'eſſai veulent des Henris quatre.
"My equals, ſure, are worthy of engaging
"With thee; and, for their firſt eſſay, would write
"An Epic Poem."

This work, which he intitled *Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ*, was greatly approved by the Proteſtants, either on account of the author's erudition, or from the matter and ſubject, which could not be more favourable, ſince Hottinger defended the Hebrew text of the Bible, whoſe authority father Morin did all that lay in his power to enervate. In Mr. Simon's opinion this is one of the

with that character, that he afterwards was for ever publiſhing books [*B*]. This was not very difficult for him to do, he being extremely laborious, and was bleſſed with a very happy memory. It is nevertheleſs ſurprizing, that a man who had poſſeſſed ſo many academical employments, and was ſo often interrupted by viſits, and by the very extenſive literary correſpondence in which he was engaged [*C*], ſhould have found time to write

the beſt works that Hottinger ever publiſhed; ſo that we may ſay that his firſt attempt was his maſter-piece. I will quote the whole paſſage of Mr. Simon, which is far from being advantageous to the memory of the Swiſs doctor. "Had Hottinger obſerved ſome moderation "in his works, and not dwelt ſo long upon trifles, "we might find ſome uſeful things in them, with re- "ſpect to the underſtanding the literal ſenſe of the "Scriptures. But as he generally writes for a party, "and uſed to compoſe his works with too much pre- "cipitation, he is liable to frequent miſtakes. One "of his beſt works on this ſubject, is that written by "him againſt father Morin's *Exercitationes Samari- "tainæ*; but neither is he quite accurate in this "work (2)."

(2) Simon, *Hiſtoire Critique de vieux Teſtament*, liv. 3. chap. 19. pag. m. 474.

[Father Morin had aſſerted, in the ſtrongeſt manner, that this Samaritan Pentateuch was authentic, and preferred it to the Hebrew text, upon pretence that the latter had been corrupted by the Jews; and it was to combat this opinion that Hottinger wrote the work in queſtion. *Addition by the Tranſlator.*]

Mr. Simon criticiſed, in another book, this work of Hottinger; but then he does this in the moſt gentle manner, and without really deſigning to prejudice him. His words are as follow (3): *Joannes Henricus Hottingerus, qui ſtatim à Libri ſui limine cujus hæc eſt inſcriptio*, Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ de Pentateucho Samaritano ejuſque udentica authentica; *Morinum appellat Monachum qui communem Monachorum ſortem ſuperet. Ille de Samaritanis & eorum codicibus diſſerit, putatque Samaritanos à Judæis Pentateuchi ſui exemplar hauſiſſe; ſed conjecturis tantum, non autem firmiſſimis rationibus, ut ita ſentiret, adduci potuit; iſtud minus accuratum eſſe probat exemplis aliquot pleonaſmorum, vocum vel mutatarum in alias vel omiſſarum, ſimilibuſque erroribus quos profert, & ex quibus confici poſſe arbitratur, non magis credendum eſſe Samaritanis Pentateuchum ſuum jactantibus, quam Ebionitis verum & ſolum Matthæi Evangelium Hebræum venditantibus, qua in re profectò graviſſime hallucinatus eſt Hottingerus, qui tam venerandæ antiquitatis Pentateuchum Samaritanum cum adulterato Ebionitarum Evangelio comparare audeat. Morinum etiam imperitiæ arguit Hottingerus, quaſi Rabbinorum quorundam quos laudaverat mentem haud aſſecutus fuiſſet.* i. e. "John Henry Hottinger, at the very "opening of his work intitled, *Exercitations againſt "Morin, with regard to the authenticalneſs of the Sa- "maritan Pentateuch*, calls Morin a Monk, more "learned than his brethren are generally found to "be. In the work in queſtion he treats concerning "the Samaritans and their copies, and is of opinion "that the Samaritans had their copy of the Penta- "teuch from the Jews; but he muſt have been "prompted to think ſo, merely from conjectures, and "not from any very ſolid reaſons; he proves this to "be leſs accurate, from ſome examples of pleonaſms, "omiſſions or changes of words, and ſuch kind of er- "rors; whence he thinks it may be proved, that "we ought not to give greater credit to the Sama- "ritans when they boaſt their Pentateuch, than to the "Ebionites, when they pretend their being poſſeſſed "of the only true Hebrew Goſpel of St. Matthew. "On this occaſion Hottinger has been groſly miſtaken, "in daring to compare the Samaritan Pentateuch, ſo "venerable for its antiquity, with the ſpurious Goſpel "of the Ebionites. He alſo charges Morin with ig- "norance, as not underſtanding ſome Rabbins he had "praiſed." Heidegger had reaſon to obſerve, that father Morin's ſilence was a glorious circumſtance with reſpect to our Hottinger; but I queſtion whether he underſtood father Merſenne's thought (4). ***Liber toti** erudito orbi charus, acceptuſque fuit. Conſtat Morinum diu adhuc ſuperſtitem librum accepiſſe & legiſſe, neque contra mutire auſum* (5). *Et Merſennus, cui Hottingerus librum adjunctis literis miſit, id ſolùm reſpondit, nec ſibi Hottingeri juvenilem ardorem ſatis probari, nec Hottingerum Morinum penitus noſſe. Quaſi videlicet juveni integrum non fuerit ſenum deliria taxare, & ipſe Morinus interiorem animi ſui notam in vulgus edito libro non patefecerit.* i. e. "This work met with a gracious re- "ception from all the learned world. It is certain "that Morin, who lived a long time after, received "and read the book in queſtion, but did not dare to "ſpeak or write againſt it. And father Merſenne, to "whom Hottinger ſent a copy of his work and a "letter, anſwered only this, that he did not approve "of Hottinger's juvenile fire, and that he (Hottinger) "did not know Morin thoroughly. As tho' it were "not juſt for a young man, to anſwer the dreams "and chimera's of old men; and as though Mori- "nus had not diſcovered ſufficiently to the public, "his deſign in publiſhing the book in queſtion." In my opinion, father Merſenne meant only this, viz. that Hottinger did not know father Morin very well: and I do not doubt but the ſenſe of his anſwer was this: *The fire of youth has carried you too far; and were you but fully acquainted with father Morin's merit, you would not treat him after this manner.* Do you pretend to confute this, by ſaying that father Morin has laid open, by this work, the moſt hidden receſſes of his heart? I will grant that he ſhowed his intention was to raiſe the credit of the Latin tranſlation of the Bible, and to weaken the authority of the original text; but is not this the intereſt, and general deſign of the controverſial writers of the Romiſh communion? Hottinger knew but little of father Morin, ſince he took him for a Friar.

(3) In *Vita Joh. Morini*, pag. 36, 37.

(4) Jo. Henr. Heideggerus, in *Vita Hottingeri*, ad ann. 1644.

(5) The following words of Hottinger bear a relation to this; *Non diſplicuerant hæ primitiæ viris eruditis, qui hinc inde novo Morini conatui finem impoſitum publicis teſtabantur ſcriptis.* Hotting. *in Bibliotb. Tigurin.* pag. 322.

[*B*] *He afterwards was for ever publiſhing books.*] If the reader is deſirous of ſeeing an exact catalogue of all the works he publiſhed from the year 1644, till the year 1664, let him peruſe his *Bibliotheca Tigurina* (6); where he will find the Hiſtory and Chronological Catalogue of his compoſitions; and another catalogue where they are ranked and digeſted according to the order of the ſubjects. The Author of his Life has alſo drawn up, in a Chronological order, all the works publiſhed by him. The number of them is aſtoniſhing.

(6) Pag. 121, & ſeq.

[*C*] *He was . . . . ſo often interrupted by viſits, and by the very extenſive literary correſpondence in which he was engaged.*] The particulars of this will be ſeen in the following quotation. *Non publicis tantùm his, quibus diſtrictus fuit, curationibus vigilantiſſimè vacavit, & quotidie calamum in exarandis, quos in publicum mitteret, libris exercuit: verùm etiam amicorum, peregrinorum & hoſpitum, qui ipſius videndi & audiendi gratiâ huc commeârunt, deſideriis ſatisfecit. Erat enim ipſius domus plena ſemper & frequens concurſu ſplendidiſſimorum hominum. Quoties aliquid abditum quærebatur, ille theſaurus, ille delubrum adibatur. Ex omnibus, quæ ei obvenerunt, negotiis miro vigore & induſtria ſe explicavit. Neque etiam deficiebat ad ſubita extemporali facultate. Veniebant omnium Ordinum, omnium ætatum viri: percontabantur de arduis, de dubiis quæſtionibus, quarum ille pondus præſenti ſemper animo excepit. Quid moleſtiam epiſtolarum & ſcribendi ad amicos hîc recenſeam; quo nonnunquam ſolo perire ſibi diem ſæpè querebatur? Quotidie aut Galli, aut Germani, aut Belgæ, aut Angli, aut Dani, aut Itali ad ipſum Epiſtolas miſitavêre de literis, de caſibus Eccleſiæ, de Civilium rerum momentis, de aliis, quibus ille gnaviter & promptiſſimè reſpondit* (7). i. e. "He not only performed very "diligently the duties of his public profeſſion, and "was daily employed in preparing books for the preſs; "but alſo gratified the deſires of ſuch friends and "ſtrangers, as came hither from all parts to ſee and "hear him; for his houſe was ever full of the nobleſt "company. Whenever any difficulty occurred, peo- "ple conſulted him as though he had been an "oracle. He acquitted himſelf of all buſineſs with a "ſurprizing vigour and application of mind; and was "very quick and ready on all occaſions. He was "viſited by perſons of all ranks and ages; and con- "ſulted upon the hardeſt and moſt doubtful queſtions; "all which he anſwered in the moſt ſatisfactory man- "ner. I might mention the great pains he uſed to "take in writing to his friends, which alone, as he "frequently

(7) Heidegger, *in Vita Hottingeri*.

write so many books. New Professorships were bestowed upon him in 1653 (e), and he was admitted into the College of the Canons. Two years after he was sent, for three years, to the Elector Palatine, who was desirous to employ Hottinger, in order that he might restore the fame and reputation of the University of Heidelberg; but before he set out for that city he went to Basil, and there took his degree of Doctor of Divinity (f). He arrived at Heidelberg in August 1655, and was very graciously received in that city. Besides the Professorship of Divinity of the old Testament and the Oriental tongues, he was appointed Principal of the *Collegium Sapientiæ*, and raised to the dignity of Ecclesiastical Counsellor. He was Rector of the University the year following, and wrote a book concerning the re-union of the Lutherans and Calvinists, which he did to please the Elector who was pretty zealous on this occasion; but he met with the same obstacles as had so often put a stop to the like design [D]. Hottinger accompanied this Prince to the Electoral Diet of Frankfort in 1658, and there had a conference with Ludolf on important matters [E]. He was not recalled to Zurich till 1661, his superiors being so complaisant as to prolong the term of years for which they had lent him to the Elector Palatine. He was immediately elected President of the Commissioners who were to revise the German translation of the Bible. A civil war breaking out in Switzerland in the year 1664, Hottinger was sent into Holland on state-affairs. The University of Leyden offered him a Professorship of Divinity in 1667; but not obtaining leave of his Superiors, he refused it. The Dutch were not disheartened at this refusal, but insisted that

(e) *Artium Rhetorologicarum ordinarius, & Theologiæ Vet. Test. atque Controversiarum extra ordinem Professor designatus.* Heidegg. *ubi infra*, Citation (g).

(f) He took it the 26th of July 1655.

" frequently complained, would often employ whole " days; for he was perpetually receiving letters from " the Literati of France, Germany, Holland, Eng- " land, Sweden, Denmark, and Italy, with regard " to learned matters, and affairs relating both to church " and state, to all which he gave the most exact " and speedy answers." Some pages after a list is given of all those persons who corresponded by letter with Hottinger, and their names take up above two pages. Among the foreigners who came to visit him, we must not forget the Deputies of the Jansenists; he having several conferences with them, when they passed by Zurich in 1653, in their return from Rome to Paris. An account of these conferences was found among his papers, and lately published (8).

(8) At the end of *Historia Jansenismi*, published by Leydecker at Utrecht, in 1695.

[D] *He met with the same obstacles* to that reunion *which had so often put a stop to the like design.*] These obstacles, according to Heidegger, are party animosities, and a certain itch for disputation, which subsists upon contests, in the same manner as the Cameleon does on air. *Conciliis de pace Reformatos inter & Lutheranos sarcienda, à Serenissimo Principe, tum temporis saxum illud magna contentione volvente, implicitus, aliquot disputationes Irenicas ad ventilandum proposuit, non eo tamen eventu,, quem calidis votis boni omnes præceperunt. Obstabant eadem, quæ antehac, impedimenta, odia parum pia partium, & ingeniorum, quæ rixis haud secus quàm Chamæleon vento pascuntur, scabies* (9). i. e. " He aided the most serene Elector with " his counsels, in order to bring about an union be- " tween the Calvinists and Lutherans, which that " Prince greatly desired; and proposed some Irenical " disputations in order for the promoting of this; but " they were not crowned with the success which all " good men wished. The same obstacles that had " formerly been so hurtful, now rendred these endea- " vours fruitless; I mean, the strong animosity of the " parties one against the other; and a sort of itch of " some people's minds, which is fed with contest as " the Cameleon is with air." Spanheim observes, that the pacific design of the Elector Palatine, was defeated by a too passionately-zealous Treatise, written by Danhawerus, a Lutheran Professor in Strasburg. *Qualiter etiam hoc sæculo in Colloquio* Lipsiaco, *anno* 1631 *ubi* ad tria *capita dissensus omnis rediit; tum sub* Carolo Ludovico, *Electore Palatino, Heidelbergæ quum profiterer, cujus pacificum institutum intervertit præcipuè J. Conr. Danhawerus, A.* 1658 *scripto virulento Teutonico*, Reformatorum salve, ad lapidem Lydium exactum, *&c.* (10). It is certain that a union between the Lutherans and Calvinists would have been brought about long since, had it depended on Princes; but as that affair depends on the Divines, it could never take effect, and in all probability never will. It is not I who form this judgment in general (11) of these Gentlemen; it is one of their own body, and he who can best speak of this, from experience. He says that the secular Magistrates, not the Clergy (12), ought to be chiefly employed in order for bringing about the union in question; for the Divines, says he, are extremely tenacious of their own opinions, and not very just with respect to those who think in a different manner from them .... They should not dispute concerning the truth of the doctrines; for disputes rather create new wars, than put an end to the old ones. Disputants do not seek for concord, but for victory; and those who find themselves defeated, grow haughtier and more passionate. Were an assembly to meet, in order for treating of an union, the Divines in it should be allowed no more than barely to plead as Council; they should be heard but not be received as Judges; only the secular Magistrates should be allowed to act in that character; and it would even be proper to make the Divines promise, upon oath, to obey the sentence which the political Judges shall pronounce. *Theologi sint advocati, loquantur; Politici audiant, & sint judices sub authoritate principum. At ante omnem disputationem Theologi ambarum partium fidem suam juramento obstringant se judicio delegatorum obtemperaturos, nec quidquam adversus pacem molituros* (13). *Hoc opus per manus præsertim Virorum Politicorum, non autem Ecclesiasticorum est tractandum & inchoandum. Theologi sunt suorum placitorum tenacissimi, parum placitis alienis æqui* (14) .... *In colloquiis quæ de pace ineundâ habebuntur, de veritate dogmatum nullo modo erit disputandum. Pugnæ non dirimunt bella, sed faciunt. In illis disputationibus non quæritur pax, sed victoria. Nullus se victum unquam fatebitur, & si sentiat se dejectum aut prostratum, tantum abest ut ad concordiam fiat pronior; contra ferocior evadet iratus & indignans, quod res ipsi male cedat* (15). This author was not capable of succeeding better in any description than in this.

(13) Petrus Jurius, *de Pace ineunda*, pag. 263.

(14) Idem, ibid. pag. 262.

(15) Idem, ibid. pag. 263.

I must not omit that in 1666 Tobias Wagnerus, Chancellor of the University of Tubingen, attacked Hottinger's book concerning the re-union, in his *Inquisitio Theologica in Acta henotica nostro potissimum tempore inter Theologos Augustanæ Confessionis & Reformatæ Ecclesiæ à Reformatis resuscitata* (16). Hottinger wrote a defence of himself, not in a work written expressly for that purpose, but transiently, and occasionally: It was in a synodal dispute, where he proved that the Reformed or Calvinist Church is not schismatical (17).

(16) Heidegger in *Vita Hotting.*

(17) Idem, ibid. folio F.

[E] *He had .... a conference .... in Frankfort .... with Ludolf, on important matters.*] It is known universally that Job Ludolf has acquired a vast knowledge of Ethiopia; and he, in conjunction with Hottinger, concerted measures for sending into Africa some persons skilled in the Oriental tongues, and who might make exact enquiries with regard to the state of the Christian religion in that part of the world. *Agitata præterea inter eos sunt secretiora consilia de mittendis Principum authoritate & impensis in Africam juvenibus uno vel duobus, in Orientalium idiomatibus & rebus paulò jam provectioribus, qui Africanarum, imprimis Æthiopicarum Ecclesiarum arcana paulò penitùs indagarent, & novis monumentis ibi collectis copias nostras augerent* (18). I believe this was the chief subject of the letters which they wrote to one another after the Diet of Frankfort; but I make no doubt that they began to speak of it in that city.

(18) Idem, ibid. folio D.

(9) Heidegger, in *Vita Hottingeri*, folio D 2.

(10) Frid. Spanhem. *Elencho Controvers.* pag. 335. edit. 1694.

(11) In this manner all these phrases ought to be understood: they do not relate to any person in particular, and leave room for exceptions.

(12) See the Bishop of Meaux's Reflexions on all this at the close of his *Histoire des Variations*, in the *Addition*.

that Hottinger ſhould be lent to them; upon which the Magiſtrates of Zurich having conſented to this, in complaiſance to the States of Holland who had intereſted themſelves in this affair, he accepted the offer. As he was preparing all things for his journey, he unfortunately loſt his life the 5th of June 1667, in the river which paſſes through Zurich (*g*) [*F*]. He had often refuſed the Profeſſorſhips which were offered him [*G*]. The moſt violent adverſaries who wrote againſt him were, Leo Allatius, Abraham Ecchellenſis and father Labbe [*H*]. Arnauld had a fling at Hottinger, but

(*g*) Extracted from his *Life*, written by Joh. Henr. Heidegger, and prefixed to tom. 9. of *Hottinger's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*.

[*F*] *He unfortunately loſt his life . . . . in the river which paſſes through Zurich.*] He went into a boat with his wife, three of his children, his brother-in-law, a good friend, and a maid-ſervant, in order to go and let out, upon leaſe, an eſtate he had two leagues from Zurich. The boat ſtriking a peer, which the ſwelling of the water hid, overſet. Hottinger, his brother-in-law, and his friend eſcaped by ſwimming; but when they ſaw the danger the reſt of the company were ſtill in, they jumped back into the water. It was then Hottinger, his friend, and his three children (19) loſt their lives; but his wife, his brother-in-law, and ſervant-maid were ſaved (20). His wife was the only daughter of John Henry Huldric, Miniſter of Zurich, a man of very great learning (21). She brought him ſeveral children; for beſides the three who were drowned with him, and thoſe who died before, he left four ſons and two daughters.

(19) A ſon and two daughters; his eldeſt and youngeſt daughter.

(20) Heidegger, *in Vita Hotting.* folio F 4. See alſo the *Letter* which he wrote to the Curators of the Univerſity of Leyden, the 9th of June 1667. Crenius has publiſhed it in Part 1. of his *Animadverſiones Philologicæ & Hiſtoricæ*, Rotterdam, 1695.

[*G*] *He had often refuſed the Profeſſorſhips which were offered him.*] The magiſtrates of Deventer earneſtly ſollicited him in 1661, to accept of the profeſſorſhip of Divinity, in the room of Henry Dieſt, who on account of his old age, was declared *emeritus* (22). The Landgrave of Heſſe would have got him to Marpurg, to be a Divinity Profeſſor there, and ordered Felix Platerus, a Phyſician of Baſil, to negotiate that affair. He alſo had invitations from the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, and thoſe of Bremen (23).

(21) *See* Hotting. *Biblioth. Tigurinæ*, pag. 138.

(22) Heidegger, *in Vita Hottinger.*

(23) Idem, ibid. folio E.

[*H*] *The moſt violent adverſaries who wrote againſt him were Leo Allatius, Abraham Ecchellenſis, and Father L'Abbe.*] Here follows the account, which Heidegger gives, in Hottinger's life, of the fury of the firſt (24). *Quorum in numerum refero imprimis Labbeum Lojolitam miſerum & rancidum, nec non moroſum illum & triſtem Senecionem Chium, Allatium, qui vel ſolo illo libro contra Hottingerum furiis inſpirantibus & mentem ac calamum flectentibus ſcripto, apud bonos omnes cognomen Leonis conturbavit ac decoxit, & Canis pluſquam Epirotici jure meritoque obtinuit. Quæ enim, malum, hæc feralis inſania eſt, quis furor, quæ canina rabies, leviter ſibi contradicentem, & contradictionem argumentis talibus, quibus ſi error infuiſſet, hominis tamen non pecoris eum fuiſſe apparuerat, munientem, non æquo animo tolerare, non fomentis, malagmatis & lenibus remediis curare, ſed probris veluti de plauſtro congeſtis non cumulare ſed obruere, & eidem convitia ac maledicta atrociſſima non modio nec trimodio, ſed toto horreo admetiri? Quæ obſcœnitas ad nomen ita alludere, ut caſtæ aures & purus animus abhorreat? Canem hæc, non Leonem generoſum, non hominem, nedum Chriſtianum obolent. Fuerit Allatius, ille Gigantum frater, paulò in Græcorum, imprimis eorum, quæ hactenus inedita nobis fortuna invidet, monumentis verſatior. Habuerit ſenex ingenium* (25) *ad corrumpendum & detorquendum, ad dolos ac fallacias inſtruendum, ad paraſitandum denique ſubactius. Hæc enim ſola laus ipſi propria & eximia eſſe poteſt. Quanquam hominem in Græcia natum, Græcum idioma calluiſſe paulo exactius, mediocri in laude ponendum mihi videtur. Sed fuerint hæc, quæ dixi, in eo ſumma. Quo pacto ille aſſurget ad gloriam Hottingeri, qui, præterquam quod veritatis & Orthodoxiæ ſtudio ductus ſub ſignis Chriſti militavit, etiam excelluit non in vernaculo ſibi idiomate, ſed in Hebraico, Chaldaico, Syriaco, Arabico, Coptico, Perſico, in quibus ſingulis Allatius non tantum nihil vidit, ſed Talpa Tireſiâ cœcior fuit? Olim Chiis in ſenatu Attico data eſt licentia vomendi. Credidi igitur lecto Allatii Chii libro, quod tot convitia in Hottingerum noſtrum non jactavit, ſed vomuit, gentis ſuæ antiqua licentia eum uti voluiſſe.* i. e. "Among whom I firſt "reckon Labbe, that churliſh and wretched diſciple "of Ignatius Loyola; and that old Chian Allatius, "who, were it only for the book, which he, his mind "and pen being inſpired by the furies, wrote againſt "Hottinger, has forfeited and loſt, in the opinion of "all good men, the ſirname of Lion; and deſerved "got, inſtead of this generous one, that of more than "Epirotic cur. For what fury, what deadly horrid "rage could prompt a man to fall foul on a perſon "who had only contradicted his notions in the moſt "gentle manner; and had enforced his objections or "criticiſms by ſuch reaſons, as proved that he was an "opponent who was far from being contemptible; "what deadly rage, I ſay, could prompt him, inſtead "of bearing this with patience, or endeavouring to "heal it with gentle remedies, to almoſt overwhelm "him with loads of injurious words or ſcurrilities? "Then, how could he pun on his name in ſo ob-"ſcure a manner as could not but raiſe an abhorrence "in pure and chaſte ears? This is acting more like the "dog than the lion; not like a man, much leſs a "Chriſtian. If we ſhould take it for granted that "this mighty Allatius was a little better ſkilled in the "Greek authors, particularly in ſuch as ſtill continue "in manuſcript; though we ſhould ſuppoſe that he had "a genius more fit for artifice, for cunning, and for "playing the paraſite; for in theſe things only he is "particularly eminent and excellent; though I can-"not look upon it as a very great merit, for a Greek "to be well ſkilled in the idiom of his native lan-"guage: but taking it for granted, I ſay, that he "poſſeſſed all theſe advantages, with what juſtice can "he be compared with Hottinger, who, beſides his "fighting for the truth and orthodoxy under Chriſt's "banners, excelled, not only in his mother tongue, "but alſo in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, "Coptic and Perſian languages, in every one of "which Allatius is blinder than Tireſias? The na-"tives of Chios were antiently allowed by the Athe-"nians, the liberty of vomiting; and therefore I, on "reading this book of Allatius the Chian, imagined "that he, laying hold of the antient privilege of his "countrymen, rather vomited than threw out theſe "reproaches on Hottinger." Hottinger defended himſelf in few words (26); and as for Ecchellenſis, he put him a little in mind (27) of the blunders he had been convicted of, and pointed out ſome others. *Præfatus eſt illi libro de gradibus ſtudii Philologiæ, inſerta ſimul Apologia brevi adverſus Abrahamum Ecchellenſem, qui Præfatione in Catalogum librorum Chaldæorum Hebed Jeſu Metropolitæ Sobenſis, traduxit Seldenum, Hottingerum noſtrum, Calixtum, Ludovicum de Dieu, Conſtantinum L'Empereur, Salmaſium, eo potiſſimum nomine, quod Orientalibus ſtudiis intenti, germanam tamen verborum, ſignificationem, ut plurimum non deprehendant, ambigua & obſcura pro certis & luculentiſſimis ſtatuant, atque interim ea, quæ in clariſſima luce verſantur, quod ipſorum commenta radicitus extirpent, omnino prætereant. Verùm non aliam defenſionem tum ſui, tum virorum horum doctiſſimorum, quos eâdem accuſatione involverat adverſarius, Hottingerus paravit, quàm in memoriam revocatis Ecchellenſi errorum plauſtris, quæ ipſi à contribulibus Flavignio, Gabriele Sionita, Johanne Morino objecta ſunt; nec non ex proprio ingenio demonſtratis notoriis ſphalmatis, quæ ille in tractatu Arabico-Latino,* Synopſis propoſitorum ſapientiæ Arabum Philoſophorum *inſcripto, adverſus genium Arabicæ linguæ admiſit* (28). i. e. "He drew up a preface to the work "concerning the degrees of the ſtudy of Philoſophy; "and introduced therein a ſhort apology for himſelf "in oppoſition to Abraham Ecchellenſis, who, in a "preface to a catalogue of the Chaldee books of He-"bed Jeſu, Metropolitan of Seba, traduced Selden, "our Hottinger, Calixtus, Lewis de Dieu, Conſtantine "l'Empereur, and Salmaſius; charging them, that "notwithſtanding their application to Oriental Learn-"ing, they nevertheleſs had commonly miſtook in "the true and genuine ſignification of words, and "given doubtful and obſcure matters as certain and "manifeſt truths; though they quite paſſed over many "particulars that were clear as noon day, only becauſe "they

(24) Idem, ibid. folio C 2.

(25) *See* Claude's words in the following remark.

(26) In *Enneade Diſſert. Philologico-Theolog.* printed in the 1662.

(27) In the Preface *Etymologici Orientalis, ſive Lexici Harmonico Pentaglotti*, publiſhed in 1661.

(28) Heidegger, *in Vita Hottingeri.*

but was taken up for it by Claude [*I*]. [We ſhall add a few particulars to this article [*K*], eſpecially with regard to the pieces he wrote on the Oriental affairs or literature [*L*].]

" they quite invalidated their forgeries. Now Hottinger did not make any other defence either of himſelf, or of thoſe learned men whom his adverſary had involved in the ſame accuſation, but to remind Ecchellenſis of the great number of errors with which he had been charged by thoſe of his own tribe, viz. by Flavigny, Gabriel Sionita, and John Morin; taking notice alſo of ſome egregious miſtakes which Ecchellenſis had fallen into, in oppoſition to the genius of the Arabic Tongue, in his work written in Latin and Arabic, intitled *Synopſis propoſitorum ſapientiæ Arabum Philoſophorum*."

[*I*] *Arnauld had a fling at Hottinger, but was taken up for it by Claude.*] " I relate this whole hiſtory (29) chiefly on the credit of Allatius, who took a particular care in informing himſelf of this; and who, being a native of Greece, ought to be believed ſooner than Dutch or Swiſs Miniſters; and, among others, than Hottinger, who is one of the fierceſt and moſt inſincere writers I ever read." Theſe are Arnauld's words (30), and here follows Claude's anſwer (31). " For what reaſon would Arnauld have us give credit to Allatius ſooner than to Hottinger? The former has the characteriſtic of a headſtrong writer who is ever miſrepreſenting things; the latter, on the contrary, in ſpite of all Arnauld may ſay, has all the marks of a ſincere man, who relates things as he heard them. I own that the former is more polite and elegant, but the other is the more ingenuous and ſincere. Allatius ſays whatever he pleaſes out of his own head, whereas Hottinger produces his vouchers.

(29) Viz. that of Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Conſtantinople.

(30) *Perpétuité défendue*, liv. 4. chap. 6. pag. 561. Bruſſels edit. in 12mo.

(31) *Réponſe à la Perpétuité de la Foi*, liv. 3. chap. 12. pag. m. 467.

☞[*K*] *We ſhall add a few particulars to this article.*] As Hottinger was born with a great genius for languages, he ſoon learnt the Latin, Greek and Hebrew. When he was at Geneva, he ſtudied two months under Frederic Spanheim. At Groningen he ſtudied Divinity under F. Gomarus and H. Alting, and Arabic under Matthias Paſor. As Grotius had a conſiderable number of Arabic manuſcripts, Hottinger copied a great many of them for his own uſe, during the fourteen months that he reſided in Leyden. Whilſt he was in England, he contracted a great intimacy with ſeveral learned men of that country. When Hottinger was invited by the Elector Palatine in 1655, it was with difficulty that the Senate of Zurich, ſo great was their regard for him, were prevailed upon to let him go. And when that body deſired him back again of the Elector, at whoſe Court he had reſided ſix years, that Prince diſmiſſed him with great regret; and, before he went away, honoured him with the title of Eccleſiaſtical Counſellor (32).

(32) Heidegger, in *Vita Hottingeri*, & *Hommes Illuſtres du Pere Niceron*, tom. 8.

[*L*] *Particularly with regard to the works he wrote on the Oriental affairs or literature.*] We may firſt mention his *Theſaurus Philologicus, ſeu clavis Scripturæ, quâ quicquid ferè Orientalium, Hebræorum maximè & Arabum habent monumenta de Religione ejuſque variis ſpeciebus, Judaiſmo, Samaritaniſmo, Muhammediſmo, Gentiliſmo, de Theologia & Theologis, Verbo Dei &c. breviter & aphoriſticè ita reſeratur & operitur, ut multiplex inde ad Philologiæ, Theologiæ ſtudioſos fructus redundare poſſit. Tiguri* 1649, 4to. *Secunda Editio in qua Samaritica, Arabica, Syriaca, ſuis quæque nativis characteribus exprimuntur. Tiguri* 1659, 4to. The next is *Hiſtoria Orientalis, quæ ex variis Orientalium monumentis collecta agit.* 1. *De Muhammediſmo ejuſque cauſis tum procreantibus, tum conſervantibus.* 2. *De Saraceniſmo, ſeu Religione veterum Arabum.* 3. *De Chaldaiſmo Superſtitione Nabatæorum, Chaldæorum, Charranæorum.* 4. *De Statu Chriſtianorum & Judæorum tempore orti & nati Muhammediſmi.* 5. *De variis inter ipſos Muhammedanos circa Religionis dogmata & adminiſtrationem, ſententiis, ſchiſmatis, & hæreſibus excitatis.* 6. *Acceſſit, ex occaſione Genealogiæ Muhammedis, plenior illuſtratio Taarich Bene Adam, qua, ex ipſis Arabum Scriptis, vita & res geſtæ Prophetarum Patriarcharum, quorundam etiam Apoſtolorum, Regum Perſiæ, aliorumque ab Adamo ad Muhammedis uſque natales in orbe de gentium, explicantur. Tiguri* 1651, 4to. *Secunda Editio auctior. Tiguri* 1660, 4to. No man was better qualified to write on Oriental affairs than Hottinger, as he was ſkilled in moſt of the languages, which were antiently, as well as at preſent, ſpoke in the Eaſt, viz. the Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, Turkiſh, Perſian and Coptic languages. Hottinger wrote alſo eight diſſertations on the uſe and advantage of the Oriental Tongues. He wrote alſo the following work, *Promptuarium ſive Bibliotheca Orientalis, exhibens catalogum ſive Centurias aliquot tam Auctorum, quam Librorum Hebraicorum, Syriacorum, Arabicorum, Ægyptiacorum; addita Mantiſſa Bibliothecarum aliquot Europæarum. Heidelbergæ* 1658, 4to. Mr. Baillet does not ſpeak advantageouſly of this work of Hottinger, whom he accuſes of not being very accurate in any of his compoſitions. Hottinger publiſhed in 1661, *Etymologicum Orientale, ſive Lexicon Harmonicum Heptaglotton; cum præfatione de gradibus ſtudii Philologici, & Apologetico brevi contra Abrahamum Ecchellenſem Maronitam. Francofurti*, in 4to. The ſeven languages contained in this Lexicon are, the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Samaritan, Ethiopic and Rabinical. We omit ſeveral other pieces of our author, written on Oriental matters (33); and ſhall conclude with obſerving, that Hottinger though a very great man, is thought by moſt to have writ in too great a hurry.

(33) Idem, ibid.

☞HOWE (JOHN), a learned Non-conformiſt Divine in the ſeventeenth Century, was a Miniſter's ſon, and nephew to Mr. Obadiah Howe, Vicar of Boſton in Lincolnſhire. He was born May the 17th 1630, at Loughborough in Leiceſterſhire, of which town his father was Miniſter (*a*), being ſettled there by Archbiſhop Laud, though afterwards ejected by that Prelate, on account of his adherence to the Puritans; upon which he went with his ſon, our author, to Ireland, where they continued till the Iriſh Rebellion broke out, when they returned to England, and ſettled in Lancaſhire, where our Author was educated in the firſt rudiments of learning and the knowledge of the tongues (*b*). He was ſent pretty early to Chriſt College in Cambridge, where he continued till he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then removed to Oxford (*c*), and became Bible-Clerk of Brazen-Noſe College in Michaelmas Term 1648 (*d*), and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts Jan. the 18th 1649 (*e*). He was made a Demy of Magdalen College by the Parliament Viſitors, and afterwards Fellow (*f*); and July the 9th 1652 took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*g*). Soon after this he became a Preacher, and was ordained by Mr. Charles Herle at his Church of Winwick in Lancaſhire, and not long after became Miniſter of Great Torrington in Devonſhire (*b*) [*A*], and on the 1ſt of March

(*a*) *Memoirs of the Life of the late Reverend Mr. John Howe, collected by Edmund Calamy, D. D.* pag. 5. edit. London 1724, in 8vo.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 6, 7.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 7, 8.

(*d*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1014. 2d edit.

(*e*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 69.

(*f*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 99.

(*b*) *Memoirs*, pag. 12, 13.

[*A*] *Became Miniſter of great Torrington in Devonſhire.*] His labour in the diſcharge of his duty here was very great, eſpecially on the public faſts, which in thoſe times returned pretty frequently, and were generally kept with great ſolemnity. He informed Dr. Calamy (1), that upon theſe occaſions it was his common way to begin about nine in the morning with a prayer for about a quarter of an hour, in which he begged a bleſſing on the work of the day; and afterwards read and expounded a chapter or pſalm, in which he ſpent about three quarters; then prayed for about an hour, preached for another hour, and prayed for about half an hour. After this he retired, and took ſome little refreſhment for about a quarter of an hour or more (the people ſinging all the while), and then came again into the pulpit, and prayed for another

(1) See *Memoirs of the Life of the late Reverend Mr. John Howe, collected by Edmund Calamy, D. D.* pag. 14.

March 1654 married the daughter of Mr. George Hughes, Miniſter of Plymouth (*i*). He was afterwards appointed Houſhold Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell the Protector [*B*], and became Lecturer of St. Margaret's Weſtminſter (*k*). Upon the death of Oliver Cromwell, his ſon Richard ſucceeding him as Protector, Mr. Howe ſtood in the ſame relation to him of Chaplain, as he had done to the father; and though he meddled not with State-affairs either then or afterwards, yet he was in his judgment very much averſe to Richard's parting with his Parliament, which he foreſaw would prove his ruin (*l*) [*C*]. When the army had ſet Richard aſide, Mr. Howe returned to his people at Great Torrington, among whom he continued till the Act of Uniformity took place Auguſt the 24th 1662 (*m*), after which he preached for ſome time in private houſes in Devonſhire (*n*). In April 1671 he went to Ireland, where he lived as Chaplain to the Lord Maſſarene in the pariſh of Antrim (*o*), and had leave from the Biſhop of the Dioceſe and the Metropolitan to preach in the public Church of that town every Sunday in the afternoon, without ſubmitting to any terms of conformity (*p*). In 1675, upon the death of Dr. Lazarus Seaman, he was choſen Miniſter of his congregation, upon which he returned to England, and ſettled at London (*q*), where he was highly reſpected not only by his brethren in the Miniſtry among the Diſſenters, but alſo by ſeveral eminent Divines of the Church of England, as Dr. Whitchcot, Dr. Kidder, Dr. Fowler, Dr. Lucas, and others (*r*). In Auguſt 1685 he travelled beyond ſea with the Lord Wharton (*s*), and the year following ſettled at Utrecht, and took his turn in preaching at the Engliſh Church in that city (*t*). In 1687, upon King James's publiſhing his *Declaration for liberty of Conſcience*, Mr. Howe returned to London (*u*). He publiſhed a conſiderable number of works [*D*]. He died at London April the 2d 1705, and was interred in the Pariſh Church

(*i*) Ibid. pag. 15.
(*k*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.
(*l*) *Memoirs*, pag. 25.
(*m*) Ibid. pag. 27-30.
(*n*) Ibid. pag. 37.
(*o*) Ibid. pag. 51, 53.
(*p*) Ibid. pag. 54.
(*q*) Ibid. pag. 58, 67.
(*r*) Ibid. pag. 67.
(*s*) Ibid. pag. 113.
(*t*) Ibid. pag. 126.
(*u*) Ibid. pag. 131, 132.

ther hour, and gave them another ſermon of about an hour's length, and ſo concluded the ſervice of the day, at about four of the clock in the evening, with about half an hour or more in prayer.

[*B*] *He was afterwards appointed Houſhold Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell the Protector.*] Dr. Calamy tells us (2), that while he was in this ſtation, he behaved in ſuch a manner, that he was never charged, even by thoſe, who have been moſt forward to inveigh againſt a number of his contemporaries, with improving his intereſt in thoſe, who then had the management of affairs in their hands, either to the enriching himſelf, or the doing ill offices to others, though of known differing ſentiments. He readily embraced every occaſion, that offered, of ſerving the intereſt of religion and learning, and oppoſing the errors and deſigns, which at that time threatened both. The notion of a *particular Faith* prevailed much at Cromwell's court; and it was a common opinion among them, that ſuch as were in a ſpecial manner favoured of God, when they offered up prayers and ſupplications to him for his mercies, either for themſelves or others, often had ſuch impreſſions made upon their minds and ſpirits by a divine hand, as ſignified to them, not only in the general that their prayers would be heard and anſwered, but that the particular mercies, which were ſought for, would be certainly beſtowed; nay, and ſometimes alſo intimated to them in what way and manner they would be afforded, and pointed out to them future events beforehand, which in reality is the ſame with inſpiration. Mr. Howe told Dr. Calamy, that not a little pains was taken to cultivate and ſupport this notion at Whitehall; and that he once heard a ſermon there from a perſon of note, the avowed deſign of which was to defend it. He ſaid, that he was ſo fully convinced of the ill tendency of ſuch a principle, that after hearing this ſermon, he thought himſelf bound in conſcience, when it came next to his turn to preach before Cromwell, to ſet himſelf induſtriouſly to oppoſe it, and to beat down that ſpiritual pride and confidence, which ſuch fancied impulſes and impreſſions were apt to produce and cheriſh. He obſerved, while he was in the pulpit, that Cromwell heard him with great attention, but would ſometimes knit his brows, and diſcover great uneaſineſs. When the ſermon was over, a perſon of diſtinction came to him, and aſked him, if he knew what he had done? and ſignified it to him as his apprehenſion, that Cromwell would be ſo incenſed at that diſcourſe, that he would find it very difficult ever to make his peace with him, or ſecure his favour for the future. Mr. How replied, that he had but diſcharged his conſcience, and could leave the event with God. He afterwards obſerved, that Cromwell was cooler in his carriage to him than before; and ſometimes he thought he would have ſpoken to him of the matter, but never did (3).

(2) Ibid. pag. 18.
(3) Ibid. pag. 22, 23.

[*C*] *Was in his judgment very much averſe to Richard's parting with his Parliament, which he foreſaw would prove his ruin.*] Dr. Calamy tells us (4), that he had been informed by a friend, that diſcourſing once freely with Mr. Howe about the ſetting Richard aſide, he intimated to him, that it was but a parentheſis in a public paper, which was the occaſion of the great ill will of the Officers to him, which roſe at length to that height, that nothing would ſatisfy but the pulling him down. And when the ſame perſon ſignified to Mr. Howe, that he had heard Richard reflected on as a weak man, he with ſome warmth made this return: "How could he be a weak man, when "upon the remonſtrance that was brought from the "army by his brother Fleetwood, he ſtood it out all "night againſt his whole Council, and continued the "debate till four of the clock in the morning, having "none but Thurloe to abet him; maintaining that "the diſſolving that Parliament would be both his ruin "and theirs?" Upon ſome further diſcourſe upon the ſame ſubject, Mr. Howe ſaid, that Fleetwood undertook with great ſolemnity, that if Richard would but comply with the propoſal which was made him, the army ſhould not do him the leaſt damage. And when Fleetwood was afterwards put in mind of this, all the anſwer he returned was, that he thought he had had more intereſt in the army than he found he had. Mr. Howe added, that accidentally meeting with Major-General Berry, who was in thoſe times ſo active and buſy, ſome time after the Reſtoration, when he was but in very mean circumſtances, he very freely told him, with tears running down his cheeks, that if Richard had but at that time hanged up him and nine or ten more, the Nation might have been happy.

(4) Ibid. pag. 25.

[*D*] *He publiſhed a conſiderable number of works.*] they are as follow: I. A Sermon from *Eccleſ.* vii. 29. preached at St. Giles's in the Fields in May 1659, and intitled, *Man created in an holy but mutable State*, publiſhed in *The Morning Exerciſe methodiz'd*, printed in 1660, in 4to. II. *The Bleſſedneſs of the Righteous laid open and further recommended from the Conſideration of the Vanity of this mortal Life*, on *Pſal.* xvii. 25. London 1668 and 1673, in 8vo. III. *The Vanity of this mortal Life, or of Man conſidered only in this preſent mortal State*, from *Pſal.* lxxxix. 47, 48. London, 1671, in 12mo. The Dedication to John Upton, of Lupton in Devonſhire, Eſq; his kinſman, is dated at Antrim April 12, 1671. IV. *Treatiſe of delighting in God*, in two parts, from *Pſal.* xxxvii. 4. London, 1674, in 8vo. V. *The Living Temple: or a deſigned Improvement of that Notion, that a good Man is the Temple of God.* London, 1674, in 8vo. VI. *The Reconcileableneſs of God's Preſcience of the Sins of Men with the Wiſdom and Sincerity of his Counſels and Exhortations, and whatſoever other Means he uſes to prevent them.* London, 1677, in 8vo. written by way of Letter to Robert Boyle, Eſq;. Mr. Theophilus Gale, his old fellow-

Church of Allhallows Breadſtreet; and his funeral Sermon was preached April the 8th by Mr. John Spademan from 2 Tim. iii. 14. Mr. Wood tells us (*w*), that he was a perſon *of neat and polite parts, and moderate and calm in thoſe ſmaller matters under debate between the Church and his party*; and that his books are written in *a fine, ſmooth, and natural ſtyle*. But this laſt obſervation is undoubtedly a miſtake, ſince Mr. Howe's ſtyle is generally allowed to be very harſh, embarraſſed and obſcure. Dr. Calamy, who has given his character at large, obſerves (*x*), that he was a man of great prudence, affability, moderation, and charity, pleaſant and facetious in converſation, and of extenſive learning, and ſtrong judgment.

(*w*) *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(*x*) *Memoirs*, pag. 237, & *ſeqq.*

fellow collegiate, publiſhing about this time the *fourth part* of *The court of the Gentiles*, made ſome animadverſions upon this treatiſe of Mr. Howe (5), upon which our author added to his book a *Poſtſcript* containing a defence of it, printed the ſame year, and added to thoſe copies of it, which were not then ſold. Mr. Thomas Danſon wrote likewiſe againſt our author's book a tract, intitled, De Cauſa Dei: *A Vindication of the common Doctrine of Proteſtant Divines concerning Predeſtination* [i. e. *the Intereſt of God as the firſt Cauſe in all Actions as ſuch, of all rational Creatures*] *from the invidious Conſequences, with which it is burdened by Mr.* John Howe *in a late* Letter and Poſtſcript of God's Preſcience. London, 1678, in 8vo. In anſwer to this was publiſhed *Remarks upon a late diſingenuous Diſcourſe writ by one* T. D. *under pretence* De Cauſa Dei, *and of anſwering Mr.* John Howe's Letter and Poſtſcript of God's Preſcience, &c. *affirming in the Proteſtant Doctrine, that God doth by efficacious Influences univerſally move and determine Men to all their Actions, even to thoſe that are moſt wicked.* London, 1678, in 8vo. This was written by Andrew Marvel, Eſq; VII. *A View of Antiquity preſented in a ſhort but ſufficient Account of ſome Fathers, &c.* London, 1677, in 8vo (6). Some animadverſions were made on this, and interſperſed in a book intitled, *Remarks relating to the State of the Church of the three firſt Centuries*, written by Abedn. Seller, and printed in 8vo. VIII. *A Letter written out of the Country to a Perſon of Quality in the City, who took offence at the late Sermon of Dr.* Stillingfleet, *Dean of St. Paul's, before the Lord Mayor.* This was occaſioned by the Doctor's Sermon, preached on the firſt day of Eaſter-Term 1680, on *Phil.* iii. 16. and intitled, *The Miſchief of Separation.* IX. *Of Thoughtfulneſs for To-morrow.* London, 1681, in 8vo. To this are added an *Appendix concerning the immoderate Deſire of fore-knowing things to come*; and *A Diſcourſe of Charity, in reference to other Men's Sins*, from 1 *Cor.* xiii. 6. X. *A Funeral Sermon on the Deceaſe of Mrs.* Margaret Baxter, *who died Jan.* 28, 1687, on 2 *Cor.* v. 8. London, 1681, in 4to. XI. *The right Uſe of that Argument in Prayer, from the Name of God, on behalf of a People that profeſs it*, from *Jer.* xiv. 21. London, 1682, in 8vo. XII. *Self-Dedication, diſcourſed in the Anniverſary Thankſgiving of a Perſon of Honour* (7) *for a great Deliverance.* London, 1682, in 12mo. XIII. *A Sermon at the Funeral of that faithful and laborious Servant of Chriſt Mr.* Richard Fairclough *late of Briſtol, who deceaſed July* 4, 1682, *aged* 61 *Years*, from *Matth.* xxv. 21. London, 1683, in 4to. XIV. About the ſame time he drew up thoſe *Annotations* on the *three Epiſtles of St. John*, which are publiſhed in the ſecond volume or continuation of Mr. Matthew Poole. XV. A Sermon from *Col.* ii. 2. upon this queſtion, *What may moſt hopefully be attempted to allay Animoſities among Proteſtants, that our Diviſions may not be our ruin?* printed in the *Continuation of the Morning Exerciſe.* London, 1683, in 4to. XVI. *The Redeemer's Tears wept over loſt Souls, a Treatiſe on Luke* xix. 41, 42. London, 1684, in 8vo. With an *Appendix, where ſomewhat is occaſionally diſcourſed concerning the Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and how God is ſaid to will the Salvation of them that periſh.* XVII. *The Caſe of the Proteſtant Diſſenters repreſented and argued.* Printed at London 1689, in a ſingle ſheet of paper. XVIII. *Humble Requeſts both to Conformiſts and Diſſenters touching their Temper and Behaviour toward each other upon the lately paſſed Indulgence.* Printed in another ſheet of paper. XIX. *A Funeral Sermon for Mrs.* Eſther Sampſon, *late Wife of* Henry Sampſon *Doctor of Phyſick, who died November* 24, 1689, on *Luke* xiii. 16. London, 1690, in 4to. XX. *The Carnality of Chriſtian Contention*, in two Sermons preached at the Merchants Lecture in Broadſtreet 1693. XXI. *A calm and ſober Inquiry concerning the Poſſibility of a Trinity in the Godhead, in a Letter to a Perſon of worth.* To which are added ſome *Letters* written formerly to Dr. Wallis on the ſame ſubject. London, 1694. In this *Inquiry* Mr. Howe aſſerts, that "the "perſons in the Trinity are diſtinct eſſences (8); diſ- (8) Pag. 110, "tinct numerical natures, beings, and ſubſtances (9). 111. "That there is a variety of individual natures in the (9) Pag. 112. "Deity (10). That there are in the Godhead three (10) Pag. 140. "diſtinct intelligent hypoſtaſes, having each his own "diſtinct ſingular intelligent nature (11). That theſe (11) Pag. 126. "three divine perſons maintain a delicious ſociety, "no enjoyment being pleaſant without conſociation "therein; and we muſt needs think this is a more "bleſſed ſtate, or a more perfect idea of bleſſedneſs, "than can be conceived in an eternal ſolitude (12)." (12) Pag. 55. As to the queſtion, If each of theſe perſons and beings is God, how can it be ſaid, that all three are but one God? he anſwers (13), that each of the three perſons (13) Pag. 51. conceived by itſelf is an individual eſſence; but conceived together they are the intire eſſence of God. This *Inquiry* was animadverted upon in a Treatiſe intitled, *Conſiderations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, printed in 1694 in 4to, and *a Poſtſcript to the Defence of Dr.* Sherlock's *Notions of a Trinity in Unity.* Upon which Mr. Howe publiſhed a *Letter* to a Friend concerning that *Poſtſcript.* He publiſhed alſo in 1695 *a View of the Conſiderations on the Explications* abovementioned, in a Letter to a Friend. XXII. *A Diſcourſe relating to the much lamented Death and ſolemn Funeral of Queen* Mary, on *Heb.* xii. 23, latter part. London, 1695, in 4to. XXIII. *A Sermon on the much lamented Death of that reverend and worthy Servant of Chriſt Mr.* Richard Adams, *M. A. ſometime Fellow of Brazen-Noſe College in Oxon, afterwards Miniſter of St. Mildred's Breadſtreet, London; more lately Paſtor of a Congregation in Southwark, who deceaſed February* 7, 169⅞. XXIV. *A Sermon preached on the Day of Thankſgiving December* 2, 1697. XXV. *A Sermon preached before the Society for Reformation of Manners*, from *Rom.* xiii. 4. London, 1697. XXVI. *A Sermon on the Death of that reverend and moſt laborious Servant of Chriſt in the Work of the Miniſtry, Mr.* Matthew Mead, *who deceaſed October* 16, 1699. XXVII. *The Redeemer's Dominion over the viſible World, and the Entrance thereinto by Death: A Diſcourſe preached on the occaſion of the Death of* John Hoghton, *Eſq; eldeſt Son of Sir* Charles Hoghton *of* Hoghton-Tower, *in the County of* Lancaſter, *Bart.* London, 1699. XXVIII. *Funeral Sermon for that excellent Miniſter of Chriſt, the truly Reverend* William Bates, *D. D.* London, 1699. XXIX. *A Twofold Diſcourſe of Man's Enmity againſt God; and Reconciliation between God and Man*, from *Col.* i. 21. London, 1701. XXX. *Some Conſiderations of a Preface to an Inquiry concerning the Occaſional Conformity of Diſſenters.* XXXI. The *Second Part* of *The Living Temple*, containing Animadverſions on *Spinoſa*, and a French writer pretending to refute him; with a recapitulation of the former part, and an account of the diſtinction and reſtitution of God's temple amongſt men. London, 1702. XXXII. *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of Mr.* Peter Vink, *B. D.* London, 1702. XXXIII. *A Sermon on* Coloſſ. i. 13. *preached Nov.* 5, 1703. XXXIV. *A Diſcourſe of Patience, relating to the Expectation of future Bleſſedneſs.* London, 1705, His Works have been reprinted together in one volume in folio, at London. H.

(5) See the 4th part of *The Court of the Gentiles*, pag. 522. edit. London 1677.

(6) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1015.

(7) The Earl of Kildare.

(*a*) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Ox.* l. 2. p. 321.

☞ HOWELL (JAMES), a voluminous writer of the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Abernant in Caermarthenſhire (*a*), of which place his father was Miniſter (*b*). He was

(*b*) Id. *Ath. Ox.* vol. 2. col. 382. ed. 2. Lon. 1721.

was born about the year 1594 [*A*], and educated in grammar learning in the free-ſchool of Hereford, from whence he was ſent to Jeſus College in the Univerſity of Oxford in the beginning of the year 1610 (*c*) where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts December the 17th 1613 (*d*). He afterwards left the Univerſity, and in 1619 went to France, Spain, and Italy, as Agent for Sir Robert Manſell, the Earl of Pembroke, and others, to procure workmen and materials for making of glaſs [*B*]. In 1622 he was ſent into Spain, in order to recover a rich Engliſh ſhip, ſeized on by the Viceroy of Sardinia for his maſter's uſe, on pretence of its having prohibited goods on board [*C*]. In 1623, during his abſence abroad, he was choſen Fellow of Jeſus College (*e*); and two years after his return to England, he was made Secretary to Emanuel Lord Scrope, Earl of Sunderland, and Lord Preſident of the North [*D*]; in which poſt reſiding at York, he was by the Mayor and Aldermen of Richmond choſen a Burgeſs for their Corporation in the Parliament which began at Weſtminſter in 1627 [*E*]. In 1632 he went Secretary to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, Embaſſador Extraordinary from King Charles I to the Court of Denmark, where he made divers ſpeeches in Latin (*f*), ſhewing the cauſe of their Embaſſy, which was to condole the death of Sophia Queen Dowager of Denmark, grandmother to King Charles I. Afterwards paſſing through ſeveral beneficial employments, particularly the aſſiſting of the Clerks of the Council, he was at length in the beginning of the civil wars, appointed one of thoſe Clerks; but in 1642 he was ſeized by order of a certain Committee, and committed to the Fleet [*F*], where he ſupported himſelf for many years by writing and tranſlating of books [*G*]. Though he had been a zealous Loyaliſt, he afterwards flattered Cromwell, and joined with

(*c*) Idem, ibid. and *Athen. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 194.

(*e*) Idem, *Athen. Oxon.* col. 382. *See* Howell's *Familiar Letters*, vol. 1. Sect. 2. Letter 6. edit. 5. London 1678 in 8vo.

(*f*) *Familiar Letters*, vol. 1. Sect. 6. Letter 2.

[*A*] *He was born about the year* 1594.] Mr. Wood tells us in his *Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis* (1), that he was entered in Jeſus College in Oxford in 1610, in the 16th year of his age; *ad Collegium iſtud literas ſublimiores hauriendi avidus acceſſit Ann. Dom.* CIↃDCX, *ætatis* XVI; and in his *Athenæ Oxonienſis* (2) he obſerves the ſame, aſſuring us, that he was ſent to that College *in the beginning of* 1610, *aged* 16 *years*. And yet the ſame Hiſtorian juſt before remarks, that *in what year Mr. Howell was born, he cannot preciſely tell.* Mr. Howell obſerves himſelf (3), that "at his nativity his aſcendant was that hot conſtellation of Cancer about the midſt of the dog-days."

(1) Lib. 2. pag. 321.

(2) Vol. 2. col. 381.

(3) *Familiar Letters, domeſtic and foreign. Divided into four Books*, vol. 1. Sect. 6. Letter 60. 5th edition London 1678 in 8vo.

[*B*] *In* 1619 *went to France, Spain, and Italy, as Agent for Sir Robert Manſell, the Earl of Pembroke, and others, to procure workmen and materials for making of glaſs.*] In a letter to his father dated in Broadſtreet in London, March 1, 1618 (4), he obſerves, that he had been Steward of the Glaſs Houſe in Broadſtreet; and that he was then upon the point of going beyond ſea. "The main of my employment, *ſays he*, is "from that gallant Knight Sir Robert Manſell, who, "with my Lord of Pembroke, and divers other prime "Lords of the Court, have got the ſole patent of "making all ſorts of glaſs with pit-cole, only to ſave "thoſe huge proportions of wood, which were con-"ſumed formerly in the glaſs furnaces. And this "buſineſs being of that nature that the workmen are "to be had from Italy, and the chief materials from "Spain, France, and other foreign countries, there "is need of an Agent abroad for this uſe; and better "than I have offered their ſervice in this kind, ſo that "I believe I ſhall have employment in all theſe coun-"tries before I return." His firſt letter from Amſterdam is dated April 1, 1619 (5). We have another letter of his dated at Barcelona Novem. 10, 1620 (6); another dated from on board the ſhip before Venice May 5, 1621 (7); another dated at Naples October 1, 1621 (8); another at Lyons December 5, 1621 (9). It appears from a letter of his dated at London February 2, 162½ (10), that he was then juſt returned to England.

(4) Ibid. vol. 1. Sect. 1. Letter 2.

(5) Ibid. Letter 5.

(6) Ibid. Letter 22.

(7) Ibid. Letter 27.

(8) Ibid. Letter 39.

(9) Ibid. Letter 44.

(10) Sect. 2. Letter 1.

[*C*] *In* 1622 *he was ſent into Spain, in order to recover a rich Engliſh ſhip ſeized on by the Vice-Roy of Sardinia for his maſter's uſe, on pretence of its having prohibited goods on board.*] In a letter of his to his father, dated at London September 8, 1622 (11), he gives us an account of his being engaged in this affair. His firſt letter from Madrid is dated December 28, 1622. Another letter of his to his father dated at London December 10, 1624 (12), ſhews, that he was newly returned from Spain.

(11) Sect. 2. Letter 6.

(12) Sect. 3. Letter 1.

[*D*] *Made Secretary to Emanuel Lord Scrope, Earl of Sunderland, and Lord Preſident of the North.*] In a letter of his to his brother, dated at London March 15. 1626 (13), he takes notice of that place being lately conferred on him.

(13) Sect. 4. Letter 26.

[*E*] *Choſen a Burgeſs for the Corporation of Richmond in the Parliament, which began at Weſtminſter in* 1627.] In a letter of his dated March 2, 1627 (14), he obſerves that he had been juſt choſen; and on the 24th of that month he wrote a letter (15) to that Corporation to thank them for his election.

(14) Sect. 5. Letter 3.

(15) Ibid. Letter 4.

[*F*] *In* 1642 *he was ſeized by order of a certain Committee, and committed to the Fleet.*] Mr. Wood (16) tells us, that *being prodigally inclined, and therefore running much into debt, he was ſeized on by order of a certain Committee, after the King was forced from his Parliament, and committed priſoner to the fleet.* But let us hear Mr. Howell's own account of the affair in a Letter to the Earl of B——, dated November 20, 1642 (17). "I was come lately to London upon ſome "occaſions of my own, and I had been divers times "in Weſtminſter-Hall, where I conferred with many "Parliament-men of my acquaintance; but one morn-"ing betimes there ruſhed into my chamber five arm-"ed men with ſwords, piſtols, and bills, and told me "that they had a warrant from the Parliament for "me. I deſired to ſee their warrant; they denied "it. I deſired to ſee the date of it; they denied it. "I deſired to ſee my name in the warrant; they de-"nied it. At laſt one of them pulled out a greaſy "paper out of his pocket, and ſhewed me only three "or four names ſubſcribed, and no more. So they "ruſhed preſently into my cloſet, and ſeized on all my "papers and letters, and any thing that was manu-"ſcript; and many printed books they took alſo, "and hurled all into a great hair-trunk, which they "carried away with them. I had taken a little phy-"ſic that morning, and with very much ado they "ſuffered me to ſtay in my chamber with two guards "upon me till evening; at which time they brought "me before the Committee for examination, where I "confeſs I found good reſpect, and being brought "up to the cloſe Committee, I was ordered to be "forth-coming till ſome papers of mine were peruſed, "and Mr. Corbet was appointed to do it. Some days "after I came to Mr. Corbet, and he told me he had "peruſed them, and could find nothing, that might "give offence. Hereupon I deſired him to make a "report to the houſe; according to which, as I was "told, he did very fairly; yet ſuch was my hard "hap, that I was committed to the Fleet, where I "am now under cloſe reſtraint. As far as I ſee, I "muſt lie at dead Anchor in this Fleet a long time, "unleſs ſome gentle gale blow thence to make me "launch out." It appears from ſome of his letters, that he was in the Fleet in 1648.

(16) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 381.

(17) *Familiar Letters*, vol. 1. Sect. 6. Letter 47. The date in this Letter is 1643; but it appears to be a miſtake for 1642.

[*G*] *Supported himſelf for many years by writing and tranſlating of books.*] We ſhall give a catalogue of his writings. I. *Dodona's Grove: or the Vocal Foreſt.* London,

with the prevailing party; ſo that upon the Reſtoration he was not reſtored to his place of Clerk of the Council, but only made Hiſtoriographer to the King, being the firſt in England who enjoyed that title. He died in the beginning of November 1666 (g), and was

(g) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 381-385.

don, 1640 and 1644, in 4to. The third edition, *more exact and perfect than the former*, was printed at Cambridge 1645, in 12mo. To this edition are ſubjoined two other tracts; viz. 1. *England's Tears for the preſent wars, which for the Nature of the Quarrel, the Quality of the Strength, the diverſity of Battles, Skirmiſhes, Encounters, and Sieges, happened in ſo ſhort a Compaſs of Time, cannot be parallel'd in any preceding Age.* This piece had been publiſhed at London, 1644, in two ſheets and an half in 4to. and was reprinted at London 1650 in 12mo. It was tranſlated into Latin under the title of *Angliæ Suſpiria & Lacrymæ*, &c. and printed at London 1646 in 4to. 2. *The Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parliament. Whereunto is added a Vindication of ſome Paſſages reflecting upon the Author in a Book called* The Popiſh Royal Favorite, *penned and publiſhed by Mr.* Prynne, *wherein he ſtiles him*, No Friend to Parliaments, and a Malignant, pag. 42. *With a clearing of ſome Occurrences in Spain at his Majeſtie's being there, cited by the ſaid Maſter Prynne out of the* Vocal Foreſt. *By* J. H. *Eſq; one of the Clerks of his Majeſtie's moſt honourable Privy-Council. Publiſhed by ſpecial Order.* London, 1645. The Dedication to his *worthy honored Friend Sir* W. S. *Knt.* is written from the Fleet-priſon. In this piece he aſſerts (18), that "the principal fountain, whence the "King derives his happineſs and ſafety, is his Parlia-"ment." With regard to the imputation, thrown upon him by Mr. Prynne, that he was *no Friend to the preſent Parliament*; "therein, *ſays he* (19), I am "traduced, and I am confident it will be never proved "againſt me from any action, words, or letters, tho' "divers of mine have been intercepted, or any other "miſdemeanour, though ſome things are fathered up-"on me, which never dropped from my quill. Alas, "how unworthy and uncapable am I to cenſure the "proceedings of that great Senate, that high Syne-"drion, wherein the wiſdom of the whole Senate is "epitomized!" II. *The Vote; or a Poem-Royal, preſented to his Majeſty for a New-Year's-Gift, by way of Diſcourſe 'twixt the Poet and his Muſe.* Calendis Januarii, 1641. London, 1641, in two ſheets in 4to, and reprinted before his *Familiar Letters*. III. *Inſtructions for forraine Travell; ſhewing by what Cours, and in what Compaſſe of Time, one may take an exact Survey of the Kingdomes and States of Chriſtendome, and arrive to the practicall Knowledge of the Languages to good purpoſe.* London, 1642, in 12mo. Dedicated to Prince Charles. It was reprinted in 1650 in 12mo, with additions. IV. *Caſual Diſcourſes and Interlocutions between* Patricius *and* Peregrin, *touching the Diſtractions of the Times.* It was written by the Author in the Fleet-priſon, ſoon after the battle of Edge-Hill, and was the firſt book, which came out in vindication of the King (20). V. Mercurius Hibernicus: *Or a Diſcourſe of that horrid Inſurrection and Maſſacre, which happened lately in Ireland.* Written in the Fleet 1643. It was printed at Briſtol, 1644, in two ſheets and an half in 4to. VI. *Parables reflecting upon the times.* London, 1644, two ſheets in 4to. at the latter end of the ſecond edition of *Dodona's Grove*. VII. Epiſtolæ Hoe-Elianæ. *Familiar Letters Domeſtic and Foreign, divided into ſundry Sections, partly Hiſtorical, partly Political, partly Philoſophical.* London, 1645, 1647, in 4to. 1650, 1655, 1678, in 8vo. Mr. Wood tells us (21), that "many of the ſaid letters were never "written before the Author of them was in the Fleet, "as he pretends they were; only feigned, no time "being kept with their dates, and purpoſely publiſhed "to gain money to relieve his neceſſities; yet give a "tolerable Hiſtory of theſe times." VIII. *A Nocturnal Progreſs: or a Perambulation of moſt Countries in Chriſtendom, performed in one Night by Strength of Imagination.* Written in the Fleet in 1645. IX. Luſtra Ludovici: *Or the Life of Lewis XIII, King of France, of his Cardinal* de Richelieu. London, 1646, in Fol. It is divided into ſeven *Luſtres*, and dedicated to Prince Charles, at his Court in the Iſle of Jerſey. X. *An Account of the deplorable and deſperate Condition, that England ſtands in*, Anno 1647, *in a Letter to Francis Cardinal* Barberini. Written from the Fleet 1647. XI. *A Letter to the Earl of* Pembroke *concerning the Times, and the ſad condition both of Prince and People.* Printed 1647 in two ſheets in 4to. XII. Bella Scot-Anglica. *A Brief of all the Battles and Martial Encounters, which have happened 'twixt England and Scotland from all Times to this preſent.* Printed in 1648. XIII. *Corollary declaring the Cauſes whereby the Scot is come of late Years to be ſo heightned in his Spirits.* Theſe two laſt are in three ſheets in 4to. XIV. *The Inſtruments of a King; or, a ſhort Diſcourſe of the Sword, Septre, and Crown*, &c. London, 1648, in two ſheets in 4to. XV. *Winter-Dream*, 1649, in three ſheets in 4to. XVI. *A Trance, or News from Hell, brought firſt to Town by* Mercurius Acheronticus. London, 1649, in two ſheets and an half in 4to. XVII. *Inquiſition after blood, to the Parliament* in ſtatu quo nunc, *and the Army Regnant*, &c. Printed in 1649, in two ſheets in 4to. XVIII. *Viſion or Dialogue between the Soul and the Body.* London, 1651, in 8vo, &c. IX. *Survey of the Signory of* Venice, *of her admired Polity, and Method of Government.* London, 1651, in a thin Folio. To this is added, *A Diſcourſe of the Intereſts of the Republic of* Venice, *with the reſt of the States of Italy.* Printed with the *Survey*. XX. *Some ſober Inſpections made into the Carriage and Conſults of the late* Long-Parliament, *whereby occaſion is taken to ſpeak of Parliaments in former Times, and of* Magna Charta; *with ſome Reflections upon Government in general.* London, 1653, in 12mo. Dedicated to his *Highneſs the Lord Protector*. In the Dedication he writes as follows: "Among the multi-"tude of mighty atchievements, which your Highneſs "hath performed ſo much to the aſtoniſhment of man-"kind, the diſſolving of the late Long-Parliament may "well deſerve to be ranked in the number. For "thereby your Highneſs, Hercules-like, may be ſaid "to have quelled a monſter with many heads; ſuch "a monſter, that was like to gormandize and devour "the whole nation, as will appear in the whole diſ-"courſe, which though ſmall in bulk, yet the ſubject-"matter is of the greateſt concernment (otherwiſe I "had not ventured on ſo high a Dedication) for it "was of the power and practice of Engliſh Parlia-"ments in former times, with the firſt riſe of the "Houſe of Commons, and of the *Magna Charta*, "&c. which will be found to have had but hard "births." He obſerves, that the *quotations here produced, (whereof there are many) are all true, and extracted out of antient records.* "But what conſequen-"ces ſoever, *ſays he*, are drawn from them, the judg-"ment is ſtill reſerved for your Highneſs, *en dernier "reſſort.* There is a memorable ſaying of Charles "Martell in that mighty revolution in France, when "he introduced the ſecond race of Kings, that in the "purſuit of all his actions, he uſed to ſay, that *he fol-"lowed not the ambition of his heart as much as the in-"ſpiration of his ſoul, and the deſigns of providence.* "This may be applied to your Highneſs in the con-"duct of your great affairs and admirable ſucceſſes." This Tract is written by way of dialogue between *Philanglus* and *Polyander*; the firſt, as our author obſerves in his Preface, a good Patriot, and a great lover of the Engliſh; the other a perſon, who had ſeen much of the world abroad, and ſtudied men. In the cloſe of it (22) Polyander is introduced recommending "the "modeſty and practice of Parliaments in former "times, who declined high affairs of State, eſpecially "foreign, much more to arrogate to themſelves the "ſupreme power; for ſovereignty may be ſaid to be "an indiviſible ray, derived and darted from the "Divine Majeſty itſelf. It cannot be divided among "a multitude. We never read, that the people were "called *God*'s, or the *Lord's anointed*, or *Nurſing Fa-"thers*; nor do we read of any *Ariſtocracies* or *Demo-"cracies* at all in the holy Scriptures. Therefore I "ſubſcribe to his judgment, who holds, that the firmeſt "and moſt compendious way of government is when "the ſupremacy reſides in one perſon, whom the peo-"ple ought to truſt by an indiſpenſible neceſſity for "their own advantage in ſteering the great veſſel of "the Commonwealth, with the advice of a ſelect Council.

(18) Pag. 13.

(19) Pag. 16.

(20) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 382.

(21) Ibid. col. 382.

(22) Pag. 181.

was interred in the North-ſide of the Temple-Church in London, where a monument was erected to his memory [*H*]. Mr. Wood tells us (*b*), that "he had a ſingular command "of his pen whether in proſe or verſe, and was well read in modern hiſtories, eſpeci- "ally in thoſe of the countries wherein he had travelled; and had a parabolical and "alluſive fancy, according to his motto, *Seneſco non ſegneſco*;" but that "his writings "having been only to gain a livelihood, and by their dedications to flatter great and "noble perſons, are very trite and empty, ſtollen from other authors without acknow- "ledgment, and fitted only to pleaſe the humours of novices."

(*b*) Col. 381, 382.

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"Council. And herein a State may be compared to "a gally, wherein ſome are to obſerve the compaſs, "others to furl the ſails, others to handle the ropes, "others to tug at the bar, others to be ready in "arms; but there is but one Pilot to ſit at the Helm. "It is requiſite alſo, that this ſingle perſon ſhould be "attended with a viſible ſtanding veteran army, to "be paid well, and puniſh'd well, if there be cauſe, "to *awe* as well as to *ſecure* the people; it being the "greateſt ſoleciſm that can be in Government, to de- "pend merely upon the affections of the people; for "there is not ſuch a wavering windy thing, not ſuch "an humourſome and croſs-grain'd animal in the "world, as the *Common People*; and what authors ſo- "ever, either Greek or Latin, have pretended to po- "licy, affirm ſo much." The fourth edition of this book was publiſhed in 1660, with ſeveral additions, containing Reflections upon Government in general. XXI. *Hiſtory of the Wars of Jeruſalem epitomiz'd.* Printed in 8vo. XXII. Ah, Ha; Tumulus, Thalamus: *Two Counter-Poems; the firſt an Elegy upon* Edward *late Earl of* Dorſet; *the ſecond an Epithalamium to the Lord Marqueſs of Dorcheſter; with an Hymenæum or Bridal Sonnet of four Stanzas, according to a choice Air ſet thereunto by Mr.* Will. Webb. London, 1653, in two ſheets in 4to. XXIII. *The German Diet: or the Ballance of Europe, wherein the Power and Weakneſs, Glory and Reproach, Virtues and Vices, &c. of all the Kingdoms and States of Chriſtendom are impartially poiſed.* London, 1653, Folio. The Author's Picture at whole length, is ſet before the title. XXIV. Parthenopœia: *or the Hiſtory of the moſt renouned Kingdom of Naples, with a Liſt of their Kings,* &c. London 1654 in fol. The firſt part of it was written by Scipio Mazzella, and tranſlated into Engliſh from the Italian by Sampſon Lennard, Herald of Arms. The ſecond part was compiled by Mr. Howell. XXV. Londinopolis: *An Hiſtorical Diſcourſe or Perluſtration of the City of London and Weſtminſter, with the Courts of Juſtice, Antiquities, and new Buildings.* London 1657 in folio. XXVI. *Diſcourſe of the Empire and of the Election of the King of the Romans,* &c. London 1658 in 8vo. XXVII. Lexicon Tetraglotton: *An Engliſh-French-Italian-Spaniſh Dictionary.* London 1660 in fol. To this is added *A particular Vocabulary or Nomenclature in Engliſh, Italian, French, and Spaniſh, of the proper Terms belonging to ſeveral Arts and Sciences, to common Profeſſions and Callings, both liberal and mechanic,* &c. and alſo *Proverbs; or, old ſayed Sawes and Adages in Engliſh (or the Saxon Tongue) Italian, French and Spaniſh: whereunto the Britiſh, for their great Antiquity and Weight, are added.* XXVIII. *A Cordial for the Cavaliers*: London 1661. This was anſwered immediately after its publication by Mr. Roger L'Eſtrange in a book intitled, *A Caveat for the Cavaliers*; which having given offence to divers perſons, he publiſhed a ſecond edition of it with his name, and a preface to it. Soon after Mr. Howell publiſhed a vindication of his *Cordial* under this title, XXIX, *Some ſober Inſpections made into thoſe Irregularities, that went to the Compoſition of a late* Cordial for the Cavaliers. London 1661. Upon which Mr. L'Eſtrange animadverts briefly in the cloſe of a piece of his intitled, *A modeſt Plea both for the* Caveat *and Author of it.* XXX. *A French Grammar, and a Dialogue conſiſting of all Galliciſms, with additions of the moſt uſeful and ſignificant Proverbs* &c. Printed at London twice, the laſt time in 1673 in folio. XXXI. *The Parley of Beaſts: or Morphandra Queen of the inchanted Iſland,* &c. Tom. I. London 1660 in folio. XXXII. *The Second Part of caſual Diſcourſes and Interlocutions between* Patricius *and* Peregrin, *&c.* London 1661. Printed in a book intitled, *Divers Hiſtorical Diſcourſes of the late popular Inſurrections in Great Britain and Ireland.* To this is added *An Apology for Fables mythologized.* XXXIII. *Twelve Treatiſes of the late Revolutions.* London 1661 in 8vo. XXXIV. *New Engliſh Grammar for Foreigners to learn Engliſh; with a Grammar for the Spaniſh or Caſtilian Tongue; with ſpecial Remarks on the Portugueſe Dialect, for the ſervice of her Majeſty.* London 1662 in 8vo. XXXV. *Diſcourſe concerning the Precedency of Kings.* London 1663 in folio. Tranſlated into Latin by B. Harris, and printed at London 1664 in 8vo. XXXVI. *Poems on ſeveral choice and various ſubjects, occaſionally compoſed by an eminent Author. Collected and publiſhed by Serjeant-Major* P. F. [Payne Fiſher]. London 1663 in 8vo. Dedicated by the editor to Dr. Henry King Biſhop of Chicheſter. In the preface the editor tells us, that our author "may be called the prodigy of the age for "the variety of his volumes; for from his Δενδρολογίαι "or *Parly of Trees* to his Θηρολογίαι or *Parly of Beaſts* "(not inferior to the other) there hath paſſed the preſs "above forty of his works on various ſubjects, uſeful "not only to the preſent times, but to all poſterity. "And it is to be obſerved, that in all his writings "there is ſomething ſtill new, either in the matter, "method, or fancy, and in an untrodden tract." XXXVII. *Treatiſe concerning Ambaſſadors.* Tranſlated into Latin by John Harman of Magdalen College Oxford. London 1664 in 8vo. XXXVIII. *Concerning the ſurrender of Dunkirk, that it was done upon good Grounds.* London 1664 in 8vo. He likewiſe tranſlated from Italian into Engliſh, 1. *St. Paul's late Progreſs upon Earth about a Divorce 'twixt Chriſt and the Church of Rome by reaſon of her diſſoluteneſs and exceſſes,* &c. London 1644 in 8vo. The author of this book publiſhed it about the year 1642, and being obliged to fly from Rome on that account in the company and under the conduct of one, who pretended friendſhip to him, was betrayed at Avignon, and there hanged, and then burnt. 2. *A Venetian Looking-glaſs: Or, a Letter written very lately from London to Cardinal Barberini at Rome by a Venetian Clariſſimo, touching the preſent diſtempers in England.* Printed in 1648 in three ſheets in 4to. 3. *An exact Hiſtory of the late Revolutions in Naples, and of their monſtrous Succeſſes not to be paralleled by any antient or modern Hiſtory.* London 1650 in 8vo. This book was written in Italian by Alexander Giraffi. 4. *A Letter of Advice ſent from the prime Stateſmen of Florence how England may come to herſelf again.* Dated at Florence the 12th of March 1659. Printed at the end of *The ſecond Part of caſual Diſcourſes* &c. abovementioned. He tranſlated from French into Engliſh, *The Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis; conſiſting of a Maſk and Comedy, or the great Royal Ball acted lately in Paris ſix times,* &c. London 1654 in 4to; and from Spaniſh into Engliſh, *The Proceſs and Pleadings in the Court of Spain upon the death of* Anthony Aſcham, *Reſident for the Parliament of England, and of* John Baptiſta Riva, *his Interpreter,* &c. London 1651 in folio. He publiſhed *A French-Engliſh Dictionary compiled by Mr.* Randal Cotgrave: *with another in Engliſh and French. Whereunto are newly added the Animadverſions and Supplements &c. of* James Howell *Eſq;* London 1650 in folio. He publiſhed alſo *Cottoni Poſthuma: divers choice pieces of that renowned Antiquary Sir* Robert Cotton, *Knight and Baronet. Preſerved from the injury of Time, and expoſed to the public light for the benefit of Poſterity, By* J. H. *Eſq;* London 1651 in 8vo. He publiſhed alſo *The late King's Declaration in Latin, French, and Engliſh,* ann. 1649.

181.

[*H*] *Where a monument was erected to his memory.*] The following inſcription is upon it: JACOBUS HOWELL, *Cambro-Britannus, Regius Hiſtoriographus, (in Angliâ primus) qui poſt varias peregrinationes tandem naturæ curſum peregit, ſatur annorum & famæ, domi foriſque huc uſque erraticus, hic fixus* 1666. This monument was taken down in 1683, when the Temple-Church was repaired. T.

HUARTE (JOHN) lived in the ſixteenth Century, and gained great fame by a work he publiſhed in the Spaniſh tongue; which has been tranſlated into ſeveral languages, and borne ſeveral impreſſions [*A*]. He therein treats of the examination of ſuch genius's as are fit for the ſtudy of the Sciences, and lays down many things which may make one believe, that he did not follow the common road of Phyſicians; but was able to make a great many new diſcoveries, by his profound meditations, and a very cloſe application to the ſtudy of the Antients. However, it would not be prudent for any perſon to truſt, either his maxims or all the authorities he alledges; for he is not to be truſted on either of theſe heads (*a*); and his hypotheſes are frequently chimerical, eſpecially when he pretends to teach the formalities which muſt be obſerved by thoſe who would get children of a virtuous turn of mind. There are, in this part of the book, a great many particulars repugnant to modeſty, and which Gabriel Chappuis has tranſlated in too groſs a manner. He deſerves cenſure for publiſhing, as a genuine and authentic piece, a pretended letter of Lentulus the Proconſul, from Jeruſalem to the Roman Senate; wherein a portrait is given of CHRIST JESUS, a deſcription of his ſhape and ſtature, the colour of his hair, the qualities of his beard &c. A criticiſm has been made of Huarte's work [*B*]. He was thought to be a Spaniard, which

(*a*) See *Apologie de Coſtar*, pag. 213, 214.

[*A*] *He gained great fame by a work he publiſhed in the Spaniſh tongue; which has been tranſlated into ſeveral languages, and borne ſeveral impreſſions.*] It was tranſlated into Italian by Camillo Camilli, and this verſion was dedicated by Nicolo Manaſſi, to Frederic Penaſius, Profeſſor of Philoſophy in Bologna (1). The Dedication is dated from Venice, the firſt of March 1582. The edition I make uſe of is of Venice, *preſſo Aldo* 1590 in 8vo. The book in queſtion was tranſlated into French by Gabriel Chappuis anno 1580. The title of this verſion is as follows, *Anacraſe ou parfait Jugement &c.* i. e. *Anacriſis or perfect Judgment and Examination of ſuch Genius's as are fit for acquiring the ſciences, and were born ſuch: wherein by marvellous and uſeful ſecrets, drawn from true Philoſophy both natural and divine, is ſhewn the difference between the gifts and abilities found in men, and for what kind of ſtudy the genius of every man is adapted; in ſuch a manner that whoever ſhall read this book attentively, will diſcover the properties of his own genius, and be able to make choice of that ſcience, in which he will make the greateſt improvement* (2). There is a better French verſion than this, I mean that printed at Amſterdam, for John Ravelein, in 1672, and the tranſlator's name is Francis Savinien d'Alquie. He has taken in the additions which John Huarte had inſerted in the laſt edition of his book. Theſe are conſiderable both as to quality and quantity: but the tranſlators in queſtion could not inſert them in their reſpective places, and ſo were forced to throw part of them at the beginning, and the reſt at the end of the work. I know only by the Bodleian catalogue the Latin verſion of this book, by *Æſch. Major*, printed anno 1622 in 8vo. [I have the following edition of this work, the title of which runs thus, EXAMEN DE INGENIOS PARA LAS SCIENCIAS. *Donde ſe mueſtra la differencia de habilidades que ay en los hombres, y el genere de letras que a cada uno reſponde en particular.* Es obra donde el que leyere con attencion hallara la manera de ſu ingenio, y ſabra eſcoyer la ſciencia en que mas ha de aprouechar: y ſi por ventura la vuiere ya profeſſado, entendera ſi atinó a la que pedia ſu habilidad natural. *Compueſta por el Doctor Juan Huarte, natural de ſant Juan del pie del Puerto.* EN LEYDA Con Licencia, por Juan Pats. MDXCI. It is in 12mo, a handſome letter, and dedicated *A la muy magnifica y illuſtre ſennora Donna Penelope Riche.* The writer of it ſubſcribes D. C. I likewiſe have Gabriel Chappuis's French verſion of the *Examen de ingenios*, but printed at Paris, in 1619. There are two prefaces to my Spaniſh edition of the *Examen &c.* abovementioned; but only the ſecond is tranſlated by Gabriel Chappuis, and prefixed to his French verſion. We alſo have an Engliſh tranſlation of it.] *Addit. by the Tranſl.*

(1) He had been Profeſſor at Padua.

(2) *See* Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 432. The title is a little altered in the edition I make uſe of, which is that of Roan, printed in 1588, 12mo.

[*B*] *A criticiſm has been made of Huarte's work.*] It is intitled the *L'Examen de l'Examen des Eſprits.* i. e. *The Examination of Genius's examined.* The author of this criticiſm was Jourdain Guibelet. Here follows a paſſage from Sorel (3). "The Spaniſh author "of the *Trial or Examination of Genius's* (4) has been "followed by ſome authors (4), and condemned by "others. I ſhall paſs over thoſe things which he was "accuſed of, *viz.* of aſcribing ſo much power or "efficacy to corporeal qualities, that the ſoul ſeems to "be dependent on them; and that this would prevent "one from believing it to be immaterial and immortal, "as it really is. But he has defended himſelf ſufficiently on this head, by ſhewing, that the ſoul acts "only on man according to the diſpoſition of the organs; nevertheleſs it is thought, that he has ſtill "ſubjected too much this ſpiritual ſubſtance to groſs "and corporeal parts; and that the compariſons which "he has drawn from brutes, and even the moſt imperfect of them, ſuch as inſects, reflect a diſhonour on "ſo excellent an animal as man; that it is alſo ridiculous to aſcribe aridity or dryneſs to ants and ſuch "inſects, becauſe they are prudent or wiſe, and to "draw a conſequence from thence, *viz.* that prudence or wiſdom muſt neceſſarily be found in dry "conſtitutions; for by what art has he been able to "diſcover, that there is leſs moiſtneſs than dryneſs in "the brain of flies which ſeem to be very moiſt? Farther, how has he obſerved the difference between "the brain of the bees, from that of common flies, "the former of which are looked upon as wiſe, and "the latter as fooliſh? No great difference, in caſe of "a diſſection, will be found in their brain; and when "he affirms that the brain of the one is moiſt and thoſe "of the other dry, it is becauſe he ſaw that the one were "prudent and the other imprudent, and did not judge "of their prudence or imprudence from their dryneſs "or humidity... Some object likewiſe to the author "of the *Examination of Genius's*, that he has not "juſtly ſettled the conſtitutions or temperatures for each "faculty of the ſoul; and that he ſhould not have "aſcribed to dryneſs or aridity the judgment or underſtanding only, but likewiſe memory; and that "theſe two faculties are not incompatible. Thus ſeveral of his propoſitions are found fault with, which "prompted a French Phyſician to draw up a criticiſm "of his *Examination*, wherein he ſtrongly refutes the "greateſt part of his doctrine, which he treats as he "pleaſes, in a book of the ſame ſize with the other (5)." Sorel afterwards makes ſome remarks againſt the doctrine of the author of the *Examination of Genius*'s, among which is the following. "Some writers have ſought "out methods in order for putting the natural faculties in a good ſtate or condition. To form the better judgment of them, they are not contented with "obſerving men in themſelves, by their external "marks; but have even carried their enquiries ſo far "as the cauſes, *viz.* to the time and place of their "birth, and above all to the parents who begat them, "who are the true ſources of conſtitution, and have "a very great influence with regard to the forming of "their humour. This being allowed, in order to make "their doctrine the more acceptable, they have pretended at the ſame time to preſcribe remedies for "the bad qualities which they diſcovered, or to adminiſter help towards the attaining of good. And in "order to enquire out the perfection of man in his "moſt diſtant origin, they have endeavoured to make "their birth as propitious as poſſible; and direct their "parents to employ all the precautions imaginable, in "order that they may come into the world with ſuch "qualities as may be deſired. Some naturaliſts have

(3) Sorel, *de la Perfection de l'Homme*, pag. 327.

(4) Anthony Zara, who wrote a work of the *Anatomy of Genius's and Sciences*, Peter Charron, and others, revive the doctrine of this Spaniard, almoſt without the leaſt reſtriction, *Ibid.* pag. 335.

(5) Sorel, *de la Perfection de l'Homme*, pag. 327, 328.

which was a miſtake, he being a native of the French Navarré (*b*).

(*b*) At St. John de Pied de Port. *See* du Verdier, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 432.

" enquired what conſtitution and age a man and wo-
" man ought to be of, in order for marriage; and in
" what manner they ought to conduct themſelves, as
" what aliments it will be proper for them to take, in
" order for their procreating ſound and healthy chil-
" dren. The author of the *Examination of Genius's*
" has added to this, the manner of begetting them
" of ſuch a conſtitution, as ſhall give them a diſpo-
" ſition for acquiring arts and ſciences. Both the one
" and the other declare, that in marrying perſons,
" great care ought to be taken, *viz.* to joyn a man
" of a hot complexion to a woman who is cooler, and
" who has the moiſtneſs he wants, in order for the
" forming a perfect conſtitution. But it would be
" difficult to make ſuch enquiries, becauſe a great
" many other things are required in order for the
" making an agreeable match, which are principally
" regarded. It is generally thought, that with regard
" to corporeal qualities it is enough that thoſe who
" marry are free from any bodily infirmity or defor-
" mity. With regard to the manner in which mar-
" ried perſons ought to live, and of the times fit for
" procreation, and other obſervations preſcribed in
" order for the getting of boys or girls; and even for
" cauſing them to be brought into the world with a
" complexion or diſpoſition fit for certain profeſſions,
" though theſe do not always ſucceed ſo exactly as
" one could deſire, they yet cannot but be attended
" with happy conſequences. Some men, though leſs
" circumſpect than others, do yet enjoy all theſe ad-
" vantages without all this care; but that was owing to
(6) Ibid. pag. 335, 336. " the great vigour of their conſtitutions (6)."

It cannot be doubted but that John Huarte has laid down ſome general maxims which are very juſt and true, as for inſtance, that it is of advantage to devote every individual to the employments for which nature has formed him; that ſome perſons would have made a figure in the Law had they not been made Phyſicians; and that great inconveniences flow from the little regard that is had to the natural diſpoſition in the choice of employments; but it would be extremely difficult to prevent this diſorder. The expedient which our author propoſed to Philip II of Spain, would not be attended, in practice, with all the advantages which might be expected from it. *As I obſerve*, ſays he (7), *that the mind of man is ſo ſhort and limited, that it is ſcarce ſufficient to one thing; I was ever of opinion that it is impoſſible for any perſon to attain a perfect ſkill in two arts, and that he muſt neceſſarily be ignorant of one of them; which made Plato ſay in his book concerning Laws*, Nemo ærarius ſimul & lignarius faber fit; duas enim artes, aut ſtudia duo, diligenter exercere humana natura non poteſt. i. e. " No man can be a good Copper-
" ſmith and Carpenter at one and the ſame time; it
" being impoſſible for human nature to excell in two
" arts or ſtudies." *It is therefore my opinion, that wiſe and learned men ought to be appointed to judge of the genius and capacity of children from their infancy; and in order to oblige them to apply themſelves to that ſcience for which they are beſt qualified, without leaving it to their own fancy; for fear leſt they ſhould make ſuch a choice, as might be not ſo advantageous, or even prejudicial to them. Were this done, your Majeſty would have the ableſt artiſts, and the fineſt works in the world in your own Kingdom; and perſons who unite moſt happily art with nature. I could alſo wiſh that the like method might be taken in your Univerſities; and that as they do not permit the ſtudents to paſs from one faculty to ano-
ther, till they are well ſkilled in the Latin tongue; ſo they alſo would appoint perſons to examine, if a ſtudent who would apply himſelf to Logic, to Philoſophy, Phyſic, Divinity and the Laws, has the genius requiſite for ſuc-
ceeding in thoſe ſeveral ſciences; for beſides that it is doing great prejudice to the public, for a man to exerciſe an art of which he is ignorant; ſo it is a great pre-
ſumption for a man to labour and rack his brain about a thing, which it will be impoſſible for him ever to effect or complete with honour.* What our author ſays in ano-
ther place, would be ſtill more perplexed and dubious in practice. " In a well regulated commonwealth or
" government there ought to be match-makers, who
" ſhould know by rules of art, the qualities requiſite in
" two perſons who would marry for their reciprocal
" advantage. Hippocrates and Galen made ſome at-
" tempts in the affair; and have given rules to diſtin-
" guiſh a fruitful from a barren woman; and betwixt
" a man who has abilities for procreation and another
" who is otherwiſe. But they have writ little on this
" ſubject, and not ſo diſtinctly as they ought, at leaſt
" as is neceſſary for the preſent occaſion (8)."

(7) Huarte, *Epiſt. Dedicat.*

(8) Huarte, *Examen des Eſprits*, chap. 15. folio 207, *verſo*. I make uſe of Chappuis's verſion.

☞HUDIBRAS, a celebrated Engliſh Poem, the author of which, Mr. SAMUEL BUTLER, was born in the pariſh of Strenſham, in the county of Worceſter, and baptized there the 13th of February 1612 (*a*). His father, named Samuel Butler, was a perſon of a competent eſtate near three hundred pounds *per annum*, but moſt of it in leaſe-lands [*A*] held of Sir Thomas Ruſſel, grandfather to Sir Francis Ruſſel, Baronet, Lord of the manor of Strenſham beforementioned (*b*). Finding that his ſon had an early inclination to learning, he made ſhift to have him educated (*c*) [*B*] in the College-ſchool at Worceſter, under Mr. Henry Bright (*d*); where, having paſt through the ſeveral claſſes, and becoming an excellent ſchool-ſcholar (*e*), he went for ſome little time to Cambridge [*C*]; (or, according to others, to Oxford) (*f*), but was never matri-
culated,

(*a*) I am aſſured by Charles Longueville Eſq; that Butler was born about the year 1600.

(*b*) Wood. *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 452. 2d edit.

(*c*) Butler's *Life* prefixed to his *Hudibras*, pag. v. London 1710, 16°.

(*d*) Wood, *ut ſupra.*

(*e*) Butler's Life, *ut ſupra.*

(*f*) I am aſſured by Mr. Longueville that Butler never reſided in Oxford.

[*A*] *His father . . . . . was a perſon of a competent eſtate . . . but moſt of it in Leaſe-lands.*] Thus ſpeaks our Oxford Antiquary; and the author of the Life of Samuel Butler, prefixed to his *Hudibras*, ſays " that Butler's
" father, who had the ſame Chriſtian name, was an
" honeſt country farmer, who had ſome ſmall eſtate
(1) Butler's *Life* prefixed to *Hudibras*, pag. v. London 1710, 16°. " of his own, but rented a much greater of the
" Lord of the Manor where he lived (1)." The laſt mentioned Life-writer ſays, *ſince moſt men have a curioſity to have ſome account of ſuch* (2) *anony-
mous authors, whoſe compoſitions have been eminent for wit or learning; I have been deſired to oblige them with ſuch obſervations as I could receive from thoſe who had the happineſs to be acquainted with him*, (Butler); *and alſo to rectify the* MISTAKES *of the Oxford Antiquary, in his* Athenæ Oxonienſis *concerning him* (3). This Bio-
grapher wrote this about the year 1710, which was but thirty years after Butler's death; conſequently many of that Poet's friends might be ſtill living, whereby he very poſſibly was enabled to get the moſt exact informations concerning him; but whether we have moſt reaſon to give credit to Mr. Wood, or the Life-writer in queſtion, ſhall be conſidered in the courſe of this article.

(2) I don't know why he uſes the epithet *anonymous* on this occaſion, ſince Butler was well known to be the author of *Hudibras*.

(3) Idem, pag. iv.

[*B*] *His father . . . made ſhift to have him educated.*] Thus ſays the anonymous Life-writer, who, by the expreſſion *made ſhift*, ſeems to hint as though Butler's father was in narrow circumſtances, which does not appear from Mr. Wood (4).

(4) Mr. Longueville tells me that his father was in narrow circumſtances.

[*C*] *He went for ſome little time to Cambridge.*] I ſhould rather give credit to the Oxford Antiquary on this occaſion, who informs us that he continued ſome years in Cambridge (5). It will be beſt to tranſcribe the whole paſſage. *From* (the School at Worceſter) *he went, as his brother* NOW LIVING *affirms, to the Univerſity of Cambridge; yet others of the neighbourhood ſay to Oxon* (6), *but whether true I cannot tell. It is certain that one Samuel Butler was elected from Weſt-
minſter School, a ſtudent of Chriſt Church*, ann. 1623, *but making little ſtay there he was not matriculated, and*

(5) This is confirmed by Mr. Longueville who believes he was not matriculated.

(6) This has been proved a falſity.

ſo

culated, his father not being able to defray the expence of an academical educati-
(b) See the note [B]. on (*h*). As he continued some years in Cambridge, though he was not matriculated, I don't see why the anonymous Life-writer should express himself as if it was a misfortune to Butler, not to have been instructed in a regular, academical way [*D*]. Our Poet re-
(i) Mr. Longueville Esq; never heard of Butler's living with this Mr. Jefferys, but believes he might. turned soon to his native country, and was clerk to one Mr. (*i*) Jefferys of Earls-Croom [*E*], an eminent Justice of the Peace in that county, with whom he lived some years in an easy and no ways contemptible station. Here, by the indulgence of a kind master, he had sufficient leisure to apply himself to whatsoever learning his inclinations led him, which was chiefly History and Poetry; joining to these, for his diversion, Music and Painting (*k*), in the last of which arts we find, by our Oxford Antiquary, that he had made a great progress. Some Paintings by Mr. Butler remained in Mr. Jefferys's family [*F*]. The affinity between the arts of Poetry and Painting is so great [*G*], that those who excell in one of them, frequently apply themselves to, or at least, have a great inclination for the other. Mr. Butler was afterwards recommended to that great encourager of learning, Elizabeth Countess of Kent [*H*], where he had not only the opportunity to consult all kinds of learned books, but also to converse with that living library of learning Mr. Selden (*l*) [*I*]. Our author lived likewise some time with Sir

(k) Butler's *Life, ut supra*, pag. v, vi.

(l) Idem, pag. vii.

so consequently the place of his nativity and age are not remaining on record; otherwise had he been made a member of the University, it would have been known whether he was the same, who was afterwards the famed author of Hudibras. After Samuel Butler had continued in Cambridge six or seven years, *but in what college or hall his* BROTHER *knows not* &c. (7). As Wood tells us, that Butler's brother, *then living*, affirmed that he went to Cambridge, I believe we may prefer his authority to that of the other persons in the neighbourhood, who declared that he was sent to Oxon; or at least if he did go thither, it is highly probable he made but a very short stay, and went soon after to Cambridge (*).

(7) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 452. 2d edit.

(*) This matter is fully settled by Mr. Longueville as the reader may have observed in citation (*f*) of the text.

[*D*] *Why the anonymous Life-writer should express himself as though it were a misfortune to* Butler *not to have been instructed in a regular academical way.*] The Life-writer in question, after expatiating on the great poetical merit of Butler, and applauding his works says, "the author of this celebrated poem (Butler) was "of this last composition; for although he had not "the happiness of an academical education, as some "affirm; it may be perceived, throughout his whole "poem, that he had read much, and was very well "accomplished in the most useful parts of human "learning (8)." As our Oxford Antiquary declares expressly, that Butler resided some years at Cambridge, the anonymous Life-writer in question need not have discovered a sort of regret at our Poet's being deprived of the necessary helps to improve his genius, though he were not entred in any of the colleges. For as he had a good foundation of classical learning, and was master of a great deal of wit, his company must necessarily have been agreeable to many of the brightest men of the University, who no doubt took a pleasure in directing him in the course of his studies. It is indeed certain, that the regular and periodical instructions of a learned and ingenious man may be of great service to a young student; but then, on the other side, it is well known that a youth of good sense and genius, who has got a tolerable foundation of learning, is able to make a vast progress in his studies, with no other assistance than that of books; and especially if he has an opportunity of conversing sometimes with learned and ingenious men. But such as are born great Poets, have least occasion to be taught the mechanical part of their art. "With regard to "Poets, *says an ingenious French writer*, the princi-"ples of the practice of their art may so easily be "understood and put in execution, that they do not "even want the assistance of a master to direct them "in the study of those principles. A man, born "with a genius, may, in two months, teach himself "all the rules relating to French Poetry. He even "is soon able to go back to the source of those rules, "and to judge of the importance of each, from the "importance of the principles on which it is founded. "And the world never thought it a glory to that man "who had taught the elements of Poetry to one who "afterwards became a very great Poet. No mention "has been made of those who instructed Virgil and "Horace in the mechanical rules of their art. We "our selves do not know who taught Moliere and "Corneille (though alive not many years since) the "*cæsura* and measure of our verses. It was not be-

(8) *Life of Butler*, prefixed to *Hudibras*, pag. ii.

"lieved that those instructors had so much share in "the reputation of their pupils, as to deserve to have "their names enquired after or remembred (9)."

(9) *Reflexions Critique sur la Poëtie & la Peinture*, vol. 2. pag. 23, 24. Paris, 1733, 12mo.

[*E*] *Was made Clerk to one Mr. Jefferys of Earls-Croom.*] This circumstance is not related by Mr. Wood, who, on the contrary, seems to hint, as though *he had been taken into the service of Eliz. Countess of Kent* (10), immediately after his coming from Cambridge (11). However, as the anonymous Life-writer mentions the person and the place, this incident may probably be true.

(10) *Ath. Oxon.* idem, *ut supra.*

(11) Mr. Longueville, as I before observed, does not remember to have heard of our Poet's living with this Mr. Jefferys.

[*F*] *Some Paintings of Mr. Butler remained in Mr. Jefferys's family.*] This we are told by the anonymous author of his Life. "I have seen, *says he*, some pic-"tures, said to be of his drawing, which remained in "that family. This I mention, *not for the excellency "of them*, but to satisfy the reader of his early in-"clinations to that noble art; for which also he was "afterwards entirely beloved by Mr. Samuel Cooper, "one of the most eminent Painters of his time (12)." Though this Life-writer says, *he does not mention Mr.* Butler's paintings *for the excellency of them*, yet, if Mr. Wood is to be credited, he had made a very great progress in that delightful art. *Mr. Butler*, says he, *at length became so noted for the former* (painting), *that he was entirely beloved by Samuel Cooper, the Prince of Limners of his age* (13). It is very probable, that the great progress Butler had made in Painting, very much contributed to strengthen the affection, which so great an artist as Mr. Cooper had for him.

(12) Butler's *Life, ut supra*, pag. vi. edit. London 1710.

(13) *Ath. Oxon.* ibid. *ut supra.*

[*G*] *The affinity between the arts of Poetry and Painting is so great.*] This has been observed by the most ingenious writers, both antient and modern. The author of a late agreeable Essay, makes the following reflections on this subject. "Almost all the parts of Poetry "are found in Painting . . . The nearer the Poet ap-"proaches to the Painter, the more perfect he is; and "the more perfect the Painter, the more he imitates "the Poet, in drawing the manners and passions with "life and spirit. The Painter is to animate a form, "and the Poet to lend a form to sentiment and dicti-"on: One is to give life to beautiful proportion, "and the other strength and figure to sublime thought. "The Painter, like Prometheus, lights up a spirit in "the body, while the Poet seeks a body, to maintain "and support that spirit; which is one of Homer's "greatest praises; for, by the fire of his great genius, "he has given form to almost all things, and made "them appear, as it were, alive (14)."

(14) *Of the Sister Arts; an Essay. By Hildebrand Jacob Esq;* pag. 4. London 1734, 8vo.

[*H*] *Mr. Butler was . . . recommended . . . to Elizabeth Countess of Kent.*] This the Life-writer declares, in which he agrees with Wood; except that the latter tells us, that *he was taken into the Countess's service* (15). (16) We find by the Oxford Antiquary, that our Poet made great improvements during his abode with the Countess. *In this family*, says he, *living several years, he did, for his diversion, exercise his parts in Painting and Music* (17).

(15) Wood, idem ibid. *ut supra.*

(16) Mr. Longueville believes he lived with that Countess, but in what quality he knows not.

(17) Idem, ibid.

[*I*] *To converse also with . . . Mr. Selden.*] This is confirmed by Mr. Wood. "Great Selden, *says he*, "who was much conversant in the family of that "Countess, (of Kent) had an esteem for, and would "often employ him to write Letters (18) beyond sea, "and translate for him (19)."

(18) I am told by Charles Longueville Esq; that our Poet was Selden's Amanuensis.

(19) Idem, ibid.

Sir Samuel Luke, who was of an antient family in Bedfordſhire, but, to his diſhonour, an eminent Commander under Oliver Cromwell; and, it is ſaid, Butler then compoſed his Loyal Poem (*m*). It is very reaſonably ſuppoſed that fate, more than choice, threw him into this family [*K*]. As Sir Samuel Luke is generally ſuppoſed to be ſhadowed under the character of Hudibras, it is very probable Mr. Butler might have received ſome diſguſt in that Knight's family. At riper years he ſtudied the Common Law, but did not practiſe it. After the Reſtoration of King Charles II, the perſons at the helm minding money more than merit, our Poet found a famous maxim of Juvenal verified but too exactly in himſelf (*n*) [*L*]. Being endued with that innate modeſty which rarely finds promotion in Courts, he was made Secretary to Richard Earl of Carbury, Lord Preſident of the Principality of Wales, and the Marches thereof, who appointed him Steward of Ludlow-Caſtle, upon the revival of the Court there (*o*). About this time he married one Mrs. Herbert, a Gentlewoman of a very good family, but not a (*p*) widow, as our Oxford Antiquary relates. She had a competent fortune, but the greateſt part of it was loſt, by being put out on ill ſecurities, whereby it was of little advantage to him (*q*) [*M*]. Mr. Butler is ſaid to have been Secretary to George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, when he was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge (*r*), but whether that be true or not, it is certain, ſays the author whom I quote, that the Duke had a great kindneſs for, and was afterwards a benefactor to him (*s*). This aſſertion of the anonymous Life-writer, viz. that the Duke aſſiſted Mr. Butler, is abſolutely denied by a late ingenious (*t*) writer [*N*]. He had promiſes of places and employments, of great value and credit, from Edmund Earl of Clarendon, when he was Lord High Chancellor of England, eſpecially for this cauſe, that his Majeſty had a reſpect for him, and the more for his Poem called *Hudibras* (*u*). No man was a more generous (*w*) friend to him, than that Mecænas of all learned and witty men, Charles Lord Buckhurſt, the late Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex [*O*], who being himſelf an excellent Poet, knew how to ſet a juſt value upon the ingenious

(*m*) Idem, ibid.

(*n*) *Ath. Oxon.* ibid. *ut ſupra.*

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Mr. Longueville is of opinion that ſhe was not a widow.

(*q*) Butler's *Life*, prefixed to *Hudibras*, pag. viii.

(*r*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon. ut ſupra.*

(*s*) Butler's *Life*, pag. vii, viii.

(*t*) I am informed by Charles Longueville Eſq; that Butler never received any favours from Villiers Duke of Buckingham.

(*u*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2 col. 452, 453. edit. *ut ſupra.*

(*w*) I believe we are to except Mr. William Longueville of the Temple, father to Charles Longueville Eſq; ſo often mentioned in this article; ſeveral perſons having aſſured me, that that Gentleman was infinitely the beſt friend Butler ever had.

[*K*] *Fate, more than choice.*] *Though fate, more than choice,* ſays the anonymous Life-writer, *ſeems to have placed him in the ſervice of a Knight ſo notorious, both in his perſon and politicks; yet by the rule of contraries, we may obſerve throughout his whole Poem, that he was moſt orthodox, both in his religion and loyalty. And I am the more induced to believe he wrote it about that time, becauſe he had then the opportunity to converſe with thoſe living characters of rebellion, nonſenſe and hypocriſy, which he ſo livelily and pathetically expoſes throughout the whole work* (20). This conjecture, that our Poet wrote his Hudibras during his abode with Sir Samuel Luke, is not altogether improbable; for as Sir Samuel was ſo great a ſtickler in the Oliverian cauſe, and doubtleſs had a large portion of the then modiſh cant and enthuſiaſm; himſelf, as well as his whole family, muſt appear in a very drole light to a man of Butler's burleſque temper and principles; they all muſt have ſeemed as ſo many anticks in his eye, and this, conſequently, muſt raiſe his poetic fire. One reaſon why Butler is ſuppoſed to have ridiculed Sir Samuel Luke, under the character of Hudibras, is from an imperfect verſe, at the latter end of Canto I, Part I, of Hudibras.

(20) Butler's *Life*, prefixed to *Hudibras*, pag. vii.

'Tis ſung, there is a valiant Mamaluke
In foreign land, yclyp'd — —
To whom we have been oft compar'd
For perſon, parts, addreſs, and beard, &c.

Now it is ſuppoſed that this chaſm is to be filled with the words *Sir Samuel Luke*. What, I think, ſtrengthens this conjecture, is, that the line before it is of ten ſyllables, and the meaſure of the verſe generally uſed in this Poem, is of eight; at the ſame time that the words *Sir* (21) *Samuel Luke*, make the correſponding verſe full ten ſyllables.

(21) Whilſt this ſheet was at preſs, I was aſſured by Mr. Longueville that Sir Samuel Luke is not the perſon ridiculed under the name of HUDIBRAS.

[*L*] *Our Poet found a famous maxim of Juvenal verified but too exactly in himſelf.*] It is this:

Haud facilè emergunt, quorum virtutibus obſtat
Res anguſta domi:

That is,

" Rarely they riſe by virtue's aid, who lie
" Plung'd in the depth of helpleſs poverty.

DRYDEN.

But ſome will perhaps not think his fate ſo very hard, he having the not altogether uncommon felicity of being almoſt worſhipped after his death, though ſo greatly neglected whilſt living.

[*M*] *His wife's fortune . . . was of little advantage to him.*] The Oxford Antiquary ſays the very reverſe of this (22). *He did not practice* the Law, *but lived on the jointure of a widow that he had married* (23).

(22) Mr. Longueville believes he did not reap much benefit by his wife's fortune.

(23) *Ath. Oxon.* ibid. *ut ſupra.*

[*N*] *This laſt aſſertion that the Duke aſſiſted Mr. Butler, is abſolutely denied by a late ingenious writer.*] It is Major Richardſon Pack, who gives us the following relation. *Mr. Wycherley had always laid hold of any opportunity which offered, to repreſent to his Grace how well Mr. Butler had deſerved of the Royal Family, by writing his inimitable Hudibras; and that it was a reproach to the Court, that a perſon of his loyalty and wit ſhould ſuffer in obſcurity, and under the wants he did. The Duke ſeemed always to hearken to him with attention enough: and, after ſome time, undertook to recommend his pretenſions to his Majeſty. Mr. Wycherley, in hopes to keep him ſteady to his word, obtained of his Grace to name a day, when he might introduce that modeſt and unfortunate Poet to his new patron. At laſt an appointment was made, and the place of meeting was agreed to be the Roe-Buck. Mr. Butler and his friend attended accordingly; the Duke too joined them. But as the D—il would have it, the door of the room where they ſat was open; and his Grace, who had ſeated himſelf near it, obſerving a pimp of his acquaintance (the creature too was a Knight) trip by with a brace of Ladies, immediately quitted his engagement to follow another kind of buſineſs, at which he was more ready than in doing good offices to men of deſert; though no one was better qualified, than he, both in regard to his fortune and underſtanding, to protect them; and from that hour to the day of his death, poor Butler never found the leaſt effect of his promiſe* (24). If this ſtory may be depended upon, it ſeems quite to invalidate what is aſſerted by Mr. Wood and the anonymous Life-writer on his authority, viz. that Butler was Secretary to the above-mentioned Duke of Buckingham. It alſo ſeems to contradict the report which prevailed, viz. that *the Duke of Buckingham, author of the* Rehearſal, *had therein, as it was then ſaid, the aſſiſtance of Dr. Thomas Sprat, his Chaplain, Martin Clifford and Samuel Butler,* alias Hudibras, *in the compoſing thereof* (25). Though our Poet does not ſtand in need of any reputation but that which ariſes from his famous Poem, it yet would be ſome addition to it, could this circumſtance be proved. But however it be, the bare report ſhews the high opinion the public entertained of Butler's genius (26).

(24) *The poſthumous Works of W. Wycherley Eſq; publiſhed by Mr. Theobald,* pag. 6 and 7. of the *Memoirs*, London 1728, 8vo.

(25) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 804. edit. *ut ſupra.*

(26) Mr. Longueville is of opinion that Butler was not perſonally known to the Duke of Buckingham in queſtion.

[*O*] *But none was a more generous friend to him . . . than Charles . . . . the late Earl of Dorſet.*] An eminent Engliſh Poet, in a Dedication to the preſent Duke of Dorſet, where he gives a character of his noble father, ſays, *Butler owed it to him* (the late Earl) *that the Court taſted his* Hudibras (27).

(27) Prior's Poems, vol. 1. London 1721, 12mo.

ingenious performances of others, and has taken care to relieve and ſupply the neceſſities of thoſe whoſe modeſty would prompt them to conceal themſelves; of which Mr. Butler was a ſignal inſtance. In fine, the integrity of our Poet's life, the acuteneſs of his wit, and eaſineſs of his converſation, had rendred him vaſtly acceptable to all men; and yet he prudently avoided a multiplicity of acquaintance, and wiſely choſe ſuch only, whom his diſcerning judgment prompted him to converſe with (*x*). According to our Oxford Antiquary, Mr. Butler was a boon and witty companion, eſpecially among thoſe with whom he was very well acquainted. Having lived to the age of threeſcore and eight, he died of a conſumption in the year (*y*) 1680, and was interred, at the charge of his good friend Mr. L——vil (*z*) of the Temple in the Churchyard of St. Paul's Covent-Garden at the Weſt-end of the ſaid yard, on the North-ſide under the Church wall (*aa*). He was buried, at his own requeſt, ſix foot deep in the ground. It is univerſally ſaid, that he had ſtruggled with numberleſs difficulties. The ingratitude of the court and age towards him has been ſet in a very ſtrong light by a famous Engliſh Satyriſt [*P*]. For many years he had no funeral monument, till at laſt Alderman Barber, late Lord Mayor of the City of London, generouſly paid the tribute due to Mr. Butler's memory, by erecting, at his own expence, a monument to him, among the Poets in Weſtminſter-Abbey. As his buſt was at firſt placed very low, it was ſmeared and defaced by boys and idle people; upon which the Gentleman abovementioned had it beautified, and fixed out of reach, in the place where it now ſtands. I ſhall give the inſcription on his monument [*Q*]. Many pieces are aſcribed to him beſides his *Hudibras* [*R*], ſome of which being very obſcene and trifling, would not do honour either to his genius or his morals. Our author's *Hudibras* gave him the great fame he has acquired [*S*], and was frequently read by King Charles II, whom, ſays a writer, the judicious part of mankind will readily acknowledge to be a ſovereign judge; and who was ſo great an admirer of it,

(*x*) Butler's *Life*, pag. viii, ix.

(*y*) I am aſſured by Mr. Longueville that here is a double error, Butler dying of old age, and not of a conſumption; and not at ſixty eight years of age, but at fourſcore, or thereabouts.

(*z*) The perſon here meant is Mr. William Longueville. I can't conceive why the writer in queſtion did not put his name at length.

(*aa*) Butler's *Life*, pag. x. and *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 453.

[*P*] *The ingratitude of the Court . . . towards him, has been ſet in a very ſtrong light, by a famous Engliſh Satyriſt.*] It is Oldham. A reader of taſte and humanity cannot but be pleaſed with the noble indignation which fired him on this occaſion.

On BUTLER *who can think without juſt rage,*
The glory, and the ſcandal of the age?
Fair ſtood his hopes, when firſt he came to town,
Met every where with welcomes of renown;
Courted, and lov'd by all; with wonder read,
And promiſes of Princely favour fed:
But what reward for all had he at laſt,
After a life in dull expectance paſt?
The wretch at ſumming up his miſpent days,
Found nothing left, but poverty, and praiſe;
Of all his gains by verſe he could not ſave,
Enough to purchaſe flannel, and a grave:
Reduc'd to want, he in due time fell ſick,
Was fain to die, and be interr'd on tick (28):
And well might bleſs the fever that was ſent,
To rid him hence, and his worſe fate prevent (29).

(28) As Butler was buried at the expence of Mr. W. Longueville, we muſt ſuppoſe that Oldham employed the expreſſion, *upon tick*, as being ſtrong and poetical; and to ſet the ingratitude our Poet met with in a ſtill more odious light.

(29) *Poems and Tranſlations, by J. Oldham*, pag. 173, 174. London 1683, 8vo. We find that this Miſcellany was printed but three years after Butler's death.

Let a young Poet of genius, in unhappy circumſtances, but liſten (if poſſible) attentively to theſe lines, in the height of his poetic fever, and there is no doubt but they will contribute to cool it, and reſtore him to his ſenſes again. If not, it is a thouſand to one but miſery and rags will be his portion.

[*Q*] *I ſhall give the Inſcription, hereunder.*] It is copied exactly from the monument itſelf.

M. S.
Samuelis Butleri qui Strenſhamiæ in agro Vigornienſi natus (30) 1612 obiit Londini 1680.
Vir doctus imprimis, acer, integer;
Operibus ingenii, non item præmiis felix; Satyrici apud nos carminis artifex egregius:
Quo ſimulatæ religioni Larvam detraxit, & perduellium ſcelera liberrime exagitavit:
Scriptorum in ſuo genere primus & poſtremus.
Ne cui vivo deerant fere omnia
Deeſſet etiam mortuo tumulus,
Hoc tandem poſito marmore curavit
Joannes Barber civis Londinenſis. 1721.

(30) This muſt be an error, as I obſerved, Butler being born about the year 1600. See the beginning of the text in the margin.

[*R*] *Some pieces are aſcribed to him beſides his* Hudibras.] Theſe, according to Wood, are, Two Letters, *one from J. Audland, a Quaker, to William Prynne; the other William Prynne's Anſwer* . . . The Aſſembly-Man, *ſaid to be writ by Abraham Cowley, . . . and Hudibras* alias *Butler*. Mola Aſinaria, or the unreaſonable and inſupportable burden now preſſed upon the ſhoulders of this groaning Nation. *Aſcribed to W. Prynne.* But theſe, *ſays* Wood, *were written by Samuel Butler, author of the much-celebrated* Hudibras (31). Not long ſince, theſe and ſeveral other pieces were publiſhed in one volume in 12mo, 1730. But few of them, I believe, were written by our Poet (32). A late writer ſays, "In juſtice to the public, it is thought "proper . . . . to declare, that all the manuſcripts "Mr. Butler left behind him, are now in the cuſtody "of Mr. Longville (33), (among which, the moſt "conſiderable is one intitled, *the Hiſtory of Learning*, "written after the manner of *Hudibras*), and that not "one line of thoſe poems lately publiſhed under his "name is genuine (34)." The following lines which are aſcribed to Butler, and are ſaid to have been given by him to Mr. Aubrey, have all the characteriſtics of our Poet's wit and genius.

(31) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 452, and 640.

(32) I have been ſince told by Mr. Longueville that part of thoſe remains are ſpurious. This Gentleman is poſſeſſed of all our Poet's genuine remains, which are very numerous, both in proſe and verſe, and among the reſt, of a Poem intitled, *The Hiſtory of Learning*.

No Jeſuit e'er took in hand,
To plant a church in barren land:
Nor ever thought it worth the while,
A Sweed or Ruſs to reconcile.
For where there is no ſtore of wealth,
Souls are not worth the charge of health;
Spain in America had two deſigns,
To ſell their Goſpel for their mines.
For had the Mexicans been poor,
No Spaniard twice had landed on their ſhore.
'Twas gold the Catholic religion planted,
Which, had they wanted gold, they ſtill had wanted (35).

(33) This Gentleman's true name is Longueville, as I always write it.

(34) *Poetical Regiſter*, vol. 2. pag. 21. London 1723 in 8vo.

(35) Butler's *Life*, prefixed to *Hudibras*, pag. xiv.

The author from whom I borrow theſe verſes, had ſaid a little before, "the golden remains of Mr. But-"ler are in the cuſtody of Mr. L - - vil (Longueville); "but I have not the happineſs to be very well ac-"quainted with him, nor intereſt to procure them." It may be obſerved of works publiſhed after the deceaſe of an author, that many of them, ſo far from adding to his reputation, are often a draw-back upon it.

[*S*] *But* . . . Hudibras . . . *gave him the great fame he has acquired.*] We find that the whole was not publiſhed together. *The firſt part*, ſays Wood, *came out in* 1663, *and was not only taken into his Majeſty's hands, and read by him with great delight, but alſo by all courtiers, loyal ſcholars, and gentlemen, to the great profit of the Author and Bookſeller. Afterwards came out a ſecond part, and both printed together with ſeveral additions and annotations. And at length, a third and laſt part, but without annotations, as by the copy printed in* 1678 *appears* (36). In the latter editions there are annotations to this part alſo. *In* 1682 *was publiſhed, in* 8*vo*, Butler's Ghoſt, *or* Hudibras, *the fourth part; with reflections on theſe times* (37). This laſt is a ſpurious piece.

(36) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 453.

(37) Idem, ibid.

it, that he would often pleaſantly quote it in converſation (*bb*). We are told that ſome verſes, for reaſons of State, were omitted in the firſt impreſſion (*cc*). There have been many editions of it, but none I believe equal to the merits of the work. Mr. Hogarth, whoſe genius ſeems very much allied to that of Butler, has etched a ſeries of copper plates, containing the adventures of Hudibras and Ralph his Squire, with all the pleaſantry and humour requiſite to the ſubject. There have been many imitations of this delightful Poem [*T*], ſuch as the ſecond part of *Hudibras:* afterwards came out the Dutch [*U*], Scotch, and Iriſh *Hudibras*; *Butler's Ghoſt* [*W*]; *Mercurius Menippeus*; the *Loyal Satyriſt, or, Hudibras in Proſe*; the *Occaſional Hypocrite*, and ſome others of the ſame nature, all which, *Virgil Traveſty* excepted [*X*], deſerve to be condemned to the moſt ſervile offices. Some vain attempts have been made to tranſlate *Hudibras* into Latin, but with little ſucceſs (*dd*) [*Y*]; and indeed, as the ſubject, and the ſeveral parts of it are humorous, and relate entirely to England and Engliſh cuſtoms, I preſume it will be ſcarce poſſible for *Hudibras* to appear to very great advantage in a tranſlation [*Z*]. It is pity we have not a complete commentary on that Poem (*ee*), it being certain that many paſſages in it loſe conſiderably of their beauty, force and vivacity, from our not being well enough acquainted with them; not to mention, that a writer of genius might make ſuch obſervations on the contrivance, the conduct, the machinery, the ſimiles &c. of it, as would give the generality of readers a better idea of the beauties of that Poem. Our author

(*bb*) Preface to *Hudibras*, pag. iii. edit. *ut ſupra.*

(*cc*) Butler's *Life* prefixed to *Hudibras*, pag. xiii.

(*dd*) Butler's *Life* prefixed to *Hudibras*, pag. xii.

(*ee*) An attempt has been made this way, in the *Grubſtreet Journal*, by an ingenious writer who ſigns himſelf *M. J.* from whom I have borrowed ſeveral particulars. *See* Num. 39, 41, 45 and 63 of that paper.

[*T*] *There have been many imitations of this delightful Poem.*] No ſooner does ſome original beauty appear in the world, but ſhe is immediately ap'd by the inferior fry. The moment after the famous Captain Lemuel Gulliver came abroad, many claimed kindred to him; ſtarted up like ſo many muſhrooms; and fatigued the public with their ſtupid adventures. The celebrated Macheath was attended by a long train of inſipid Ballad-Operas; nor could even honeſt Robinſon Cruſoe eſcape the mimicks. We may conſider theſe as ſo many ill-favour'd, aukward creatures, who are appointed by Apollo as foils to theſe original beauties, and to give the world a ſtronger idea of their perfections. I would call ſuch imitations *echos*, were not the reſemblance too remote; an echo giving, at leaſt, an imperfect idea of the original ſound; whereas theſe pieces are generally the very counter-part of thoſe they pretend to imitate. And therefore I am afraid they can hardly come under the denomination of even Ghoſts or Shadows .... Several reaſons, I believe, might be given, why imitations, or ſequels of fine original pieces, ſeldom or never reach the beauties of the latter. In the firſt place, writers of great genius think it beneath them to be copiſts. As theſe have a fund of invention of their own, they conſequently do not care to borrow from others. Again, the writer who ſtrikes out ſome pieces of a new kind, is generaliy ſo filled with the idea, that he conſiders it in all the lights in which it can appear to any advantage. "How often, *ſays a writer*, the imitation of Hudi-"bras has been attempted, and with how little ſuc-"ceſs, I leave the reader to judge: In the year 1663, "there came out a ſpurious book, called, *the ſecond* "*part of Hudibras*; which is reflected upon by our "author, under the character of Whachum, towards "the latter end of his ſecond part (38)." I ſuppoſe the lines hinted at here, are theſe.

(38) Butler's *Life* prefixed to *Hudibras*, pag. xi, xii.

Quoth he, where am I,
Alive, or dead; or which way came I
Through ſo immenſe a ſpace ſo ſoon?
But now I thought myſelf i'the moon;
And that a monſter with huge whiſkers,
More formidable than a Switzer's,
My body through and through had drill'd,
And Whachum by my ſide had kill'd:
Had croſs-examin'd both our hoſe,
And plunder'd all we had to loſe;
Look, there he is, I ſee him now,
And feel the place I am run through (39).

(39) *Hudibras*, Part 2. Canto 3. ver. 1129 to 1140, inclusive.

[*U*] *Afterwards came out the Dutch Hudibras.*] This is ſneered at by Oldham, in his ſlaſhing verſes againſt a Printer, who had groſly maimed a piece of his.

(40) Very poſſibly Edward How--d Eſq; the dramatic Poet, is hinted at on this occaſion. He being, at that time, the butt of moſt of the wits.

May'ſt thou print H—— (40) *or ſome duller aſs,*
Jordan, or him that wrote Dutch Hudibras (41).

(41) *Poems and Tranſlations, by J. Oldham*, pag. 133. edit. *ut ſupra.*

[*W*] *Butler's Ghoſt.*] The complete title of this piece is, *Butler's Ghoſt, or Hudibras. The Fourth Part. With Reflections upon theſe Times.*

[*X*] *All which*, Virgil Traveſty *excepted.*] Methinks the Life-writer ſhould not have reckoned that piece among the imitations of Hudibras; the original of Scarron naturally ſuggeſting to a witty Engliſh tranſlator the expreſſions in which Mr. Cotton has cloathed his Traveſty.

[*Y*] *Some attempts have been made to tranſlate it into Latin, but with little ſucceſs.*] Theſe, as they neceſſarily muſt, fall ſhort of the ſprightlineſs and vivacity of the original. It is ſaid that ſome ſimilies were tranſlated by the learned Dr. Harmer, once Greek Profeſſor at Oxford, one of which is the following.

So learned Talicotius, from
The brawny part of porter's b--, &c. (42).

(42) *Hudibras*, Part 1. Canto 1. Line 281, &c.

Sic adſcititios naſos de clune toroſi
Vectoris, doctâ ſecuit, Talicotius arte:
Qui potuêre parem durando æquare parentem
At poſtquam fato clunis computruit, ipſum
Una ſympathicum cœpit tabeſcere roſtrum (43).

(43) Butler's *Life* prefixed to *Hudibras*, pag. xii.

I am told that a Gentleman of Southampton has tranſlated a great part of Hudibras into Latin, with great wit and ſprightlineſs.

[Z] *It will be ſcarce poſſible for Hudibras to appear to very great advantage in a tranſlation.*] An ingenious foreigner makes ſome reflections on this ſubject, in a letter to a friend. "There is one Engliſh poem, "eſpecially, which I ſhould deſpair of ever making "you underſtand, the title whereof is *Hudibras*. The "ſubject of it is the civil-war in the time of the grand "rebellion; and the principles and practice of the "Puritans are therein ridiculed. It is Don Quixot, "it is our *Satyre Merippée* blended together. I never "met with ſo much wit in one ſingle book, as in this, "which at the ſame time is the moſt difficult to be "tranſlated. Who would believe that a work which "paints in ſuch lively and natural colours the ſeveral "foibles and follies of mankind, and where we meet "with more ſentiments than words, ſhould baffle the "endeavours of the ableſt tranſlator? But the reaſon "of this is, almoſt every part of it alludes to particular "incidents. The clergy are there made the principal "object of ridicule, which is underſtood but by few "among the laity. To explain this, a commentary "would be requiſite, and *humour*, when explained, "is no longer humour (44)." Some of theſe reflections ſeem very juſt, but others, I believe, are not ſo. He ſays, that *the ſubject of Hudibras is, the civil-war in the time of the grand rebellion.* It is certainly not the *civil-war* itſelf, but the ridicule of it; none of the tranſactions thereof being mentioned, except, occaſionally; and a ſeries of low incidents, of a quite different nature, are told, which banter the *Roundheads*, who engaged in that war. His enquiry concerning the difficulty of tranſlating that poem, will, poſſibly, be found

(44) Voltaire's *Letters concerning the Engliſh Nation*, pag. 212, 213. London 1733, 8vo.

author juſt borrowed the hint of his *Hudibras* from the admirable Don Quixot of Cervantes, but in all other reſpects he is perfectly an original; the ſentiments and diction being entirely new. The Poem of *Hudibras* ſeems to be of the ſame kind with the *Margites* of Homer, which, according to Ariſtotle, bore the ſame relation to comedy, as the Iliad and Odyſſey to Tragedy. In Homer's time, the various States of Greece were in danger of being enſlaved by an Aſiatic Monarch. Now nothing could be of greater advantage, at this juncture, than to ſhew the dangers that would enſue to the Grecians from their being at variance; and, on the contrary, the great advantages which would reſult from their union. The former is proved by the calamities which aroſe from the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles; the latter from their reconciliation. Such was the deſign of the *Iliad*. In Virgil's time, the form of government being quite changed, his aim was, to reconcile the minds of the Romans to a very amiable Prince, againſt whom nothing could be objected, but the manner by which he had raiſed himſelf to Empire. For this purpoſe, the Poet exhibits the entire ſubverſion of a great people, and their voluntary ſubmiſſion to a new Prince, from whom Auguſtus was proud of being thought to deſcend. He therefore repreſents him as poſſeſſed of all the virtues that adorn a Monarch; makes him the darling of his ſubjects; and, after ſtruggling with many difficulties, brings him off victorious over all his enemies. This was the deſign of the *Æneid*. With regard to *Hudibras*, the deſign of it is as follows. As the time in which the author of it lived was famous, as is generally thought, for hypocriſy, and a pretended zeal for religion and liberty, which had ſubverted the laws and religion of England, and thrown all things into anarchy and confuſion; at ſuch a juncture, nothing could be of greater ſervice to our Poet's views and thoſe of all the Cavaliers, than to pull off the vizor, and paint the perſons who had concealed themſelves behind it in the moſt ridiculous colours, in order to render them as contemptible as poſſible; and therefore he did not cenſure them in a ſerious way, but with humour and pleaſantry, which is well known to be a much more ſucceſsful method. For this purpoſe, our Poet ſuppoſes, that the almoſt impracticable maxims of the Puritans with regard to the very ſtrict diſtribution of juſtice, had turned the brain of his Knight, in the ſame manner as the poring over books of Chivalry had quite diſtracted Don Quixot. *Sir Hudibras* therefore ſets out upon his rambles, in order to reſtore to every man his rights and privileges; and even bears themſelves, who were carrying to a fair, not for their own profit but for that of the perſons who were dragging them to it; he alſo ſuppoſing, that theſe animals had been arbitrarily deprived of the liberty they were born to, without being firſt duly tried, according to Law, and by their Peers. As the entire caſt of the Poem is perfectly humorous, conſequently the ſeveral adventures of the doughty Knight and his ridiculous Squire, muſt proceed, and end in the ſame ſtrain. The conſtruction and caſt of the whole is ſo new, that it is diſtinguiſhed by the title of the *Hudibraſtic* way of writing. Some have called it a *burleſque Poem*, others a *mock-Heroic*, and others again a *mock-Epic* (*ff*), which name I ſhould rather chooſe, were the meaſure of the verſe the ſame with that of an epic Poem; for in moſt other reſpects it agrees with that ſpecies. An ingenious writer whom I have already cited, obſerves, that "the *Hudibraſtic* (*gg*) is to differ from the Epic, "as comedy does from tragedy. It muſt be narrative like the epic; it muſt, like that "ſpecies of Poem, have its fable, its variety of characters, and its proper ſtyle; but all "theſe in ſuch a manner, as to move, not terror or compaſſion, as in tragedy; but "laughter, as in comedy. The *Fable* muſt be formed by the narration of one, entire, "ridiculous action: the *characters* muſt be ſuch as either occur in low life, or are in "their own nature odd and ridiculous; and theſe in as great a variety as poſſible; and "the *ſtyle* or language muſt be contrived ſo as to heighten the ridiculouſneſs of the re-"preſentation (*hh*)." This writer is afterwards more particular with regard to the action, the characters and language [*AA*]. Perhaps *Hudibras* cannot be looked upon as a perfect

(*ff*) The *Dunciad*, I believe, may be conſidered, in all reſpects, as a perfect mock-epic Poem.

(*gg*) Perhaps he had better expreſſed himſelf thus: *A Poem written in the manner of* Hudibras.

(*hh*) *Grubſtreet Journal*, Num. 39.

ſound not very juſt. He ſhould have ſaid that *a tranſlation of this Poem would be difficult, becauſe it paints in ſuch lively and natural colours the ſeveral foibles and follies of mankind, and has . . . . more ſentiments than words:* and not, merely, *becauſe almoſt every part of it alludes to particular incidents.* He afterwards tells his friend, that *the Clergy are there made the principal object of ridicule.* I believe he ſhould have ſaid, *the Puritanical Preachers*, otherwiſe a reader who ſhould be unacquainted with Hudibras, and the hiſtory of the times it alludes to, might ſuppoſe this ſpoken of the Epiſcopal Clergy, or that of all religions. Though I have taken theſe liberties with the author of the *Letters concerning the Engliſh Nation*, it is with pleaſure I acknowledge, that I have received infinite ſatisfaction from his writings, which have all the fire and enthuſiaſm of the great Poet.

[*AA*] *The author is afterwards more* particular, *&c.*] He begins with obſerving, *that the action of* Hudibras, *is the Knight's ſetting out on a ſeries of ridiculous attempts, to gain the heart of a perverſe widow with whom he is in love. It begins with a revival of his paſſion, which had ſlept for ſome time; and concludes with his utter diſappointment. The whole is carried on in ſuch a manner, as renders the principal actors of it ſufficiently ridiculous* (45). I believe this ingenious writer is miſtaken in his account of the *action* of this poem: Hudibras (methinks) not ſallying forth, to gain the heart of a widow, but upon martial feats of a new kind, as we are told in the beginning of the poem:

(45) Ibid. Num. 39.

And out he rode a colonelling (46).

(46) *Hudibras*, Part 1. Canto 1. Line 15.

As to his adventure with the widow, it is only brought in by way of epiſode. The author proceeds to the *Characters*. *There is*, ſays he, *the greateſt variety imaginable of odd and low characters. The Knight and 'Squire are exceedingly odd; and at the ſame time entirely different. The ſeveral perſons who compoſe the bear-baiting mob are admirably well drawn, and keep up their own low characters whenever they are introduced. The Widow, the Aſtrologer, his Man, the Lawyer,*

fect mock-epic Poem, becauſe of its ending abruptly (methinks) with the two epiſtles of the Knight and the Widow. I fancy the ingenious writer juſt cited muſt be miſtaken, when he ſays, " Although perhaps he (Butler) never read Ariſtotle, *or any other critical* " *writer*, yet nature and good ſenſe taught him to write in ſuch a manner, that I ſhall " not fear to enter upon his examination, by ſuch rules as we find in that Prince of " criticiſm (*ii*). As our Poet was ſo extenſive in his reading (which is manifeſt from his admirable *Hudibras*,) I don't doubt but he had ſtudied the famous critics of antiquity, though he very probably had too much ſenſe and taſte, to loſe his time in ſome of the inſipid ones among the moderns. Our author's Poem has been frequently cited and applauded by the greateſt writers his cotemporaries, and others who have wrote ſince. Mr. Addiſon calls his Poem the *incomparable Hudibras* (*kk*), and the famous Earl of Rochester [*BB*] pays the greateſt deference to his taſte and judgment. Mr. Prior ſpeaks alſo very advantageouſly of our Poet [*CC*], giving him the title of *conſummate Maſter* in Poetry, in the humorous lines quoted below; and, at the ſame time, writes with the utmoſt

(ii) Idem, ibid.

(kk) *Spectator*, vol. 1. Num. 60.

are all excellent in their kind, and conſiſtent (47). He afterwards obſerves in the 63d paper, that Hudibras " has that variety of diſtinct characters, which is eſſential to a poem of the epic kind. And .... that " there is a great, if not a greater, variety, than in " any other poem extant. They are all low and ridiculous, whereby this kind of poem is diſtinguiſhed " from the epic." He then ſpeaks of the diction. " The language, in Hudibras, contributes very much " to the ridiculouſneſs of the repreſentation, by the " odd, and often new words the author makes uſe " of; by the meaſure of his verſe, and by the very " rhymes . . . As to the double rhymes in Hudibras," though ſome have looked upon them as a blemiſh, it is generally the reverſe; " they heightning the ridicule that was otherwiſe in the repreſentation, of " which many inſtances might be produced (48)." A very great Engliſh writer (Mr. Addiſon) is of a different opinion, he conſidering the double rhymes as one ſpecies of falſe wit. " I muſt ſubjoin, *ſays he*, " the double rhymes, which are uſed in doggrel " Poetry, and generally applauded by ignorant readers. If the thought of the couplet in ſuch compoſitions is good, the rhymes add little to it; and if " bad, it will not be in the power of the rhyme to " recommend it. I am afraid that great numbers of " thoſe who admire the incomparable Hudibras, do it " more on account of theſe doggrel rhymes than of the " parts that really deſerve admiration. I am ſure I " have heard the

(47) *Grubſtreet Journal*, ibid. *ut ſupra.*

(48) Ibid.

" *Pulpit drum eccleſiaſtic,*
" *Was beat with fiſt inſtead of a ſtick.*

" And

" *There was an antient ſage Philoſopher*
" *Who had read Alexander Roſs over.*

" more frequently quoted, than the fineſt pieces of wit " in the whole poem (49)." This excellent author is certainly in the right when he ſays, that double rhymes cannot recommend a bad thought; however, I believe it ſometimes very much heightens the ridicule of an humorous one. The ſame admirable author explodes *double rhymes* in the viſion where he fancies himſelf in the *region of falſe wit*. Speaking of a quarter of the Temple of the Goddeſs of Dulneſs, called the great magazine of *Rebus's*; and of a cluſter of people who were laughing very heartily, and diverting themſelves with crambo, *there*, ſays he, *I heard ſeveral double rhymes as I paſſed by them, which raiſed a great deal of mirth* (50). Mr. Dryden has alſo given his opinion of the verſification of Hudibras, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to the late Earl of Dorſet. " The ſort of verſe which is called *burleſque* " conſiſting of eight ſyllables, or four feet, is that " which our excellent Hudibras has choſen. I ought " to have mentioned him before, when I ſpoke of " Donne; but by a ſlip of an old man's memory he " was forgotten .... His ſatyr is of the *Varronian* " kind, though unmixed with proſe. The choice of " his numbers is ſuitable enough to his deſign, as he " has managed it: but in any other hand the ſhortneſs of his verſe, and the quick returns of rhyme " had debaſed the dignity of ſtyle. And beſides, the " double rhyme, (a neceſſary companion of burleſque " writing) is not ſo proper for manly ſatyr, for it " turns earneſt too much to jeſt, and gives us a boyiſh " kind of pleaſure. It tickles aukwardly with a kind of " pain to the beſt ſort of readers; we are pleaſed ungratefully, and if I may ſay ſo, againſt our liking. We " thank him not for giving us that unſeaſonable delight, when we know he could have given us a better, and more ſolid. He might have left that taſk " to others, who not being able to put in thought, " can only make us grin with the excreſcence of a " word of two or three ſyllables in the cloſe. It is indeed below ſo great a maſter to make uſe of ſuch " a little inſtrument. But his good ſenſe is perpetually " ſhining through all he writes: it affords us not the " time of finding faults. We paſs through the levity " of his rhyme, and are immediately carried into ſome " admirable uſeful thought. After all, he has choſen " this kind of verſe; and has written the beſt in it: " and had he taken another, he would always have " excelled. As we ſay of a Court favourite, that " whatever his office be, he ſtill makes it uppermoſt " and moſt beneficial to himſelf (51)." The author of Hudibras ſeems to have endeavoured, on a great many occaſions, to employ the moſt trite expreſſions poſſible, in order to heighten the ridicule of the objects he repreſents. The ſame motive, I preſume, which made him employ the loweſt images poſſible, made him uſe the loweſt expreſſions, which after all, he perhaps has done too often. An ingenious Engliſh writer has made ſome good remarks on this ſubject. *When a pleaſant thought plays in the features, before it diſcovers itſelf in words, it raiſes too great an expectation, and loſes the advantage of giving ſurprize. Wit and humour are no leſs poorly recommended by a levity of phraſe, and that kind of language which may be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Cant. Ridicule is never more ſtrong than when it is concealed in gravity. True humour lies in the thought, and ariſes from the repreſentation of images in odd circumſtances and uncommon lights. A pleaſant thought ſtrikes us by the force of its natural beauty; and the mirth of it is generally rather palled, than heightened by that ridiculous phraſeology, which is ſo much in faſhion among the pretenders to humour and pleaſantry. This tribe of men are like our mountebanks; they make a man a wit, by putting him in a fantaſtical habit . . . Our little burleſque authors, who are the delight of ordinary readers, generally abound in theſe pert phraſes which have more vivacity than wit* (52). He, in another place, cenſures ſome of our Poets, for their indiſcretion in imitating Hudibras's doggrel expreſſions in their ſerious compoſitions, by throwing out the ſigns of our ſubſtantives, which are eſſential to the Engliſh language (53).

(51) Dryden's *Juvenal*, in Dedication to Lord Dorſet, London 1726, 12mo.

(52) *Spectator*, vol. 8. num. 616.

(53) *Spectator*, vol. 2. Num. 136.

(49) *Spectator*, vol. 1. Num. 60. *ad finem.*

(50) Idem, vol. 1. Num. 63.

[*BB*] *Has been applauded . . . by the famous Earl of Rocheſter.*] It is where he concludes a ſatyr (in which he ridicules ſeveral eminent Poets) and names thoſe perſons whoſe approbation he values.

I loath the rabble, 'tis enough for me,
If - - - - - - - - - - -
Godolphin, BUTLER, *Buckhurſt, Buckingham,*
And ſome few more, whom I omit to name,
Approve my ſenſe, I count their cenſure fame (54).

(54) *The Odes and Satyrs of Horace, tranſlated by the moſt eminent Hands*, pag. 164 London 1715, 12mo.

[*CC*] *Mr. Prior alſo ſpeaks very advantageouſly of our Poet.*] It is in his humorous Poem entitled *Alma, or the Progreſs of the Mind*, at the opening of the ſecond Canto.

But

moſt modeſty of himſelf. Mr. Dryden calls it the excellent *Hudibras*, and ſays farther, *The worth of this* (*Butler's*) *Poem is too well known to need any commendation, and he is above my cenſure* (*ll*); he alſo has four lines concerning him [*DD*]. The reflections he afterwards makes on the verſification of that Poem I have inſerted elſewhere (*mm*). I ſhall give below the character of *Hudibras* from an ingenious French writer [*EE*]. Among other particulars for which *Hudibras* has been very much admired, are the parodies of the poetical machinery [*FF*]. Some are of opinion, that the parody of noble compoſitions is injurious to them, and ſhews a contempt that is highly indecent. But, as an ingenious writer obſerves very juſtly, "Parody and burleſque alluſion may move "laughter in thoſe who have the higheſt veneration for the writings alluded to, and "who at the ſame time admire the wit of the perſon who makes the alluſion (*nn*) [*GG*]. This Poem is admired by all perſons of wit and taſte; and indeed, the whole caſt of it is

(*ll*) Dryden's *Juvenal*, Dedication, pag. c. London 1726, 12mo.

(*mm*) In the note [*AA*] after the referring figures (50).

(*nn*) Hibernicus's *Letters*, vol. 1. pag. 79. London 1729, 8vo.

But ſhall we take the Muſe abroad,
To drop her idly on the road?
And leave our ſubject in the middle,
As BUTLER *did his bear and fiddle?*
Yet he, CONSUMMATE MASTER, *knew*
When to recede, and where purſue:
His noble negligencies teach,
What others toils deſpair to reach.
He, perfect dancer, climbs the rope,
And balances your fear and hope:
If after ſome diſtinguiſh'd leap,
He drops his pole, and ſeems to ſlip;
Strait gathering all his active ſtrength,
He riſes higher half his length.
With wonder you approve his ſlight,
And owe your pleaſure to your fright.
But like poor ANDREW, *I advance,*
Falſe mimic of my maſter's dance;
Around the cord awhile I ſprawl,
And thence, tho' low, in earneſt fall (55).

(55) Prior's *Poems*, vol. 2. pag. 46. edit. *ut ſupra.*

By the way, Prior ſeems to have borrowed part of this thought from Dryden, where ſpeaking of Virgil, he ſays. That Poet "pretends ſometimes to trip, but it is only "to make you think him in danger of a fall, when he "is moſt ſecure. Like a ſkilful dancer on the ropes (if "you will pardon the meanneſs of the ſimilitude) who "ſlips willingly, and makes a ſeeming ſtumble, that you "may think him in great hazard of breaking his "neck, while at the ſame time he is only giving "you a proof of his dexterity (56)."

(56) Preface to Dryden's *Tranſlation of Du Freſnoy's Art of Painting*, pag. liii, liv. London 1716, 8vo.

[*DD*] *Dryden ... alſo has four lines concerning him.*]

Unpity'd *Hudibras*, your champion friend,
Has ſhewn how far your charities extend,
This laſting verſe ſhall on his tomb be read,
He ſham'd you living, and upbraids you dead (57).

(57) *Hind and Panther*, in Dryden's *Miſcellanies*, vol. 4. pag. 213. 5th edit. London 1727, 12mo. The Hind (or Church of Rome) is ſuppoſed to object the above lines to the Panther (the Church of England) as a proof of her hardheartedneſs, even to her greateſt friends and benefactors.

[*EE*] *I ſhall give the character of Hudibras from an ingenious French writer.*] With regard to burleſque the Engliſh have a Poet whoſe reputation is equal to that of Scarron among the French; I mean the author of *Hudibras*, a comical hiſtory, in verſe, written in the time of Oliver Cromwell. It is ſaid to be a delicate ſatyr on that kind of interregnum; and that it is levelled particularly at the conduct of the Preſbyterians, whom the author repreſents as a ſenſeleſs ſett of people, promoters of anarchy, and compleat hypocrites. Hudibras, the hero of this Poem, is a holy Don Quixot of that ſect, and the redreſſer of all the imaginary wrongs that are done to his *Dulcinea*. The Knight has his Roſinante, his burleſque adventures and his Sancho; but the Squire of the Engliſh Poet is of an oppoſite character to that of the Spaniſh Sancho; for whereas the latter is a plain unaffected peaſant, the Engliſh Squire is a taylor by trade, a tartuff or finiſhed hypocrite by birth; and ſo great a dogmatic Divine, that

He could deep myſteries unriddle,
As eaſily as thread a needle,

(58) *Diſſertation ſur la Poëſie Angloiſe*, in the *Journal Litteraire*, tom. 9. pag. 165, 166. a la Haye, 1717, 12mo.

As it is ſaid in the Poem. The author of *Hudibras* is preferable to Scarron, becauſe he has one fixed mark or object; and that, by a ſurprizing effort of imagination, he has found the art of leading his readers to it, by diverting them (58).

[*FF*] *His parodies of the poetical machinery.*] I ſhall mention but one, and that is the deſcription of *Fame*, from Virgil. And that the reader may be more ſenſible of the humour in the parody, it may not be improper for him to contraſt it with the ſerious deſcription of *Fame*, as tranſlated by Dryden. Nothing can be more whimſical than the figure and dreſs of *Fame* in *Hudibras*; and the advices ſhe is ſaid to bring are equally pleaſant. The giving her two trumpets makes a pretty diſtinction... Mr. Addiſon has alſo taken notice of the beauty with which Butler ridicules one ſpecies of falſe wit uſed formerly, viz. of making an echo talk ſenſibly, and give rational anſwers. It is where Bruin is deſcribed bewailing the loſs of his bear to a ſolitary echo, who, as the abovementioned author obſerves, "is "of great uſe to the Poet in ſeveral diſtichs, as ſhe "does not only repeat after him, but helps out his "verſe, and furniſhes him with rhymes (59)." Nothing can poſſibly be more humorous than this parody.

(59) *Spectator*, vol. 1. num. 59.

Quoth he, O whither, wicked Bruin,
Art thou fled to my — Echo, *Ruin?*
I thought th' hadſt ſcorn'd to budge a ſtep
For Fear. (Quoth Echo) Marry Guep.
. . . . . .
Have theſe bones rattled, and this head
So often in thy quarrel bled?
Nor did I ever winch, or grudge it
For thy dear ſake——(Quoth ſhe, Mum Budget).
Think'ſt thou 'twill not be laid i'th' diſh
Thou turned'ſt back? — Quoth Eccho — Piſh.
To run from thoſe th' hadſt overcome
Thus cowardly? —Quoth Echo—Mum (60).

(60) *Hudibras*, Part 1. Canto 3. beginning at line 199.

One of theſe Echo's is introduced in the famous Paſtor Fido of Guarini.

[*GG*] *Parody ... may move laughter, in thoſe who have the higheſt veneration for the writings alluded to, and for the alluſion.*] This paſſage is extracted from a piece, of which *laughter* is the ſubject; wherein the author combats the opinion of Mr. Hobbes, viz. that *laughter is nothing elſe but ſudden glory, ariſing from ſome ſudden conception of ſome eminency in our ſelves, by compariſon with the infirmity of others, or with our own formerly.* One of the arguments he employs, to prove that laughter often ariſes without any imagined ſuperiority of our ſelves, is from the parody and burleſque alluſion... "Many a profound admirer, "ſays he, of the machinery in Homer and Virgil, has "laughed heartily at the interpoſition of Pallas in "Hudibras, to ſave the bold Talgol from the Knight's "piſtol, preſented to his ſkull:

"*But Pallas came in ſhape of ruſt,*
"*And 'twixt the ſpring and hammer thruſt*
"*Her Gorgon ſhield, which made the cock*
"*Stand ſtiff, as 'twere transform'd to ſtock.*

"And few who read this, imagine themſelves ſuperior "to Homer or Butler; we indeed generally imagine "ourſelves ſuperior in ſenſe to the valorous Knight, "but not in this point of firing ruſty piſtols. And "pray, would any mortal have laughed, had the Poet "told, in a ſimple, unadorned manner, that his Knight "attempted to ſhoot Talgol, but his piſtol was ſo "ruſty that it would not give fire? And yet this "would have given us the ſame ground of ſudden "glory from our ſuperiority over the doughty Knight.. "Again, to what do we compare ourſelves, or imagine ourſelves ſuperior, when we laugh at the fantaſtical imitation of the poetical imagery, and ſimilitudes of the morning?

is ſo very whimſical, and the ſeveral parts of it are drawn with ſo much pleaſantry, that it muſt neceſſarily delight all ſuch; the author of it having hit upon that point, which is ever ſure of diverting multitudes [*HH*]; and this point is humour; but as his verſification is often not very muſical, it conſequently muſt diſtaſte many readers of a delicate ear, who are pleaſed with ſuch numbers only as are harmonious and flowing. If we conſider the pleaſure which ariſes from the peruſal of a ſerious epic Poem, ſuch as Homer and Milton; and that which the peruſal of a mock Poem, ſuch as *Hudibras*, gives to a reader who has a taſte both for ſerious and humorous compoſitions, thoſe pleaſures muſt be found very different. The peruſal of the former inſpires the ſoul with ſolemn tranſports; raiſes it to ſuch an extaſy, that it ſeems to quit its terreſtrial part, and wing its way to the ſkies; whilſt the reading of the latter fills us with a joy that only wantons round the heart, and plays upon the face. Theſe different pleaſures ſeem to reſemble ſuch as would ariſe from a ſprightly ſong, ſung by a delightful voice, and accompanied by a fine violin; and the *Te Deum* of Mr. Handel, himſelf touching the organ, and accompanied by the fineſt voices and inſtruments. Hudibras is the idol of the high-church party (if party may be mentioned on this occaſion) as a late writer has obſerved [*II*]. And we may all remember, in the late reign (*oo*), how frequently and with what emphaſis four lines of *Hudibras* uſed to be repeated by the diſaffected, at the time when people were required to take an oath to the Government [*KK*]. The generality of Diſſenters conſider, as it is natural for them to do, this Poem in a very odious light. Mr. Fenton, in his beautiful Epiſtle to Mr. Southerne, where he alludes to the times which are the ſubject of *Hudibras*, ſuppoſes very pleaſantly, that when the Theatres were ſhut up, comedy appeared under another dreſs, and in another place, the Conventicle

(*oo*) I write this in 1737.

" *The ſun, long ſince, had in the lap,*
" *Of Thetis taken out his nap;*
" *And like a lobſter boil'd, the morn*
" *From black to red began to turn* (61)."

(61) Hibernicus's *Letters*, pag. 79, 80. London 1729, 8vo.

He afterwards obſerves, " that there are innume-
" rable inſtances of laughter, where no perſon is ridi-
" culed, and where he who laughs does not compare
" himſelf to any thing whatſoever. What relation,
" *ſays he*, to our ſelves or to our affairs has that ſimile
" in Hudibras,

" *Inſtead of trumpet and of drum,*
" *Which makes the warrior's ſtomach come,*
" *And whets men's valour, ſharp like beer*
" *By thunder turn'd to vinegar?*

" The laughter is not here raiſed againſt either valour
" or martial muſic, but merely by the wild reſemblance
" of a mean event (62)." To ſhew that a reader may have the higheſt veneration for a noble, ſerious author, and at the ſame time admire the wit of one who had parodied finely upon his images, I may add the famous ſimile in Mr. Addiſon's *Campaign*, in which the Duke of Marlborough's calmneſs and preſence of mind, in the midſt of all the horror of battle, are compared to an angels who

(62) Idem, pag. 84, &c.

Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the ſtorm;

and the parody made on it by our great Poet, where he repreſents Mr. LUN, in the Dunciad, in one of his theatrical flights. On this occaſion, I believe, there are very few but admire the nobleneſs of the original ſimile, and the wit of the Poet who has ſo finely burleſqued it. It is very poſſible that a fine writer, ſo far from being chagrined at a witty parody that ſhould be made on any part of his compoſitions, would himſelf be very much delighted with it. As Mr. de Scudery, in his commendatory verſes prefixed to Scarron's famous Traveſty, ſays of Virgil, that he would ſplit his ſides with laughing, were he to ſee his Æneid in ſo comical a diſguiſe.

Quel eſt ce déguiſement?
O quelle metamorphoſe,
O Dieu, la plaiſante choſe!
Le rire m'a ſuffoqué:
Et dans ce plaiſir extreme,
Virgile riroit lui même,
De ſe voir ſi bien maſqué (63).

(63) From the commendatory verſes prefixed to, *Les Oeuvres de Monſieur Scarron*, tom. 1. Amſterdam 1699.

[*HH*] *Hit upon that point which is always ſure to divert multitudes.*] This is *humour*, as the writer who is the boaſt of Ireland obſerves, in a paper where he makes ſome reflections on the celebrated *Beggar's Opera*. " Although, *ſays he*, an evil taſte be apt to prevail
" both here (Dublin) and in London, yet there is a
" point, which whoſoever can rightly touch, will never
" fail of pleaſing a very great majority; ſo great, that
" the diſlikers, out of dulneſs or affectation will be
" ſilent, and forced to fall in with the herd: the point
" I mean, is what we call *humour*, which in its per-
" fection is allowed to be much preferable to wit, if
" it be not rather the moſt uſeful and agreeable ſpecies
" of it (64)." After juſtly obſerving, that it is not peculiar to the Engliſh nation, and that very few have a taſte for, or can judge of the excellencies of Poetry and Eloquence, he ſays, that *a taſte for humour is in ſome manner fixed to the very nature of man, and generally obvious to the vulgar, except upon ſubjects too refined, and ſuperior to their underſtanding... And as this taſte of humour is purely natural, ſo is humour itſelf; neither is it a talent confined to men of wit or learning; for we obſerve it ſometimes among common ſervants, and the meaneſt of the people, while the very owners are ignorant of the gift they poſſeſs* (65). Speaking afterwards of critics, (the heavy part of them he muſt mean) " I
" know very well, *ſays he*, that this happy talent is
" contemptibly treated by critics, under the name of
" low humour or low Comedy; but I know likewiſe,
" that the Spaniards and Italians, who are allowed
" to have the moſt wit of any nation in Europe, do
" moſt excell in it, and do moſt eſteem it (66).

(64) *The Intelligencer*, Num. 3. pag. 15, 16. London 1729, 8vo.

(65) Idem, ibid.

(66) Idem, ibid.

[*II*] *This Poem... is the idol of the High-Church party, as a late writer has obſerved.*] " Hudibras,
" *ſays he*, which is a daily High-Church entertainment,
" and a pocket and travelling High-church companion,
" muſt neceſſarily have a very conſiderable effect, and
" cannot fail forming in men that humour and vein of
" ridicule upon Diſſenters, which runs through that
" work (67)."

(67) *A Diſcourſe concerning Ridicule and Irony in Writing*, pag. 42. London 1729, 8vo.

[*KK*] *Four lines of Hudibras uſed to be repeated by the diſaffected.*]

He that impoſes an oath, makes it;
Not he that for convenience takes it;
Then how can any man be ſaid
To break an oath he never made (68)?

(68) *Hudibras*, Canto 2. Part 2 ver. 377, to 380, inclusive.

I believe theſe are the lines hinted at by Mr. Addiſon, in a famous political paper of his writing, where he ſpeaks of ſome who did not ſcruple to ridicule and make a jeſt of an oath. " A poor conceit, *ſays he*, of their
" own, or a quotation out of Hudibras, ſhall make
" them treat with levity an obligation wherein their
" ſafety and welfare are concerned both as to this
" world and the next. Raillery of this nature is enough
" to make the hearer tremble (69), We may obſerve, that Mr. Butler puts the four lines abovementioned in the mouth of his Hudibras, whom, it is well known, he every where repreſents as a wrongheaded knave.

(69) *Freeholder*, num. 6. pag. 30. London 1716, 12mo.

ticle being her ſtage. As the Reformation which ſucceeded the death of King Charles I, was ſo very preciſe and ſevere, it was natural for a Poet of Mr. Fenton's airy genius to ſneer at it [*LL*]. Some Roman Catholics have introduced *Hudibras*, in the idle jokes they levelled againſt the Church of England writers; and one among the reſt rallies very impertinently a famous Engliſh Divine as follows: *Sure the Doctor erred in his vocation: had he quitted all ſerious matters, and dedicated himſelf wholly to drollery and romance, with two or three years under Hudibras, he might have been a maſter in the faculty; the Stage might have been a gainer by it, and the Church of England would have been no loſer* (*pp*). A noble author of our country has endeavoured to fix the rule and meaſure of ridicule [*MM*].

(*pp*) Preface to *Stilling fleet againſt Stilling-fleet.*

Whilſt I was compiling this life, I made all the enquiries poſſible concerning our Poet; and was told many particulars which were injurious to him. However, I afterwards had the great ſatisfaction to find they were only flying falſe reports; and indeed it was ſcarce poſſible but ſuch muſt be raiſed againſt a man, who had gained the greateſt reputation poſſible by ſatyrizing a party, and exhibiting it in the moſt ridiculous, and at the ſame time, moſt odious light. I was told that King Charles II gave Butler a handſome employment in the Cuſtom-houſe, but have ſince found that this was not true [*NN*]. I alſo was falſely informed that the abovementioned Monarch had beſtowed three thouſand pounds on our Poet, as a reward for his *Hudibras*; but that Butler ſoon ſpent it, and afterwards ſatyrized the royal benefactor [*OO*]. I was favoured with ſome particulars from a venerable Gentleman, whoſe dramatic pieces afford the moſt agreeable entertainment [*PP*]. It was ſome time before I could get an opportunity of

[*LL*] *It was natural for a Poet of Mr. Fenton's airy genius to ſneer at it.*] The verſes are theſe.

An age moſt odious and accurſt enſued,
Diſcoloured with a pious Monarch's blood:
Whoſe fall when firſt the Tragic Virgin ſaw,
She fled, and left her province to the Law.
Her merry ſiſter ſtill purſued the game,
Her garb was altered, but her gifts the ſame.
She firſt reformed the muſcles of her face,
And learnt the ſolemn ſcrew for ſigns of grace;
Then circumcis'd her locks, and formed her tone.
By humming to a Tabor and a Drone;
Her eyes ſhe diſciplin'd preciſely right,
Both when to wink, and how to turn the white;
Thus baniſhed from the ſtage, ſhe gravely next
Aſſumed a cloak, and quibbled o'er a text.....
But when by miracles of mercy ſhewn,
Much ſuffering Charles regained his father's throne,
When peace and plenty overflowed the land,
She ſtrait pull'd off her ſattin cap and band:
Bade Wycherly be bold in her defence,
With pointed wit and energy of ſenſe:
Etheridge and Sidley joined him in her cauſe,
And all deſerved, and all received applauſe (70).

(70) Fenton's *Poems*, pag. 71, 72. London 1717, 8vo.

[*MM*] *A noble author ... has endeavoured to fix the rule and meaſure of ridicule.*] "How comes it to paſs, "that we appear ſuch cowards in reaſoning, and are "ſo afraid to ſtand the teſt of ridicule?——O! ſay "we, the ſubjects are too grave——Perhaps ſo; but "let us ſee firſt whether they are really grave or no: "for in the manner we may conceive them, they may "peradventure be very grave and weighty in our imagination; but very ridiculous and impertinent in "their own nature. Gravity is of the very eſſence of "impoſture. It does not only make us miſtake other "things, but is apt perpetually almoſt to miſtake itſelf. For even in common behaviour, how hard is "it for the grave character to keep long out of the limits of the formal one? We can never be too "grave, if we can be aſſured we are really what we "ſuppoſe. And we can never too much honour or "revere any thing for grave, if we are aſſured the "thing is grave, as we apprehend it. The main "point is to know always true gravity from the falſe: "and this can only be, by carrying the rule conſtantly "with us, and freely applying it not only to the things "about us, but to ourſelves. For if unhappily we "loſe the meaſure in ourſelves, we ſhall ſoon loſe it in "every thing elſe beſides. Now what rule or meaſure is there in the world, except in the conſidering "of the real temper of things, to find which are truly "ſerious, and which ridiculous? And how can this "be done, unleſs by applying the *ridicule* to ſee whether it will bear? But if we fear to apply this "rule in any thing, what ſecurity can we have againſt "the impoſture of formality in all things? We have "allowed ourſelves to be formaliſts in one point; and "the ſame formality may rule us as it pleaſes in all "others (71)."

(71) Lord Shaftſbury's *Characteriſticks*, vol. 1. pag. 11, 12. London 1727, 8vo, 4th edit.

[*NN*] *King Charles II ... did not give Butler .... an employment in the Cuſtom-houſe.*] I firſt applied myſelf to a worthy Gentleman, my friend (72), who, in the concluſion of his letter dated 14 July 1735, ſays, "I have aſked ſeveral Gentlemen if they ever heard "that the author of Hudibras was an Officer of the "Cuſtoms, but none remember any ſuch particular."

(72) Mr. Sc. Lazenby, Land-Waiter in the Port of London.

[*OO*] *That the Monarch beſtowed .... three thouſand pounds on our Poet, as a reward for his Hudibras.*] The perſon who informed me of this, declared, that the late Reverend Mr. Goſling, Sub-Dean of St. Paul's, had aſſured him, that the circumſtances relating to the recompence beſtowed by the King, and the ingratitude of our Poet, were fact. But being reſolved not to take things upon truſt, I wrote to the ſon, a Clergyman alſo, of the abovementioned reverend Gentleman, and he was pleaſed to favour me with the following anſwer.

"Sir,

"Your letter needed no apology, for I ſhould be "proud to give any aſſiſtance to a Gentleman, who is "ſo deſirous to do juſtice to perhaps the beſt natured "Prince and the moſt humorous Poet, England has to "boaſt of.

"With regard to the ſtory you mention, as related "by my father, I can hardly believe he told it; I am "ſure I never heard it from him.

"I have heard him ſay, that King Charles ordered "Butler a ſum of money (I believe it might be three "thouſand pounds) but the order being written in "figures, ſomebody through whoſe hands it paſſed, "by cutting off a cypher reduced it to three hundred, "which the Poet diſdained to accept of, and from "that time choſe to live in obſcurity.

"This I have heard him often tell, for he was fond "of talking of King Charles's days, and as fond of "quoting Hudibras, which occaſioned his frequent repeating of this ſtory.

"As to the place in the Cuſtom-houſe, I cannot ſay "that I remember any thing about it.

"I heartily wiſh ſucceſs to your deſign, and am
"Canterbury July Yours, &c.
"21, 1735, William Goſling.

"P. S. I ought to tell you, that my father was not "acquainted perſonally with Butler, but told his "ſtory as what was the report at Court."

[*PP*] *A ... Gentleman ... whoſe dramatic pieces &c.*] This is the ingenious T. Southerne Eſq; author of Oroonoko &c. who, on my deſiring a Gentleman (73), to write to him, he being then in Cheſhire, in order to get ſome particulars relating to Butler cleared up, if poſſible, was ſo kind as to write the following anſwer.

(73) Tho. Ledard Eſq; author of the *Naval Hiſtory*, &c.

"Sir,

of ſeeing the ſo often mentioned Charles Longueville Eſq;, who, at his coming to town, was ſo kind as to ſolve all my difficulties; and, as I read over this Life of our Poet, was pleaſed to make the corrections which the reader has ſeen in the courſe of it; and to favour me with the particulars mentioned below [*QQ*], which will be a ſufficient anſwer to the many aſperſions that have been caſt on Butler's memory, and tranſmit it to poſterity in the faireſt light. I never met, in the courſe of my reading, but with one perſon who preſumed to cenſure Butler as a writer [*RR*]. I muſt take notice of ſome miſtakes of the learned Father Niceron [*SS*].

" Sir,

" I ſhould be glad to give you any certain information " relating to Hudibras Butler, but cannot any from my " ſelf, but can direct you to a Gentleman, whoſe father " was Mr. Butler's greateſt friend, ſupported him in " his age, and buried him at his own charge in Co- " vent-Garden Church-yard, the North ſide of the " Church. The Gentleman I ſpeak of is Charles " Longueville Eſq; a Member of Parliament, who lives " in Norfolk Street in the Strand, and knows more of " him than any perſon elſe. He has Butler's picture, " a half length, which he values much. As for my " ſelf, I never heard of Butler's extravagance in con- " founding ſo large a bounty of the King's as three " thouſand pounds, nor that the King's bounty was " in any compariſon of that ſum; I never heard that " he had a handſome place in the Cuſtom-houſe, nor " of his profuſeneſs that obliged him to ſell it and " ſpend the money ariſing from the ſale, nor that he " wrote a ſevere Poem againſt the King and his Miſ- " treſſes (74). I hope the perſons concerned to write " the character of ſo great a man, in his way, will " not defame him to poſterity, by giving any account " in print like what you have heard without the ful- " leſt proof, which you are moſt likely to have from " the abovementioned Charles Longueville Eſq; in " Norfolk Street ... I am

" Sir
" July 23, 1735, from Yours, &c.
" Woodcote. Thomas Southerne.

" P. S. Butler did not die in a garret."

(74) This, among other particulars, I had been told, but it proves a falſity. The circumſtance I ſuppoſe which gave riſe to ſuch a report was, there is inſerted in the remains aſcribed to Butler, an obſcene Poem, which is wrote with great virulence againſt King Charles II, his miſtreſſes &c.

[*QQ*] *Charles Longueville Eſq; ... was pleaſed to favour me with the particulars mentioned below.*] King Charles II, who was a prodigious admirer of *Hudibras*, and ſometimes ſaw the author of it, never ordered him* but one gratuity, and that was three hundred pounds, which had this compliment paid to it, that it paſt all the offices without any fee, at the ſollicitation of Mr. William Longueville of the Temple (75); Lord Danby being at that time High-Treaſurer. Mr. Butler never had any employment in the Cuſtom-houſe, or elſewhere. He was a very modeſt man, and did not ſhine in converſation till he had taken a chearful glaſs, but was no drinker. He ſaw but little company, except what he was in ſome meaſure forced into; his *Hudibras* having gained him ſuch reputation, that moſt perſons of diſtinction at that time were extremely deſirous of his company, and yet not one of them contributed to the advancement of his fortune. The greateſt part of the remains aſcribed to Butler are ſpurious, and among the reſt the Poem againſt King Charles II, his Miſtreſſes, &c. Our Poet was not profuſe in his diſpoſition; his circumſtances indeed having always been ſo narrow, that he never had an opportunity of being ſo. He lived for ſome years in Roſe Street Covent-Garden, and probably died there. Mr. W. Longueville would fain have buried Butler in Weſtminſter Abbey; and ſpoke in that view to ſome of thoſe wealthy perſons, who had admired him ſo much in his life-time; offering to pay his part, but none of them would contribute; upon which Mr. Longueville buried him with the greateſt privacy, (but at the ſame time very decently) in Covent-Garden Church-yard, at his own expence; himſelf and ſeven or eight perſons more following the corps to the grave. Charles Longueville Eſq; has a half length of our Poet, which was given his father by the late Earl of Rocheſter (76), for whom Butler ſat to Sir Peter Lely. He is drawn in a night gown and peruke; and his countenance, which is pale, ſeems thoughtful, aud no way expreſſive of the gaiety that appears in all his compoſitions. A proof of the great honour and honeſty of our Poet is this; that upon his being ordered the three hundred pounds abovementioned by the King, he called to mind that he owed more than that ſum to different perſons from whom he had borrowed monies, or otherwiſe contracted debts; for which reaſon he intreated Mr. Longueville to pay away the whole gratuity, who accordingly did ſo, and Butler did not receive a ſhilling of it. But notwithſtanding the many diſappointments our Poet met with, Mr. Longueville is firmly perſuaded that he never was reduced to any thing like want and beggary, and that he did not die in any perſon's debt.

* How great the ſervice! how trifling the recompence!

(75) This Gentleman was father to Mr. Longueville, to whom I am obliged for ſo many particulars.

(76) Dr. Mead has alſo a picture of Butler, drawn by Mr. Zouſt. The ingenious Mr. Wood, Painter in Blooomſbury Square, (a very great admirer of *Hudibras*) has ſeveral ſketches, repreſenting ſome of the principal incidents in that Poem, drawn with the utmoſt nature, vivacity and humour, by that great Hiſtory Painter Mr. Cook, an Engliſhman, who ſeems to have been as well acquainted with the Poem as the author himſelf.

[*RR*] *... but one perſon who preſumed to cenſure Butler as a writer.*] This is the anonymous author of a *Seſſion of the Poets*, who does not expreſs himſelf either wittily or genteely on this occaſion. His lines are theſe.

Then Hudibras boldly demanded the Bays,
But Apollo bade him not be ſo fierce;
And adviſed him to lay aſide making his Plays,
Since he already began to write worſe and worſe (77).

(77) Dryden's *Miſcellanies*, vol. 2. pag. 92. 5th edit. London 1727, 12mo.

As this author inſinuates that Butler attempted to write Dramatic Pieces, I conſulted Mr. Longueville upon that ſubject, who told me that he believed our Poet never had any ſuch deſign.

[*SS*] *Some miſtakes of Father Niceron.*] Beſides two or three errors he was led into by Wood, and the anonymous author of Butler's life, Father Niceron ſhould not have barely ſaid that Butler *was buried in London, in the Church-yard of St. Paul's* (78), but ought to have added *Covent-Garden*, otherwiſe his readers may ſuppoſe it to be the cathedral of St. Paul's. He ſays afterwards, that *to the Poem of Hudibras is annexed two epiſtles in verſe; the one from Hudibras to his wife, and the other from Hudibras's wife to her huſband* (79). Now this is an error; the woman in queſtion not being Hudibras's wife, but his miſtreſs. What miſled Father Niceron, or the perſon he copied, I ſuppoſe, was the titles of thoſe epiſtles, viz. *An heroical Epiſtle of Hudibras to his Lady &c.* which a tranſlator who had not read the epiſtles in queſtion, might naturally ſuppoſe to mean *wife*.

(78) *Memoires pour ſervir à l'hiſtoire des Hommes illuſtres &c.* tom. 9. pag. 270. Paris 1729, 12mo.

(79) Idem, ibid.

I.

(a) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 940. 2d edit. London 1721.
(b) Idem, ibid.
(c) Antonii Hall *Præfat. ad* Joan. Hudſoni Editionem Flavii Joſephi, *Oxon.* 1720, fol. 2 vol.
(d) Ibid.
(e) Ibid.

☞HUDSON (Dr. JOHN), was ſon of Mr. James Hudſon (*a*), and born at Widehope (*b*) or Wedehop (*c*) near Cockermouth in Cumberland in the year 1662 [*A*]. He was educated in Grammar-learning by Mr. Jerom Hechſtetter (*d*), and in 1676 he came a poor ſerving child in Queen's College in Oxford, and applied himſelf, under the tuition of Mr. Thomas Croſthwait, to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, in which he made a vaſt progreſs, as well as in polite Literature (*e*). July the 4th 1681 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*f*), and on the 12th of February 1684 that of Maſter of Arts (*g*), and afterwards that of Doctor of Divinity. In the beginning of 1684 he was elected a Fellow

(f) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 217.

(g) Idem, ibid. col. 225.

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 940.
(2) *In* Præfat. *ad* Joh. Hudſoni Edit. Flav. Joſephi.

[*A*] *Born ... in* 1662.] Mr. Wood informs us (1), that he was fourteen years of age, when he was entered into Queen's College in the beginning of the year 1676. Dr. Hall obſerves (2), that he was born ſoon after the Reſtoration, *paulo poſt inſtauratam apud Britannos Monarchiam*; and that he was about fifty ſeven years old, when he died on the 27th of November 1719.

Fellow of Univerſity College, where he became an eminent tutor (*b*), and celebrated for his extenſive learning, which from evident in his works [*B*]. In July 1701, upon the death of Dr. Thomas Hyde, he ſucceeded him in the place of Keeper of the Bodleian Library

(*b*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *His works.*] They are as follow. I. *M. Vellei Paterculi quæ ſuperſunt, cum variis Lectionibus optimarum Editionum, doctorum virorum conjecturis & caſtigationibus, & Indice locupletiſſimo.* Oxon, 1693, in 8vo. This book was publiſhed at the charge of Arthur Charlet, D. D. Maſter of Univerſity College, to be given to his ſcholars and friends, at New-Year's-Day 1692 (3). To this edition are prefixed Mr. Henry Dodwell's *Annales Velleiani*; but Mr. Hudſon thought proper to omit them in the ſecond edition of Paterculus at Oxford 1711 in 8vo, becauſe thoſe *Annales* had been printed ſeparately in 1698; and he has ſubſtituted in the room of them two Chronological Tables, one by Mr. Dodwell, and the other by Cellarius. The notes likewiſe in the firſt edition are inlarged in the ſecond. II. *Thucydidis de Bello Peloponneſiaco Libri VIII.* Oxon, 1696, in Folio. This edition is a very beautiful one, and well diſpoſed. The Latin verſion of Æmilius Portus is printed in two columns at the bottom of the page, with ſome ſhort notes. There is one great advantage in this edition, that we find the years of the Peloponneſian war, of the Olympiads, and the foundation of Rome, marked at the top of every page. Mr. Dodwell was the author of this, who publiſhed in 1702 at Oxford, the reaſons of that Chronology in his *Annales Thucydidei*. III. *Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci minores Græce & Latine, cum diſſertationibus & annotationibus Henrici Dodwelli: accedunt Geographica Arabica cum Notis.* Oxon, 1698, in 8vo. This volume begins with the *Periplus* of *Hanno the Carthaginian*, which Iſaac Voſſius conſidered as the moſt antient remain, that has eſcaped the injury of time. But Mr. Dodwell has propoſed very ſtrong reaſons why it cannot juſtly pretend to ſo great antiquity; and ſhewn, that Hanno did not write the *Periplus* mentioned by the antients, but ſome Greek, who was a friend to the Carthaginians; and that the *Periplus*, which we have extant, is very different from that cited by Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Solinus, &c. Next follows the *Periplus* of *Scylax*, which has likewiſe been eſteemed very antient, and vindicated in point of antiquity from the exceptions of the two Voſſius's by Gronovius. But Mr. Dodwell has ſhewn, that this *Scylax* is not the antient one quoted by Herodotus, but another, who was contemporary with Polybius; and that what he borrowed from other writers, might make a ſhew of antiquity, by which means the learned may have been led into miſtakes about his age. After this follows an *Epitome* of *Agatharchides* concerning the Red-Sea, which piece Mr. Dodwell ſhews to have been written in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Alexander, King of Egypt, to whom this author was Tutor and Library-Keeper. The next piece is a *Periplus* of the *Red-Sea*, commonly aſcribed to Arrian, though falſly, as was ſuſpected by Salmaſius, Voſſius, and Hardouin; who imagined, that the author of it lived in the time of Auguſtus. Mr. Dodwell agrees with them, that Arrian could not be the author of this piece, but differs from them in all other reſpects; firſt demonſtrating that it was written after Trajan and Hadrian, and conſequently not by Arrian; and then offering very probable reaſons, that the writer lived under the Emperors Marcus and Verus. Then follows a *Periplus* of the *Euxine-Sea*, which bears the name of Arrian, and was undoubtedly written by him in the time of Adrian, as the inſcription ſhews. But it appearing that Arrian was Prefect of Cappadocia, when he drew up this account of the people bordering on the *Euxine-Sea* for the Emperor Hadrian, Mr. Dodwell concludes, that it was written about the year of Chriſt 137. In the next place we have another piece of Arrian taken out of his *Indica*, which contains the voyage of *Nearchus* by the command of Alexander the Great. This Mr. Dodwell ſuppoſes to have been finiſhed by Arrian after his *Expedition of Alexander*, and before the Geography of Ptolemy was known to the world. Dr. Hudſon having a manuſcript of Arrian in the Bodleian-Library, has given us from thence ſeveral emendations of the text; and tells us, that the reſt of Arrian's works might receive much light and improvement from that antient copy. Next follows the *Periplus* of *Marcianus Heracleota*, firſt publiſhed by Hœſchelius, with ſeveral other pieces of the ſame kind. But this had not the good fortune to be reprinted or tranſlated, till Dr. Hudſon beſtowed his pains upon it; who has by conjecture corrected a great number of paſſages, and annexed to it the fragments of *Artemidorus* and *Menippus*. In the laſt he gives us a *Periplus* of the *Euxine Sea*, which we owe to Iſaac Voſſius; but neither he, nor any one elſe, has yet been able to recover the author's name. His age likewiſe, as well as that of *Marcianus Heracleota*, is very uncertain. The *ſecond volume* of Dr. Hudſon's edition of the *Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci minores* was publiſhed at Oxford 1703 in 8vo, with a Latin verſion and notes; to which are prefixed ſix diſſertations by Mr. Dodwell. The firſt Geographer in this volume is *Dicæarchus*, who has partly in verſe, and partly in proſe, given us the ſtate of Greece in his time, with a deſcription of mount *Pelion*. Mr. Dodwell thinks, that Dicæarchus wrote the Poetical part towards the latter end of the CXVIth Olympiad, and the Proſe about the end of the CXVIIth Olympiad. With regard to the fragment concerning mount Pelion, he ſuppoſes it to be written by Dicæarchus after the ſecond year of the CXXIſt Olympiad. The next Geographical writer, whoſe fragments Dr. Hudſon has preſented us with, is *Iſidorus Characenus*, whoſe tract *de Manſionibus Parthicis*, was publiſhed by Hœſchelius in his Collection; and afterwards, when it was enlarged by the Paris edition, it was communicated by Fabricius to our Editor. Mr. Dodwell is of opinion, that this Iſidorus wrote after the year 36, and before the year 162; that Pliny's Iſidorus Characenus was a quite different perſon from this Iſidorus; that he only wrote a *Periplus*, whilſt the other wrote a *Periegeſis*; that the latter very probably lived nearer the time of Lucian than that of Pliny, and that Solinus was more modern than our Geographer. The next Geographical writer is *Scymnus* of the iſland of *Chios*, whoſe deſcription of the world is written in verſe, and tranſlated into Latin by Paulus Vindingius. This piece was falſly aſcribed to *Marcianus* of *Heraclea*, and publiſhed under his name by *Hœſchelius* in 1600. Dr. Hudſon has added ſeveral fragments of Scymnus collected and tranſlated by Lucas Holſtenius. Mr. Dodwell tells us, that we have two ſufficient marks of the time, wherein Scymnus lived, taken from the ſucceſſion of the Kings of Pergamos and Bithynia, ſince he dedicates his works to Nicomedes, King of Bithynia; and he aſſerts, that Scymnus was born in Varro's 610th year, and could not poſſibly write either before the 625th, or after the 679th year. Then follows *Plutarch*'s little tract concerning Rivers, which was firſt publiſhed in Greek only by Sigiſmundus Gelenius at Baſil, in 1533. A more beautiful and correct edition was publiſhed at Tholouſe in 1615, by Philip James Mauſſacus, who tranſlated it into Latin, and illuſtrated it with a great many notes. Dr. Hudſon has reviſed this tranſlation, which he carefully collated with the verſion of Natalis Comes, and Hadrian Turnebus. Mr. Dodwell obſerves, that the learned are divided in their opinions about the author of this treatiſe. Some aſcribe it to *Parthenius*, others to *Antonius Liberalis*, others to *Plutarch*, but not the *Chæronenſian*; whilſt Mauſſacus alone attributes it to that *Plutarch*. Mr. Dodwell is perſuaded, that it belongs not to *Parthenius*, nor to *Antonius*, but to one, whoſe real name was *Plutarch*; though who he was, is very uncertain. *Agathemerus* follows next, whoſe piece Godefridus Vendelinus had deſigned to have publiſhed, but was prevented by death. His copy fell into the hands of Tenullius, who publiſhed it at Amſterdam. 1671, with a Latin verſion and notes. After this Gronovius rendered it more compleat by making ſome few alterations in the text, but a great many in the Latin tranſlation, much for the better. Dr. Hudſon follows this edition of Gronovius. Mr. Dodwell remarks, that Agathemerus had conſulted Ptolemy's Geography, and conſequently wrote after Ptolemy; though he was not much later than that writer, ſince he mentions *Spain* and *Gaul*, which were names but lately in uſe among

(3) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 941.

Library in the Univerſity of Oxford; which place he held till his death. In 1712 he was appointed Principal of St. Mary Hall in that Univerſity, at the ſollicitation of Dr. John Radcliffe, the Phyſician (*i*). His health declined a conſiderable time before his death; but at laſt being ſeized with a dropſy, it proved fatal to him on the 27th of November 1719, being then about fifty ſeven years of age. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Harriſon, by whom he had a daughter, who married July the 29th 1731 Mr. John Boyce, ſon of Sir John Boyce of the city of Oxford (*l*). Dr. Hudſon held a correſpondence with the moſt eminent learned men of his age; particularly

(*i*) Hall, *ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) Idem, ibid.

(*l*) See a Pamphlet intitled, *The Contract violated, or the Haſty Marriage*, printed at London 1734, in 8vo.

the Greeks, when Agathemerus wrote his treatiſe. Mr. Dodwell further obſerves, that our Geographer was more modern than *Marcianus Heracleota*, and that he wrote in the interval between Septimius Severus, and Gallienus, ſince he mentions Babylon's being in poſſeſſion of the Romans, which was not reduced into a Roman Province till the time of Severus in the year of Chriſt 201; and by conſequenee our author was later than him. The laſt piece of Geography contained in this volume is the *Epitome of Strabo*, never printed but once before, which was at Baſil in 1533, to which Dr. Hudſon has added the Latin verſion of Jerom Gemuſæus, corrected in a great many places. And that we may the better compare this *Epitome* with the original, our author has all along taken notice of the paſſages in Strabo, which correſpond with the words of the epitomizer. Mr. Dodwell tells us, that the author of this epitome was of later date than Ptolemy, Arrian, and Marcian, and that he did not imitate Marcian in his manner of epitomizing, ſince the titles of Marcian's Abridgments were always Ἐπιτομαὶ, whilſt that of this author is Χρηστομαθία, a term not known in Marcian's days. He remarks, that the epitomizer of Strabo lived when the Sclavonians were in poſſeſſion of Macedonia, Greece, Epirus, and Peloponneſus; which he proves from the words of that writer: Καὶ νῦν ὃ πᾶσαν Ἤπειρον καὶ Ἑλλάδα σχεδὸν, καὶ Πελοπόννησον, καὶ Μακεδονίαν, Σκύθαι Σκλάβοι νέμονται: From which words Mr. Dodwell remarks, that we may gather two marks of the time, wherein this epitomizer lived, viz. that he was not older than the time, when the Sclavonians became maſters of the countries, which he mentions, nor later than the age, in which they loſt that empire. Mr. Dodwell concludes, that they were not intire maſters of thoſe Provinces till the time of Baſil the Bulgarian Prince, between the years 976 and 996; and that it was about that time the epitomizer lived. The *third* volume of our author's edition of the *Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci minores*, was printed at Oxford, 1712, in 8vo, and contains eleven pieces; the firſt of which is a Latin extract of the *Navigation of the Boſphorus Thracius*, written in Greek by *Dionyſius Byzantinus*. The ſecond is a *Deſcription of the Euxine Sea*, falſely aſcribed to *Arrian*. The third is *a Deſcription of the World and of the Nations* by an anonymous Latin author, who lived under Conſtans and Conſtantinus. The fourth piece contains various readings on an anonymous Latin Geographer of Ravenna. The fifth contains the ſituation of places in Arabia by *Ptolemy*, corrected by an antient manuſcript. Mr. John Greaves, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in the Univerſity of Oxford, had fitted this piece for the preſs. The ſixth is *the Deſcription of Choraſmia and Mawaralnahra*, or of the countries on the north ſide of the river *Oxus*, taken from the Tables of *Abulfeda Iſmael*, Prince of Hamah in Syria. He wrote that work in Arabic in the year 1221; and Mr. Greaves publiſhed it at London in Arabic and Latin, in the year 1650. The ſeventh is *a Deſcription of Arabia Felix, and the adjacent Seas*, by the ſame author. The eighth contains *two Tables* of the Longitude and Latitude of the ſouthern places of Africa and Aſia, from the Canary Iſlands to China. The firſt is of Naſſir-Eddin, a famous Perſian, and the ſecond of Ulug-Beig, a Tartar or Tatar, as the eaſtern nations pronounce it, who was grand-ſon to Tamerlane. Mr. Greaves had alſo publiſhed them. The ninth piece is an extract of the *Perſian Syntaxis* of *George Chryſococca*, containing a Catalogue of the Longitudes and Latitudes of the principal cities, particularly of Arabia. The tenth is ſuch another Index of remarkable cities by Ptolemy, taken from a manuſcript, and collated with others. The eleventh piece is concerning the conſtellations of the two Hemiſpheres by the ſame author, with the degrees of Longitude and Latitude reviſed by Dr. Edmund Halley. Theſe tables are only in Greek. The *fourth* volume was printed at Oxford, 1712, in 8vo. It contains a poſthumous Diſſertation of Mr. Dodwell upon *Dionyſius* the Geographer, wherein he aſſerts, in oppoſition to the common opinion, that this *Dionyſius* is not the ſame with him, who is mentioned by Pliny, and was contemporary with Auguſtus, and born at Charax-Spaſinis, a city of Suſiana, the country of Iſidorus abovementioned; but another of Corinth, and who lived after Caracalla. This diſſertation contains alſo ſeveral remarks upon *Dionyſius*. Then follows *Dionyſius* in Greek and Latin, with *Euſtathius*'s Commentary ſubjoined. There are four Maps in this edition; the firſt of Africa; the ſecond of Europe; the third of Greece, and the neighbouring parts of Italy, and thoſe of leſſer Aſia; and the fourth of Aſia. Dr. Halley has ſet down in them the degrees of Longitude and Latitude, which had been omitted in the maps of the former edition of Dionyſius of Oxford. Next follow, 1. The Deſcription of the Earth by *Rufus Feſtus Avienus*, in 1393 Hexameter verſes. 2. That of *Priſcian*, in 1087 verſes. 3. The Deſcription of the Sea-Coaſts by the ſame *Rufus Feſtus Avienus* abovementioned, in Iambic verſes, whereof we have only 705. Under the text of theſe Poems are placed the various readings of the manuſcripts and of the editions, with the conjectures and remarks of ſeveral authors. There are likewiſe under *Avienus*'s two poems the conjectures and corrections of our author and Dr. Hody. Theſe Latin Geographers are followed by the Greek Paraphraſe of *Dionyſius*, and ſome *Scholia* never publiſhed before, and ſome ſmall fragments relating to Geography. Laſtly there are corrections, various readings, and remarks by Dr. Hudſon and other learned men, particularly by Holſtenius, on *Dionyſius* and *Euſtathius*. IV. *Dionyſii Halicarnaſſenſis Opera omnia Græce & Latine cum Annotationibus*. Oxon, 2 Tomes in Folio, 1704. Dr. Hudſon's Preface to the firſt Tome is addreſſed to Laurentius Alexander Zacigni, Keeper of the Vatican Library, and to James Perizonius, Profeſſor of Rhetoric, Hiſtory, and Greek at Leyden; in which he returns his acknowledgments to thoſe learned men for their aſſiſtance, and particularly to Zacigni, who had communicated to him the collation of Dionyſius with a copy in the Vatican-Library. The Doctor has made uſe of ſeveral editions of that author, and kept cloſe to the Greek copy of Sylburgius with reſpect to the Greek text, and at the bottom of each page ſet down the various readings of the Vatican Manuſcript, collated partly by Joſephus de Juliis, and partly by J. Theodorus Calliergus. Among theſe various readings he has interſperſed, where it was neceſſary, ſeveral notes of Sylburgius, Portus, Stephens, Caſaubon, Valeſius, and others, with ſome remarks of his own. As to the Latin verſion, he thought fit to make uſe of Portus's, which he has corrected in ſeveral places, and divided into ſections for the greater eaſe of thoſe, who are not very well verſed in Greek. In the *Urſinian* fragments he has followed the verſion of Stephens, and in the *Peireſcian* that of Valeſius. To theſe he has added an Appendix by Sylburgius *de Legibus veterum Romanorum*; becauſe by it the mutilated paſſage of Dionyſius, pag. 689, may in ſome meaſure be applied. Laſtly he has at the end of the ſecond volume given us Mr. Dodwell's Chronology for the clearing up the ſeries and times of the Hiſtory down to the days of Auguſtus; which will be of very great uſe for Livy's Hiſtory likewiſe; and Mr. Dodwell has added the Chronology on the pages of the Hiſtory. To the firſt volume are prefixed the teſtimonies

larly Muratori, Salvini, and Bianchini, in Italy; Boivin, Kuſter, and Michael Lequien, the editor of Damaſcenus, in France; Godfrey Olearius, John Burchard Menckenius, John Chriſtopher Wolfius, Henry Lewis Schurtzfleiſch, John George Eccard, and John Albert Fabricius, in Germany; Eric Benzelius in Sweden; Frederic Roſtgard in Denmark; James Perizonius, Hadrian Reland and John Le Clerc in Holland; beſides his intimacy with all the great men of his own country (*m*). Dr. Anthony Hall tells us (*n*), that he was a man of great probity, an agreeable countenance, and moderate ſtature, and enjoyed a very vigorous conſtitution till he broke it with his intenſe application to his ſtudies.

(*m*) Hall, *ubi ſupra.*

(*n*) Ibid.

teſtimonies concerning Dionyſius and his Antiquities by Strabo, Plutarch, Euſebius, and others. In the Preface to the ſecond Tome, addreſſed to Michael Lequien, he makes his acknowledgments to that Gentleman for collating the works of Dionyſius with ſeveral manuſcripts, and communicating the ſame to him. In the ſecond Tome the Doctor has ranged all Dionyſius's works relating to Rhetoric and Criticiſm in the ſame order, that they are in the edition of Sylburgius; but that the true diſpoſition of them may be diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar one, he has given us a catalogue of the works, both theſe that are extant, and thoſe that are loſt. With regard to the Greek text he has generally followed the edition of Sylburgius, which he has corrected in many places, as well as the Latin verſions. V. *Dionyſii Longini de ſublimitate Libellus, cum Præfatione de Vitâ & Scriptis Longini, notis, indicibus, variis Lectionibus.* Oxon, 1710, in 4to, 1718 in 8vo. This edition is a very beautiful one. The notes are very ſhort, as all thoſe of Dr. Hudſon are. VI. *Mœris Atticiſta de Vocibus Atticis & Hellenicis. Gregorius Martinus de Græcarum Literarum pronuntiatione.* Oxon, 1712, in 8vo. This piece of *Mœris*, whom ſome manuſcripts call *Eumærides*, though well known by means of Photius, and by being cited by a great many learned men, had never been printed till now. The letter of Gregory Martinus was added only to make the volume of a reaſonable ſize. Martinus in this Letter defends the modern pronunciation of the Greek language with great learning and ſpirit. VII. *Fabularum Æſopicarum Collectio quotquot Græcè reperiuntur. Accedit Interpretatio Latina.* Oxon, 1718, in 8vo. Dr. Hudſon publiſhed this edition of Eſop's Fables for the uſe of thoſe, who begin to learn the Greek tongue. VIII. *Flavii Joſephi Opera quæ reperiri potuerunt omnia. Ad Codd. MSS. diligenter recenſuit, novâ Verſione donavit, & notis illuſtravit Joannes Hudſon.* Oxon, 1720, in two volumes folio. This edition is the moſt exact of any which had ever been publiſhed of that author. The Doctor died while it was in the preſs; and Dr. Anthony Hall, who married his widow, took the care of printing the laſt ſheets. T.

☞HUET (PETER DANIEL), a very learned French writer [*A*] in the XVIIth Century, was ſon of Daniel Huet, Eſq; and Iſabella Pillon de Bertouville, and was born

[*A*] *A very learned French writer.*] His works are as follow. I. *De Interpretatione Libri duo.* Paris, 1661, in 4to. Stadæ, 1680, in 12mo. Hague, 1683, in 8vo, with his Treatiſe *concerning the original of Romances*, tranſlated into Latin. This book is written in the form of a Dialogue between Iſaac Caſaubon, Fronto Ducæus the Jeſuit, and Thuanus. Monſieur de Segrais tells us (1), that nothing can be added to this treatiſe either with reſpect to beauty of ſtile, ſtrength of reaſoning, or variety of learning, which was very extraordinary in a perſon ſo young as Monſieur Huet then was. II. *Origenis Commentaria in ſacram Scripturam, Græce Latinè, cum Latinâ Interpretatione, Notis, & Obſervationibus Petri Danielis Huetii.* Roan, 1668, two volumes in folio. Cologne, 1685, three volumes in Folio. III. *L'Origine des Romans.* Paris, 1670, in 12mo. London, 1672, in 12mo, tranſlated into Engliſh. Amſterdam, 1679, in 16mo, tranſlated into Low Dutch by Mr. Broekhuiſen, Hague, 1683, in 8vo, tranſlated into Latin by Mr. Piron, and ſubjoined to his book *de Interpretatione.* Paris, 1685, 1693, 1709, in 12mo, with an addition of a Letter concerning *Honoré d'Urfe*, author of *Aſtrea* the Romance. In 1715 there was publiſhed at London in 12mo an Engliſh tranſlation under the following title: *The Hiſtory of Romances; an Enquiry into their Original; Inſtructions for compoſing them; an Account of the moſt eminent Authors; with Characters and curious Obſervations upon the beſt Performances of that Kind. Written in Latin by* Huetius: *made Engliſh by Mr.* Stephen Lewis. This tranſlator is miſtaken in aſſerting, that Monſieur Huet wrote this piece in Latin; ſo that it is evident that he never ſaw the original. IV. *Diſcours prononcé a l'Academie Françoiſe.* Paris, 1674, in 4to. V. *Animadverſiones in Manilium & Scaligeri Notas*, publiſhed at the end of Monſieur de la Faye's *Manilius ad uſum Delphini.* Paris, 1679, in 4to. The deſign of Monſieur in his notes is to ſhew, that Joſeph Scaliger ought not to have conſidered his edition of Manilius as an accurate or conſiderable performance. VI. *Demonſtratio Evangelica.* Paris, 1679, and 1687, in Folio. Amſterdam, 1680, in 8vo, in two volumes, publiſhed by Chriſtopher Sandius. Amſterdam, 1694, in 4to. Paris, 1690, in Folio, *recognita, caſtigata, & amplificata.* Leipſic, 1694, 1704, and 1722, in 4to. To ſupport the title of this work he ſhews, that religion is founded upon moral demonſtrations, depending on certain experience, and the unanimous conſent of mankind. He diſpoſes the principles after the method of Geometricians in definitions, poſtulata, and axioms. He endeavours to prove, that they are no leſs certain than Geometrical demonſtrations; from whence he concludes, that ſince the Chriſtian religion has as much or more certainty than what the human mind believes to be moſt certain, namely Geometry; it is a prodigious inſtance of infatuation to deſpiſe it, and a ſtrange obſtinacy to contradict it. Theſe principles being laid down, the author infers his demonſtrations, which conſiſt in ten propoſitions, which amount to this: That the books of the Old and New Teſtament are true: that thoſe of the Old Teſtament contain ſeveral Prophecies of the Meſſiah: that thoſe prophecies are accompliſhed in the Meſſiah: that the books of the New relate facts and miracles, which cannot reaſonably be doubted, and which prove invincibly the truth of the Chriſtian Religion. To evince the genuineneſs of the books of the Old Teſtament, he examines the authority and antiquity of every book in particular. He ſhews that the Pentateuch was written by Moſes, and anſwers the objections of Spinoſa. He aſſerts, that all the antient Deities of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, Perſians, Indians, Northern and Weſtern nations, and even of ſome of the Americans, Greeks, and Italians, were only Moſes in ſeveral diſguiſes: for inſtance, that the Adonis of the Phœnicians, the Mercury, Oſiris, Serapis, Anubis, and other Deities of the Egyptians, the Zoroaſter of the Perſians, the Deities of the Weſtern nations, Apollo, Priapus, Æſculapius, Prometheus, and other Gods of the Greeks, Janus, Faunus, Vertumnus of the Latins; in ſhort all the fabulous Deities are only Moſes, whoſe Hiſtory has been diſguiſed. He treats of the antient Greek verſions of the books of the Old Teſtament, of the Hebrew language, of the Canon of the ſacred books of the Old Teſtament, and of every thing relating to the critical knowledge and antiquity of thoſe books. He vindicates the truth of the Hiſtory of the New Teſtament. But the moſt conſiderable part of this work is that, in which he ſhews that the Prophecies of the Meſſiah contained in the Old Teſtament are accompliſhed in the perſon of Chriſt. To the edition of 1690 he prefixed a Preface in anſwer to ſome

(1) *Preface de Virgile*, num. 22.

born at Caen in Normandy February the 8th 1630. He loſt his father at the age of eighteen months, and his mother four years after; and was delivered to his guardians, who were very negligent of him, and put him out to board in the city, where though he had but little aſſiſtance and bad examples before him, he paſſed through his courſe of humanity-ſtudies before he was thirteen years of age. In the proſecution of his philoſophical ſtudies he happened upon an excellent Profeſſor, Father Mambrun, a Jeſuit, who after Plato's example directed him to begin with learning a little Geometry. Our author went farther in it than he deſired, and contracted ſuch a reliſh for Geometry, that he made it his chief ſtudy, and in a manner ſlighted the writings which his maſter read to him. He went through all the other parts of the Mathematics, and maintained public theſes at Caen, a thing never before done in that city. Having paſſed through his claſſes, it was his buſineſs to ſtudy the Law, and to take his degrees in it. But two books publiſhed

objections againſt this work. His opinion, that Moſes is to be found in the greateſt part of the Deities of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, Greeks, &c. had met with moſt oppoſition. He affirms, that this was not impertinent to his ſubject, ſince proving the antiquity of Moſes was proving at the ſame time the antiquity of the books of which he was author. Now nothing ſhews this antiquity more clearly, than to prove that what the antients eſteemed moſt antient and venerable, their Gods and Heroes, were nothing elſe but Moſes. It is allowed, that this would be of great advantage; but the evidence of theſe arguments is not ſo readily admitted. If Monſieur Huet had given them as conjectures, or well imagined co-incidences, they might have paſſed; but they will not be received as demonſtrations. Beſides, this was not believed to be his intention; and all that he alledges in juſtification of himſelf, proves only, that he might urge ſuch kind of arguments, ſince ſeveral writers had done ſo before him. Artapanus maintained that Mercury and Muſæus were Moſes; Voſſius the Elder and Bochart have affirmed the ſame of Bacchus; Juſtin Martyr of Mnevis an Egyptian God; Bochart of Typhon. Voſſius aſſerted that Hercules is the copy of Joſua; Bochart, that Saturn and his three ſons, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, were formed upon Noah and his ſons; Apollo Pythius upon Phut; Mercury, upon Chanaam or Jethro, the father-in-law of Moſes; Bacchus, upon Nimrod; Prometheus, upon Magog; Apis, Serapis, and Mnevis, upon Joſeph; Ilithus, upon Lilith; Silenus, upon Shiloh, who is the Meſſiah. Some have conjectured that Zoroaſter was the ſame with Moſes; that Ham is Miſraim, or Japhet, or Ehus, or Aſſuerus, or Nimrod. A learned man has likewiſe affirmed, that Jabel and Jubal are Mercury and Apollo; that Ada and Zilla the wives of Lamech, are Juno and Latona; that Naomi is Venus; that Tabalcain is Vulcan; and that Mercury Triſmegiſtus is the eternal word. Monſieur Huet having defended his opinion by authority, endeavours to ſupport it by reaſon; and taking Zoroaſter for an inſtance, ſhews ſeveral great co-incidences between the life of Moſes and what is related of Zoroaſter. The names of their fathers reſemble each other very much. Both of them are ſaid to have ſmiled as ſoon as they were born. Both of them wrote five books of the origin of things; and prohibited idolatry under ſevere penalties. Their Kings endeavoured to deſtroy them; but God preſerved them by ſending venomous flies againſt their perſecutors. They avoided this danger by flight, and paſſed over rivers dryſhod. Both of them being baniſhed their country retired to a mountain, which appeared to them covered with a celeſtial fire; and they could not look upon God, who was ſurrounded with the flames. They received from him the book of their laws, which greatly reſembled each other. They returned from the mountain covered with a radiant light. They were ſupported in the deſert with miraculous food, and at laſt diſappeared without any perſon's diſcovering the manner of their death. If we add to this, that ſeveral eminent writers have aſſerted, that there never was ſuch a perſon as Zoroaſter, Monſieur Huet thinks it cannot reaſonably be denied, that Zoroaſter is Moſes himſelf. It muſt be owned, that this inſtance has ſome probability attending it; but the greateſt part of his other inſtances are not favoured by ſuch co-incidences. He aſſerts for example, that Janus is Moſes, becauſe Albricus, who wrote concerning the images of the Gods, ſays that he was commonly painted with rays about him, holding a ſtaff in his hand, with which he ſtruck a rock, whence proceeded water. This is not at all convincing. But what follows is leſs ſo. When we ſee, ſays Monſieur Huet, Venus in the hymns aſcribed to Orpheus, dancing with her Nymphs upon the ſhore of Syria, who brings incenſe from a place near the waters of Egypt; do not we immediately perceive Miriam the ſiſter of Moſes dancing and ſinging with her companions in Syria, near the country where the incenſe grew upon the ſhore of Syria, which ſhe had juſt paſſed over? Do not we perceive in this Miriam and her companions the origin of the Fable of the Muſes, who took their name from that of Moſes famous for his ſongs, whom the Greeks called Μουσαῖος or Μῶσος, and whoſe ſiſter ought to be called Μοῦσα, and her companions Μοῦσαι. But nothing gave ſo much offence as his aſſerting that Priapus was the ſame with Moſes. *Priapus idem ac Moſes.* He vindicates himſelf from the raillery which this expoſed him to, by ſaying, that we ought to fall likewiſe upon Artapanus, who affirmed that Moſes is Mercury, the God of thieves, a thief himſelf, and the pander of criminal love. That we ought to reproach Bochart, who ſaid that Moſes is Typhon, an impious and barbarous monſter, and an enemy to the Gods; and the Shiloh or the Meſſiah is Silenus, that ridiculous Deity, who is always reeling with drunkenneſs. Priapus and all other Heathen Gods are repreſentations of Heroes, or of things natural. He repreſented the vivifying power of the ſun, and fecundity of nature. He is, according to ſome, the ſymbol of the ſun; according to others, the God Pan, or Bacchus, Apollo, Mercury, Typhon, whom learned men have thought to be Moſes. Would they therefore have made any difficulty of ſaying the ſame of Priapus? Add to this, that the ſame obſcenity, which appears in the images of Priapus, is to be met with likewiſe in theſe of Pan, Orus, Oſiris, Mercury, Marſyas, and Terminus. Our author in his *Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus* owns, that this work of his met with better ſucceſs among foreigners than among the French, many of whom conſidered it as a book full of learning, but void of proofs; which occaſioned ſeveral perſons to ſay, that he had demonſtrated nothing but his extenſive reading. Others leſs equitable borrowed from it, and at the ſame time attacked it, in order to cover their own plagiariſm. Monſ. Huet complains particularly of Monſ. Ferrand and Fraſſen, eſpecially the latter, whom Monſ. de Harlay, Archbiſhop of Paris obliged to give him ſatisfaction. Monſieur Simon had a deſign to make an abridgment of this work; but Monſieur Huet being informed, that it was to alter it as he thought proper, deſired him to excuſe himſelf that trouble. The firſt edition of 1679 is moſt ſought after, becauſe there are ſome paſſages in it, which are not to be found in the editions of Paris in 1687 and 1690. VII. *Cenſura Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ*. Paris 1689 in 12mo, Helmſtad 1690 in 12mo, publiſhed by Henry Meibomius. *Friſiæ* (perhaps Franeker) 1690 in 12mo. Hanover 1690. *Campis* 1690 in 12mo. Paris 1694 with additions. When Monſieur Huet wrote this book, ſays Monſ. Themiſeul in his *Letters*, he was greatly piqu'd againſt the Carteſians, as appears by the eighth chapter of this work. He was diſpleaſed that thoſe Philoſophers infinitely preferred thoſe who cultivate their reaſon, to thoſe who only cultivate their memory, and require, that men ſhould endeavour more to know themſelves than to know what was done in former ages. "What, *ſays he*, becauſe we are men of learning, ſhall we become the "ſubject of the raillery of the Carteſians? VIII. *Quæſtiones Alnetanæ de Concordiâ Rationis & Fidei*. Caen 1690 in 4to. Leipſic 1692 in 4to. Leipſic 1701 and 1709

liſhed at that time interrupted his application to that courſe of ſtudy, and diverted it to another. Theſe two books were *Des Cartes's Principles*, and *Bochart's Sacred Geography*. He admired Des Cartes at firſt, and adhered to his Philoſophy for ſeveral years. Bochart's Geography made a great impreſſion on him by its vaſt extent of learning; and being full of Hebrew and Greek, he reſolved to make himſelf a maſter of theſe languages; for which purpoſe he applied himſelf to them with great vigour, and contracted an intimacy with Monſieur Bochart, who aſſiſted him in his ſtudies. At the age of twenty years and one day the cuſtom of Normandy delivered him from the tuition of his guardians, who had been very ſparing in their allowance to him. His ſtrongeſt paſſion, and that which he firſt gratified, after he became maſter of himſelf, was to ſee Paris, not ſo much out of curioſity, as to furniſh himſelf with books, and introduce himſelf into the acquaintance of learned men. Two years after Chriſtina Queen of Sweden having invited

1709 in 4to. This is written in the form of a dialogue after the manner of Cicero's *Tuſculan Queſtions*. It is divided into three parts: lays down general principles concerning the certainty of reaſon and faith, the uſe of reaſon in points of faith, and of faith in points not diſcoverable by reaſon; and he propoſes methods of reconciling them. He endeavours to ſhew, that thoſe things which appear moſt oppoſite to our reaſon, though propoſed by religion to our belief, are not more extraordinary than many things, believed by the Pagans in their religion. For this purpoſe he compares the doctrines and practice of Chriſtianity with the ſentiments of the Philoſophers, the fables of thePoets, and the practice of the people, in which conſiſted their divinity, and which were the foundation of their religion. IX. *De la Situation du Paradis Terreſter*. Paris 1691 in 12mo. Leipſic 1694 in 16mo, tranſlated into Latin by John George Pritius, a Divine and Miniſter of Francfort. Leipſic 1694 in 4to, in Latin, with his *Demonſtratio Evangelica*. Amſterdam 1698 in 12mo, in Latin, with the *Diſſertatio de Navigationibus Salomonis*. Amſterdam 1698 in folio, in Latin, in the *Critici ſacri*. Amſterdam 1701 in 12mo. Amſterdam 1716 in 12mo, tranſlated into Low Dutch. In this treatiſe our author places the terreſtrial paradiſe upon the canal formed by the Tygris and Euphrates after they have joined near Apamea, between the place where they join and that where they ſeparate in order to fall into the Perſian Gulf, on the Eaſtern ſide of the South branch of the great circuit, which this river makes towards the Weſt, which is marked in the maps of Ptolomy near Aracca about 32 degrees 39 minutes North latitude, and 80 degrees ten minutes longitude. X. *Nouveaux Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire du Carteſianiſme*. Paris 1692 in 8vo. Amſterdam 1698 in 12mo, with additions. The firſt edition appeared under the name of *M. G. de l'A.* that is, *Monſieur Gilles de l'Aulnay*, a man of character, who had conferences at his houſe at Paris, and who lent his name to this book. The ſecond edition was publiſhed under the name of *M. G. de l'Academie Françoiſe*, through a miſtake of the Bookſeller in Holland, who miſtook the initial letters in the firſt edition. XI. *Statuts Synodaux pour le Dioceſe d'Avranches, lûs & publiez dans le Synode tenue à Avranches l'an* 1693. XII. *Trois Supplémens aux dits Statuts Synodaux, lûs & publiez dans les Synodes tenus à Avranches dans les annees* 1695, 1696, 1698. Caen. in 8vo. XIII. *Carmina Latina & Græca*. Deventer 1668 in 8vo. Amſterdam 1672 in 16mo, publiſhed by Mr. Hogerſius. Utrecht 1664 in 8vo and 1700 in 16mo, publiſhed by Mr. Grævius. Paris 1709 in 12mo, the fifth edition publiſhed by the Abbé d'Olivet, who likewiſe publiſhed a new edition at Paris 1729 in 12mo. XIV. *De Navigationibus Salomonis*. Amſterdam 1698 in 8vo. It is reprinted with the *Critici Sacri*; and tranſlated into French, and publiſhed by Mr. Bruzen de la Martiniere in a collection intitled, *Traitez Geographiques & Hiſtoriques pour faciliter l'Intelligence de l'Ecriture ſainte par divers Auteurs celebres*. Hague 1730, two volumes in 12mo. In this treatiſe he enquires, how Hiram King of Tyre could ſend his ſhips from Tyre, which lies upon the Mediterranean Sea, to Ezion-geber upon the Red Sea; and obſerves, that there was a canal made by art from the Nile into the Red Sea. He proves this from the teſtimony of the Arabians, who aſſert that there was a canal from the time of Abraham. Strabo ſays that Seſoſtris cauſed it to be made; and Herodotus tells us, that it was done by Nechius, the grandſon of Seſoſtris. Some authors affirm, that this work was left unfiniſhed; but perhaps a ſmall canal might be opened, and the great one never have been finiſhed. He then examines into the ſituation of *Ophir* and *Tharſis*. He imagines *Ophir* to be the South coaſt of Africa, called by the Arabians *Zanguebar*, and particularly *Sophala* upon the ſame coaſt. *Tharſis* he ſuppoſes to be the Weſtern coaſt of Africa and Spain towards the mouth of Bœtis. XV. *Notæ in Anthologiam Epigrammatum Græcorum*. Utrecht 1700 in 16mo, publiſhed at the end of Grævius's edition of our author's Poems. XVI. *Les Origines de la Ville de Caen & des Lieux circonvoiſins*. Roan 1702 in 4to. The ſecond edition printed in the ſame city in 1706 in 8vo is greatly enlarged. XVII. *Lettre à Monſr. Perrault ſur le Parallele des Anciens & des Modernes, du* 10 *Octobre* 1692, inſerted in the third part of the *Pieces fugitives* without the author's knowledge. In this letter he attacks Monſieur Perrault with great vigour and force of reaſoning. XVIII. *Examen du ſentiment de Longin ſur ce paſſage de la Geneſe*, Et Dieu dit, que la Lumiere ſoit faite, & la Lumiere fut faite, *par Mr.* Huet, *ancien Eveque d'Avranches:* inſerted in the tenth tome, art. 3. of Monſieur Le Clerc's *Bibliotheque Choiſie*. We ſhall give an account of the occaſion of this piece. Monſieur Huet in his *Demonſtratio Evangelica* had maintained, that this paſſage of Moſes, *God ſaid, let there be light, and there was light*, was perfectly ſimple, and not ſublime and figurative, as Longinus in his treatiſe *Of the Sublime* had aſſerted. In 1682 Meſſieurs de Port Royal gave a French tranſlation of Geneſis, with *an Expoſition of the Literal and Spiritual Senſe thereof, drawn from the holy Fathers and Eccleſiaſtical Authors*; and in the *Preface*, after having produced the authority of Longinus to ſhew, that there is the ſublime and grand *in the ſtyle of that Hiſtory, which being tempered with a divine ſimplicity, is every where ſtamped with the character of truth*, they report the opinion of this able Rhetorician upon the paſſage abovementioned, to which they add the remark, or, to uſe their own words, the *wiſe reflection* made thereupon by Monſieur Boileau in the preface to his tranſlation of Longinus printed with his works in 1674. All this gave occaſion to Monſieur Boileau to make an addition to the preface to that tranſlation, wherein he expreſſes his ſurprize, that Monſieur Huet ſhould diſown the ſublime in this paſſage, and congratulates himſelf upon the ſuffrage of Meſſieurs de Port Royal, who had made a very different judgment from that Prelate. Monſieur Huet having read that paſſage of Monſieur Boileau's, thought it concerned him to defend his opinion, and wrote a letter of ſome length to the Duke of Montauſier, the Dauphin's Governor. It is not to be doubted, but that the Duke ſoon communicated this piece to Monſieur Boileau; yet it is not probable that he was convinced by Monſieur Huet's arguments; ſince in all the following editions of his works, he never altered that paſſage in his preface, which had occaſioned Monſieur Huet's complaint. Neither did he make any anſwer to that diſſertation, probably becauſe it was not made public. For Monſ. Le Clerc having inſerted it in 1706 in his *Bibliotheque Curieuſe* with ſeveral judicious remarks in confirmation of Monſieur Huet's opinion; Monſieur Boileau wrote an anſwer. XIX. *Lettre a M. Foucault Conſeiller d'Etat ſur l'Origine de la Poeſie Françoiſe, du* 16 *Mars* 1706, inſerted in the *Memoires de Trevoux* in 1711. XX. *Lettre de M. Morin de l'Academie des Inſcriptions à M. Huet* (that is, of Monſieur Huet himſelf) *touchant le Livre de M.* Tolandus *Anglois, intitulé*, Adeiſidæmon, & Origines Judaicæ: inſerted in the *Memoires de Trevoux* for September 1709, and in the collection, which the Abbé

invited Monſieur Bochart to her court, Monſieur Huet accompanied him, and ſet out on the journey in April 1652. Monſieur Bochart did not meet with the reception which he expected. For the Queen's health being infirm, and too much ſtudy having injured it, Monſieur Bourdelot her Phyſician, an artful courtier, who had ſtudied her temper as well as conſtitution, prevailed on her to break off all converſation with the men of letters, in hopes to govern her alone himſelf. Monſieur Bochart was the ſufferer on this account; for Monſieur Huet's youth prevented him from appearing formidable to the Phyſician. He often viſited the Queen, who would have engaged him in her ſervice; but he being ſenſible of her mutable temper thought proper to return to France at the end of three months; the chief fruit of his journey being a copy of a manuſcript of Origen, which he tranſcribed at Stockholm, and the acquaintance which he had contracted with the learned men in Sweden and Holland, through which he had paſſed. Upon

Tilladet publiſhed of Monſieur Huet's works under the title of *Diſſertations ſur diverſes matieres de la Religion & de Philologie*, Paris 1612, two volumes in 12mo. Hague 1714 two volumes in 12mo. XXI. *Hiſtoire de Commerce & de la Navigation des Anciens*. Paris 1716 in 12mo. Bruſſels 1717 in 12mo. This has been tranſlated into Engliſh. XXII. *Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*. Amſterdam 1718 in 12mo. XXIII. *Traité Philoſophique de la Foibleſſe de l'Eſprit humain*. Amſterdam 1723 in 8vo. It is a ſceptical piece, and unworthy of our author. Father Caſtel the Jeſuit has undertaken to ſhew in the *Memoires de Trevoux* for June 1725 p. 989, that this treatiſe was not written by our author. But the Abbé Olivet has proved the contrary in a pamphlet publiſhed at Paris 1726 in 12mo, under the title of *Apologie*. This treatiſe has been tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed in 8vo. XXIV. *Huetiana, ou Penſées diverſes de M. Huet*. Paris 1722 in 12mo. XXV. *Diane de Caſtro; ou le faux Yncas*. Paris 1728 in 12mo. This romance was written when he was very young. XXVI. In the ſecond volume of Father Deſmolet's *Memoires de Litterature* there is printed a Latin preface to our author's *Traité de la Foibleſſe de l'Eſprit humain*. He left behind him a Latin tranſlation of Longus's *Loves of Daphnis and Chloe*; an *Anſwer to Monſieur Regis with regard to Des Cartes's Metaphyſics*; his *Notes upon the Vulgate Tranſlation of the Bible*; and collection of between five and ſix hundred letters in Latin and French, written to learned men. We ſhall give the reader ſome written to Dr. Thomas Gale, and communicated to us by the learned Roger Gale Eſq; the Doctor's ſon.

" Clariſſ. ornatiſſimoq; Viro *Thomæ Galæo*,
" S. P. D. *Petr. Dan. Huetius*.

" *Jamblichum* tuum accepi, Vir doctiſſime, cum & " ejus jam compos eſſem; nam ſtatim atq; ad me perlatum eſt eum labore tuo excultum, & doctrinæ tuæ " monumentis inſignem prodiiſſe, nihil mihi ad eum " comparandum reliqui feci, cum propter ſcriptoris " ſingularem eruditionem, per quam me plurimum " profeciſſe memineram, cum nondum Græcè extaret, " tum propter accuratam tuam Interpretationem & Annotationes non vulgaris ſaporis, quas adjeciſſe te acceperam. Præclarè enimvero meritus es de re literariâ & literatis omnibus nobili hac Lucubratione, " nominiſq; tui famæ egregiè conſuluiſti. Ego vero " pro tam ſplendido munere gratias ago tibi habeoq; " quam poſſum maximas. At futurum ſperaveram, " ut omnes *Jamblichi* reliquias colligeres, & in unum " Corpus digereres. Id profecto & Rei Dignitas & " Auctoris præſtantia, & reliquorum ejus operum " Commendatio poſtulabat; nos verò id à te nunc expectamus. Atq; utinam diligentiam tuam quoq; " conferres in excolendum *Porphyrium*, hominem excellentis ingenii & doctrinæ. Nihil profecto literarum bono, cui natus es, vel gloriæ tuæ utilius præſtare quires; nihil eximiæ tuæ eruditioni expromendæ commodius poſſes reperire. Quamobrem te " magnoperè hortor, ut hanc Spartam ornandam ſuſcipias. Hoc ſi feceris, nullis omnino officiis deero, " ſi quæ à me ad præclarum hoc inſtitutum promovendum poterunt proficiſci. Et verò ſunt mihi ad manum nonnulla, quibus non parum locupletari poſſet " hæc Editio. Digna quoq; res eſſet ſtudiis tuis ſparſa " *Procli* monumenta recomponere, viri magni, qui " clariſſimas diſciplinas animo pervagatus eſt, & acutis " commentationibus illuſtravit. Harum collectionem " nos quoq; juvare, & collatis ſymbolis amplificare " poſſemus. Ac ſæpenumero ſum miratus neglectos " jacuiſſe hactenus tam locupletes & luculentos Auctores, neq; inter tot eruditos homines, qui Veterum " emendandis & edendis ſcriptis induſtriam ſuam commodârunt, extitiſſe quenquam, qui ad hæc excutiendâ & publicanda animum appelleret. Nempe " uni tibi Laborem hunc deſtinabat Deus, ut qui " alios doctrinâ ſuperes, idem auctores eruditione cæteris præſtantiores curis tuis perpolires. Cæterum " ſapere tibi *Demonſtrationem* meam *Evangelicam* per " mihi gratum perq; jucundum eſt, cum ipſum te norim " quam limati ſis & ſubacti Ingenii Judiciiq; Miſeram " exemplaria Libri hujus ad clariſſimos viros *Pearſonum*, *Voſſium*, *Bernardum*, & *Belkium*; quæ an ad " vos pervenerint, nullus ſcio. Ex te velim intelligant noſtræ adverſum eos obſervantiæ ſignificationem " hanc me dediſſe. Vale, præſtantimne Galæe, & " me ama. Vale. VI Cal. Septembr. MDCLXXIX. " Lutet."

" Cl. eruditiſſimoq; Viro *Thomæ Galæo*,
" S. T. P. *P. D. Huetius*.

" Quanti intereſt literariæ Reipublicæ exire in lucem " publicam quæ a *Simplicio* in *Jamblichum* diſputata " ſunt, præſertim ſi labor tuus acceſſerit & diligentia, " præclare intelligo; neq; operæ ulli vel labori parcendum mihi eſſe duco, quoad ejus compos fieres. " Verum ſcito Romæ perpaucos eſſe, qui Græca Exemplaria verſare, pauciores qui deſcribere conſueverint. Eſurientes quidam Græculi operam olim " ſuam ad id locabant; qui quæſtûs, quoniam exilis " erat, neq; ἄλφιτα ſatis largiter ſuppeditabat, egeſtate " coacti ad alias artes animum ſtudiumq; converterunt. " Eſt equidem nunc illic *Petrus Poſſinus*, Græcarum " Literarum apprimè ſciens, mihiq; amicus. Verum " ab homine ætatis jam affectæ ſuis ſtudiis intento, " ſuiſq; meritis percelebri, hanc operam nec poſtulare " æquum eſt, nec expectare. Si quid tamen vel precibus aliunde efficere potero, vel auctoritate, vel " etiam pretio, non patiar officium ullum erga te " meum deſiderari. De colligendis & componendis " atq; etiam exornandis *Porphyrii* Operibus ſerio te cogitare vehementèr ſanè lætor. Præclarum enimverò " Conſilium, nobis utile, & tibi perquam honorificum; quo & eos, qui ſeveriores ſectantur diſciplinas, & qui amœniores, tibi devincias. Ecquod " enim Doctrinæ genus, quam Literarum partem " non attigit Vir ille maximus? Macte igitur eſto " hoc animo, doctiſſime Galæe, & in eam curam cogitationemq; incumbe, hanc uni tibi Palmam eſſe " repoſitam, quam Eruditorum omnium plauſus excipiet, immortalis Gloria conſequetur. Fertur iſthic " apud vos prodiiſſe ante hos quatuordecim annos *Diſſertatio de Paradiſo terreſtri*, Anglico ſermone ſcripta. " Velim ex te ſcire quid ſit illud Operis; unde ſi " quidquam diſcere nos poſſe putes, peto abs te ut " Librum ad me mittas: dabo operam ut ſtatim tibi " pretium renumeretur. Vale IV Eid. Jan. MDCLXXX. " de Sangermano.

" Clariſſ. doctiſſimoq; Viro *Thomæ Galæo*,
" S. P. D. *P. D. Huetius*.

" Literas tuas ad XIII Cal. Martias tertio circitèr " quartoq; poſtquam ſcriptæ erant menſe, vix tandem " accepi. Lutetiâ enim profectus IV Cal. Maii Alnetum veni, quæ Abbatia mea eſt in Neuſtriâ inferiore, non longè Cadomo diſtans; atq; illuc poſt " longos & diuturnos circuitus ægrè tandem pervenerunt Literæ tuæ. Ad eas ſic habeto: Scribam ad " *Petrum Poſſinum*, det operam, ut *Simplicium* illum, " quem poſtulas, vel per ſe, vel per amicos in Biblio-
" thecâ

Upon his return to his own country he reſumed his ſtudies with more vigour than ever, in order to publiſh his manuſcript of Origen. Two Academies, one of which had been eſtabliſhed during his abſence for polite Literature, and of which he had been elected a member without his knowledge; and another, which he founded himſelf for Natural Philoſophy, ſerved to divert him in his fatigue, or rather made him change his labour from time to time. Sixteen years after his return from Sweden his edition of Origen appeared. Theſe ſixteen years he ſpent without any employment but his ſtudies, though he went every year for a month or two to Paris. During this interval he had ſeveral advantageous offers, which he refuſed. Queen Chriſtina, who upon her abdication of the Crown of Sweden had retired to Rome, invited him thither in 1659. But the treatment of Monſieur Bochart, who had met with ſuch neglect from her in Sweden after he had been ſent for with ſuch aſſurances of favour, deterred him from accepting her invitation. He tells us likewiſe,

" thecâ Vaticanâ, aliiſq; quæ Romæ ſunt, conqui-
" rat. Sed quoniam homo ſenio eſt confectus, & ho-
" rarum ſuarum perparcus, auctor tibi ſum, ut literas
" meas mittas ad *Nazarium* tuum, negotiumq; ipſi
" des uti *Poſſinum* conveniat, redditiſq; meis Literis
" paratum ſe dicat, quæcunq; vel ſuaſerit vel juſſerit
" exequi; ſe modo auctoritate ſuâ, ope, concilio, of-
" ficiis adjuvet. Quod facturum libenter virum hu-
" maniſſimum ſpero, atq; etiam recipio. Hoc tibi ſi
" probabitur, Literas ad *Poſſinum* ſtatim à me habe-
" bis. Libellum Anglicum *de Paradiſo Terreſtri* una
" cum Literis tuis accepi. Habeo gratiam; referam
" etiam, ſi potero; majorem tamen habuiſſem, ſi pre-
" tium à me repræſentari paſſus eſſes. Nam quo pro-
" motior eſt Liberalitas tua, eo parcius hic mihi
" utendum eſt. *Procli Diſſertationes in Parmenidem*
" ſi quando nanciſcar, tibi redimam. Verum rarò
" venales proſtant Libri hujuſmodi calamo exarati.
" Si uſpiam occurrat, atq; ejus deſcribendi facultatem impetraverimus, non male nobiſcum agetur.
" Vale. Id. Sept. MDCLXXX. Alneto ad Adonem
" fluvium."

" Cl. doctiſſimoq; Viro *Tho. Galæo*, S. P. D.
" *P. D. Huetius.*

" Eram Lutetiæ, cum mihi redditæ ſunt ante aliquot
" menſes poſtremæ Literæ tuæ, quibus velle te ſigni-
" ficares, ut Romam ad *Petrum Poſſinum* ſcriberem
" de *Simplicio*, adituq; ad Bibliothecam Vaticanam
" hominibus tuis patefaciendo. Feciſſim illico, niſi
" ad me perlatum fuiſſet de humaniſſimi hujus viri
" obitu; quod etſi non certò & affirmatè dicebatur,
" mihi tamen expectandum eſſe duxi, quoad certius
" aliquid acciperem. Id ipſum verò ad te ſcribere
" diſtuli, quod & Lutetiæ Valetudine ſatis diu ten-
" tatus ſum, ſic ut Lectione & ſcriptione mihi à Medi-
" cis interdiceretur, & poſt reſtitutam ſanitatem ſta-
" tim huc me contuli, confirmandi mei causâ. Cum
" ergo de *Poſſini* vitâ incertus ſum, ne nunc quidem
" ad eum ſcribo, ne fruſtra ſcribam. Quod ſi res
" adhuc intregra eſt, & perſeveras in propoſito ſcribam
" ad eminentiſſimum Cardinalem Eſtræum, qui Literis
" Literatiſq; impensè favet, literarum omnium ipſe
" peritiſſimus, ut *Nazarium* tuum auctoritate ſuâ ad-
" juvet, ad ea conficienda quæ ipſi demandaſti. Id
" tibi ſi probari intellexero, ſtatim a me Literas ad
" eum accipies. Utar ad id Mabillonii noſtri operâ
" quoad ex te ſciam, quo eas ad te recta deſtinari,
" quoq; modo inſcribi jubeas. Tu tuas ad me mittes
" Lutetiam, apud Andræam Pralard Bibliopolum,
" Viâ Jacobæâ, qui eas quocunq; loco futurus ſim,
" diligenter curabit. Ita nullius interpoſitione egebi-
" mus. De ſtudiis & Lucubrationibus tuis valde velim
" ex te cognoſcere. Vale. Cal. Septemb. MDCLXXXI.
" Alneto."

" Præſtantiſſimo Viro *Thomæ Galæo*, S. P. D.
" *Petr. Dan. Huetius*, Epiſcopus Sueſſio-
" nenſis deſignatus.

" Accepi Literas tuas, eruditiſſime *Galæe*, ſingularis
" adverſum me benevolentiæ ſignificatione plenas, qui-
" bus novâ dignitate auctum me gratularis. Etſi ve-
" ro perhonorificum mihi eſt hoc de me maximi Regis
" judicium, qui tanto muneri nec imparem nec inde-
" corem fore me cenſuit; probari tamen abs te non
" exigua mihi eſt honoris acceſſio. Quanquam ſi non
" ineptus mei æſtimator eſſe velim, ſuſpicari fortaſſe
" debeam nos id tam ab exiſtimatione tuâ quam ab
" amicitiâ proficiſci. Etſi vero nova ac priori longe
" diſſimilis vivendi ratio jam inde mihi ineunda eſt,
" nunquam tamen à me impetratum iri ſentio, ut *ci-*
" *tharâ carentem ſenectam*, hoc eſt, ut Literarum noſtra-
" rum expertem, agere poſſim. Nam in quarum ſinu
" natus & eductus ſum, quæ nobis jucundiſſimæ &
" individuæ comites ita adhæſerunt, ut rebus afflictis
" ſolatio, lætis & florentibus oblectationi ſemper fue-
" rint, quarum muneris eſt *quod ſpiro & placeo*;
" ſi modo placeo; eas affectâ jam ætate aſpernari,
" illiberale eſſe duco. Quamobrem nihil eſt cur du-
" bites, quin eodem animo accipiam excellentis doc-
" trinæ tuæ fœtus, iiſq; evolvendis par ſtudium ad-
" hibeam ac feci olim, cum nullæ curæ otium noſ-
" trum interpellarent. Libellus *Originis de Oratione*,
" quem ad me miſeras, intra ipſius Angliæ fines à
" prædonibus interceptus eſt. Si quando promiſſum
" de edendis *Originis* opuſculis exolvere potero, non
" parum ex Labore hoc tuo ad noſtram Editionem
" accedet ornamenti. Nondum puto in Galliam per-
" latum fuiſſe *Spenceri* librum *de Legibus Ebræorum*.
" Magnum aliquid & a ſingulari Auctoris eruditione,
" & ab argumenti hujus dignitate expectamus. Tu
" vero, Vir eximie, in nobis amandis perge: id pro-
" fecto, ſi non virtute, at noſtro ærga te cultu & ob-
" ſervantiâ promeremur. Vale. Lutetiæ Pariſ. VI Eid.
" Aprilis MDCLXXXVI.

" Ornatiſſimo & eruditiſſimo Viro *Thomæ*
" *Galæo*, S. T. P. *Petrus Daniel Hue-*
" *tius*, Epiſcop. Sueſſion. deſignatus.

" Jam diu ſum in ære tuo, doctiſſime *Galæe*, cum ob
" egregium illud Munus, quo nos proſecutus es, lu-
" culentum Librum *de Piſcibus* a *Mabillonio* tuo nobis
" nomine redditum, de quo maximas habeo ti-
" bi agoq; gratias; tum multò magis ob tuam in
" retinendâ noſtrâ neceſſitudine conſtantiam & fidem.
" Nos verò huic minimè deſumus; & quamvis non
" patitur moles Negotiorum, quibus in adminiſtrandâ
" ampliſſimâ Diœceſi non premimur modo, ſed planè
" obruimur, ut frequenti literarum commercio bene-
" volentiam tuam colere, noſtramq; tibi teſtificari poſ-
" ſimus; viget tamen ea apud nos magnâ excellentis
" tuæ eruditionis admiratione conjuncta. Subit in-
" terdum invidere *Juſtello* noſtro, qui eandem tecum
" urbem habitat, & ſedens adverſus identidem te aſ-
" pectat & audit. Verum quoniam ita terrâ mariq;
" disjuncti ſumus, ut mutuo colloquio aſpectuq; frui
" nobis non liceat, at animorum certè conjunctione
" noſtri deſiderium ſolemur. Vale Lutet. Pariſiorum
" X Cal. Martias MDCLXXXVII.

" Eximio Viro *Thomæ Galæo*, S. P. D. *Pe-*
" *trus Daniel Huetius*, Epiſcopus Sueſ-
" ſionenſis deſignatus.

" De *Manilio* edendo nunquam equidem cogitavi, Vi-
" rorum omnium optime & humaniſſime; & ſi cogi-
" tâſſem, nunc mihi variis occupationibus & gravibus
" curis implicito hujuſmodi cogitatio omnino eſſet ab-
" jicienda. Liceatne verò hæc ſtudia perſequi, cui reſ-
" pirare non licet? Et nunc quod in hoc ſeceſſu poſ-
" ſum otioſus videri, non ita ſane eſt; nobiſcum
" attulimus negotia noſtra. Meminiſti Horatianum
" illud, *Poſt equitem ſedet atra Cura*. His negotiis
" alia ſuccreſcunt indies, nec literas noſtras reſpicere,
" nedum retractare ſinunt. Cur autem Manilii Editi-
" onem ſuſcepiſſe vel dictus ſim vel creditus, duo viden-
" tur effeciſſe; & quod notæ quædam noſtræ ad cal-
" cem Delfinianæ Editionis adjectæ ſunt octo abhinc
" annis; & quod Auctoris hujus Codicem quendam
" MS. miſit ad me nuper *Voſſius*. At notas expreſſe-
" runt a me *Faii* Editoris flagitationes aſſiduæ: Codi-
" cem

likewiſe, that he received an offer from Sweden to take upon him the education of the young King, who in 1660 ſucceeded Charles Guſtavus, ſucceſſor of Chriſtina, but that he excuſed himſelf. However, this fact is fully refuted by the authors of the *Acta Litteraria* of Sweden. Ten years after Monſieur Boſſuet being appointed by the King Preceptor to the Dauphin in the room of the Preſident de Perigny, who died in 1670, his Majeſty choſe Monſieur Huet for his collegue with the title of Sub-Preceptor to the Prince, which he had long before deſigned to honour him with, but had been diſſuaded from it by Monſieur de Montauſier, though otherwiſe a friend to our author, at the deſire of Monſieur de Perigny, who was jealous of the merit of a collegue of ſo great a character. He came to court in 1670, and continued there till 1680, when the Dauphin married. His employment taking up a conſiderable part of his life, he ſtole ſeveral hours from ſleep to compleat his *Demonſtratio Evangelica*, which was begun and ended amidſt the embaraſsment of a court. He refuſed for a long time the ſollicitations of ſeveral members of the French Academy, who would have engaged him to deſire a place in that illuſtrious body; but at laſt he conſented, and was admitted there in 1674. Though the firſt idea of the Commentators for the uſe of the Dauphin was ſtarted by the Duke de Montauſier; yet it was Monſieur Huet, who formed the plan, and directed the execution of it, as far as the capacity of the perſons employed in that work would permit. While he was engaged in writing his *Demonſtratio Evangelica*, the ſentiments of piety, which he had from his earlieſt years, prompted him to enter into holy Orders, which he did at forty ſix years of age. In 1678 he was preſented by the King to the Abbey of Aunay in Normandy, which was ſo agreeable to him, that he retired there every ſummer, after he

" cem verò hunc pervolutare ſivit otium, quod ætate
" hac proximâ præſtiterunt nobis aquæ Borbonienſes,
" ad quas Valetudinis causâ me contuli. Etſi vero il-
" luſtrandi Manilii nullum omnino cepi conſilium,
" quod ſi tamen perficere poſſis, ut ſtudioſus aliquis
" Codicis Oxonienſis cum Editione Scaligeranâ conten-
" dendi Laborem in ſe volet recipere, & variantes Lecti-
" ones ad te tranſmittere, quas mecum deinde commu-
" nices, rem mihi feceris longè gratiſſimam. *Por-*
" *phyrii* Editionem περὶ ἐμψύχων ἀποχῆς benè tibi ver-
" tere cupio. Doctus & plenus bonæ frugis Libellus, ut
" alia omnia magni illius Viri, cujus utinam univer-
" ſas ſcriptionis in unum aliquando corpus poſſis colli-
" gere. Poteris quidem, ſi voles, voles autem, ſi me
" audias; nam qui pro dignitate operis rectè exequi
" poſſit, præter te nemo homo eſt. Lutetiæ recudi-
" tur *Demonſtratio* noſtra *Evangelica*. Illuc poſt ſe-
" meſtrem abſentiam revolare cogito. Et verò conti-
" nui Imbres, qui totum hunc fœdarunt Septembrem,
" ex amœno hoc feceſſu me invitum extrudunt. Tu
" bene vale. IV Non. Octobris. MDCLXXXVII. ex
" Alneto."

" Ornatiſſimo Viro *Thomæ Galæo*, S. P. D.
" *Petrus Daniel Huetius* Epiſcop. Sueſſ.
" deſignatus.

" Literas tuas ad VII Cal. Quintil. datas Idibus Octo-
" bris accepi in Alnetano noſtro, quæ eſt Abbatia
" Neuſtriæ inferioris. Tum autem me comparabam
" ad reditum pro more meo. Sic enim annis ab hinc
" aliquot vitæ tempora partiri ſoleo, ut Vere & Æſtate
" ruſticus ſim, hyeme urbanus, Lutetiamq; repetam.
" Nihil autem mihi magis præter ſpem potuit con-
" tingere, quam variantes Lectiones *Maniliani* Codi-
" cis *Mertonenſis*, tuo amicorumq; tuorum ſtudio ex-
" cerptas, accipere. Nam quid tantum de te prome-
" ritus ſum, omnium quotquot ſunt hominum op-
" time & benigniſſime, ut tantum Laborem ſubire,
" totq; bonarum horarum jacturam meâ causâ facere
" velles? Equidem ſi te ex ſcriptis duntaxat tuis noſ-
" ſem, primarium te gentis eruditæ ſine cunctatione
" ac fortaſsè etiam primum principemq; ponerem.
" Nunc cum ad ſingularem illam doctrinam huma-
" nitas inuſitata & expromta Liberalitas acceſſerint,
" nihil a me dici poteſt tam magnificè quin Virtus
" tua exuperet. Quamvis igitur gratias habeo tibi
" agereq; immortales debeo, referre certè neque poſ-
" ſum, neq; poſſe unquam ſpero. Cæterum quod ais,
" geminam tibi videri hujus operis Editionem pro-
" diiſſe, in eo facilè tibi aſſentior; nam & in aliis
" idem deprehenſum eſt à me, maximè verò in Jo-
" ſephi ἀρχαιολογίᾳ, quod & clariſſimum *Bernardum*
" monui. Cuinam verò diſcrepantia hæc Maniliani
" Aſtronomici accepta referenda ſit, an Auctori ipſi, an
" alteri, ſtatuere ſanè promptum non eſt, ei præſertim,
" cui perſpecta ſit infinita Criticorum licentia. Nam ne
" recedamus ab hoc opere, ſi quis Scaligeri Editiones cum
" priſcis, vel ipſas etiam inter ſe contulerit, *Manilium*
" pene quærat in *Manilio*, ea fuit hominis Confidentia.
" Gratiſſimum mihi fuit eximium Ariſtarchi Libellum,
" nativo ornatu excultum, & inſigni fragmento *Pappi*
" cinctum prodire. Atq; utinam idem ſtudium in re-
" liquis Mathematicis a Commandino Latinè editis,
" longeque etiam pluribus, qui latent in forulis Biblio-
" thecarum, ponat aliquando doctiſſimus *Walliſius*.
" Multos in iiſdem argumentis verſatos jam olim pa-
" raverant Prælo, qui Regiæ huic Bibliothecæ tum
" præfecti erant; quidam etiam typis ſunt excuſi, ſed
" nondum venæunt. Interpretandorum eorum curam
" demandaverat illuſtriſſimus *Colbertus Henrico Valeſio*,
" Viro cætera doctiſſimo, at Mathematicarum Diſci-
" plinarum imperito. Hinc maxima ſuccrevit Erro-
" rum Seges, qui vel primo intuitu incurrunt in ocu-
" los. Plurimos facilè reperias ſcientiæ hujus, plurí-
" mos Græcæ Linguæ gnaros; perpaucos utriuſq;
" ac ferè nullos; pauciores etiam qui veterum Mathe-
" maticorum Libros verſaverint. Fugerat me penitus
" inſigne illud, quod indicaſti, *Bedæ* teſtimonium de
" Purpurâ veſtrate Britannicâ, ex quo liquido cognoſci-
" tur, neq; unquam intercediſſe omnino Purpuræ uſum,
" contra ac multi putant, & hanc quæ nuper apud
" vos reperta eſt, illam ipſam eſſe, quæ Bedæ tempo-
" ribus erat in pretio. Perge verò excellenti tuâ Eru-
" ditione doctiores nos facere. Ego quidem libenter
" tibi μαθητεύω. Vale. Lutet. Paris. Cal. Decemb.
" MDCLXXXVIII."

" Viro ampliſſimo D. D. *Petro Danieli*
" Huetio Abrincotenſium Epiſcopo *Thomas*
" *Galæ*, S. P. D.

" Nobilis Vir *Robertus Boyle ὁ μακαρίτης*, libris eru-
" ditis Philoſophiam, vitâ ſanctiſſimâ Religionem plu-
" rimum promovit. Idem legavit ſtipendia, quo eruditus
" quiſpiam inſtrueretur ad bellum contra Atheos geren-
" dum, quâ ſcriptis, quâ concionibus, per omnem poſte-
" ritatem. Non eſt diſſimulandum multa apud nos effer-
" buiſſe Atheorum Examina: otio ſuo aſſiduè abutuntur in
" traducendo Moyſe. Julianus Simplicius, aliiq; rectè,
" aiunt, pronunciavere totam κοσμογονίαν Moyſaicam ex
" ſacris Ægyptiorum fabulis deſumptam fuiſſe. In
" tempore igitur, S. Antiſtes, edidiſſe videris elegan-
" tem de Paradiſo libellum. Multi eum legunt &
" laudant: ut idem faciant plures, curabo ut noſtro
" ſermonem publicum prodeat. Hoc meum conſilium
" oro in bonam accipias partem, veniamq; impertias
" quod te inconſulto rem iſtam aggreſſus ſim. Emiſi hoc
" anno duo Volumina Hiſtoricorum, qui res Anglica-
" nas olim Latinè tradiderunt. Ubi primum claude-
" tur Janua, hos ad te, venerande Præſul, mittam,
" obſervantiæ meæ teſtes. Emendavi ad MSS. vete-
" res Iamblichi libros, quos prius evulgavit Arcerius.
" Iſti cum verſione meâ exibunt, vere appetente. E-
" juſdem Iamblichi opuſculum περὶ κοινῆς Μαθηματικῆς
" tuo beneficio jampridem nactus ſum. In eo inter-

he had left the court, and wrote a great many of his works there. In 1685 he was nominated to the Biſhopric of Soiſſons. But before the bulls for his inſtitution were expedited, the Abbé de Sillery having been nominated to the See of Avranches, they exchanged Biſhoprics with conſent of the King; though by reaſon of the differences between the court of France and that of Rome they could not be conſecrated till 1692. This delay was no great uneaſineſs to Monſieur Huet, who had more reliſh for a private and ſtudious life than that of a Biſhop, and accordingly reſigned his Biſhopric of Avranches in 1699, and was preſented by the King to the Abbey of Fontenay near the gates of Caen. His love to his native place determined them to fix there, for which purpoſe he improved the houſe and gardens belonging to the Abbot. But ſeveral law-ſuits coming upon him, he removed to Paris, and lodged among the Jeſuits in the *Maiſon Profeſſe*, whom he had made heirs to his Library, reſerving to himſelf the uſe of it during life. Here he lived the laſt twenty years of his life, dividing his time between devotion and ſtudy. He employed himſelf chiefly in writing notes on the vulgate tranſlation; and read over for that purpoſe the Hebrew text four and twenty times, comparing it with the other Oriental texts. He ſpent every day two or three hours in this work from 1681 to 1712. A ſevere diſtemper, which attacked him that year, and confined him to his bed for near ſix months, weakened extremely his body and memory, but not the vivacity of his genius. However when he had recovered his ſtrength, he applied himſelf to the writing of his life, which he did in a very elegant manner, though not with the ſame order and exactneſs as his other works, his memory being then decayed, and afterwatds more and more declining, ſo that he was not any longer capable of a continued work, but only committed to writing detached thoughts, which are publiſhed under the title of *Huetiana*. It is remarkable that two or three hours before his death he recovered all the vigour of his genius and memory. He employed theſe moments in acts of piety, and died January the 26th 1721, aged ninety one years. He had a ſtrong conſtitution, which was never altered by his intenſe ſtudy; he had a lively genius and ſolid judgment, and an eaſy affable temper, and was a man of a very agreeable converſation and ſtrict probity (*a*).

(*a*) See his *Commentar. de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*; his *Eloge* by the Abbé *Olivet*, prefixed to the *Huetiana*, and to his *Traité Philoſophique de la Foibleſſe de l'Eſprit humain*; and *Memoires de Trevoux*, Avril 1721.

" pretando nolui tempus perdere. Lacunis ubiq; ſcatet
" oſcitantia Librarii, quo apud vos uſus ſum. Mol-
" liora tempora video mihi expectanda, ut hic Libel-
" lus ſanitati ſuæ reſtituatur. Deus O. M. Orbi
" Chriſtiano pacem, tibi, O Galliarum Lux & Orna-
" mentum, vitam ad multos annos concedat. Vale.
" Dub. Lond. Kal. Novembres Anno MDCXCII."

" Præſtantiſſimo Viro *T. Gale*, S. P. D.
" *Petrus Daniel Huetius* Epiſcopus Abrin-
" cenſis.

" Dici non poteſt quam mihi jucundæ fuerunt Lite-
" ræ tuæ. Nam cum propter inſignem Eruditionem,
" quâ paucos hac ætate pares habes, neminem ſupe-
" riorem, carus ſis omnibus, mihiq; adeo ipſi, multò
" mihi carior es certè ob eximiam bonitatem, mo-
" deſtiam, liberalitatem, cæteraſque Dotes, quas in te
" jampridem expertus ſum, atque earum prædicandi
" nullum finem facio, quotieſcunque in eruditiſſimæ
" gentis tuæ mentionem incido. Quamobrem ſic ve-
" lim exiſtimes eſſe me virtutum tuarum non admira-
" torem modo ſummum, ſed etiam aſſiduum Præco-
" nem. Quo mihi gravior accidit diuturna illa litera-
" rum intermiſſio, quæ ex ferali hoc orta bello, ſua-
" viſſimum nobis ademit tuæ conſuetudinis fructum. An
" enim ad te perventuræ ſint Literæ iſtæ, ne ſatis qui-
" dem certus ſum, nedum editos à me libellos in lu-
" cem, ad te, ad *Juſtellum*, ad *Bernardum* tuto poſſim
" tranſmittere. Miror itaque penetrare ad vos po-
" tuiſſe Diſſertationem noſtram *de Situ Paradiſi ter-
" reſtris*; cum vix duo Exemplaria, perfractis clauſtris
" ad hujus regni aditus oppoſitis, in Hollandiam eva-
" ſerint, etſi benè multa per Germaniam illuc cu-
" randa fidis hominibus tradideram. Quæ ſi perve-
" niſſent ad deſtinatum finem, pars aliqua ad vos itura
" erat; ſed ea demum intercederunt. Gratiſſimum
" autem mihi eſt atque etiam honorificum operâ tuâ
" libellum hunc in veſtram Linguam transferri; nam
" quod deſit ab Auctore, vel ad Elegantiam & Orna-
" tum, vel ad Doctrinæ Copiam, largiter ſarcietur ab
" Interprete. Ejus quidem Latinè vertendi Laborem
" viri aliquot noſtrates in ſe receperunt. De Scripto-
" ribus Anglicanæ Hiſtoriæ a te editis aliquid ex li-
" terariis Ephemeridibus cognoveram. Libros iſtos in
" Galliam nuſpiam extare puto. De *Jamblicho* ſalivam
" mihi moviſti. Valde mendoſa eſt *Arceriana* editio,
" nec multo ſanior Interpretatio. Scriptor tibi fami-
" liaris, à me non alienus certè; in quo exornando
" quicquid collocatum à te erit temporis & laboris,
" tibi honori, nobis emolumento erit. Vale, eruditi-
" ſſime, & quod mihi longe pluris eſt, optime Vir.
" Lutet. Paris. XV Kal. Febr. MDCXCIII." T.

HUGUES (JAMES) a Divine and Canon, born at Liſle in Flanders, printed at Rome in 1655, a work of a very ſingular kind, conſidering the wild chimæras it abounds with [*A*]. He dedicated it to Pope Alexander VII, and interſperſed his epiſtle dedicatory with many ridiculous applications.

☞HUMPHREY

[*A*] *He . . . printed . . . a work of a very ſingular kind, conſidering the wild chimæras it abounds with.*] Here follows the title of it: *Vera Hiſtoria Romana, ſeu Origo Latii vel Italiæ ac Romanæ Urbis è tenebris longæ vetuſtatis in lucem producta. Liber primus qui primordia Europæ ac Latii primævi Annales demonſtrat atque Urbis conditæ. Romæ, typis Franciſci Monetæ*, M. DCLV. i. e. " A true Roman Hiſtory, or the " Origin of Latium or Italy, and of the city of Rome, " brought to Light out of the Darkneſs of diſtant " Antiquity. Book I, containing a relation of the " beginnings or firſt peopling of Europe, the annals " of old Latium, and of the building the city of Rome." It contains 284 pages in 4to (1). The following paſſage from the Memoirs of Trevoux, may ſerve as a ſpecimen of this whimſical book. According to James Hugues, " there never were ſuch men as Janus, Æneas, " or Romulus. Whatever has been related of them, is " taken from the predictions of I know not what Sy- " bil, who, in her Prophecies relating to St. Peter, " had given to this Saint, the name of thoſe heroes; " and who, agreeable to the ſtyle and genius of Pro- " phetic writings, had employed the paſt tenſe inſtead " of the future. This author's book of the origin of " Rome, is full of chimæra's no leſs extraordinary " than that juſt now related (2)."

(1) Konig obſerves that this work was printed at Rome in the year 1655, folio. I don't know that edition.

(2) Father Tournemine, in a *Memoir* inſerted in the *Journal de Trevoux*, for Feb. 1704, pag. 335, 336. Trevoux edit.

☞HUGHES (JOHN), an ingenious and polite writer in the eighteenth Century, was ſon of a worthy Citizen of London by Anne the daughter of Iſaac Burges Eſq; a Gentleman of an antient family and good eſtate in Wiltſhire, and was born at Marlborough in the ſaid county on the 29th of January 1677, but educated in London, and received the rudiments of learning at private ſchools. In the earlieſt years of his youth he applied himſelf with ardour to the purſuit of the ſiſter-arts, Poetry, Drawing, and Muſic; in each of which, by turns, he made a conſiderable progreſs; but, for the moſt part, followed theſe and other ſtudies of humanity, only as agreeable amuſements, under frequent confinement from indiſpoſition, and a continual valetudinary ſtate of health. He had for ſome time an employment in the office of Ordnance, and was Secretary to two or three Commiſſions under the Great Seal for purchaſing lands for the better ſecuring the Docks and Harbours at Portſmouth, Chatham, and Harwich. In the year 1717 the Lord Chancellor Cowper, to whom Mr. Hughes was then but lately known, was pleaſed of his own accord, and without any previous ſollicitation to make him Secretary for the Commiſſions of the Peace, and to diſtinguiſh him with ſingular marks of his eſteem [*A*]; and upon his Lordſhip's reſigning the Great Seal, he was, at his particular recommendation, and with the ready concurrence of his ſucceſſor, continued in the ſame employment under the Earl of Macclesfield. He held the ſaid place to the time of his death, which happened on the 17th of February 1719, the very night, in which his Tragedy, intitled, *The Siege of Damaſcus*, was firſt acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. He was then forty two years of age. His body was privately interred in the vault under the chancel of St. Andrew's Church in Holbourn. His writings have gained him an eſtabliſhed reputation [*B*]. He was happy in the acquaintance and friendſhip of ſeveral of

[*A*] *Diſtinguiſh him with ſingular marks of his eſteem.*] Mr. Hughes, as a teſtimony of gratitude to his noble patron and friend, gave his Lordſhip a few weeks before he died, his picture drawn by Sir Godfrey Kneller, which he himſelf had received as a preſent from that admirable painter. The value his Lordſhip ſet upon it will beſt appear from the letter, which he wrote to Mr. Hughes upon this occaſion.

" 24 January, 1719-20.

" Sir,

" I thank you for the moſt acceptable preſent of " your picture, and aſſure you, that none of this age " can ſet an higher value upon it than I do, and ſhall, " while I live; though I am ſenſible poſterity will " outdo me in that particular. I am, with the great- " eſt eſteem and ſincerity,

" Sir,

" Your moſt affectionate and " obliged humble Servant,

" COWPER."

[*B*] *His writings have gained him an eſtabliſhed reputation.*] We ſhall firſt give an account of his Poems and Dramatic works, and then proceed to his tranſlations and writings in proſe. The *Triumph of Peace* was his firſt Poem of any length, that appeared in public. It was written on occaſion of the Peace of Reſwick, and printed in the year 1697. The *Court of Neptune* was written upon King William's return from Holland, two years after the Peace, in 1699. The *Houſe of Naſſau*, a Pindaric Ode, printed in 1702, was occaſioned by the death of King William. The Tranſlation of the *Third Ode* of the *Third Book of Horace*, and the Paraphraſe of the *Twenty ſecond Ode* of the *Firſt Book*, were both written when he was very young; and the latter of them was his firſt Poetical Eſſay that appeared in print. The Paraphraſe on the *ſixteenth Ode* of the *ſecond Book* of the ſame author, printed in the ſixth volume of Dryden's *Miſcellanies*, was written in 1702. The ſix *Cantata's*, ſet by Dr. Pepuſch, were deſigned as an Eſſay, (which was the firſt in its kind) for compoſitions in Engliſh after the manner of the Italians. They were written before the introducing Italian Operas on the Engliſh ſtage, though not publiſhed till afterwards. The ſucceſs, which they met with, encouraged our author to write occaſionally ſeveral others in the ſame manner. As his Odes for Muſic, Cantata's, and Songs, are allowed by the teſtimony of the beſt Judges to be extremely well adapted to that art, they have likewiſe had the advantage to be ſet by the beſt maſters. The *Tenth Book* of *Lucan* was tranſlated by Mr. Hughes long before Mr. Row undertook that author. The occaſion of it was this. Mr. *Tonſon* Senior ſollicited a tranſlation of Lucan by ſeveral hands. Mr. Hughes performed his part; but others failing in their promiſes, the deſign was dropped; and Mr. Rowe was afterwards prevailed upon to undertake the whole, which he performed with great ſucceſs. In 1709 Mr. Hughes obliged the public with an elegant Tranſlation of Moliere's *Miſantrope*. This has been ſince reprinted with the other Plays of that admirable author tranſlated by Mr. Ozell; but no notice is taken by what hand it was tranſlated, and Mr. Hughes's judicious preface is there omitted. In 1711 Sir Richard Steele and Mr. Clayton had concerts of muſic in York-Buildings; on which occaſion they ſent Mr. Hughes the following letter:

" Dear Sir,

" Mr. Clayton and I deſire you, as ſoon as you can " conveniently, to alter this Poem (1) for Muſic, pre- " ſerving as many of Dryden's words and verſes as " you can. It is to be performed by a voice well " ſkilled in recitative; but you underſtand all theſe " matters much better than

" Your affectionate humble Servant,

R. STEELE."

(1) *Alexander's Feaſt: or the Power of Muſic: An Ode for St. Cecilia's Day.*

According to their requeſt, he made ſeveral alterations in it; but it appears from a letter from Mr. Hughes to Sir Richard Steele, that Mr. Clayton's compoſition did not ſatisfy the Connoiſſeurs in muſick. The *Opera* of *Calypſo and Telemachus* was performed at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market in the year 1712. We ſhall take notice of one circumſtance concerning this Opera, as it relates to the hiſtory of muſic in England, and diſcovers the great partiality ſhewn at that time to Operas performed in Italian. After many ſuch had been encouraged by large ſubſcriptions, this originally written and ſet in Engliſh after the Italian manner (though not at firſt) was prepared with the uſual expence of ſcenes and decorations; and being much crouded and applauded at the rehearſals, a ſubſcription was obtained for it as uſual. This alarmed the whole Italian band, who had intereſt enough (the late Duke of Shrewſbury being then Lord Chamberlain) to procure an order the day before the performing this Opera, to take off the ſubſcription for it, and to open the Houſe at the loweſt prices or not at all. This was deſigned to ſink it, but failed of its end. It was however performed, though under ſo great diſcouragement, and was revived ſome years ago at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. Mr. Addiſon in the *Spectator* (2) ſpeaking of the juſt applauſe given this Opera by Signior Nicolini, (who, he ſays, was *the greateſt performer in Dramatic muſic, that perhaps ever appeared upon a ſtage*) has theſe words: " The town is highly obliged " to that excellent artiſt for having ſhewn us the Ita- " lian

(2) Vol. 6. num. 405. for Saturday June 14, 1712.

of the greateſt men and fineſt genius's of the age, particularly Earl Cowper, Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, now Biſhop of Wincheſter, the late Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, Sir Godfrey Kneller, Mr. Congreve, Mr. Addiſon, Sir Richard Steele, Mr. Southerne, Mr. Rowe, &c. (*a*). Sir Richard Steele, immediately after the death of Mr. Hughes, drew his character in a very juſt and pathetic manner in a paper publiſhed by him, and intitled, *The Theatre* (*b*); wherein he ſays, that our author, "could hardly ever be ſaid "to have enjoyed health; but was in the beſt of his days a Valetudinarian. If thoſe "who are ſparing of giving praiſe to any virtue, without extenuation of it, ſhould ſay, "that his youth was chaſtiſed into the ſeverity, and preſerved in the innocence, for "which he was conſpicuous, from the infirmity of his conſtitution; they will be under "a new difficulty, when they hear that he had none of thoſe faults, to which an ill "ſtate of health ordinarily ſubjects the reſt of mankind. His incapacity for mere frolic "diverſions

(*a*) Mr. Duncombe's *Account of the Life and Writings of John Hughes Eſq*; prefixed to the firſt volume of his *Poems on ſeveral Occaſions; with ſome ſelect Eſſays in Proſe.* London 1735, in 12mo.

(*b*) Num. 15. from Tueſday Feb. 16. to Saturday Feb. 20, 1719-20.

"lian muſic in its perfection, as well as for that gene-
"rous approbation he lately gave to an Opera of our
"own country, in which the compoſer endeavoured to
"do juſtice to the beauty of the words by following
"that noble example, which has been ſet him by the
"greateſt foreign maſters in that art." The *Ode to the Creator of the World, occaſioned by the Fragments of Orpheus*, was printed in 1713, at the particular inſtance of Mr. Addiſon, and is mentioned with applauſe in the *Spectator*. This and *The Ecſtacy*, publiſhed ſince the death of the author, are eſteemed two of the nobleſt Odes in our Language. In the latter there is a fine compliment to Sir Iſaac Newton. The Tragedy of *Cato* was firſt acted in the ſame year, 1713. We take notice of this particular, becauſe we are informed by a late writer (3), that it being then brought upon the ſtage was in a great meaſure owing to Mr. Hughes. We ſhall give the writer's own words. "It has been often "ſaid by very good judges, that *Cato* was no proper ſub-
"ject for a Dramatic Poem. That the character of a
"Stoic Philoſopher is inconſiſtent with the hurry and
"tumult of action and paſſion, which are the ſoul of
"Tragedy. That the ingenious author miſcarried in
"the plan of his work, but ſupported it by the dig-
"nity, the purity, the beauty, and juſtneſs of the ſen-
"timents. This was ſo much the opinion of Mr.
"*Maynwaring* (4), who was generally allowed to be
"the beſt critic of our time, that he was againſt bring-
"ing the Play upon the ſtage, and it lay by unfi-
"niſhed many years. That it was play'd at laſt, was
"owing to Mr. Hughes. He had read the four acts
"which were finiſhed, and rightly thought it would
"be of ſervice to the public to have it repreſented at
"the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, when the old
"Engliſh ſpirit of liberty was as likely to be loſt, as
"it had ever been ſince the conqueſt. He endeavoured
"to bring Mr. Addiſon into his opinion, which he
"did ſo far as to procure his conſent, that it ſhould
"be acted, if Mr. Hughes would write the laſt act;
"and he offered him the ſcenary for his aſſiſtance,
"excuſing his not finiſhing it himſelf on account of
"ſome other avocations. He preſt Mr. Hughes to
"do it ſo earneſtly, that he was prevailed on, and ſet
"about it. But a week after ſeeing Mr. Addiſon again,
"with an intention to communicate to him what he
"had thought of it, he was agreeably ſurprized at his
"producing ſome papers, where near half of the act
"was written by the author himſelf, who took fire at
"the hint, that it would be ſerviceable, and upon a
"ſecond reflection went through with the fifth act;
"not that he was diffident of Mr. Hughes's ability,
"but knowing that no man could have ſo perfect a
"notion of his deſign as himſelf, who had been ſo long
"and ſo carefully thinking of it. I was told this by
"Mr. Hughes; and I tell it to ſhew, that it was not
"for the love-ſcenes that Mr. Addiſon conſented to
"have his Tragedy acted, but to ſupport the old
"Roman and Engliſh public ſpirit, which was then
"ſo near being ſuppreſſed by faction and bigottry."
The *Siege of Damaſcus* was acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane in the year 1719 with great applauſe. Mr. Hughes drew up the dedication of it to Earl Cowper but ten days before he died. It is indeed ſurpriſing, that he ſhould be able to form a piece ſo finely turned, and with ſo much ſpirit at ſuch an hour, when he had death in view, and was too weak to tranſcribe it himſelf. It is generally allowed, that the characters in this Play are finely varied and diſtinguiſhed; that the ſentiments are juſt, and well adapted to the characters; that it abounds with beautiful deſcriptions, apt alluſions to the manners and opinions of the times, where the ſcene is laid, and with noble morals; that the diction is pure, unaffected, and ſublime, without any meteors of ſtyle, or ambitious ornaments; and that the plot is conducted in a ſimple and clear manner. Mr. Duncombe (5) obſerves, that the only objection which he had ever heard, related to the plan of it. "There does not appear (ſay ſome, who are eſteemed
"perſons of very good taſte and judgment) a ſufficient
"ground and foundation for the diſtreſs in the fourth
"and fifth acts. For what is *Phocyas*'s crime? The
"city of Damaſcus is beſieged, and fiercely attacked
"by the Saracens. There is little or no proſpect of
"relief. It muſt therefore probably fall into their
"hands in a ſhort time, be ſacked and plundered, and
"the garriſon and citizens enſlaved. At this dange-
"rous juncture *Phocyas* aſſiſts the enemy to take it in
"a few days ſooner. But upon what terms? That all
"who lay down their arms, ſhall be ſpared, and li-
"berty granted to every citizen, that ſhall chooſe it,
"to leave the city, and carry off with him a mule's
"burden of his goods; the Chiefs to have ſix mules,
"and the Governor ten; with arms for their defence
"againſt the Mountain-Robbers, (*Act IV. Scene I.*) in-
"ſomuch that Daran ſays, (*Act V. Scene I.*) *The land*
"*wears not the face of war, but trade; and looks as*
"*if its merchants were ſending forth their loaded cara-*
"*vans to all the neighbouring countries.* What is there in
"all this, that a virtuous man might not have done
"for the good of his country? If *Phocyas* is guilty,
"his guilt muſt conſiſt in this only, that he performed
"the ſame action from a ſenſe of his own wrongs,
"and to preſerve the idol of his ſoul from violation or
"death, which he might have performed laudably upon
"better principles. But this (ſay they) ſeems not a ſuf-
"ficient ground for thoſe ſtrong and ſtinging reproaches
"he caſts upon himſelf, nor for Eudocia's rejecting him
"with ſo much ſeverity. It would have been more ra-
"tional (conſidering the frailty of human nature, and
"the violent temptations he lay under) if he had been,
"at laſt, prevailed upon to profeſs himſelf a Mahome-
"tan; for then his remorſe and ſelf-condemnation would
"have been natural, his puniſhment juſt, and the cha-
"racter of *Eudocia* placed in a moſt amiable light."
Mr. Duncombe (6) owns himſelf at a loſs for an anſwer to this objection; and therefore thinks himſelf obliged to acquaint the reader, in order to do juſtice to the author's judgment, that he had formed the play according to the plan here recommended. But when it was offered to the managers of Drury-Lane Play-Houſe in the year 1718, they refuſed to act it, unleſs he would alter the character of *Phocyas*, pretending that he could not be an hero, if he changed his religion, and that the audience would not bear the ſight of him after it, in how lively a manner ſoever his remorſe and repentance might be deſcribed. "But ſurely, *ſays Mr.*
"*Duncombe*, when in the agony of his ſoul, and diſ-
"tracted with paſſion, he is at laſt prevailed upon,
"though with the utmoſt reluctance and horror, to
"kiſs the Alcoran, he rather appears an object of
"pity than of deteſtation. How tenderly and reaſon-
"ably paſſionate is the ſcene here referred to, as it
"ſtands in the original draught of the play, and
"what ſcope does it give a maſterly actor to diſplay
"his ſkill!" However the author, who was then in a very languiſhing condition, finding, that if he did not comply, his relations would probably loſe the benefit of the Play, he conſented, though with reluctance, to new model the character of *Phocyas*. He wrote, when he was but nineteen years old, a Tragedy, intitled,

(3) Mr. Oldmixon in his *Eſſay on Criticiſm*, printed in 1728 in 8vo, pag. 6.

(4) Arthur Maynwaring, Eſq; Author of the *Medley*, &c.

(5) *Account of the Life and Writings of John Hughes Eſq*; prefixed to the firſt volume of his *Poems on ſeveral Occaſions*, pag. 26. edit. London 1735. in 12mo.

(6) Ibid. pag. 27, 28.

" diverſions never made him peeviſh or ſour to thoſe, whom he ſaw in them; but his " humanity was ſuch, that he could partake and ſhare thoſe pleaſures he beheld others " enjoy, without repining that he himſelf could not join in them. No, he made a true " uſe of an ill conſtitution, and formed his mind to the living under it, with as much " ſatisfaction as it could admit of. His intervals of eaſe were employed in drawing, " deſigning, or elſe in Muſic or Poetry; for he had not only a taſte, but an ability of " performance to a great excellence in thoſe arts, which entertain the mind within the " rules of the ſevereſt morality and the ſtricteſt dictates of religion." His brother, Mr. JABEZ HUGHES, who had a place in the Stamp-Office, and died at London January 17, $173\frac{1}{2}$, aged forty ſix, was a man of a very good genius and conſiderable learning, and publiſhed a Tranſlation of *Claudian's Rape of Proſerpine*, the ſecond edition of which was printed at London 1723 in 12mo under the following title: *The Rape of Proſerpine from Claudian. In three Books. With the Epiſode of Sixtus and Erichtho from Lucan's Pharſalia, Book VI. Tranſlated by Mr.* Jabez Hughes. *The ſecond edition, corrected and enlarged with notes.* A collection of original Poems and Tranſlations, with ſome occaſional letters on important ſubjects, was prepared for the preſs by this Gentleman a little before his death, and is expected to be ſoon publiſhed.

intitled, *AMALASONT, Queen of the Goths*, which diſplays a ſertile genius, and a maſterly invention; but as it was never deſigned by him for the preſs, nor reviſed and corrected in his riper age, the diction in general was too much neglected. Mr. Duncombe tells us (7), that he has " attempted to correct the ſtyle, " and altered ſome incidents, which were thought not " likely to ſucceed. This may be preſented to the " view of the public, when it can be brought on the " ſtage without having too much injuſtice done it in " the performance." The ſame Gentleman collected our author's Poems, and publiſhed them at London, in 1735, in two volumes in 12mo, under the following title: *Poems on ſeveral Occaſions. With ſome ſelect Eſſays in Proſe. In two Volumes. By* John Hughes, *Eſq; Adorned with Sculptures.* We ſhall now take a view of Mr. Hughes's *Tranſlations and Writings in Proſe*. The *Advices from Parnaſſus*, and the *Political Touchſtone of Trajano Boccalini*, tranſlated by ſeveral hands, were printed in Folio in 1706. This tranſlation was reviſed and corrected, and the preface to it was written by Mr. Hughes. His tranſlation of Monſieur de Fontenelle's *Dialogues of the Dead*, with *two original Dialogues*, were publiſhed in 1708. The greateſt part of it had lain by him above ſix years. He afterwards tranſlated Monſieur de Fontenelle's *Diſcourſe concerning the Antients and Moderns*, which is printed with his *Converſations with a Lady on the Plurality of Worlds*, tranſlated by Mr. Glanville. The *Hiſtory of the Revolutions in Portugal*, written by the Abbé de Vertot, and tranſlated by Mr. Hughes, was printed for S. Buckley in 1712, without the name of the tranſlator. The tranſlation of the *Letters of Abelard and Heloiſe* was ſo well received by the public, that there have been five editions of it in the compaſs of a few years; though it has been but lately known by what hand it was performed. He wrote the Preface to the *Compleat Hiſtory of England*, printed at London in 1706 in 3 vol. in Folio, and reprinted in 1719 (8). In the *Tatler* he wrote, vol. II. No. 64, A Letter, ſigned *Joſiah Couplet*. No. 73. A Letter againſt Gameſters, ſigned *William Truſty*. Mr. Tickell alludes to this Letter in a copy of verſes addreſſed to the *Spectator*, Vol. VII. No. 532.

From felon Gameſters the raw 'Squire is free,
And Britain owes her reſcu'd Oaks to thee.

No. 113, The Inventory of a Beau. In the *Spectator* he wrote, Vol. I. No. 33, A Letter on the Art of improving Beauty. No. 53, A ſecond Letter on the ſame ſubject. No. 66, Two Letters concerning fine Breeding. Vol. II. No. 91, The Hiſtory of *Honoria*, or the *Rival Mother*. No. 104, A Letter on Riding-Habits for Ladies. No. 141, Remarks on a Comedy intitled, *The Lancaſhire Witches*. Vol. III. No. 210, On the Immortality of the Soul. No. 220, A Letter concerning Expedients for Wit. No. 230, All, except the laſt Letter. No. 231, A Letter on the Awe of appearing before public Aſſemblies. No. 237, On Divine Providence. Vol. IV. No. 252, A Letter on the Eloquence of Tears and Fainting-Fits. No. 302, The Character of *Emilia*. No. 311, A Letter from the Father of a great Fortune. Vol. V. No. 375, A Picture of Virtue in Diſtreſs. Vol. VII. No. 525, On Conjugal Love. No. 537, On the Dignity of Human Nature. No. 541, Rules for Pronunciation and Action, chiefly collected from Cicero. No. 554, On the Improvement of the Genius, illuſtrated in the Characters of Lord *Bacon*, Mr. *Boyle*, Sir *Iſaac Newton*, and *Leonardo da Vinci*. Mr. Duncombe (9) obſerves, that he has not been able to learn what papers in the *Guardian* were written by Mr. Hughes beſides No. 37. Vol. I, which contains Remarks on the Tragedy of *Othello*. Our author is ſuppoſed to have written the whole, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of the *Lay-Monaſtry; conſiſting of Eſſays, Diſcourſes, &c. publiſhed ſingly under the title of the* Lay-Monk. *Being the Sequel of the Spectators:* the ſecond edition of which was printed at London 1714 in 12mo. It contains forty papers, the firſt of which is dated Monday November 16, 1713, and the laſt February 15, $171\frac{3}{4}$. Mr. Hughes publiſhed, in the year 1715, a very accurate edition of the works of Mr. *Edmund Spenſer*, in ſix Volumes in 12mo. To this edition are prefixed the Life of Mr. Spenſer; an Eſſay on Allegorical Poetry; Remarks on the *Fairy-Queen*, on the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and the other writings of *Spenſer*; and a Gloſſary explaining the old and obſcure words; all written by Mr. Hughes. *Charon*, or *The Ferry-Boat, A Viſion*, firſt appeared in the year 1718. This, and Mr. Walſh's *Æſculapius*, or *Hoſpital of Fools* (10), are perhaps the two fineſt Dialogues in our Language, as well as the moſt lively imitations of Lucian.

T.

(7) Ibid. pag. 29.

(8) See *The Life of Dr. White Kennet Biſhop of Peterborough*, pag. 33. edit. London 1730 in fol.

(9) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 36.

(10) This Dialogue is printed for J. Pemberton at the end of a *Miſcellany of Poems and Tranſlations in* 1714.

☞HUMPHREY (LAURENCE), a learned Engliſh writer in the ſixteenth Century, was born at Newport Pagnell in Buckinghamſhire, about the year 1527 [*A*], and educated in the Greek and Latin Languages at Cambridge, and in 1547 became Demy of Magdalen College in Oxford (*a*). In 1549 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*), and was choſen perpetual Fellow of his College (*c*). In 1552 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*). About that time he was made Greek Reader of his College, and entered into holy Orders. In June 1555 he had leave to travel abroad [*B*], and went to Zurich,

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 241. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 73.

(*c*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 77.

[*A*] *Born ... about the year* 1527.] It appears from his epitaph (1) that he was 63 years old, when he died February the 1ſt, $158\frac{8}{9}0$.

[*B*] *In June* 1555 *he had leave to travel abroad.*] The Preſident, Vice-Preſident, Dean, &c. of his College gave leave to him (2), who in the opinion of all " was much commended for his life and converſation, as " alſo for the excellency of his learning and wit, that " he might freely for the cauſe of ſtudy travel into " parts beyond ſea for one year, conditionally that he " contain himſelf from thoſe places, that are ſuſpected " to be heretical or favourers of hereſy; and that alſo " he refrain from the company of thoſe, who are or " were authors of hereſy or heretical opinions, &c.

(1) *See* Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 1. pag. 208, 209.

(2) *Reg. Act. Coll. Magd. fol.* 2. *a.*

Zurich, and aſſociated himſelf with the Engliſh exiles there, who had fled their country on the account of Religion. After the death of Queen Mary he returned to England, and was reſtored to his Fellowſhip in Magdalen College, from which he had been expelled, becauſe he did not return after his time of leave was expired (*e*). In 1560 he was appointed the Queen's Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford (*f*); and December the 11th 1561 elected Preſident of his College (*g*). June the 10th 1562 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and July the 10th the ſame year that of Doctor (*h*). In 1570 he was made Dean of Glouceſter upon the promotion of Dr. Thomas Cooper to the See of Lincoln; and in 1580 removed to the Deanery of Wincheſter in the place of Dr. John Watſon, which was the higheſt preferment, which he enjoyed, on account, as it was thought, of his not conſenting altogether to the ceremonies of the Church of England (*i*) [*C*]. He publiſhed ſeveral works [*D*]; and was a man of extenſive learning, and a profound Divine. He ſpent the greateſt part of his time in a ſtudious and retired manner, and died February the 1ſt $15\frac{89}{90}$, aged ſixty three years, and was interred at the upper end of the Inner-Chapel of Magdalen College, where a monument was erected to his memory [*E*]. He married in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign Joan, the daughter of Andrew Inkfordby of Ipſwich in Suffolk, by whom he had ſeven ſons and five daughters. She died Auguſt the 27th 1611, aged ſeventy four years, and was interred in the Chancel of Steple-Barton Church in Oxfordſhire; over whoſe grave her eldeſt daughter Juſtina, wife of Caſpar Dormer of the ſaid place Eſq; erected a fair monument (*k*).

(*e*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 241.

(*f*) Idem, *Hiſt. & Antiquitat. Univerſ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 37.

(*g*) Idem, ibid. pag. 191.

(*b*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 91.

(*i*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 242.

(*k*) Idem, col. 243.

[*C*] *Not conſenting altogether to the ceremonies of the Church of England.*] Mr. Wood tells us (3), that our author "from the city of Zurich and the correſpondence, "that he had at Geneva, brought back at his return "to England ſo much of the Calvinian both in doc- "trine and diſcipline, that the beſt that could be ſaid "of him was, that he was a moderate and conſcien- "tious Nonconformiſt." However Gabriel Harvey L. L. D. who was his contemporary, and knew him, obſerves (4), that he and Dr. William Fulke of Cambridge, whom he ſtiles *Standard-bearers* for a long time of the Nonconformiſts, *did grow conformable in the end, as they grew riper in experience and ſager in judgment.*

(3) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 242.

(4) Pierce's *Supererogation: or a new Praiſe of the old Aſſe. A preparative to certain larger Diſcourſes, intitled, Naſhe's Fame*, pag. 92. edit. London 1593 in 4to.

[*D*] *He publiſhed ſeveral works.*] They are as follow. I. *Epiſtola de Græcis Literis, & Homeri Lectione & imitatione, ad Præſidem & Socios Coll. B. Mar. Magd. Oxon.* prefixed to a book of Hadrian Junius, intitled *Copiæ-Cornu*, printed at Baſil 1558 in folio. II. *De Religionis conſervatione & reformatione, deq; primatu Regum.* Baſil 1559 in 8vo. III. *De ratione interpretandi Auctores.* Baſil 1559 8vo. IV. *Obadias Propheta, Hebraicè & Latinè, & Philo de Judice Græcè & Latinè:* printed at the end of the preceding tract. V. *Optimates, ſive de Nobilitate, ejuſque antiqua Origine, Naturâ, Officiis, Diſciplinâ, &c. Libri tres*, Baſil 1560 in 8vo. This was tranſlated into Engliſh by an anonymous perſon, and printed at London 1563 in 8vo. VI. *Philo Judæus de Nobilitate, interprete Laurentio Humfredo:* ſubjoined to the preceding tract. VII. *Oratio Woodſtochiæ habita ad illuſt. Reginam Elizabetham* 31 *Auguſti* 1572. London 1572 in 4to. VIII. *Johannis Juelli, Angli, Epiſcopi Sariſburienſis, Vita & Mors, ejuſque veræ doctrinæ Defenſio, &c.* London 1573 in 4to. IX. *Oratio in Aulâ Woodſtochianâ habita ad illuſtr. Reginam Elizabetham anno* 1575. in 4to. X. *De Fermento vitando: Concio in Matt.* 16. *Marc.* 8. *Luc.* 12. *Jeſus dixit illis, Videte & cavete a fermento Phariſæorum.* London 1582 in 8vo. Rupell. 1585 in 8vo. XI. *Jeſuitiſmi pars prima; ſive praxis Romanæ Curiæ contra Reſpublicas & Principes.* London 1582 in 8vo. XII. *Jeſuitiſmi Pars ſecunda: Puritano-Papiſmi ſeu Doctrinæ Jeſuiticæ aliquot rationibus ab Edm. Campiano comprehenſæ, & a Joanne Duræo defenſæ, Confutatio.* London 1584 in 8vo. XIII. *Apologetica epiſtola ad Academiæ Oxonienſis Cancellarium.* Rupel. 1585 in 8vo. XIV. *Seven Sermons againſt Treaſon, on* 1 Sam. c. xxvi. 8, 9, 10, 11, &c. London 1588 in 8vo. XV. *Concio in die Cinerum*, in 8vo. XVI. He alſo reviſed and corrected *Joannis Shepreve ſumma & Synopſis Novi Teſtamenti diſtichis ducentis ſexaginta comprehenſa*, firſt printed at Straſburg about the year 1556 in 8vo, and publiſhed it at Oxford 1586 in 8vo. XVII. He likewiſe wrote, in conjunction with Robert Crowley, a book againſt that of Miles Hoggeard, publiſhed under the reign of Queen Mary againſt the Proteſtants.

[*E*] *Where a monument was erected to his memory.*] The epitaph on it is as follows.

M. S.

Laurentio Humfredo S. S. Theologiæ in hac Academiâ Doctori & Profeſſori Regio per annos 28. *P. M. hujus Collegii Præſidi, Juſtina Dormeria filia natu maxima, Patri ſuo venerabili æviterni obſequii ergo, H. M. mærens poſuit. Obiit Kal. Februarii anno ſalutis* 1589 *ætatis ſuæ.*

Tumulum recentem, ſta, (moræ precium eſt) lege
Novè ad ſepultum heic quenquam cave creduas.
Humfredus *Alpha Theologûm ſubtus ſitu'ſt,*
Studio, labore, lectione, acumine,
Varro alter, Helluo literarum maximus.
Pietatis orbis Chriſtianus teſtis eſt,
Venta hoic Decano, Magdalena Præſidi
Perhoſpitali debuit. Sat, Hoſpes, i. T.

HUNGARY (MARY Queen of), the ſiſter of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, was married in the year 1521 to Lewis King of Hungary, who was unfortunately killed in the battle of Mohacks in the year 1526. His widow was made Governeſs of the Low-Countries in the year 1531, and acquitted herſelf of that employment with great courage and prudence [*A*]. She continued in that employment till Charles the Fifth's abdication, when ſhe accompanied him into Spain, where ſhe died October the 18th 1558. She was very

[*A*] *She acquitted herſelf of that employment with great courage and prudence.*] Read Brantome; he tells you, that "this Queen of Hungary was a great help to "the Emperor, *and that ſhe ſerved him ſo well, that "one cannot tell* what would have become of him, had "it not been for her. And indeed he left all the "affairs of his government entirely to her care, ſo that "even when the Emperor himſelf was in Flanders, "he ſuffered her to manage all the public buſineſs of "the Low-Countries; the Council was held at her "Palace, and ſhe preſided in it. It is true that ſhe, "who was very prudent and wiſe, depended on his "adviſe, and gave him an account of all that paſ- "ſed in the Council, when he was abſent, in which "he took a great delight. She carried on great and "ſucceſsful wars, ſometimes by her Generals, and "ſometimes in Perſon, being always on horſeback, "like a brave Amazon (1)." What Brantome ſays (2) of the Oration ſhe delivered the day of the Emperor's abdication, is very curious. We have here an inſtance which proves that the women are capable of governing.

(1) Brantome. *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 91.

(2) Ibid. pag. 95.

very fond of pomp and ſplendor [B], and took a great delight in hunting [C]. It is reported that ſhe endeavoured to have the puniſhment of the Reformed mitigated [D]. She underſtood Latin (a). There aroſe a perſonal hatred between her and Henry the ſecond King of France, which occaſioned a great devaſtation; for they did by turns ſet each other's country-ſeats on fire. Mary was the firſt that began to practiſe that kind of hoſtility, in order to be revenged of the French for ſome ſongs they had made againſt her reputation [E]. Henry found means to be even with her [F]. He

(a) See the remark [H].

[B] *She was very fond of pomp and ſplendor.*] Brantome aſſerts (3) that when Philip II went to take poſſeſſion of the Low-Countries, he was received in the moſt ſtately manner imaginable; "but eſpecially, *adds* "*he*, the Queen of Hungary made him the moſt ſplen- "did reception in her Palaces of Bains and Marimont, "going far beyond what was done by any other per- "ſon." He gives us afterwards an account "of the "repreſentation of a ſiege, with which this Queen "entertained the Emperor and all his Court, at his "beautiful Palace of Marimont." He obſerves in another book (4), "that ſhe entertained the Emperor "Charles and his whole Court at her Palace called "Bains, when his ſon King Philip paſſed from Spain "into Flanders to viſit her: the ſtatelineſs of which "entertainment was ſo wonderful and great, that no- "thing was mentioned at that time but *las fieſtas*, the "entertainments of Bains; thus the Spaniards uſed to "ſpeak. And indeed I remember, that whatever "great entertainment was given during the journey "to Bayonne, as running at the ring, tournaments, "maſquerades, and other expenſive entertainments, "nothing came up to *las fieſtas* of Bains, according "to ſome old Spaniſh Gentlemen, who had ſeen thoſe "entertainments."

(3) *Memoirs*, tom. 2. in the *Elogy of Henry II*, pag. 23.

(4) *Memoires des Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 92.

[C] . . . . *and took a very great delight in hunting.*] She followed her huſband every where, and even when he went a hunting, "which exerciſe ſhe loved en- "tirely; ſo that when ſhe was Governeſs of the Low- "Countries for her brother the Emperor Charles V, "ſhe uſed often to leave her agreeable palaces of "Mechlin and Bruſſels, to go and live in the country "at Marimont, and in her other palaces ſituated near "the foreſts, where from morning till night ſhe took "the diverſion of hunting: whence the Flemiſh uſed "to call her the Huntreſs, and uſed to draw her like "Diana. She raiſed the ſame inclination in her niece, "Margaret of Auſtria, Ducheſs of Parma, who has "alſo been Governeſs of the Low-Countries. She had "inherited a fondneſs for this laborious exerciſe of "hunting from her grand-mother by her father's ſide, "namely, Mary Ducheſs of Burgundy, conſort to the "Emperor Maximilian I. This Princeſs being a hunt- "ing (which diverſion ſhe uſed to take almoſt every "day) fell from her horſe and died, to the great grief "of the Flemiſh, and the Emperor her Conſort, who "loſt alſo his ſecond wife Blanch Sforza by the ſame "accident (5)." This ſeems to be a tranſlation of the following words from Famianus Strada. *Capiebatur venandi ſtudio ſummopere Gubernatrix, plane ut Venatricem vulgo appellarent, habituque venatricis expingerent: neptem videlicet Mariæ Burgundiæ, quæ ab inſectandis feris nunquam deſtitit, donec inter venandum equo excuſſa vitam amiſit* (†), *fato non tam ſuo, quàm Maximiliani mariti, cujus & uxor altera, Blanca Sfortia, in venatione equo decidit, obiitque* (‡). *Ejuſmodi autem ſtudium arripuit tam avide, in eumque laborem duravit adeo membra decennis nondum puella* (6), *ut amitam per ſaltus campoſque ſequeretur impavida* (7). The ſenſe of the end of this paſſage is, that "the Princeſs "Margaret became ſo fond of hunting, and harden- "ed her body ſo in that exerciſe, that being not yet "ten years old, ſhe could follow her aunt through "fields and woods, without fearing the leaſt dan- "ger."

(5) Hilarion de Coſte, *Elog. des Dames Illuſtres*, tom. 2. pag. 561.

(†) 1482.

(‡) 1496.

(6) That is to ſay, Margaret, Charles V's natural daughter.

(7) Strada, *de Bello Belgic.* lib. 1. pag. m. 45.

[D] *It is reported, that ſhe endeavoured to have the puniſhment of the Reformed mitigated.*] When the Court of Spain, in order to ſatisfy the diſcontented in the Low-Countries, promiſed them in the year 1566, that the exerciſe of the Inquiſition ſhould be ſuppreſſed, it was added, that the imperial laws, which condemned Hereticks to death, ſhould be mitigated, as they had been in the year 1550 at the Queen of Hungary's requeſt. *Immo ſic Cæſarem facturum fuiſſe ſi viveret, quando ipſe ob ſimiles difficultates anno milleſimo quengenteſimo quinquageſimoque, poſtulante Mariâ Hungariæ Reginâ ejus ſorore, eaſdem pœnas quas ante ſtatuerat, emendare ac lenire non inutile aut indecorum arbitratus eſt* (8). i. e. "Nay, the Emperor would have done "the ſame had he been alive, ſince the like troubles "happening in the year 1550, he himſelf did not think "it uſeleſs or diſgraceful to amend and mitigate, at "his ſiſter the Queen of Hungary's requeſt, the laws "he had made before concerning the puniſhments of "the Hereticks."

(8) From Strada, Decad. 1. lib. 5. pag. 217.

[E] *She ſet* Henry II's *Country Seats on fire . . . . in order to be revenged on the French for ſome ſongs they had made againſt her reputation.*] Here follows what Brantome relates upon this ſubject (9). "I have heard it "reported, that the chief reaſon for which the Queen "of Hungary kindled her noble fire about Picardy, "and in other parts of France, was the impudence "of ſome bold ſlanderers, who uſed to talk of "her amours, and to ſing aloud every where a ſong "intitled *Au Barbanſon de la Reine d'Hongrie*, (to the "Queen of Hungary's Barbanſon). This was how- "ever a ruſtic ſong, which plainly appeared to be "made by ſome ſilly country fellow." It appears from thence that the people are doomed to be puniſhed not only for their Sovereign's faults (10), but even for thoſe of a great many other perſons. I ſhall now quote a paſſage in which ſome particulars ſeem to be omitted. "There was a very great hatred between "Henry II, and the Queen of Hungary, the occaſion of "which I am not acquainted with: I know only that "the French ſoldiers hadmade ſome ſongs upon her and "Barbanſon, the moſt handſome Lord at her court (11)." It was an eaſy matter to ſupply what is wanting in this account; it was but obſerving, that this Queen cauſed ſeveral places in Picardy to be burnt without ſparing even the Royal Palace of Folembrai. Thus one ſees what this perſonal hatred was grounded upon on both ſides. Mary imagined, no doubt, that Henry approved of thoſe ſongs, and hated him for it heartily; Henry on the other hand took the burning of his own Country-Seat for a perſonal affront. I do not know what we ought to think of this Princeſs's amours; I only remember that Brantome aſſerts (12), "ſhe "was very beautiful and agreeable, and very lovely, "though ſhe ſhewed herſelf ſomewhat manly: but "ſhe was never the worſe for it in love affairs, nor in "war, which ſhe choſe for her exerciſe."

(9) *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 388.

(10) *Quicquid delirant Reges plectuntur Achivi.* Horat. Epiſt. 2. lib. 1. ver. 14. i. e. "The peo- "ple ſuffer "when the "Prince offends. *Creech.*

(11) Mezeray, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1090.

(12) *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 90.

If you have a mind to know when ſhe committed thoſe exceſſes in Picardy, read the following paſſage. "Whilſt the Emperor her brother was beſieging "Mentz, ſhe came into Picardy with the Count de "Rœux, to prevent the King from going to the aſ- "ſiſtance of the beſieged, laid all waſte before her, ſet "fire to every thing, burnt Noyon, Neſle, Chauny, "Roye, Folembray, a Royal Palace built by King "Francis I, deſtroyed ſeven or eight hundred villages, "and beſieged Hedin, which ſhe took (13)."

(13) Hilarion de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames Illuſtres*, tom v. pag. 567. He puts in the margin. "*Hence* "*came this com-* "*mon ſaying*; "She acted the "mad woman "in Bray, ſhe "has been *Mary* "at Bourg, "when the "French burnt "that city." But it is not an eaſy matter to gueſs at the meaning of this marginal note; one cannot make any ſenſe of it; it ſhould be perhaps *Marrie* (*ſorry*) inſtead of *Marie* (Mary).

[F] . . . . *Henry found means to be even with her.*] After he had taken Marenburg and Dinant, and laid Bouvines even with the ground, the inhabitants of which had been, ſome hanged, and the reſt put to the ſword, he croſſed the Sambre, and laid the whole country of Hainault waſte. "He burnt Mariemont, "a Country-Seat built by the Queen of Hungary, and "the pretty city of Bains (14), with the ſtately Pa- "lace which ſhe had built there, and adorned with "an immenſe number of pictures, antient ſtatues, and "other ingraved and carved works. The old city of "Bavets, concerning the antiquity and greatneſs of "which the old chronicles relate a thouſand ſto- "ries, underwent the ſame deſolation. The burn- "ings and devaſtations were very much againſt "Henry II's temper, but he thought he was in ho- "nour

(14) It ſhould be *Binche.*

He wiſhed moſt paſſionately to take her priſoner [G]. Eraſmus dedicated a book to this Princeſs, in which the Printers committed maliciouſly a very ſtrange blunder [H]. Father Hilarion de Coſte has been guilty of ſome little chronological errors [I], and Moreri has not followed his account accurately in every reſpect.

" nour obliged thus to revenge himſelf for the burning " of his palace of Folembray, and becauſe in that " ſame place the Flemiſh had expoſed during two days " a picture of his father the great King Francis, to " the inſults of the ſoldiers (15)." Let us add to this authority of Mezeray a paſſage from Brantome, which contains more particulars. " She was the firſt that " kindled thoſe great fires in France, and ſhe burnt " beautiful houſes and caſtles, particularly Folembray, " a fine and pleaſant Palace, which our Kings had " built for the pleaſure and diverſion of hunting; at " which the King was ſo much vexed and exaſpe- " rated, that he was ſoon even with her, and to re- " venge himſelf he burnt her beautiful Palace of Bains, " which was reckoned a wonder of the world, ex- " ceeding (if I may ſay ſo, and as I heard thoſe ſay, " who ſaw it in its perfection) the ſeven wonders of " the world ſo famous amongſt the antients (16)." There was in that Queen's room, *a tapeſtry all waved with gold, ſilver, and ſilk, in which were repreſented very naturally* Charles V's conqueſts, and all his expeditions (17). " In a word (18), there was nothing in " that Palace but what was excellent and precious; " but this poor Palace loſt all its ſplendor ſome time " after; for it was entirely plundered, deſtroyed, " and pulled down. I have been told that when " the Princeſs heard this, ſhe was ſo much concern- " ed, vexed, and exaſperated, that ſhe was a great " while before ſhe recovered herſelf, and as ſhe once " paſſed by the ruins of it, ſhe looked upon it with " ſadneſs; and with tears in her eyes ſwore that " France ſhould repent it, and feel the conſequences " of thoſe burnings, and that ſhe would never be ſa- " tisfied, till that beautiful Palace of Fontain-bleau, " which men did ſo much admire, was levelled with " the ground, ſo that not one ſtone ſhould be left upon " another. And indeed ſhe did fully ſatisfy her paſſion " upon that poor Province of Picardy (19), which felt " her rage and her flames: and I think that if a " truce had not been concluded, her vengeance would " have been exceſſive. For ſhe had an hard and proud " heart, which was not eaſily mollified; and ſhe " was reckoned to be a little too cruel, both by her " own party and by ours. But ſuch is the natural " temper of the women, and even of them that are " diſtinguiſhed by their rank, they are too ready to " revenge themſelves, when they are injured. It is " ſaid, that the Emperor loved her the better for it." Some Hiſtorians relate, that Henry II cauſed an inſcription to be ingraved on a ſtone, in which this Queen was ſtiled a mad-woman, and ordered to remember Folembray. *Bincium Mariæ Hungariæ Reginæ olim deliciæ, Henrici ſecundi Galliarum Regis odium expertæ. Feruntque repertum inibi ſaxum, quod Henricus villæ ſuæ à Maria vaſtatæ ultor inciderat in hæc verba:* Inſana Regina, Folembræum memoria repete (20). i. e. " Binch, formerly Mary Queen of Hungary's delight, " experienced the anger of Henry II, King of France. " It is reported that a ſtone was found there, on " which Henry, in order to be revenged of Mary " who had burnt his Palace, cauſed theſe words to be " ingraved, *Diſtracted Queen, remember Folembray.*"

[G] *. . . he wiſhed . . . to take her priſoner.*] Brantome acquaints us with this particular (21). " I have " been told, *theſe are his own words*, that the late " King Henry II, wiſhed nothing more earneſtly, " than to have it in his power, to take the Queen of " Hungary priſoner, not with a deſign to uſe her ill, " though ſhe gave him ſufficient reaſon for it, by ſet- " ting all on fire, but that he might have the glory " to keep that Queen priſoner, and ſee what would " be her behaviour and conſtancy in priſon, and " whether ſhe would be as haughty and proud as ſhe was " at the head of her armies: for there is nothing ſo " ſtout and haughty as a great Lady, when ſhe has " a mind to it, and has ſuch a courage as this had, " who was extremely pleaſed with the name which " the Spaniſh ſoldiers gave her, who as they uſed to " call her brother the Emperor, *el Padre de los Soldados* (the Father of the Soldiers) ſo they called her " *la Madre* (their Mother), as formerly in the days of " the old Romans, Victoria or Victorina was called " in her armies the Mother of the Camp (22)."

[H] *Eraſmus dedicated a book to her, in which the Printers committed maliciouſly a very ſtrange blunder.*] The book which Eraſmus dedicated to her in the year 1529 is intitled, *Vidua Chriſtiana* (the Chriſtian Widow). The author obſerves of her, that ſhe took a gread delight in the reading of Latin books. *Cæſaris germana* Maria *Latinos codices habebat in deliciis, cui nuper ſcripſi Viduam Chriſtianam. Id efflagitarat à me quidam Eccleſiaſtes illi chariſſimus. Scena rerum humanarum invertitur, monachi literas neſciunt, & fœminæ libris indulgent* (23). i. e. " Mary, the Emperor's " ſiſter, was extremely fond of Latin books; I have " lately dedicated my *Chriſtian Widow* to her; being " deſired to do it by a Miniſter who was very much " in favour with her. The world is turned upſide " down: the Monks cannot read, and the women " pore upon books." She was at that time in Auſtria, whence ſhe retired ſoon after into Moravia (24), not thinking herſelf ſafe at Vienna, becauſe of Soliman's invaſion. But to mention now the malicious error of the Printers, I muſt obſerve that they were vexed becauſe they had not received from the author the preſents they expected. Whereupon the hardeſt drinker among them undertook to revenge them all, and found an infallible method to perform his deſign: a method which vexed Eraſmus to ſuch a degree, that he would have given three hundred golden crowns to have prevented it; but it is ſuch an error of the preſs as cannot be tranſlated into any language. We muſt therefore preſent our readers with the original only. *Nuper cum inter imprimendum excuſores aliquot conqueſti fuiſſent me ſibi xenia nondum perſolviſſe, exortus eſt inter eos quidam cæteris vinolentior, qui profiteretur ſe pœnas à me exacturum, ni darem: atque id profectò veterator tam egregiè effecit, ut aureis nummis trecentis redimere eam ignominiam voluiſſem. Cùm enim in* Vidua *mea, quam Sereniſſimæ* Hungariæ *Reginæ dedicaveram, ad laudem cujuſdam ſanctiſſimæ fœminæ inter alia liberalitatem illius in pauperes referrem, hæc verba ſubjunxi:* Atque mente illâ uſum ſemper fuiſſe, quæ talem fœminam deceret. *Unde ſceleſtus ille animad-vertens ſibi vindictæ occaſionem oblatam eſſe, ex* mente illa mentula *fecit. Itaque volumina mille fuere impreſſa* (25).

[I] *Father Hilarion de Coſte has been guilty of ſome chronological errors.*] I. He aſſerts (26), that our Mary Queen of Hungary *was born at Bruſſels September the* 13*th* 1513. This is falſe and impoſſible, ſince the Archduke her father died in the year 1506. They have put 1503 and not 1513 in Moreri's Dictionary. II. This Prince's nuptials were not celebrated at Buda in the year 1521, *to the great ſatisfaction of Uladiſlaus* (27) King of Hungary; for Uladiſlaus died in the year 1516. III. Queen Mary did not *continue conſtantly at Lintz in Auſtria* (28) during the years 1527, 1528, 1529, and 1530, I have quoted (29) Eraſmus, who aſſerts that he retired into Moravia in the year 1529. IV. She was not Governeſs of the Low-Countries twenty eight years (30) but only twenty four (31), namely from the year 1531, to the year 1555. The author, whom I refute, contradicts himſelf, and owns in page 569, that this government did not laſt above twenty five years: but he commits in that very paſſage ſeveral blunders. V. He ſuppoſes that the Queen of Hungary reſigned *that government into her brother's hands in* 1557. It was October the 25th, 1555. VI. He ſuppoſes that Margaret of Auſtria Governeſs of the Low Countries died in the year 1532, whereas ſhe died in the year 1530. He ſuppoſes in this Margaret's elogy (32) that ſhe was born January the 10th 1480, and died Dec. 1, 1531, at the age of fifty one (33). Is this knowing how to reckon? VII. He aſſerts that the Queen of Hungary began to govern the Low-Countries in the year 1532, whereas it was the preceding year. VIII. He ſays that when ſhe reſigned that government to her brother; *ſhe made a long ſpeech to the people.* The aſſembly before which Charles V abdicated his Kingdoms ought not to be called thus.

(15) Mezeray, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1090, under the year 1554. *See alſo* Lewis Guicciardini *Deſcript. du Pais Bas*, pag. m. 468.

(16) Brantome, *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 92.

(17) Ibid. pag. 93.

(18) Ibid. pag. 94.

(19) Brantome ſeems to be guilty here of an anachroniſm; for this Queen had laid Picardy waſte before her beautiful palace of Binche was burnt. And beſides we do not find that any truce was concluded during Mary's adminiſtration after the year 1554. And ſhe was no more Governeſs when the truce was concluded Feb. 5, 1556.

(20) Famian. Strada, Dec. 1. lib. 9. pag. 577. *ad ann.* 1578.

(21) *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 306.

(22) Brantome is in the right. *Hic puerulus a Victoria Cæſar eſt appellatus, quum illa Mater Caſtrorum ab exercitu nuncupata eſſet.* i. e. " Victoria " called this little boy Cæſar, " as ſhe herſelf " was called the " Mother of the " Camp by the " Army." Treb. Pollio *in triginta Tyrannis*, num. 24. *See alſo* num. 30.

(23) Eraſm. *Ep.* 31. lib. 19. pag. 846. See alſo *Epiſt.* 20. lib. 26. pag. 1432.

(24) Idem, *Ep.* 21. lib. 26. pag. 1434.

(25) Idem, *Epiſt.* 68. lib. 30. pag. 1956. dated from Friburg Jan. 9, 1535. This Letter was publiſhed by Merula with the *Life of Eraſmus*, in the year 1607.

(26) Hilar. de Coſte, *Eloge des Dames Illuſtres*, tom. 2. pag. 559.

(27) Ibid. pag. 560.

(28) Ibid. pag. 565.

(29) In the remark [H] quotation (24).

(30) Hilar. de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames Illuſtres*, tom. 2. pag. 566.

(31) Brantome, *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 91. ſays, about 22 or 23 years.

(32) Pag. 313. of the 2d volume.

(33) Ibid. pag. 319.

ſpect [K]. I omit mentioning the ſcandalous report concerning Charles V's amours with this Queen of Hungary [L], who was, they ſay, Don Juan of Auſtria's mother.

[K] ... *Moreri has not followed his account accurately in every reſpect.*] Hilarion de Coſte had obſerved, that the Queen of Hungary died, *as ſhe was in her return to the Low-Countries, where ſhe deſired to end her days, becauſe ſhe was very much beloved and eſteemed by the inhabitants of thoſe countries* (34). Moreri inſtead of keeping within the ſame bounds, aſſerts that ſhe died, *at the ſame time when ſhe had juſt taken again upon her the government of the Low-Countries.* He has been more exact in tranſcribing one of the blunders of that Minim: he aſſerts with him that this Queen governed the Low-Countries *twenty five years till the year* 1557, *when ſhe went into Spain.* I have already obſerved, that ſhe governed thoſe Countries only from the year 1531, till October the 25th 1555; and I add, that ſhe went into Spain in the year 1556. Moreri ought not to have ſaid, that *ſhe was ſtill very young when ſhe married Lewis Jagellon, King of Hungary*; for ſhe was eighteen years old when her nuptials were celebrated: one would not give her that age, if one were to judge of it by Moreri's expreſſions; for it is well known that the daughters and ſiſters of Kings are ſometimes married before they are ten years old.

(34) Tom. 2. pag. 570.

[L] *I omit mentioning the ſcandalous report concerning Charles V's amours with the Queen of Hungary.*] See above, the end of the remark [A] of the article of Don Juan of AUSTRIA, and add to it the following words of Gabriel Naudé, *The ſame Emperor ... hid all thoſe misfortunes under the cloak of piety and religion, confining himſelf in a monaſtery, where he had alſo an opportunity to repent of the ſin he had committed by begetting a baſtard child, who was alſo his nephew* (35). The Sieur Lewis de Mai juſtly cenſures that writer's boldneſs in aſſerting ſuch a thing. See the pages 765, 766 of his *Remarques ſur les Coups d'Etat.*

(35) Naudé, *Coups d'Eſtat*, chap. 4. pag. mihi 617.

HUNGARY (ISABELLA, Queen of), the ſiſter of Sigiſmund Auguſtus King of Poland, was a Princeſs of very great merit. In the year 1539 ſhe married John Zapoliha Vaivod of Tranſilvania, who had been elected King of Hungary in the year 1526, and who contended vigorouſly for that crown with Ferdinand of Auſtria the Emperor Charles V's brother. She was delivered of a ſon July the 7th 1540. Her huſband was ſo overjoyed at it, that he drank immoderately at an entertainment, and this occaſioned his death, which happened the 21ſt day of the ſame month [A]. Iſabella, not finding herſelf in a condition to keep for her ſon a crown which Ferdinand endeavoured to wreſt from him, implored the protection of the Ottoman Porte, from whence ſhe received ſuch powerful ſuccours, that Ferdinand's army, which was beſieging Buda, was entirely routed. Soliman came himſelf into Hungary to bring Ferdinand to reaſonable terms. He uſed Iſabella's child very kindly [B], and if he refuſed to ſee her, it was for ſuch reaſons as were very obliging to her [C]. But his ill deſigns ſoon broke out; for he made himſelf maſter of Buda, and forced Iſabella to retire to Lippa (a). This was a terrible vexation to this Princeſs, who was not a little fond of reigning. The

(a) Sept. the 3d 1541.

[A] *Her huſband drank immoderately ... which occaſioned his death &c.*] He was gone into Tranſilvania to ſuppreſs a rebellion which Ferdinand's party had raiſed there. Stephen Mailats the moſt obſtinate of thoſe rebels, had taken ſhelter "in the caſtle of Fo-"garats, to wait for the ſupply which Ferdinand ſent "him under the conduct of Nadaſdy. The King be-"ſieged him there and took him after a long ſiege. In "the mean time there arrived a meſſenger, who ac-"quainted him with the birth of a ſon, that God "gave him. As ſuch news is always very acceptable "to thoſe that have no children, eſpecially to per-"ſons who begin to grow old, it is eaſy to imagine "that John was very well pleaſed with this news: and "indeed he indulged himſelf in ſome exceſs, drink-"ing after the Hungarian manner, which increaſed "his diſtemper, ſo that he died at Saſſebes, a few "days after his ſon's birth, in the 53d year of his "age (1).

(1) *Diſcours Hiſtorique & Politique ſur les Cauſes de la Guerre d'Hungrie*, printed with other curious pieces at Cologne 1666, in 12mo, pag. 237, 238. *See alſo* Hilarion de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames Illuſtres*, tom. 1. pag. 629.

[B] *Soliman ... uſed Iſabella's child very kindly.*] I ſhall again tranſcribe the words of the author, whom I have quoted in the foregoing remark. "Soliman "ſent preſents to the young King ... and deſired the "Queen to let him ſee her ſon, giving her his word "that it was only with a deſign to make his own chil-"dren love the child the more. At the ſame time the "Deputies had orders to tell her, that if he did not "go and wait upon her, it was only for fear leſt his "viſit ſhould expoſe her reputation. The Queen re-"turned thanks to the Grand Signior; and as ſhe "ſcrupled to ſend her ſon, George Martinuſias told "her that ſhe could not refuſe it. Being therefore "conſtrained by neceſſity, ſhe put the infant into a "cradle becoming ſuch a child, and having com-"manded its nurſe, ſome other matrons, and ſeveral "Hungarian Lords to accompany it, ſhe ſent it to the "camp. Soliman deſigning to do honour to that "child had it received by a troop of horſe, ſaw it "and careſſed it himſelf, and had it careſſed by his "own children (2)." Hilarion de Coſte gives a very particular account of all this in his elogy of our Queen Iſabella (3). Soliman, ſays he, ſent to the young King "three horſes exceedingly beautiful, the har-"neſs of which was trimmed with gold, and adorned "with pearls and precious ſtones; as alſo very rich "plumes and Brocado garments. He ſent alſo golden "chains and rich robes made after the Turkiſh faſhion "to the chief Lords and Barons of Iſabella's court ... "*The Queen* put her ſon in a coach that was gilt "and very ſtately, with his nurſe, and ſome La-"dies, who had dreſſed him very fine, that Soliman "might like him the better ... The Ottoman Prince "ſent a troop of horſe very well equipped, and ſome "companies of Janizaries to receive him in the moſt "honourable manner. As ſoon as theſe troops had "ſaluted the young King of Hungary, they put him "in the middle of themſelves, and in this pompous "manner conducted him to their Emperor, who, the "moment he ſaw this little Prince, ſhewed him great "love, and received him very kindly both as a vaſſal "of the Ottoman houſe, and as a ſon of John King of "Pannonia, whom he had very much beloved and "eſteemed; having protected him againſt the attempts "of Ferdinand King of Bohemia, and of the Empe-"ror Charles V. He commanded his children, Ba-"jazet and Selim, who were then in the camp, to do "the ſame. Theſe were the ſons of the beautiful Roſe "or Roxelana." This author pretends (4) that Soliman would know "whether this child was a boy or a "girl, for there was a report ſpread through the "Turkiſh army, that it was a girl, and that this "was the reaſon why Iſabella Jagellon had it educated "ſecretly."

(2) *Diſcours Hiſtorique & Politique, &c.* pag. 242.

(3) *Eloges des Dames Illuſtres*, tom. 1. pag. 631, &c.

(4) Hilar. de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames Illuſtres*, tom. 1. pag. 632.

[C] *Soliman refuſed to ſee her ... for ſuch reaſons as were very obliging to her.*] I have already obſerved, that he ſent this Princeſs word, that *if he did not wait upon her, it was only for fear leſt his viſit ſhould expoſe her reputation.* This was certainly a very obliging diſcretion: for it is certain that there would have been a great many ſlanders diſperſed abroad, had there been an interview between Soliman and this Queen. Hilarion de Coſte makes the Grand Signior's Deputies al-

The hopes she had that the Kingdom of Hungary would be restored to her son, as soon as he would be of age, those hopes, I say, grounded on Soliman's promise, were but a very indifferent comfort to her. She behaved with great strength of mind under this heavy trial; and comforted herself as well as she could with the title of Queen-Regent of Transilvania, which Soliman suffered her to bear; but as he left George Martinusias to assist her, she met with a thousand vexations during her Regency. For she had only the name of a Regent, all the authority being lodged with this Monk George (*b*). She was forced at last to break openly with him, the consequences of which ruined her authority entirely; for her adversary, being supported by Ferdinand, sent for a powerful army, which was commanded by a very cunning Italian (*c*), who managed matters with so much artifice, that he engaged this Queen to yield Transilvania to King Ferdinand in the year 1551, after which she retired to Cassovia. It was on her journey thither that she carved some Latin words on a tree, which have been mentioned by the Historians [*D*]. She was not a woman that could lead a quiet life; she did not continue long at Cassovia; she went into Silesia, and thence she retired into Poland with her mother Bonna Sforza, and her brother Sigismund Augustus. She kept up a correspondence with the great Lords in Transilvania, in order, if possible, to have the country restored to her. She applied again to Soliman for his protection, and made use of so many artifices, that at last she entered again into Transilvania in the year 1556. She kept it till her death, and engrossed the whole power as much as she could, without giving her son John Sigismund any share in the administration [*E*]. The bigots in vain endeavour to excuse such a conduct.

(*b*) Thus they used to call George Martinusius.

(*c*) John Baptist Castaldo, Marquis of Cassano, who had been educated in the family of Francis d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara. Hilarion de Coste, *Eloges des Dames*, tom. 1. pag. 644. *Delectus est Joan. Baptista Castaldus Piadenæ Comes, & ob res recenter egregie gestas (nam in bello Germanico castrorum præfecti summa cum laude munus obiverat) Cassani Marchio à Cæsare creatus.* Thuan. lib. 9. pag. 180.

ledge other excuses, which are not in the least probable. "They (5) said also to this Princess, that Soliman had not less regard and esteem for her, than "for the King her son, both on account of her own "merit, and because she was the daughter of Sigis-"mund King of Poland, whom he called his father; "and that if his religion had suffered him to wait "upon her, he would not have failed to do it; and "that therefore he could not give her leave to come "into his tents, and desired her to send only her son "with his nurses (6)." If it was inconsistent with Soliman's religion to receive Isabella in his tents, would that same religion have suffered him to receive there the young Prince's nurse with the Ladies who attended him (7)?

(5) That is to say, Soliman's Deputies or Envoys, who had carried presents to the young King.

(6) Hilar. de Coste, *Eloges des Dames*, tom. 1. pag. 632.

(7) Ibid. pag. 633.

[*D*] *She carved some Latin words on a tree, which have been mentioned by the Historians.*] Thuanus in his account of this particular observes that she was learned (8). *Quæ* (Regina) *statim, ne privata in eo regno, cui summo cum imperio præfuisset, diutius viveret, convasatis rebus suis per monteis asperos Cassoviam versus iter direxit. Cum propter angustias viarum inter silvas de curru descendere cogeretur, cum auriga currum traduceret, ipsa retro in Daciam respiciens, pristini culminis, è quo decidera, memor altum corde suspirium duxisse dicitur, & cum aliud non posset litterata femina, inscripto arbore nomine, hæc addidisse,* SIC FATA VOLUNT, *eoque relicto justi doloris monumento, rursus currum conscendit, institutum iter persequitur* (9). i. e. "As "this Queen could not bear the thought of living in "a private condition where she had enjoyed the sove-"reign power, she took all that was hers with her, "and set out for Cassovia over steep mountains. The "road being very narrow through the woods, she was "obliged to step out of her coach; and whilst the "coachman drove it through the wood, she looked "behind her towards Transilvania, and calling to mind "the high station from which she was fallen, she fetched "a deep sigh from her heart, they say, and having "carved her name on a tree, she added these words "to it; THUS FATE DECREED IT; which was all "that this learned woman could do on this occasion, "and having thus left a memorial of her well-grounded "grief, she stept into her coach again, and continued "her journey." Hilarion de Coste deserves to be transcribed, because of the particular account he gives us (10). "As this virtuous but unfortunate Princess... "was going to Cassovia through the heavy and diffi-"cult roads of that country; she was obliged in a very "bad place to step out of her coach, and to walk on "foot. As the coachman was endeavouring to get "the coach clear from that place which was near a "wood, this Heroine who was not less learned than "magnanimous, cast her eyes towards Transilvania "which she left, and calling to mind the honours she "had received there, and the condition she had been "in, and which was now altered, she could not for-"bear fetching a deep sigh, and carved on the bark "of a tree these three words to express her grief, "and shew her skill in the Latin tongue. SIC FATA "VOLUERUNT; i. e. *Thus fate decreed it*, according "to what Thuanus and several other (11) Historians re-"late. Martin Fumée Sieur de Genille relates it "thus: he observes that Queen Isabella passing over "the mountains which separate Transilvania from "Hungary, and coming down a very steep and dan-"gerous side of those mountains, that road being so "bad that her coach could not pass through it, she "was obliged to walk on foot down hill with the La-"dies that attended her, not without much trouble and "inconveniency, both because the road was very "difficult, and because of a very heavy rain which "happened to fall and wet her to the skin (12). The "poor Queen of Hungary complained all the way of "her ill fate, which persecuted her not only in things "of importance, but even in mere trifles, and ascrib-"ing this bad luck she had in her passage over that "high and steep mountain to the obstinate malice of "her destiny, she took a knife, and in order to allay "her affliction and excessive grief, she wrote with the "point of that knife, on the bark of a large tree un-"der which she sheltered and rested herself during the "rain, these Latin words, *Sic fata volunt*, and under "them *Isabella Regina*. i. e. Thus fate decreed it; "Isabella Queen." We have reasons to think that she did not carve that inscription without a disposition to murmur against Divine Providence; for she began the oration she made, when she abdicated the crown, with the most bitter complaints against fate. *Though inconstant fortune*, said she (13), *according to her cruel changings, altering and confounding all the affairs of this world, has perplexed mine to that degree, that at this time my son and I are obliged to leave this Kingdom, &c.* This was abusing God's Providence, and charging it with cruelty, as the Heathens used to do in their misfortunes.

(8) She understood Italian, Hilar. de Coste, *Eloges des Dames*, tom. 1. pag. 644. asserts, that he harangued in that language, to persuade her son to resign the crown.

(9) Thuan. lib. 9. pag. 182. col. 2. *ad ann.* 1551.

(10) *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 1. pag. 648.

(11) Natalis Comes, P. Matthieu, Artus Thomas.

(12) We transcribe this period in the wretched condition in which Hilarion de Coste left it.

(13) Hilarion de Coste, *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 1. pag. 645. Thuanus, lib. 9. pag. 182. makes her speak thus to her son: *Quando tua aut mea potius fortuna non tulit ut regno paterno legibus jure gentium tibi delato uti frui posses, fatorum* INIQUITATEM *quæ nulla vi nostra aut humana industria corrigi potest, æquo animo feramus necesse est.*

Cum complexa sui corpus miserabile gnati,
Atque Deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater (14).

"——— His lifeless limbs embraced
\- - - - - - - - -
"Accusing all the Gods and every star."
Dryden.

(14) Virg. *Eclog.* 5. ver. 23.

It is probable that our Princess designed to leave on the bark of that tree a memorial of the injustice she imagined Heaven did her, and to let all the passengers know, that she was bold enough to complain of it.

[*E*] *She engrossed the whole power ... without giving her son ... any share in the administration.*] This may be proved by the remonstrance which Henry II caused to be made to this Princess. John James of Cambray Dean of Bourges, that Prince's Embassador, assured her, on his journey to Constantinople, that France would give her all the assistance she could wish (15); "which obliged her to send Christopher Bathori (16) "Embassador into France .... to thank the most "Christian

(15) Hilar. de Coste, *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 1. pag. 657.

(16) The father of the brave and unfortunate Sigismund Bathori Prince of Transilvania. *Ibid.*

conduct [*F*]. She died at Alba-Julia, or Weiſſemburg September the 15th 1558 (*d*).

(*d*) I have extracted the particulars I relate here, from Hilarion de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames Illuſtres*, tom. 1. pag. 622, &c.

" Chriſtian King for her favour and good will." Bathori was very well received by Henry II, " who ſent " him back with Peter Martinez into Tranſilvania, " where they aſſured Queen Iſabella by his moſt " Chriſtian Majeſty's order, that he would make an " alliance with her by marrying one of his daughters " with her only ſon John Sigiſmund, who was then " ſeventeen years old, on condition that ſhe ſhould educate him in a grand manner, and not ſuffer ſo many " women, and men of a mean extraction to come near " him, who are not proper to be educated with Princes, " and that ſhe would acquaint him with ſtate-affairs. " Petrowitz, and moſt of the Lords of the Queen's " council gave their approbation to the moſt Chriſtian " King's advice, even in her Majeſty's preſence, and " boldly told the French Embaſſador that they had already repreſented this to the Queen their miſtreſs, " who from that time began to miſtruſt that Embaſſy, " and imagined that theſe Lords had adviſed the " King of France to this." She conſulted her mother, who made her the following anſwer: " *Daughter,* " *keep always the power in your own hands, and do not* " *ſuffer your ſon to have ſo much authority; for you will* " *loſe it all, as ſoon as you ſhall have married your* " *ſon with the daughter of ſo powerful a Prince as the* " *King of France is.* Iſabella having followed this " bad advice of her mother Bonna, did not make an " alliance with the French King; and after that " ſhe always hated thoſe, who adviſed her to let the " King her ſon ſee the armies, to acquaint him with " the affairs of the Kingdom, and to ſend him to " Waradin. She gave the command of all her armies to Michael Balaſſa, a haughty man, at which " her ſubjects were not very well pleaſed, for they wiſhed " that ſhe would chooſe a General of a more meek " and gentle temper than that man was (17)."

(17) Hilar. de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames Illuſtres*, tom. 1. pag. 658.

[*F*] . . . *The bigots do in vain endeavour to excuſe ſuch a conduct.*] As there is no paſſion but they endeavour to vindicate at the expence of religion, they made uſe of this admirable cloak to hide our Iſabella's ambition. Here follow the words of a Minim, who quotes Florimond de Remond. " The authors who " wrote this virtuous Princeſs's defence, obſerve that ſhe " did not much like the great Lords of Hungary and " Tranſilvania. Petrowitz was in a particular manner odious to her, becauſe he profeſſed Luther's " hereſy, and becauſe under a fair pretence of acquainting him with the affairs of his Kingdom, " he endeavoured to eſtrange him from his mother, " that he might the eaſier make him forſake the antient and true religion, and admit the new and falſe " one. Which he did after his mother's death (18)." Father Maimbourg aſſerts (19), that John Sigiſmund did not dare declare for the Hereticks during his mother's life, but that it was not only for that reaſon, but alſo becauſe Soliman *had written to the Queen, that ſhe muſt not ſuffer new ſects to creep into the Kingdom, leſt they ſhould diſturb the tranquillity of it, by dividing the people upon ſo nice a ſubject as religion is* . . . (20). *But the Queen dying ſoon after, and Selim, who did not much mind the trouble occaſioned by religion, ſucceeding his father Soliman, who died of an apoplectic fit at the ſiege of Ziget, the Lutherans, the Calviniſts, and the Arians entered again into Tranſilvania, and being ſupported by Petrowitz's favour, they took more liberties there, than they had ever done before* (21).

(18) Ibid.

(19) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. de l'Arianiſme*, tom. 3. pag. 345. of the Dutch edit.

(20) Ibid. under the year 1555.

(21) Ibid. under the year 1560.

HUNGERUS (WOLFGANG) a Civilian of the ſixteenth Century, was born at Waſſerburg (*a*) in Bavaria. He was Profeſſor of the Civil Law in the Univerſity of Ingolſtat, Chancellor of Friſingen, and Aſſeſſor of the Imperial Chamber at Spire (*b*). He drew up an Apology for the Emperors Frederic Barbaroſſa, and Lewis of Bavaria, but being a good Catholic, he thought it more adviſeable to ſuppreſs it [*A*], than to publiſh it in ſuch an age as that he lived in. He died of a diſtemper with which he was afflicted for many years (*c*), whereby the world was deprived of many uſeful works they might have expected from ſo learned a man. We are told that he died in 1555 (*d*). The notes which he had wrote on the Cæſars of Cuſpinian, were publiſhed at Baſil in 1561; and they rectify and clear up many things which had been advanced either falſely or confuſedly in that hiſtory of the Emperors, and in ſome other books. We find in the Epitome of Geſner's *Bibliotheca*, a Wolfgang Hungarus, different from our Hungerus; but

(*a*) Hence comes the Latin firname *Aquiburgenſis*, aſſumed by him.

(*b*) See the dedication to the *Cæſars of Cuſpinian*, Baſil edit. 1561.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Konig, in *Bibliotb.* pag. 418.

[*A*] *He drew up an apology for the Emperors . . . but judged it moſt adviſeable to ſuppreſs it.*] As he threw all the blame on the Popes, there is no doubt but the Proteſtants would have taken advantage from his book. But however this be, let us copy his own words. *Nos certe pro utriſque optimis imperatoribus Baioario & Ænobardo elucubrata Apologia integra, luce ipſa clarius oſtendimus, & fabulam illam de Ludovico Baioario vanam, falſam & tralatitiam eſſe: & Ænobardum non tam de verbis quam rebus ipſis contendiſſe, atque in ſumma longe alias fuiſſe ſummis Pontificibus in hos Imperatores odiorum cauſas: & quæcumque tandem eæ fuerint, ſaltem negocia ipſa controverſa à Pontificiis ea animorum impotentia, faſtu & acerbitate tractata, ut horundem Imperatorum ubique major modeſtia, manſuetudo, humanitas, adeoque innocentia, pietas & juſticia eluceat: utcumque inſignis ille Theologus Albertus Pighius Campenſis, Pontificiorum Hector Li. 5. ca. 14. & 15. Eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ, cauſam hujus Ludovici ita propoſuerit atque explicarit, ut univerſam eam damnaret. Sed voluiſſe ipſum eo in argumento ac præſertim libr. 6. Romanorum Pontificum auribus aliquid dare, jampridem etiam Catholicum veritatis amantiſſimum Theologum, virum Eccleſiaſticum, doctrina & vitæ ſanctimonia, nuper dum viveret, cum primis ſpectatum, ſcio pronuntiaſſe: & ubi neceſſe ſit, ipſius cenſuram autographam ea de re in medium proferre poſſum. Neque vero noſtro ex capite iſti apologiæ noſtræ hoc glorioſe arrogamus, ſed potius concordi ex calculo amicorum aliquot, tam eccleſiaſticorum quam laicorum qui Catholica in religione juxta nobiſcum verſantur, & Eccleſiæ ſtatum ac fœdis & perniciоſis abuſuum & vitiorum monſtris repurgatum, ſartumque & tectum (ut aiunt) jampridem pio zelo, ſed hactenus fruſtra optant, ac ſuper ea apologia ipſis exhibita conſulti, etiam ſcripto ſua ſinguli candide & libere expoſuerunt judicia. Attamen & ſponte noſtra, & præcellentis cujuſdam amici benevolo monitu, hoc tempore domi retinere eandem quam in publicum edere maluimus* (1). i. e. " In an apology " written purpoſely by way of vindication of thoſe " excellent Emperors, Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic " Barbaroſſa, I have ſhewn as clear as the ſun, that " the ſtory relating to Lewis abovementioned, is idle, " falſe, and trifling; and that Frederic Barbaroſſa " did not contend ſo much about words as things; " laſtly, that the hatred which the Popes entertained " againſt thoſe two Emperors aroſe from quite different " cauſes; and that whatever theſe were, the controverſy was carried on by the Papal advocates with " ſo much paſſion, pride and rancour, that in every " part of it we may perceive, on the ſide of the " abovementioned Emperors, much more modeſty, " meekneſs, humanity, and therefore more innocence, " piety and juſtice: nevertheleſs that celebrated Divine, " Albertus Pighius of Campen, the Champion of the " Romaniſts, in book v, chap. 14 and 15 of his Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, has laid down and explained " the caſe of this Emperor Lewis in ſuch a manner, " as

(1) Hungarus. *Annotat. in Cæſares Cuſpiniani*, pag. m. 186. col. 2.

but this is a miſtake, which ſhews that the ſmalleſt change of the letters in proper names multiplies writers improperly. We find, in the Epitome juſt mentioned, the titles of ſome other works of this Civilian [*B*].

" as quite to condemn it. But I was told long ſince " by a Catholic Divine, a man famous for his erudi- " tion and piety, and whoſe opinion I can produce in " writing, in caſe this were required, that Pighius, " in every part of this argument, and eſpecially in the " ſixth book, was deſirous of flattering the Roman " Pontiffs. Neither do I pretend on my own judg- " ment to arrogate ſo much with regard to my apo- " logy, but rather in that ſome of my friends, both " of the Clergy and Laity, who profeſs the Catholic " Religion as I do, who have for a long time, but " hitherto in vain, earneſtly wiſhed that the Church, " being purged from many ſhameful abuſes and horrid " vices, may be entirely reformed; theſe perſons, " I ſay, being conſulted with regard to this apology, " candidly and freely gave their reſpective opinions of " it in writing. Nevertheleſs of my own choice, and " by the advice of a moſt excellent friend, I choſe to " keep it by me rather than publiſh it at this time." (2) *Epitome Geſneri*, pag. m. 824.

[*B*] *The titles of ſome other works of this Civilian.*] It appears that he corrected and publiſhed *Bartholomæum Bologninum ſuper Authent. habita. C. ne filius pro patre*; and that he tranſlated from the Spaniſh and Italian into the German language. *Excitatorium Aulicorum de officio Aulici ut gratiam Principis conſequatur & conſervet* (2). This tranſlation, which was printed at Straſburg in 8vo, anno 1582, is doubtleſs that of a book of Guevara (3). We ſee in Draudius's *Bibliotheca Claſſica* (4); *Wolffg.* HUNGERI *Linguæ Germanicæ Vindicatio contra exoticas quaſdam, quæ complurium vocum & dictionum mere Germanicarum, Etymologias ex ſua petere conati ſunt* (5), Straſburg 1586, 8vo.

(3) See the remark [*G*] of the article GUEVARA, citation (19).

(4) Pag. 1377. edit. Francof. 1625.

(5) This word makes a ſoleciſm in this place.

HUNNIUS (ÆGIDIUS or GILES) born in a village of Wirtemberg December the 21ſt 1550, was one of the moſt famous Divines of the Augſburg Confeſſion. He went through his Theological ſtudies at Tubingen under James Andreas, the younger Brentius, and two other Profeſſors; and acquired ſo much erudition during the eight years he ſpent in that Univerſity, that he was thought capable of being a Profeſſor of Divinity in Marpurg, at twenty ſix years of age. He fully anſwered the advantageous opinion which had been entertained of his learning; for having read ſome Lectures and preached ſome Sermons at Marpurg (*a*), the Landgrave being reſolved to retain him, recommended him in a very honourable manner to the Duke of Wirtemberg, in order that Hunnius might be admitted to his Doctor's degree of Divinity. Hunnius returned to Tubingen, and there took his Doctor's degree a few months after his marriage July the 16th 1576. During the firſt ſix years of his Profeſſorſhip he did not publiſh any books againſt the Calviniſts; but otherwiſe he was perpetually at war with them [*A*], and did not ſpare them in his Academical diſputations. At laſt he publiſhed books againſt them [*B*] in 1514; and gained ſo much reputation, that in 1592 he was invited into Saxony there to reform the Electorate. He was appointed chief Profeſſor of Divinity at Wittemberg, principal Miniſter of the Church of the Caſtle, and Member of the Eccleſiaſtical Senate. He applied himſelf with extraordinary vigilance to detect ſuch as were not true Lutherans [*C*]; and as he was very ſucceſsful in clearing the country of them, he was invited to act the ſame part in Sileſia [*D*]. He was made Superintendant of the Church of Wittemberg in 1595; and the ſame year he was engaged in a mighty controverſy with Samuel Huberus, concerning Election and Predeſtination [*E*]. He was

(*a*) In 1576.

[*A*] *He was perpetually at war with the Calviniſts.*] What follows is ſaid of this in his funeral oration (1). *Quas autem & quàm ſerias, quamque frequentes velitationes in Haſſia tàm* Caſellis, *quàm* Marpurgi, *jam cum clancularíis, jam cum apertis hoſtibus, quos* Sacramentarios Lutherani *vocant, ſubire coactus fuerit; quæ & quam gravia certamina, ob ſanctiſſimum Religionis Chriſtianæ articulum,* de perſonâ Chriſti, ejuſque ad dextram Dei ſedentis adoranda majeſtate *ſuſtinuerit: id Deo, rerum omnium inſpectori ac judici, notum eſt: neque fugit id multos pios & cordatos homines.* i. e. " In " what ſtrong, as well as frequent conteſts he was " forced to engage in Heſſe, as well at Caſſel as at " Marpurg, one moment againſt ſecret enemies, and " another againſt open ones, who are called Sacramen- " tarians by the Lutherans, what mighty combats he " ſuſtained, on account of that moſt holy article of the " Chriſtian Religion, *concerning the perſon of Chriſt,* " *and his adorable majeſty ſitting at the right hand of* " *God:* theſe things, I ſay, are known to God, " who ſees and judges all things; nor are they un- " known to many pious and judicious men."

(1) *Apud* Melchior Adam. *in Vit. Theolog.* pag. 727.

[*B*]... *He publiſhed books againſt them.*] We find by the ſame orator, that our Hunnius did not confine his exploits merely to the Sacramentarian war; he alſo attacking the followers of the Lutheran Illyricus. *In publicum poſtea ſcriptis ſuis progreſſus ſub annum* octogeſimum quartum Danæum *imprimis,* Urſinum, Pezelium, Grabium, *& alios oppugnavit, editis libellis* de perſonâ Chriſti, ejuſque ad dextram DEI ſedentis divina majeſtate: *de* altarium abrogatione. *Poſtea &* Flacianorum *coborti bellum ſacrum indixit, edito libello de* ſubſtantia peccati originis (2). i. e. " He after- " wards, about the year 1584, publiſhed ſome pieces " *with relation to the perſon of Chriſt, and his divine* " *majeſty ſitting at the right hand of God*; and con- " cerning *the taking away of altars*; in which he " chiefly attacked Danæus, with Urſinus, Pezelius, " Grabius &c. He afterwards proclaimed a holy war " againſt the Flacians, in a treatiſe relating to the " *Subſtance of Original Sin.*"

(2) *Apud eundem. ibid.*

[*C*] *He applied himſelf to detect ſuch as were not true Lutherans.*] This was a ſort of Inquiſition, which deprived many people of their employments, and drove them from their country; for whenever a perſon refuſed to ſign the formulary propoſed by Hunnius and his collegues, he was looked upon as a Calviniſt, and found no mercy. Contzen the Jeſuit (3) makes himſelf merry in deſcribing this Inquiſition, and obſerves that Hunnius wrote an apology for it. *Quin & Ægidius Saxonicam viſitationem contra Calviniſtas defendit, Refutationem enim ſcripſit Calviniſtici libelli, quo viſitatio illa exagitata fuit* (4). The cruelties exerciſed at that time on perſons ſuſpected of being Calviniſts, as related by Hoſpinian, ſtrike the reader with horror (5).

(3) Contzen, *in Jubilo Jubilorum, ad ann.* 1592, 1593.

(4) Idem, ibid. pag. 304.

(5) *Hiſtoriæ Sacramentariæ, Parte altera,* pag. 674, *& ſeq.*

[*D*] *To act the ſame part in Sileſia.*] This we are told by Melchior Adamus. *Fridericus IV Lignicenſium & Brigenſium in Sileſia Dux, Hunnii potiſſimum opera ac ſtudio uſus, Eccleſiarum Lignicenſium per Sileſiam reformationem ſuſcepit atque perfecit; ejecto inde Leonhardo Krentzhemio, Lignicenſium tunc Superintendente; cui Calviniſmi crimen impingebatur* (6). i. e. " Frederic IV, " Duke of Lignitz and Brieg in Sileſia, began and " perfected, chiefly by the aſſiſtance of Hunnius, a " reformation of the Churches of Lignitz in Sileſia; " and ejected Leonard Krentzhemius, at that time Su- " perintendant of Lignitz, who was charged with the " crime of Calviniſm."

(6) Melch. Adam, *in Vitis Theolog.* pag. 729.

[*E*] *He was engaged in a mighty controverſy with Samuel Huberus, concerning election and predeſtination.*] This

was one of the chief opponents of Gretſer and Tanner the Jeſuits, in the Conference held at Ratiſbon [F] 1602 (b), and died April 4, of the following year (c). He wrote a great number

(b) This Conference, according to moſt authors, was held in 1601. (c) *Extracted from* Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Theolog.* pag. 723, & *ſeq.* He has given an Extract of Hunnius's *Funeral Oration*, ſpoke by Leonard Hutterus.

This man had been Miniſter of a village near Berne; and having examined the acts of the conference of Mombeliard (7), four articles in Beza's doctrine had appeared to him not very conformable to the Scriptures: I. That Chriſt Jeſus did not die for all men. II. That moſt men are excluded from the promiſes of grace. III. That the only cauſe why the reprobate are damned is, merely from the will of God, who created them, purpoſely to ſhew in them the power of his anger. IV. That no one can tell whether baptiſm regenerates children. He had the courage to contradict theſe four articles, but he was expelled for his boldneſs; Muſculus and Gryneus having ſucceſsfully attempted his expulſion. He had retired to the territory of Wirtemberg, and got a Church there; after having embraced the Augſburg Confeſſion. Having made himſelf known to the Elector of Saxony by ſome books he publiſhed, he was invited to Wirtemberg, to be Divinity Profeſſor there. The earneſtneſs with which he refuted the Swiſs Proteſtants on the article of predeſtination, carried him into another extream; he teaching publicly, that God has elected all men to eternal life. Hunnius and his collegues admoniſhed him of his error; but as he did not leave it, he was expelled. He went to Ratiſbon, had conferences with ſome Divines; perſiſted obſtinately in his errors, and publiſhed ſome books at Spires to maintain them. This was the fourteenth ſchiſm which divided the Lutheran Church (8). Such was the man our Hunnius had to deal with. He had the good fortune to be victorious on this occaſion, he prevailing ſo far as to get his enemy removed; but he was a little ſuſpected of heterodoxy, and therefore was obliged to write in his own juſtification. Read the following words of Calixtus. *Poſt annum ſuperioris ſæculi octogeſimum Ægidius Hunnius, niſi fallor, primus vel certe inter primos præcipuus, priſcam & ante Auguſtinum in primitiva Eccleſia receptam ſententiam revocavit, & in Eccleſias Scholaſque noſtras reduxit; non tamen ſine difficultate, contradictione & inſimulatione Pelagianiſmi* (9). Read likewiſe the following paſſage. *Fortem ſe & fidum purioris doctrinæ hyperaſpiſten, adverſus inanes* Huberi *φλυαρίας eo tempore præſtitit* Hunnius, *dum partim monendo, partim ſcribendo, errantem* Huberum *in viam revocare ſtuduit: quod ipſa res loquitur, & monumenta hac de controverſia bene multa edita, cum primis verò ille tractatus* Hunnii *de* providentiâ & prædeſtinatione filiorum Dei, *ſatis luculenter teſtatur. Diſſidio autem illo* Huberi *remotione ſopito, prodiit anno* nonageſimo ſeptimo *epiſtola: qua variorum errorum, de* cœnâ Domini, *de* baptiſmo, *de* libero arbitrio, *de* perſonâ Chriſti, *de* æternâ prædeſtinatione *fuit inſimulatus. Hanc igitur* Hunnius *eodem anno refutavit, ut & eos qui in* Anhaltinis *eccleſiis altaria, imagines, organa muſica, hoſtias, & alias ceremonias abrogarant* (10). i. e. "Hunnius "then proved himſelf to be a brave and faithful de- "fender of the purer doctrine, in oppoſition to the "idle cavils of Huberus, whilſt he uſed his endeavours, "both by admonition and by writing, to bring back "the miſtaken Huberus into the paths of truth: this "is manifeſt from the thing itſelf; and the many "pieces he publiſhed with regard to this controverſy, "ſhew this evidently, particularly Hunnius's treatiſe "*relating to providence, and the predeſtination of the ſons "of God.* But an end being put to theſe conteſts by "the removal of Huberus, an epiſtle was publiſhed in "1597, wherein he was charged with various errors "relating to the *Lord's Supper, Baptiſm, Free-will, "the perſon of Chriſt, and Eternal Predeſtination.* "Hunnius refuted this the ſame year; as likewiſe "thoſe of the Churches in Anhalt, who had taken "away altars, images, organs, *hoſtiæ* or ſacrifices, "or other ceremonies." I add theſe laſt words to ſhew, that Hunnius was not againſt altars, images, and ſeveral Romiſh ceremonies, which the other Lutherans abhorred.

(7) Between Theodore Beza and John Andreas.

(8) *Extracted from* Micrælius Syntagm. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 871.

(9) Calixtus, *Conſider. Doct. Reformat.*

(10) Hutterus, *apud* Melchior Adam, *in Vitis Theolog.* pag. 729.

[F] *He was one of the chief opponents .... in the conference held at Ratiſbon.*] I am perſuaded that moſt of my readers will be very glad to be freed from the trouble of conſulting another book, in order to get a general idea of this conference; and for this reaſon I ſhall here ſet down what Peter Matthew relates concerning it (11). "Maximilian Count Palatine of the "Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, and Philip Lewis likewiſe "Palatine of the Rhine, Count of Veldents and Spon- "hem, couſins and united by blood, but ſeparated "and very oppoſite in the union of minds, which is "religion; reſolved in order to re-unite themſelves "in the ſame belief, and bring their ſubjects to the "ſame confeſſion and profeſſion of faith, to aſſemble "at Ratiſbon, the ableſt and moſt famous German "Divines in Germany of both religions; that they, "by an amicable conference, might clear up the dif- "ficulties that occaſioned this wretched ſchiſm. They "diſputed only on the following theſis; *Whether the "holy Scriptures be a ſufficient rule with regard to "things neceſſary to ſalvation.* The Roman Catho- "lic diſputants were four Divinity-Profeſſors of the "Univerſity of Paris (12), and one of them was a "Jeſuit. On the ſide of the Proteſtants were fifteen "Divines of the Palatinate of the Rhine, and of the "Dukedoms of Saxony, Brandenburg and Wittem- "berg ... The Preſidents were the two Princes; and "Gretſer the Jeſuit, and Heilbrun the Proteſtant Mi- "niſter, were the ſpectators .... (13). The confe- "rence took up fourteen ſeſſions, in which the power "of the Judge was for a long time diſcourſed on "with great vehemence, but not with great clearneſs, "ſince that verbal diſpute was followed by long apo- "logies in writing." I here inſert the following marginal note of Peter Matthieu. On this diſputation at Ratiſbon, ſays he, abſtracted from the acts and regiſters of the Seſſions, day by day, there is extant a book intitled *Analyſis Dialectica Colloquii Ratiſbonenſis anno* 1601 *de norma & judice omnium controverſiarum fidei Chriſtianæ habiti.*

(11) Matthieu, *Hiſt. de la Paix*, lib. 4. *ad ann.* 1601. pag. m. 134.

(12) Matthieu is miſtaken. Cayet, *Hiſt. de la Paix*, pag. 260. is as much in an error in ſaying, that *the Duke of Bavaria's Divines were* Hunger *and* Tanner, *Doctors in the Faculty of Paris, and Gretſer a Jeſuit.* Now Tanner had been a Jeſuit from eighteen years of age; and conſequently was not a Doctor in the Faculty of Paris.

(13) Matthieu, *Hiſt. de la Paix*, liv. 4. pag. 135.

The Hiſtorian's reflection on theſe verbal diſputations is pleaſant enough. "When I conſider, *ſays "he* (14), the little benefit that has accrued from thoſe "diſputations in different parts of Europe, and that "the holy ſcripture is a field which every man thinks "he has a right to combat in; I cannot forbear "wiſhing that there were ſome ſevere prohibition "againſt this vulgar treatment of it; and it would "be well were it taught, like Epicurus's atoms, Py- "thagoras's numbers, Plato's ideas, Ariſtotle's Ente- "lectia, and the figures of the Cabaliſts; that none, "except thoſe who were capable of underſtanding it, "might attain to the knowledge of it. But whilſt "every one pretends to be ſkilled in it, it ſo happens "that the faithful, like the bee, from the ſame "flower, gather honey; the diſobedient, like the "ſpider, draw poiſon; and many grow diſtracted about "the beaſt of the Revelations."

(14) Ibid. pag. 136.

To this paſſage I will add the following words of Mr. Baillet. "This conference was like thoſe bat- "tles, in which the victory is not determined from "the number of the ſlain. Each ſide boaſted their "having gained the advantage, both parties drew "up relations of it, and books in Latin as well as "German, to the number of twenty. Among theſe "pieces I met with one in the vulgar tongue relating to "the triumph of the Jeſuits, printed at Tubingen, a "Lutheran city, in the year 1603 in 4to, and one in "Latin written by Hunnius, and publiſhed at Wit- "temberg in Saxony, the ſame year and the ſame "ſize, with the following title, *Epiſtola conſolatoria "cum not.* .... Hunnius endeavoured to revenge the "cauſe of his party by an *Anti-Tanner* ... and by the "*Anti-Gretſer* (15)." He had read the hiſtorical relation drawn up by Father Tanner, *but was not ſatisfied with a relation which was not favourable enough to his party. To prevent the effects he feared would accrue from the reading of it, he compoſed a counter-relation of it, that is, a hiſtory of the conference at Ratiſbon, after his manner, which was publiſhed, in* 1602, *at Wittemberg in Saxony. Peter Tanner did not think it adviſeable to leave this piece unanſwered; and not contented*

(15) Baillet. Art. 21. *des Anti.*

number of books, and got many children [*G*]. Some of his ſons have got a name by their works [*H*]; but one of them turned Roman Catholic [*I*]. Hunnius did not diſcover greater paſſion and animoſity in any of his works, than in that which he intitled, *Calvinus*

tented with reprinting his relation both in Latin and German at Munich in Bavaria; he alſo publiſhed ſome reflections on that of Hunnius, entitled, Examen Narrationis quam hiſtoricæ Relationis nomine inſignitam de Colloquio Ratiſbonenſi edidit Ægidius Hunnius Prædicans, *at Munich* 1602 *in* 4*to. It was againſt this laſt work that Hunnius wrote his* Anti-Tanner, *which he printed the ſame year at Wittemberg.* Father Tanner publiſhed a reply, *in which he drew up a defence of his firſt confutation . . . . and ſome remarks on the death of the ſame author* (16). It was publiſhed at Munich in the year 1603, in 4to, and intitled *Apologeticus pro compendiaria relatione de Colloquio Ratiſbonenſi* 1601 *adverſus Anti-Tannerum, cum Appendice de morte Ægidii Hunnii.* Baillet obſerves, that Father Gretſer could not forbear making reflections on Hunnius's Anti-Gretſer: *They were printed at Ingolſtad ſome time after, and ſince inſerted among ſome other of his works,* with the following title, *Admonitio de Anti-Gretſero* (17). This Jeſuit publiſhed ſome other piece againſt the ſame antagoniſt. *Labyrinthus Cretico-Hunnianus, hoc eſt, Diſputatio de Hunnio Prædicante, genioque Lutherano ſemetipſum contradictionibus implicante & jugulante in aliquot articulis fidei* 1602, *& Reſponſum ad Theſes Hunnianas, de Colloquio Pontificiis jucundo* (18), *una cum ſex digreſſionibus contra ejuſdem Hunnii calumnias,* 1602 (19). It is to be obſerved, that the two Bibliothecarii of the Jeſuits aſcribed to Father Tanner, a book intitled *Labirinthus Critico-* (20) *Hunnianus,* printed at Munich in 1612. Might not one conclude that that there is ſome error here (21)? Would two Jeſuits have made uſe of the ſame title, in writing againſt the ſame adverſary?

(16) Ibid. Art. 37. num. 1.

(17) Ibid. Art. 21.

(18) This is an error of the preſs for *ixeundo.* Father Southwell has retained the word *jucundo.*

(19) Alegambe, *Bibliotb. Script. Societ. Jeſu,* pag. 200.

(20) An error of the preſs, doubtleſs for *Cretico.*

(21) *See* Baillet, Art. 21. of the *Anti.*

[*G*] *He wrote a great number of books, and got many children.*] An edition has been publiſhed of his works in five volumes. *Primus varios tractatus de articulis fidei, alter polemica, tertius & quartus commentaria in Matthæum, Johannem, & omnes pene Epiſtolas Canonicas, quintus diſputationes & orationes varias continet. Edidit etiam vernacula lingua poſtillam Evangelicam & Epiſtolicam. Homilias in VI Prophetas, Threnos & Catechiſmum, confeſſionem de perſona Chriſti & id genus alia* (22). With regard to his conjugal fruitfulneſs, we are aſſured, in his Funeral Oration, that heaven indulged him the bleſſing promiſed to the faithful by the Pſalmiſt. *Inde divinæ benedictionis veſtigia, tum in re familiari, tum in eo potiſſimum deprehendit: quod juxta promiſſionem Pſalmi,* Vidit filios ac filias, ſicut plantationes olivarum, in circuitu menſæ ſuæ (23).

(22) Micræüus, *Syntagm Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 760.

(23) *Apud* Melchior. Adam. *in Vitis Theol.* pag. 730.

His wife, like a fair fertile vine,
Her lovely fruit ſhall bring;
His children, like young olive plants,
About his table ſpring (24).

(24) Pſalm 128.

TATE and BRADY's Verſion.

[*H*] *Some of his ſons have got a name by their works.*] NICHOLAS HUNNIUS, Profeſſor in Wittemberg, and afterwards Superintendant at Lubec, has publiſhed, *Epitome credendorum: Examen errorum Photinianorum: Capiſtrum Lancellotto impactum: Neceſſaria defenſio de Papa Antichriſto: Refutatio Weigelianæ Theologiæ: Apoſtaſia Eccleſiæ Romanæ: Pellis ovina papiſtica: Innocentia Lutheranorum: Fundamentalis diſſenſus Lutheranorum & Calvinianorum: Neceſſaria Admonitio contra theoſophos* (25), *novellos Prophetas, nomine miniſterii Lubecenſis, Hamburgenſis, & Lunæburgenſis,* and ſome other treatiſes. He died in 1643, aged 58: and GILES HUNNIUS, his brother, died the year before, Superintendant General of Altemburg (26).

(25) *See* Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſtor. Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ,* Part 3. pag. 469.

(26) *Extracted from* Micræüus, *Syntag. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* pag. 760, 761.

[*I*] *One of them turned Roman Catholic.*] This was HELFRICUS ULRICUS HUNNIUS, a Civilian. He publiſhed at Colen in 1633, a book wherein he pretended to ſhew, that even by the confeſſion of ſome learned Proteſtants, we are bound to reſtore to the church of Rome the temporalities of the church, of which it was diſpoſſeſſed during Luther's reformation. Voetius hath been reproached with having ſtolen from this book the authorities and arguments employed by him againſt the Canons of Utrecht. *Iteratò noto, pellucentem illum centonem, magnam partem conſarcinatum eſſe ex duodecim conſiliis Lutheranorum . . . . ſimul editis per Helfricum Ulricum Hunnium J. C. filium Ægidii Hunnii, celebris quondam Theologiæ Doctoris & Profeſſoris in Academia Witebergenſi, qui pellectus offa Antichriſtiana, cum turpiſſime defeciſſet ad Pontificios, atque ſecundum fatum Apoſtatarum, negligeretur ab iis, qui exemplo diaboli Matth.* iv. 9. *plurimos ſectatores ſibi colligere ſolent, per myſticam illam vocem:* Hæc tibi dabo: *Coloniæ Agrippinæ anno* 1633 *evulgavit duodecim illa Reſponſa, ſeu, ut ipſe pariter vocat,* Præjudicia, *inſcripta Abbati Fuldenſi, eum in finem, ut evinci poſſet, Lutheranos* (*per errorem ſummum iis conjungit Calviniſtas, quum neque Matthæus Weſenbecius, neque Hieronymus Treutlerus, prout fingit Hunnius, unquam vixerint in communione eorum, qui Calviniſtæ audiunt*) *eſſe αὐτοκαταχρίτους, atque dictante propria conſcientia, debere reſtituere bona Eccleſiaſtica, à ſe* invaſa, occupata, direpta, ac prophanata, *ut loquitur famelicus Apoſtata in titulo. Verum eſſe quod dico, quivis cognoſcet, ſi inſtituerit Conſilium Theologicum comparare cum hiſce Reſponſis; ubi aut Hunnius, aut ejus Typographus erravit in citandis authoribus, maxime juris Canonici textibus, pariter (reſpicio primam editionem) errant Architecti hujus, Κατ' ἀντίφρασιν, Conſilii Theologici; quod adeo impudens, ut pag.* 25. *ſpeciatim in hunc Hunnii tractatum digitum intendat* (27). i. e. "I once again take notice, that the greateſt part of this tinſel compilation was borrowed from the twelve Councils of the Lutherans . . publiſhed together by Helfricus Ulricus Hunnius, a Civilian, ſon of Giles Hunnius, formerly a famous Divinity Profeſſor, in the Univerſity of Wirtemberg; who being enſnared by the bait of Antichriſt, ſcandalouſly turned Papiſt; and being (as is the fate of Apoſtates) neglected by them, who, after the Devil's example, Matth. iv. 9, uſed to win over the greateſt number of proſelytes by the myſtical words following, *all theſe things will I give unto thee*; publiſhed in Colen in the year 1633, theſe twelve anſwers, or as he calls them, *Prejudices,* inſcribed to the Abbot of Fuld, in this view, *viz.* to ſhew that the Lutherans (through an egregious miſtake he joyns the Calviniſts to them, though neither Matthew Weſenbecius nor Jerom Treutlerus, as Hunnius pretends, ever lived in the communion of thoſe who are called Calviniſts) that the Lutherans, I ſay, are ſelf-condemned, and, from the impulſes of their own conſciences, ought to reſtore the Church-poſſeſſions by them *invaded, poſſeſſed, plundered and prophaned,* to ſpeak after the title-page of this hungry apoſtate. Any perſon may prove the truth of theſe aſſertions, who ſhall compare the theological council with theſe anſwers; for in all places where Hunnius or his printer has committed any miſtake in citing of authors, particularly in the texts of the canon law, there alſo (I ſpeak of the firſt edition) the compilers of this pretended theological council miſtake with them; which is ſo very impudent, that page 25 he points in particular at this tract of Hunnius." Baillet, whom nothing can eſcape, was not ignorant that this man had changed his religion, but he did not know that it was a ſon of the author of the *Anti-Gretſer.* His words are theſe. "When the Proteſtants, who alledge againſt us the *Anti-Hunnius,* and the *Reſolutio Anti-Hunniana,* of Valentin Bullen a Lutheran, ſtill reckon Hunnius among thoſe of their communion; they either give us occaſion to believe that they have confounded Nicholas Hunnius a Lutheran, who died in 1643, with Helfricus Ulricus Hunnius a German Civilian, converted from the Lutheran Church to that of Rome, and who was contemporary with the other Hunnius; or they were deſirous of concealing his converſion; whether they did not believe it to be ſincere, or ſuppoſed it to be of ſhort continuance. However this be, Valentinus Bullen printed, in oppoſition to him, his *Anti-Hunnius,* at Leichen, in the year 1633 in 8vo, with this title *Reſolutio Anti-Hunniana* ſeu *Reſponſio ad calumnioſam Reſolutionem tertiam præjudicialium Quæſtionum H. Ulr. Hunnii.* He declares in this work that he is firmly perſuaded he did not diſſemble in any manner when he

(27) Martinus Schoockius, *Exercitat. variar.* pag. 52. edit. in 4to.

Calvinus Judaizans [K]. Calvin was there accuſed of ſo many heretical crimes [L], that he might have been afraid of being treated like Servetus, had he lain at Hunnius's mercy.

Some

" renounced the Lutheran principles; and he ſhews " plainly enough that he had read his book of the " *twelve unanſwerable arguments of the Catholic Reli-* " *gion*, printed at Colen in 12mo, 1632 (28)." Our Ulric Hunnius publiſhed at Gieſſen, a treatiſe *de Tranſactione* in 1615; four books *variarum Reſolutionum Juris Civilis*, at Francfort in 1620; and a diſpute *de Homicidio & ejus pœna*, at Marpurg in the year 1625.

(28) Baillet, *Art.* 79. of the *Anti.*

[K] *He entitled... one of his books* Calvinus Judaizans.] The complete title runs thus: *Ægidii Hunnii Calvinus Judaizans, hoc eſt, Judaicæ gloſſæ & corruptelæ quibus Joannes Calvinus illuſtriora Scripturæ Sacræ loca, & teſtimonia de glorioſa Trinitate, Deitate Chriſti, & Spiritus Sancti, cum primis autem vaticinia Prophetarum de adventu Meſſiæ, nativitate ejus, paſſione, reſurrectione, aſcenſione ad cœlos, & ſeſſione ad dexteram Dei, deteſtandum in modum corrumpere non abhorruit.* I am not ſatisfied with the informations I have hitherto received with regard to the hiſtory of this work, and the conſequences with which it was attended; but I believe I may venture to affirm, and hope Mr. Baillet (29) will not be diſpleaſedat it, that this book was not publiſhed in 1575. Hunnius was then but twenty five years of age; and had he diſtinguiſhed himſelf at that age by ſuch a work, the author of his funeral oration would not have failed taking notice of it, and would not have ſaid that Hunnius began to write againſt the Calviniſts about 1584. The Jeſuit Contzen (30) fixes the year 1593, as the date of the impreſſion of the *Calvinus Judaizans*, and I believe he is in the right for ſo doing. The circumſtance which puzzles me is, to find in Pareus's life, that Giles Hunnius diſturbed the peace of the Church in 1595, by accuſing the Calviniſts, and particularly John Calvin, of judaizing. I will give the paſſage at ſome length, becauſe the reader will herein find ſome touches of our Hunnius's character, according to his adverſaries. *Repertus eſt anno deinceps* 1595 *turbulentus quidam Gracchus, qui pacem Eccleſiæ livido calamo inquietare paravit, ægre ferens, Evangelicorum Principum animos à tribunitiis Ecebolorum concionibus abhorrere, unionemque ac concordiam Chriſtianam ſerio meditari: quam proinde non alia fabrica melius ſe diſrumpere poſſe ſperavit, quam ſi immani iſto convitio gravaret Eccleſias Reformatas, criminatus eas* Judaizare: *ac CALVINUM primipilarem Eccleſiarum Reformatarum Doctorem, Judaicis gloſſis pleraque oracula Veteris Teſtamenti detemerare. Accuſatio hæc tametſi non communem cauſam Eccleſiarum Orthodoxarum tangeret, proprieque eam ſpectaret, cujus Epiſcopus fuiſſet* Calvinus, *tamen quia per illius latus cæteræ omnes in capite* CHRISTO *unitæ petebantur, propudioſis iſtis calumniis* CLYPEUM veritatis Catholicæ de ſacroſancta Trinitate *oppoſuit, Eccleſiaſque Orthodoxas,* & CALVINUM *Electum* DEI *organum fortiſſime aſſeruit: adeoque in fumos diſſipavit* Judaica & Arianica illa *cymbala* (31). i. e. " In the year 1595 there ſtarted up a ſeditious " fellow, Gracchus like, who prepared to infeſt the " peace and tranquillity of the Church by his envious " pen; he being diſpleaſed that the Proteſtant Princes " ſhould be greatly diſguſted at the factious Sermons " of the Ecebolians, and ſerioûſly meditated an union " and concord between Chriſtians. Now he imagined " that the way to bring this about moſt effectually, " would be, to load the Calviniſtical Churches with " the horrid reproach of *judaizing*; and to accuſe Cal- " vin, the chief Captain of the reformed Churches, of " adulterating the greateſt part of the oracles of the " Old Teſtament by Jewiſh gloſſes. Although this " accuſation did not affect the common cauſe of the " orthodox Churches, and had that chiefly in view " whereof Calvin was Biſhop; nevertheleſs ſince all " the reſt, joyned or united in Chriſt as their head, " were levelled at through his ſides; he oppoſed to " theſe ſhameful calumnies, the *buckler of Catholic* " *truth with regard to the moſt holy Trinity*, and cou- " rageouſly defended the orthodox Churches, and " Calvin, the inſtrument appointed by the Almighty; " and in this manner he invalidated the accuſation of " Judaiſm and Arianiſm." Would not any perſon who read his concluſion imagine that an end had been entirely put to this conteſt by Pareus's anſwer? But it was quite otherwiſe; for Hunnius replied, and his adverſary did the ſame. Hutterus informs us that Hunnius, in 1598, publiſhed two books againſt Pareus, who had writ in favour of Calvin. *Duobus libris D. Pareo reſpondit, qui Calvini patrocinium ſuſceperat* (32). Pareus returned, to the charge, and printed a book at Neuſtadt in the year 1599 in 8vo, intitled, *Orthodoxus Calvinus oppoſitus Pſeudo Calvino Judaizanti*: which work was reprinted forty two years after in Geneva (33). This I learn from Baillet, which thereby plunges me into a freſh perplexity; for I infer from the preface to the *Calvinus Orthodoxus* (34), that Pareus compoſed and publiſhed it 1594. He ſays (35) that Calvin had been dead thirty years; and that this apology would have been publiſhed at Francfort during the time of the ſpring-fair, had not the impreſſion been delayed by perſons in power (36). He adds (37), they have changed their mind, and approved of my publiſhing this work. This ſhews plainly that the *Calvinus Orthodoxus* was printed in 1594; and nevertheleſs the author informs us, towards the cloſe of the book, that Samuel Huberus had been baniſhed from Wittemberg, which, according to Melchior Adam (38), was not till 1595.

(29) See *Art.* 66. num. 1. of the *Anti.*

(30) In *Jubilo Jubilorum*, pag. 307.

(31) Philippus Paræus, *in Vita Davidis Paræi*, pag. m. 51.

(32) *Apud* Melchior Adam. pag. 729.

(33) Baillet, Art. 66. num. 1. of the *Anti.*

(34) This is the title of the book in the Geneva edition 1641.

(35) *Præfat.* pag. 4.

(36) Ibid. pag. 14.

(37) Ibid. pag. 15.

(38) In *Vita Hunnii*, pag. 729.

[L] *Calvin was there accuſed of ſo many heretical crimes.*] Here follows the ſummary of his *Calvinus Judaizans*, according to Pareus (39). *In ipſo libri titulo Calvinum ex Ariano Judæum, vel certe ex Arianizante Judaizantem facit, & amariſſimè paſſim infectatur, quod mera ambitione, ſtudio perverſo, ludo aleatorio, verſutia veteratoria, temeritate deſultoria, Scripturas ſacras à ſenſu proprio ad peregrinum inflectat, quòd eaſdem tetris corruptelis, gloſſis impiis, proditoriis eluſionibus, & plenis Judaicæ perfidiæ nequitiæque ſtrophis, ad ſuam & aliorum perniciem horribiliter alò detorqueat: quòd teſtimonia de Deo uno & trino ſtropharum ſuarum ſpinis intricet: quòd Scripturæ locis æternam Deitatem Chriſti confirmantibus caliginem Judaicam offendere non reformidet: quòd illuſtriſſima vaticinia Prophetarum de Meſſia Judaicis perverſionibus involvat; in fraudem Chriſtianæ religionis adulteret: & ad perfidiam Judaicæ infidelitatis, Arianæque impietatis retundendam ſtrophis nefariis hebetet, inutiliaque reddat: quod Evangeliſtarum, Apoſtolorumque ſacroſanctas explicationes nequiter eludat: ipſos Apoſtolos ſub ferulam cenſoriam revocet; flagellet: quòd Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum, veterum & recentium, pias interpretationes altiſſimè deſpiciat & irrideat, ipſoſque ſexagenarios de ponte præcipitet, &c. Paſſim etiam non acerbis modo ſarcaſmis ſurdo illudit, ſed & conviciatur virulentiſſimè, appellitans acutum Diaboli inſtrumentum, Cenſorem, Ariſtarchum, Dictatorem, Apoſtolo Paulo doctiorem, αὐτοδιδακτον Scripturæ interpretem, Doctorem ſupercilioſum, præſtigiarum Judaicarum architectum, colubrum, Angelum & Spiritum tenebrarum ex abyſſi puteo emergentem, & quæ alia hujus generis infinita ſunt maledicentiæ ejus emblemata, vel potius convicia, lectu ſanè & auditu horrenda.* i. e. " He makes Calvin, in the " title of the book itſelf, a Jew from an Arian, or a " Judaizer from an Arianizer; and reproaches him in " the moſt bitter terms every where, as a man who " merely from ambition, a perverſe inclination, game- " ſter-like, with wicked craft, and inconſtant raſhneſs, " wreſts the holy Scriptures from its natural ſenſe to " one that is foreign to it; as a man who, by dark " corruption, impious gloſſes, treacherous mockings, " and quirks full of Jewiſh perfidy and wickedneſs, " horribly perverts the meaning of them to his own " deſtruction and that of others; as a man, who per- " plexes with his knotty devices the proofs of the one- " three God; as a man, who is not afraid of ſpread- " ing a Jewiſh gloom over thoſe paſſages in Scripture " which confirm the eternal Divinity of Chriſt; as a " man who darkens by Judaical perverſions the moſt " glorious Prophecies relating to the Meſſiah; vitiates " them to the detriment of the Chriſtian Religion; " and, to leſſen the perfidy of Jewiſh infidelity, and " Arian impiety, blunts the edge of them by wicked " quirks, and makes them uſeleſs; as a man, who " wickedly

(39) Paræus, *in Præfat. Calvini Orthodoxi*, pag. 9.

Some particulars want to be rectified in the remark where I ſpeak of the *Calvinus Judaizans* [*M*].

" wickedly eludes the ſacred explications of the Evan-
" geliſts and Apoſtles, and preſumes to cenſure and de-
" fame the Apoſtles themſelves: in a word, as a man,
" who greatly deſpiſes, and laughs at the pious in-
" terpretations made both by antient and modern Eccle-
" ſiaſtical writers; and is for rejecting them as obſolete.
" He not only throws out the moſt bitter taunts againſt
" him, on all occaſions, but calumniates him in the
" moſt harſh and virulent manner, calling him the
" Devil's ſharp inſtrument, a Cenſor, an Ariſtarchus,
" a Dictator, more learned than Paul the Apoſtle;
" a ſelf-inſtructed Interpreter of the Scriptures; a ſu-
" percilious Doctor, an Architect or Framer of
" Jewiſh incantations; a Serpent, an Angel and Spi-
" rit of darkneſs riſing from the infernal abyſs; and
" a numberleſs multitude of ſuch vile names, ſhock-
" ing to read as well as hear." It is to be obſerved he declares, that if he does not plainly ſhew Calvin's Judaiſm, he deſires never to be believed upon any occaſion (40). One cannot forbear aſking the following queſtion: Was he perſuaded, or was he not, of the truth of what he advanced? Chriſtian charity obliges us to think he was, for otherwiſe we muſt look upon him as the worſt wretch that ever lived. Let us therefore conclude that he ſpoke as he believed; and conclude from thence, that in hot conſtitutions, like his, zeal is a kind of drunkenneſs, which ſo diſtracts the mind, that all objects appear double and falſe.

(40) *Hac lege diſerte ſe adſtrinxit (pag. 6.) ut niſi Calvinum judaizantem ad oculum demonſtret, nolit ſibi ulla unquam in re poſtbac fidem adhiberi.* Idem, ibid. pag. 16.

Eumenidum veluti demens vidit agmina Pentheus,
Et ſolem geminum, & duplices ſe oſtendere Thebas (41).

" Like Pentheus, when diſtracted with his fear,
" He ſaw two ſuns, and double Thebes appear."
Dryden.

(41) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 4. ver. 469.

The Prieſteſs of Bacchus, who fell violently on her own ſon, miſtaking him for a wild boar (42), whilſt he beheld, without any faith, or rather with contempt, the ceremonies of the feſtival, is an image of the vertigo or giddineſs with which the train of zealots are ſeized. Pareus aſcribes all theſe ſtrange flights of Hunnius to the Devil; it is the Devil, ſays he (43), employed Hunnius, as a writer every way qualified to compoſe ſo ſlanderous a book. *En vero tandem, Chriſtiane Lector, extremæ improbitatis Satanæ exemplum. Quaſi enim hactenus Neſtorianiſmis, Arianiſmis, Turciſmis, Paganiſmis, Atheiſmis, & id genus impuriſſimis ſputis ſuis Eccleſias noſtras parum conſpurcarit: nuper eaſdem etiam* JUDAISMI *ſtercoribus petulantiſſimè conſpergere eſt aggreſſus, conflato per idoneum artificem libello mendaci juxta & maledico, qui titulo* CALVINI JUDAIZANTIS *circumfertur.* i. e. " Behold, O Chriſtian
" reader, an example of the extreme wickedneſs of
" Satan: as though he had not enough defiled our
" Churches with Neſtorianiſm, Arianiſm, Turciſm,
" Paganiſm, Atheiſm, and ſuch like impurities: he
" not long ſince, moſt impudently endeavoured to fling
" Jewiſh filth at it; by means of a lying and calum-
" niating book, now handed about, and entitled
" CALVIN TURNED JEW, being compoſed by an ar-
" tificer, who was every way qualified for the buſineſs."
The deſign, according to Pareus, was to extirpate the Calviniſts, in order that the Ubiquitarian Doctors might be highly eſteemed. *Hinc* Pſeudo-Calvinus Judaizans, *cujus hoc eſt argumentum & ſcopus.* Calvinus eſt Judaizans, Arianizans: ergo & Calviniſtorum Eccleſiæ (quas vocant) ſunt tales: exſtirpandæ; ergo ceſſabunt Ubiquitati faceſſere negotium; ergo ſtabit Ubiquitas: ergo in pretio erunt Ubiquitarii Doctores. *Hæc eſt Satanæ Dialectica* (44). i. e. " *Hence* the falſe
" Calvin judaizing, *the ſcope and argument of which is*
" *as follows:* Calvin judaizes and Arianizes; therefore
" the Calviniſtical Churches, as they are called, are
" ſuch; therefore they ought to be extirpated; there-
" fore they will diſturb Ubiquity no longer; Ubi-
" quity will therefore ſtand; the Ubiquitarian Doctors
" will therefore be held in eſteem. This is Satan's lo-
" gic."

(42) *Ille aper in noſtris errat qui maximus agris,*
Ille mihi ferien-
dus aper. Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 3. *ſub finem.*

(43) Paræus, *in Præfat. Calvini Orthodoxi*, pag. 3.

(44) Idem in *Calvino Orthodox.* pag. 344.

[*M*] *Some particulars in the remark* [*K*] *want to be rectified.*] The reader muſt expunge, in the remark [*K*], the two paſſages where I ſuppoſe that Lipenius is not miſtaken, in placing, under the year 1594, the edition of Hunnius's Anti-Paræus. I now am of opinion, that Baillet was not miſtaken in ſaying, that this date in Lipenius ought to be corrected; for I have a copy of the Anti-Pareus, the title of which declares that it was printed at Francfort *ex officina Paltheniana*, in the year 1598; the prolegomena whereof are ſubſcribed *Ægidius Hunnius*, and dated March 20, 1598. The title of the book, as I have given it from Baillet, is imperfect, and expreſſed in ſuch a manner as renders it obſcure; but here follows the complete title. *Anti-Pareus: hoc eſt invicta Refutatio venenati ſcripti à D. Davide Pareo, Heidelbergenſi Theologo, editi in defenſionem ſtrophorum & corruptelarum quibus Johannes Calvinus illuſtriſſima Scripturæ Teſtimonia de myſterio Trinitatis necnon oracula prophetarum de* CHRISTO *deteſtandum in modum corrupit. Scriptus per Ægidium Hunnium.* Hunnius declares, that as he was enough employed with other matters, he ſhould not ſo much as caſt his eye on Pareus's book, had not the advice of friends, and the vanity with which his adverſaries was ſwelled by his ſilence, made him reſolve to anſwer it (45): ſuch is the excuſe he makes for not replying ſooner. Now it being certain that the book which he refutes is that which David Pareus has entitled *Calvinus Orthodoxus*; it follows that this work of Pareus was not firſt publiſhed in 1599, and is not a reply, as Baillet ſuppoſes. Let us now poſitively affirm that it was publiſhed either in 1594 or 1595.

(45) Hunnius, in *Prolegomenis ad Anti-Pareum.*

It is to be obſerved that Hunnius complains, that Pareus accuſes him of having aſſerted that Calvin was an Arian. He affirms that he had declared the very contrary; and had only ſhewn, that the ſenſe which Calvin gives to many paſſages of the Bible is favourable to the Arians. I will now cite a diſtinction he employs. I will take it for granted, ſays he, that Calvin had no deſign to favour either the Arian or Jewiſh principles; but the ſpirit (46) which ſuggeſted thoſe falſe gloſſes to him had a tendency that way. *Eſto autem, Calvinus ipſe ſtrophis ſuis non hoc ſibi habuerit propoſitum ut Judæorum Arianorumve cauſam proveheret, ſed tantum ut Interpretationis novitate & inſolentia ſibi præ cæteris doctoribus, veteribus & recentioribus, famam nominis conciliaret: Tamen Spiritus, qui has ei gloſſas & eluſiones ſuggerebat, hunc ſibi ſcopum præfixum habuit abſque controverſia, ut nimirum ambiguis & lubricis hiſce ſtrophis unum poſt alterum de Trinitate Teſtimonium, aut de Meſſia oraculum redderet incertum, atque ſic hominum animos paulatim à petra certitudinis dejectos in dubitationum fluctus conjiceret* (47). i. e. " Let us
" ſuppoſe that Calvin did not deſign, by his quirks
" and devices, to favour the Jews or Arians; but on-
" ly, by the infrequency and novelty of his interpre-
" tations, to gain himſelf a reputation ſuperior to that
" of other Doctors antient or modern: Nevertheleſs
" the ſpirit, which ſuggeſted to him thoſe gloſſes and
" impoſitions, had, without doubt, the following
" view, viz. by theſe ambiguous and dangerous ſub-
" tilties, to enervate and render doubtful, ſucceſſively,
" the evidence or teſtimonies concerning the Trinity,
" and the prophecies with regard to the Meſſiah; and
" in this manner to plunge the minds of men, by in-
" ſenſible degrees, from the rock of certainty, into
" the ocean of doubt." Here follows another paſſage, wherein he ſays that the Devil exhibits the utmoſt efforts of his malice in Pareus's book. His expreſſions are very groſs on this occaſion. *Cum igitur hoc Parei ſcriptum ita comparatum ſit, ut in eo Satanas, non dicam diabolicæ ſuæ malitiæ veſtigia quædam oſtendat, ſed impurum ſuum podicem (ſalva venia) denudatum lectoribus conſpiciendum exhibeat, dubitavi, fateor, eſſetne quicquam operæ impendendum tam flagitioſi ſcripti Refutationi: donec vel tandem & inimicorum inſultis gloriationibus, & imprimis amicorum crebris admonitionibus excitatus, hunc quoque laborem, quamlibet moleſtum, ad vindicandam gloriam Dei, & ſacro-ſanctam veritatem ipſius, ſuſcipiendum mihi & exantlandum eſſe duxi* (48). i. e. " Since then this book of Pareus is written
" in ſuch a manner, that the Devil ſhews therein, not
" only ſome tracts of his diabolical malice, but (if I
" may uſe the expreſſion) exhibits his filthy breech to
" the

(46) i. e. the *Devil.*

(47) Hunnius, *in Prolegomenis ad Anti Pareum*, p. 30. I ſet down the page, though the *Prolegomena* are not marked.

(48) Idem, ibid. pag. 3.

HUTTEN (ULRIC DE) a Gentleman of Franconia, was born at Steckelberg (*a*) in 1488. He firſt went through his ſtudies in Fulde, then at Colen, after at Frankfort on the Oder, where he took his Maſter of Arts degree in the year 1506, being the firſt promotion made in that newly-opened Univerſity. Having a genius for Poetry, he firſt ſet up, as an author, in that ſpecies of writing, by publiſhing a piece in the year 1513 [*A*], intitled, *Vir bonus*. The year following Prince Albert of Brandenburg having made his firſt entry into Mentz, whereof he was Archbiſhop, gave Hutten an occaſion of compoſing a ſecond Poem; he writing a large panegyric, in verſe, in his honour, wherein he included (what coſt him no little pains) an encomium on all Germany. He had a couſin, JOHN DE HUTTEN by name, who was Court-Marſhal to Ulric Duke of Wirtemberg, and was killed by this Duke in the foreſt of Beblingen, in the year 1515. Our Poet, waiting for an opportunity of ſhewing his reſentment againſt this Prince, ſword in hand, publiſhed ſeveral pieces againſt him (*b*). He was at that time in Italy [*B*], where he had given many proofs of his courage [*C*] in the war which the Emperor Maximilian ſuſtained during nine years in that county. At his return to Germany (*c*), Conrad Peutinger recommended him in ſuch ſtrong terms to the Emperor, that this Prince beſtowed the poetical Crown on him [*D*]. From that time Hutten had himſelf drawn in armour, with a crown of laurel on his head, and took vaſt delight in being repreſented in that manner. He went not long after to the Elector of Mentz's court, and there wrote a dialogue intitled, *Aula*, in the year 1518. Hutten went, a little after, to the diet of Auſburg with the Elector his maſter, who was there honoured with a Cardinal's hat. In this diet articles had been exhibited againſt the Duke of Wirtemberg, on which occaſion the murther of the Marſhal of his Court was not forgot. Theſe complaints had not produced any very great effect; but at laſt this Prince having ſeized upon the Imperial City of Reuthingen, in January 1519, a league was formed againſt him in Suabia, and thoſe who formed it did not lay down their arms till they had driven him out of all his dominions, to which he did not return till fifteen years after. Our Hutten ſerved in that war. Believing that the cauſe in which Luther had embarked was a very good one, he joined in it with great warmth; and publiſhed Pope Leo X's bull againſt Luther in the year 1520, with interlineary and marginal gloſſes (*d*), in which that Pope was made an object of the ſtrongeſt ridicule. The freedom with which he wrote againſt the irregularities and diſorders of the Court of Rome [*E*], exaſperated Leo in

(*a*) It was the ſeat of the family; it ſtill exiſts, and makes a figure.

(*b*) See the liſt of them in the remark [*B*].

(*c*) In 1517.

(*d*) They are in vol. 2. of Luther's Works, pag. 53, *& ſeq.*

" the reader's view; I will confeſs that I was in " ſome doubt with myſelf whether ſo ſcandalous a " piece merited a refutation; till at length, excited " by the ſilly vaunts of my opponents, and particularly " by the repeated admonitions of my friends, I thought " it incumbent on me to attempt and go through with " this enterprize, how arduous ſoever it might be, " to vindicate God's glory and his holy truth."

[*A*] *Publiſhing a piece in the year* 1513.] He therefore was five and twenty when he firſt ſet out as an author. Moreri then muſt have miſtook, and was not able to copy Melchior Adam juſtly, when he ſays that *Hutten, when but eighteen years of age, publiſhed ſeveral works in verſe.*

[*B*] *He was at that time in Italy*] I have followed the Chronology of Melchior Adam my author; but I ought to inform my readers in this place, that I doubt whether it be juſt. I do not believe that all the pieces which relate to John Hutten's death, were publiſhed before Ulric Hutten's return to Germany. I find in Geſner's Bibliotheca, that the collection of all theſe writings was printed in the ſeat or caſtle of Steckelberg in the year 1519, in 4to. It contained *Ulrichi Hutteni ſuper interfectione propinqui ſui Joannis Hutteni equitis à Wirtinbergienſi Duce Ulricho Deploratio, heroicis verſibus. Ad Ludovicum Huttenum ſuper interemptione filii conſolatoria Oratio. In Ulrichum Wirtenbergienſem Orationes quinque invectivæ. In eundem Dialogus, cui titulus Phalariſmus. Apologia pro Phalariſmo, & aliquot ad amicos Epiſtolæ. Ad Franciſcum Galliarum regem Epiſtola, ne cauſam Wirtenbergienſis tueatur exhortatoria. Inſeruntur etiam Epiſtolæ aliquot ad Amicos.* I alſo find Melchior Adam quoting a ſpeech of Ulric Hutten againſt the Duke of Wirtemberg, which was wrote but in 1519, that is, two years after the author's return from Italy into Germany. Have I not therefore juſt reaſon to doubt of Melchior Adam's accuracy? The circumſtances he relates from this ſpeech are of too ſingular a nature not to be taken notice of in this place. We are there informed that the body of John Hutten was dug up pretty near the foreſt in which he had been killed; yet it was dug up, I ſay, whilſt the confederates were making war on Ulrich Duke of Wirtemberg. The murder had been perpetrated four years, and yet the corps was not rotted, but bled when it was touched, and the face was ſtill to be known; from all which Hutten infers that his couſin was innocent. *Rem admirandam, & cujus prope nullius fides capax ſit, vidiſſes. Quartum jam annum defoſſum corpus non conſumptum, non putrefactum, totam adhuc faciem cognoſcibilem: quin etiam ſanguine commaduit attactum. En igitur innocentiæ teſtimonium! Depoſuimus Eſlingæ, inde ad patriam ſepulturam devecturi* (1).

(1) Hutten, *in Orat. contra Wirtemb. apud* Melchior. Adam. *in Vita Juriſconſult.* pag. 17.

[*C*] *. . . . . where he had given many proofs of his courage*] Thoſe he gave in war were no doubt inferior to thoſe he gave in a rencounter. He was gone from Rome to Viterbo, at a time that an Embaſſador of France had ſtopt at the laſt mentioned city. Now a general quarrel happened to ariſe, in which Hutten, forſaken by his comrades, was attacked by five Frenchmen at once, and himſelf put them all to flight, tho' he had received ſome wounds. He wrote an epigram on that occaſion, which may be ſeen in Melchior Adam, *in quinque Gallos à ſe profligatos*, on his putting five Frenchmen to flight.

[*D*] *The Emperor Maximilian beſtowed the Poetical crown on him.*] He acknowledges himſelf obliged, for that honour, to the good offices of Peutinger, and returns thanks for it in one of his works (2). He even ſays that the crown in queſtion had been made in Peutinger's houſe by Conſtantia his daughter, whoſe virtue and beauty he applauds exceedingly. *Illam aio coronam, illam lauream quam tu ante domi tuæ, accurate contexente & adorante filia tua Conſtantia, omnium quæ iſtic ſunt puellarum & forma & moribus præſtantiſſima, apparaveras.* This circumſtance, for a Poet who loved the fair-ſex as dearly as Hutten did, could not but ſuggeſt new words and a great many thoughts; and it is a hundred to one but a great many epigrams were wrote on the charming Conſtantia Peutinger.

(2) *Præfat. ad Principes German. ut bellum Turcis inferant, apud* Melch. Adam. in *Vitis Juriſconſult.* pag. 15.

[*E*] *He wrote againſt the irregularities and diſorders of the church of Rome.*] Hutten publiſhed, among other works, an Hiſtorical Treatiſe in the German language, concerning the diſobedience with which the Popes had behaved perpetually towards the Emperors. At the end of it we find, that Maximilian I having been impoſed on by Leo X, ſpoke as follows. *This*

in the higheſt degree; and induced him to command the Elector of Mentz to ſend him to Rome bound hand and foot. Hutten then withdrew from this Court [*F*], and went to that of the Emperor Charles V in the Netherlands; but did not continue long in it, being told that his life would be in danger. It is ſome way probable that he withdrew then to the fortreſs of Ebernburg; for it was thence he wrote in 1520 his complaint to the Emperor, to the Electors of Mentz and Saxony, and to all the States of Germany againſt the attempts which the Pope's emiſſaries made againſt him. It was from the ſame place that he wrote to Luther in May 1521 (*e*), and publiſhed ſeveral pieces in favour of the Reformation. We don't know the exact time when he left this caſtle; but it is certain that in January 1523 he had left Baſil [*G*], where he had flattered himſelf with the hopes of meeting with a ſecure aſylum; but inſtead of it he had been expoſed to great dangers. Eraſmus having politely refuſed a viſit from Hutten, for fear of heightning the ſuſpicions that were entertained againſt him, as well as for fear of ſomething elſe which he afterwards owned [*H*], was ſoon after ſeverely attacked in a public manner, by Ulric de Hutten. Eraſmus anſwered it [*I*]; and there is no doubt but Hutten would have made a reply, had he not been ſnatched away by death, he dying in an iſland of the Lake of Zurich Auguſt the 29th 1523 [*K*]. He was a man of little ſtature;

(e) This Letter is in Luther's Works, edit. Witt. pag. 102.

Pope has already cheated me in a baſe manner, and I may truly ſay that no Pope ever kept his word with me; but I hope, with the grace of God, that this will be the laſt. Cochleus ſays (3), that before Luther's name was ſpread, Ulric de Hutten had publiſhed ſeveral pieces againſt the oppreſſions which Germany ſuffered by means of the Popes; and that he wrote, in 1519, a ſmall tract entitled *Trias Romana*, the invention whereof was exceedingly pretty, and which brought a prodigious odium upon the court of Rome.

(3) *Act. & Script. Lutheri, ad ann.* 1519.

[*F*] *Hutten withdrew* from the Elector of Mentz's *court.*] I do not find, in Hutten's Life, that he was ever ſeized by order of the Elector of Mentz, as Moreri affirms; all I find is, that he baniſhed him from his court, *excluſus itaque aula & urbe Moguntina* (4); and that he forbid all perſons to ſell or read his works upon pain of excommunication.

(4) Melch. *in Vitis Juriſconſult.* pag. 19.

[*G*] *In January* 1523, *he had left Baſil.*] This appears from the following words of a Letter of Oecolampadius (5); *Sunt hic ex ſacerdotibus & theologis, qui de me peſſime loqui cupiant, nec deſiſtunt ubi clam conveniunt. Tantum machinati ut Hutteno non fuerit diutius tutum hic agere, unde & nudius tertius hinc diſceſſit, quorſum autem neſcio.* i. e. "Some Miniſters and Di-
" vines, in this place, deſire that I ſhould be ex-
" tremely ill ſpoken of, and do not fail to do this in
" their ſecret meetings. They went ſo far in their
" machinations, that Hutten was not ſafe any longer
" here, for which reaſon he left us three days ſince;
" but whither he is retired I cannot ſay."

(5) Dated at Baſil the 21ſt of Jan. 1523. Book 4. Epiſt. pag. 968. *apud* Melch. Adam. pag. 21.

[*H*] *Eraſmus having politely refuſed a viſit from Hutten, for fear of . . . ſomething which he afterwards owned.*] Writing to Melanchthon in September 1524, (6), he tells him, that he would gladly have received Hutten's viſit, without much valuing what the world might ſay of it; and that the motive of his refuſing Hutten's viſit, was not merely from the apprehenſion he was under of making himſelf odious; but that there was another motive, viz. that he ſhould then have been under a neceſſity, of taking into his houſe that boaſter, oppreſſed with poverty and the (*) itch, who only ſought for a neſt to lay himſelf in, and to borrow money of every one he met with. Thus we find that Eraſmus was more ſway'd, on this occaſion, by intereſt than by fame. *Quod* Hutteni *colloquium deprecabar non invidiæ metus tantum in cauſa fuit: erat aliud quiddam quod tamen in* Spongia *non attigi. Ille egens & omnibus rebus deſtitutus quærebat nidum aliquem ubi moraretur. Erat mihi glorioſus ille miles cum ſua ſcabie* (7) *in ædes recipiendus, ſimulque recipiendus ille chorus titulo* Evangelicorum, *ſed titulo duntaxat.* Sletſtadii *mulctavit omnes amicos ſuos aliqua pecunia. A* Zuinglio *improbè petiit, quod ipſe* Zuinglius *mihi ſuis literis perſcripſit. Jam amarulentiam & glorias hominis nemo quamvis patiens ferre poterat.* i. e. "The
" reaſon why I avoided a conference with Hutten, was
" not only for fear that my reputation would ſuffer by
" it; there indeed was another which I have not
" mentioned in my *Sponge*. As Hutten was poor, and
" in want of every thing, and ſought only a neſt
" where he might dwell in, I muſt have taken this
" braggadocio, with his (†) itch, into my houſe; and
" have taken him under the name of one of the Evan-
" gelics, though but in name only. He borrowed
" money from all his acquaintance in Schleſtad; and
" ſaucily importuned Zuinglius for ſome, as he in-
" formed me by letter. The moſt patient perſon living
" could not bear with the bitterneſs and vaunting of
" this man." It appears by this, that Eraſmus was not afraid of our Hutten, becauſe he was a zealous Lutheran, but becauſe he was a plundered officer, who wanted to take up his winter-quarters at Eraſmus's. There is no doubt but that Hutten's viſits, and his borrowing money on thoſe occaſions, were diſpleaſing to many profeſſed Proteſtants.

(6) It is the 113th Letter of book 19. p. 949.

(*) Probably *Pox* is meant here.

(7) It is very probable that by the word *Scabies*, he means the *Itch* here.

(†) Or rather *Pox*.

[*I*] *Eraſmus anſwered it.*] This anſwer is inſcribed to Zuinglius, and is entitled *Spongia Eraſmi adverſus aſpergines Hutteni.* Eraſmus there confeſſes ingenuouſly, that he deſired Hutten might be told not to come and ſee him, unleſs ſome important reaſon obliged him to it; but he ſhews that his intreaty was ſo much ſoftned, and afterwards made ſo many propoſals to this friend, that any reaſonable man would have been ſatisfied with them. The worſt circumſtance is, he told Mark Laurinus, Dean of Bruges, in a letter, that had Hutten made him a viſit, he would not have refuſed to converſe with him. *Fuit hic Huttenus paucorum dierum hoſpes: interim nec ille me adiit, nec ego illum; & tamen ſi me conveniſſet, non repuliſſem hominem à colloquio* (8). He adds that the reaſon which prevented their ſeeing one another, was, Hutten could not be without a ſtove, and Eraſmus could not bear one. We ſee, by this example, that the moſt honeſt people are apt not to expreſs always, in their letters, things as they know them to be. Hutten was highly exaſperated at Eraſmus, and reproached him, in very diſobliging terms, on a thouſand accounts. Eraſmus made the beſt juſtification in his power. After Hutten's death, one Otho Brunfels, a Phyſician, anſwered Eraſmus in his name.

(8) Eraſm. *Ep.* 6. lib. 23.

[*K*] *He died in an Iſland of the Lake of Zurich.*] He alſo was interred there, and ſome years after a Gentleman of Franconia cauſed the following diſtich to be engraved on his Sepulchre.

Hic eques auratus jacet, oratorque diſertus
Huttenus, vates carmine & enſe potens (9).

(9) Geſner. in *Bibliotb.* folio 342.

" Hutten, a Knight and Orator lies here,
" For his bright pen and ſword alike renown'd.

The moſt unhappy circumſtance is, he died of the foul diſeaſe. Had Varillas related this firſt (10), I ſhould not be concerned about it; but I find this incident in Geſner's *Bibliotheca*. After this, who would not deplore the odd character of the man? Hutten, wandring from place to place on account of his religion; Hutten perſecuted for his ſtrong zeal, carries the foul diſeaſe about him whitherſoever he goes, and at laſt dies of it. What a ſtrange medley is this! He had publiſhed, in 1519, a Latin book concerning Guaicum and the venereal Diſeaſe. He at that time could treat of it as a maſter; for in all probability he did not get this diſtemper ſince his abjuration of the Popiſh religion. By the way Varillas makes a wrong computation. He ſays that Hutten eſpouſed the intereſt of Luther five years before he died, and two years after the Diet of Auſburg, where he had oppoſed the

(10) *Hiſt. de l'Hereſie*, liv. 4.

ſtature; of a weak and ſickly conſtitution, but extremely brave, and a little too paſſionate [L]. A collection of all his Poems was publiſhed at Frankfort in 1538 (f). He is thought to have wrote many libels [M].

(f) *Extracted from his* Life, *in* Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Juriſconſultor Germaniæ*, pag. 13, & *ſeq.*

Part of his library fell into the hands of a Phyſician, who, as it is ſaid, ſold ſome books belonging to it, to Frobenius. See the beginning of book 2. of Joachim Camerarius's Letters.

The conjecture which was mentioned in the preceding editions, viz. that John de Hutten was ſuſpected to have had too great a ſhare in the Ducheſs of Wirtemberg's good graces, is falſe. It was the Duke who loved that Gentleman's wife (g). The Duke has been introduced in a dialogue, as follows: *Nobilem juvenem, meum comitem, cum ejus uxorem puellam venuſtam deperirem, obtruncavi* (h). i. e. "Being diſtractedly in love with "the beautiful young wife of my companion, a noble youth, I killed him."

(g) *See* tom. 4. *Obſervationum Selectarum ad Rem Literariam ſpectantium*, printed at Hall 1701, pag. 169, 170.

(h) Ulr. Hutenus *in Phalariſmo*, folio Aiij.

league which the court of Rome intended to form againſt the Turks. This Diet was held in 1518, and Hutten muſt conſequently have turned Lutheran in 1520; now he lived but three years after this. Varillas's remark, *that he was obliged to live* chaſtely, *becauſe he had taken holy orders*, is perhaps not altogether falſe, for we find the following words in Melanchthon's life. *Interceſſerat Hutteno cum Croto Rubiano ſingularis uſus à prima adoleſcentia, quo autore vel certe adjutore reliquit ille contubernium Fuldanum, in quod pene puer magis diſciplinæ quam religionis cauſſa datus eſſet.* i. e. "Crotus Rubianus was of great ſervice to Hutten "from his childhood; for by his counſel, or help, he "quitted the Abbey of Fulde, wherein he had been "placed, more on a religious account than on that of "literature, when almoſt a boy."

(11) *Biblioth.* folio 342.

[L] *He was ... a little too paſſionate.*] Geſner (11) obſerves that Hutten, at the beginning of the reformation, ſaid and wrote many things with great freedom and boldneſs againſt the Roman Catholics, as well as againſt Princes and the magiſtrates of the cities. He joined with ſo much fury with Capnio againſt the Monks, that after having attacked that faction with his pen, he fell upon it with his ſword. *Litigantes Monachos cum Capnione varie exagitavit, & illam factionem tum quidem vehementiſſimis ſcriptis, ſed aliquando poſt armis quoque expeditis adortus eſt* (12). He acquainted Luther with the double war which he carried on againſt the Clergy. *Hutten literas ad me dedit ingenti ſpiritu æſtuantes in Romanum Pontificem, ſcribens ſe jam & literis & armis in tyrannidem ſacerdotalem ruere, motus quod pontifex ſicas & venenum ei intentarit, ac Epiſcopo Moguntino mandarit, captum ac vinctum Romam mittere* (13). i. e. "I received a letter from Hutten filled with rage againſt the Roman "Pontiff, declaring he would attack, both with his "pen and ſword, the tyranny of the Clergy; he "being exaſperated againſt the Pope for threatning "him with daggers and poiſon, and commanding the "Biſhop of Mentz to ſend him bound to Rome." Since Luther did not approve of this man's violent temper (14), we are not to wonder that it gave Melanchthon ſome uneaſineſs. He loved Hutten for his genius and learning, but he dreaded his pride and paſſion, and his innovating temper. *Ut virum magni facere & admirari propter doctrinæ eruditionem & præſtantiam ingenii, ſic ab illius natura vehemente & excelſo animo, & voluntate ad novas res propenſa .... nonnihil timere Philippum Melanchthonem licuit animadvertere.* Camerarius (15) who informs us of this, adds, that Ulric Hutten was vaſtly impatient; and that his air and diſcourſe ſhewed him to be of a cruel diſpoſition. He applies to him what was ſaid of Demoſthenes; viz. that Hutten would have turned all Europe topſy turvy, had his power equalled his deſigns and enterprizes. Judge of his temper from the following ſpecimen. Being told that the Carthuſians had wiped their backſides with the prints repreſenting his face, he fined them two thouſand piſtoles. *Huttenus Carthuſianos, quia imagine ſua pro anitergiis uſi ſunt, in duobus millibus aureorum nummûm multavit* (16). This was making them pay exceedingly dear for the little regard they had ſhewn to the laurel, which crowned the head of the print in queſtion. Varillas (17) ſays, that Luther had it placed in the front of his books. I related elſewere (18) the menaces which Ulric Hutten vented againſt the Pope's Nuncio; and after this I can very eaſily believe that he wrote thus to the Elector of Mentz: *If you burn my books, I will burn your cities* (19).

(12) Camerar. in *Vita Melanchth.*

(13) Luther. tom. 1. Epiſt. pag. 282 and 285.

(14) *Quid Huttenus petat vides, nollem vi & cæde pro Evangelio certari: ita ſcripſi ad hominem.* Idem, tom. 1. Epiſt. pag. 332.

(15) In *Vita Melanchth.*

(16) Nicol. Gerbelius, *Epiſt. ad Jo. Schwebelium*; apud *Melchior Adam.*

(17) *Hiſt. de Hereſie*, lib. 4.

(18) In citation (18) of the article ALEXANDER JEROM.

(19) Palavicin. *Hiſt. Concil. Trident.* lib. 1. cap. 25. num. 1.

(20) Melch. Adam. *in Vitis Juriſconſult.*

(21) *Epitome Geſneri.*

[M] *He is thought to have writ many libels.*] Of the following among others; *Dialogus Philalethis civis Utopienſis. Oratio ad Chriſtum pro Julio ſecundo Ligure pontifice* (20) *Bullicida* (21): *Prædones: Momus; Carolus: Pietatis & Superſtitionis Pugna: Conciliabulum Theologiſtarum adverſus bonarum literarum ſtudioſos. Apophthegmata Vadiſci & Paſquilli de depravato Eccleſiæ ſtatu. Huttenus Captivus, Huttenus illuſtris, authore S. Abydeno Corallo Germano* (22). A burleſque ſatyr, entitled *Nemo*, had been aſcribed to Eraſmus; but Hutten was author of it (23); he himſelf declaring this, and being angry that the glory of it had been given to another. Some perſons affirm that he is author of *Epiſtolæ obſcurorum virorum* (24). This fiction would be more tolerable than another which is aſcribed to him, viz. that he himſelf drew up the letter, which he publiſhed under the name of the Univerſities of Paris, Oxford and Prague (25). Had he lived thirty five years longer (26), he would have overflowed Europe with a deluge of books and libels.

(22) Geſner, *in Biblioth.* who takes the *Abydenus Corallus* to be a ſuppoſititious name.

(23) See Eraſmus's *Letters*, pag. 543 and 575.

(24) See the remark [F] of the article HOCHSTRATUS.

(25) *See* Father Labbe, *de Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. pag. 922.

(26) Melchior Adam *and* Moreri date his birth to the year 1488, and his death to 1523, and yet they ſay he lived 36 years.

☞ The above article being very imperfect, it will be neceſſary to add a ſupplement to it.

HUTTEN (ULRIC DE) was born the 20th or 21ſt of April 1488; was ſent to the Abbey of Fulde at eleven years of age; and took his Maſter of Arts degree at eighteen, at Frankfort on the Oder. In 1509 he was at the ſiege of Padua, in the Emperor Maximilian's army; and he owned that it was the want of money which forced him to make that campaign. He returned ſoon into Germany, and there began to apply himſelf anew to his ſtudies, contrary to his father's inclination [A]. He went to various places [B]. The correſpondence he held with Eraſmus was of great advantage to him.

[A] *He began to apply himſelf again to his ſtudies, contrary to his father's inclinations.*] This old man not having the leaſt taſte or eſteem for polite literature, thought it unworthy the purſuit of perſons of exalted birth; and being angry at his ſon on that account, he therefore would not give him the ſupplies he wanted; which very probably was the cauſe of his being reduced to the neceſſity that had forced him to ſerve under the Emperor in Italy. Our Hutten's father would have been glad, as his ſon was ſo fond of learning, that he had applied himſelf to the civil law, ſince that might raiſe him in the world; but Hutten had no inclination for that kind of ſtudy. However, finding there was no other way of getting himſelf reconciled to his father, he went to Pavia in April 1511, which city being beſieged and taken by the Swiſs, he was taken priſoner, plundered of all he had; but was afterwards releaſed, and then went to Bologna in July (1).

(1) *Hommes Illuſtres du P. Niceron.* tom. 15. pag. 245, 246.

[B] *He went to various places.*] From Bologna he travelled to Bohemia and Moravia; and waiting on the

him [C]. It was in 1516 that Hutten was honoured with the poetical Crown; and returning to his own country, he did not meet with ſo kind a reception from his friends as he expected [D]. He was in France in the year 1518; from whence he went to Mentz, and engaged in the ſervice of the Elector Albert. Hutten did not once come to an engagement in the war againſt the Duke of Wirtemberg; however, the tumult of a camp and the noiſe of arms ſoon gave him a diſtaſte for a military life, ſo that he could not forbear panting after his ſtudies and a retirement [E]. In 1519, his patron the Elector of Mentz permitted him to go and ſpend ſome months in the Caſtle of Steckelberg; but in 1520 Leo X obliged the Elector to diſmiſs Hutten, that Pope being exaſperated againſt him, for republiſhing an old book intitled, *De unitate Eccleſiæ conſervanda, & ſchiſmate quod fuit inter Henricum IV Imp. & Gregorium VII Pont. Max. &c.* Hutten then withdrew to Brabant, and made ſome ſtay in the Court of the Emperor Charles V, but was forced to leave it ſoon, upon which he retired to Ebernburg [F]. Hutten did not begin to declare openly for Luther till after he had left the Elector of Mentz's Court; but he had wrote to him before from Mentz, and his firſt letter to Luther is dated June the 4th 1520. Varillas had made ſome falſe aſſertions with regard to our Hutten [G]. During his abode in Ebernburg, he performed a very generous action with regard to his family [H]. It was Francis de Sickingen, Luther's great protector, to whom the Caſtle of Ebernberg belonged, that had given an aſylum to Hutten ever ſince his retiring to that place; and it is probable that he had accompanied his patron in the expedition wherein he was killed in May 1523. Hutten was now obliged to ſeek ſome other ſhelter, and to wander up and down during the ſhort time he had to live. He then withdrew to Baſil, but not being allowed to continue there, he went to Mildehauſen, and died in an iſland called Uffnort [I]. His Panegyriſts declare that it is a mere calumny to ſay that he died of the foul diſeaſe; but it is nevertheleſs probable that he fell a victim to it [K]. Some think very juſtly that he was never in holy orders.

the Biſhop of Olmutz in a very poor condition, that Prelate, who was a great Mecænas, gave our Hutten a gracious reception; preſented him with a horſe; and gave him money to purſue his journey. Hutten travelled to Vienna, and there ſaw Joachim Vadianus, to whom he then gave the Poems which Vadianus publiſhed afterwards. It is probable that it was from this city that Hutten returned a third time into Italy; and it appears by one of his letters dated from Bologna the 31ſt of July 1516, that he was then ſtudying the law (2).

(2) Ibid. pag. 246, 247.

[C] *The correſpondence he held with Eraſmus was of great advantage to him.*] It obtained him particularly a very kind reception from all the *Literati* in Italy whom he viſited, and eſpecially at Venice, from Batt. Egnatius, Ang. Contareni, And. Aſulanus, &c. (3).

(3) Ibid. pag. 247, 248.

[D] *He did not meet with . . . a . . . kind reception from his friends.*] As theſe were told that Hutten had devoted all the time, during which he pretended to ſtudy the civil law, to polite literature, his family and friends reproached him grievouſly on that account. This gave him ſome uneaſineſs at firſt, but he afterwards only laughed at their clamours (4).

(4) Ibid. pag. 248, 249.

[E] *He could not forbear panting after his ſtudies.*] This we find by a letter of his to Frederic Piſcator, dated the 21ſt of May 1519. He there diſcovers an inclination for matrimony, and expreſſes himſelf in a ſingular way on that occaſion. He informs his correſpondent, that he wants a wife who may take care of him; and that what advantageous things ſoever ſome people might tell him of a ſingle life, he found himſelf not qualified for it, and did not like to lie alone. That he wanted a partner in whoſe company he might unbend his mind, joke and tattle with, and ſooth his cares. That his wife muſt be beautiful, young, well educated, merry, modeſt and patient. That he did not require much money with ſuch a one; and did not ſo much regard her birth, becauſe ſhe would be ſufficiently ennobled by marrying him. *Opus*, ſays he to Piſcator, *uxore eſt, quæ me curet. Noſti mores; non facile ſolus eſſe poſſum, ne noctu quidem. Faceſſant mihi enim prædicare quidam cælibatus bona, & ſolitudinis commoda; non videor eſſe capax. Me quidem habere oportet, ubi curas & ipſa ubi acriora etiam ſtudia remittam, quicum ludam, quo jocos conferam, amæniores & leviuſculas fabulas miſceam, ubi ſolicitudinis aciem obtundam, curarum æſtus mitigem. Da mihi uxorem, & ut ſcias qualem, da venuſtam, adoleſcentulam, probe educatam, hilarem, verecundam, patientem; ſatis habeat, non multum. Divitias non quæro enim. Et ad genus quod pertinet, ſatis nobilem futuram puto, quæcumque Hutteno nupſerit* (5).

(5) Ibid. pag. 250, 251.

[F] *He retired to Ebernburg.*] Meeting with the famous Hochſtratus in his journey thither, he drew his ſword, and running up to him, ſwore he would kill him for what he had done againſt Reuchlin and Luther; but Hochſtratus throwing himſelf at his feet, conjured him ſo earneſtly to ſpare his life that Hutten let him go, after ſtriking him ſeveral times with the flat of his ſword (6).

(6) Ibid. pag. 253.

[G] *Varillas has made ſome falſe aſſertions.*] He ſays that Hutten declared publicly for Luther five years before his death, and two years after the Diet of Augſburg; and that he there oppoſed the league which the Court of Rome would have formed againſt the Turks. This Diet was held in the year 1518. Hutten muſt therefore have turned Lutheran in 1520; and he lived but three years after this. Beſides, it is an abſolute falſhood to aſſert that he oppoſed the League againſt the Turks; ſo far from it he made a ſpeech, which is ſtill extant, to excite the Princes of the Empire to unite together againſt thoſe infidels. The only oppoſition he made was, to the tenths which the Pope intended to raiſe on that occaſion, he fearing they would be employed in other uſes (7).

(7) Ibid. pag. 253, 254.

[H] *He performed a very generous action with regard to his family.*] Being the eldeſt ſon, and ſucceeding to the whole eſtate of his father and mother by their death, he gave it up all to his brothers; and even, to prevent their being involved in the misfortunes and diſgraces which he expected, by the ſuſpicions that might be entertained againſt them, he conjured them not to remit him any money, nor to hold the leaſt correſpondence with him. It was now that he devoted himſelf wholly to the Lutheran party, to advance which he laboured inceſſantly and with indefatigable zeal, both by his writings and actions (8).

(8) Ibid. pag. 254, 255.

[I] *He went to Mildehauſen and died &c.*] He concealed himſelf for ſome time in the monaſtery of the Auſtin Friars at Mildehauſen; but being diſcovered, he fled by night to Zurich, where, as he probably did not think himſelf more ſecure, he ſecluded himſelf in an iſland of the neighbouring lake, called Uffnort, and there died.

[K] *It is probable that he fell a victim to the foul diſeaſe.*] We don't find that he was married, and yet it appears, by his Letters mentioned above (9), that he could not live without a woman. Hence we may preſume that he uſed to go abroad in queſt of pleaſures which he had not at home; and that he even was not very cautious in the choice of thoſe women he frequented, ſince as early as 1518 he had got the infamous diſtemper, of which Geſner declares he died; as appears by his letter to Pirckheymer, dated

(9) Remark [E] citation (5) above.

(a) See Bayle's article of ULRIC DE HUTTEN, citation (b).

orders [L]. The date of the impreſſion of one of his books, ſhews an error of Melchior Adam, and of Bayle after him [M]. Hutten had a conſiderable ſhare in the famous book intitled, *Epiſtolæ obſcurorum virorum* [N]. We ſhall here relate the particulars of the murther of John de Hutten, couſin to our Ulric [O] (a). We will likewiſe

the abovmentioned year, and by the dedication of his book, *De Ligni Guaiaci in Morbi Gallici curatione viribus*, i. e. "Of curing the Pox by Guaiacum wood", where he obſerves, that having been grievouſly afflicted with the diſtemper which is the ſubject of his book, he recovered his health wholly by the uſe of this remedy (10).

(10) Niceron, *Hommes Illuſtres*, vol. 15. pag. 257, 258.

[L] *Some think very juſtly that he was never in holy orders.*] Varillas declared he was, from an inference which he drew (11); but it ſeems to be altogether falſe, for Hutten could not have taken holy orders except in Fulde, which he yet did not, ſince he was placed in that Abbey to ſtudy, and not to be made a Monk, *Diſciplinæ magis quam religionis cauſa*, ſays Joachim Camerarius (12); ſince he did not make any vow there; and ſince although the Abbot of this monaſtery would have perſuaded Hutten to ſtay with him, he yet muſt have left his cloyſter at about fifteen or ſixteen years of age, when he was not old enough to be admitted into holy orders. Not to mention that this particular is ſpoken of by no author except Varillas (13).

(11) See remark [K], towards the end, of Bayle's article of HUTTEN.

(12) *In Vita Melanchth.* pag. 93.

(13) Niceron, *Hommes illuſtres*, vol. 15. pag. 258, 259.

[M] *Melchior Adam and Bayle have committed an error.*] Theſe ſay that the firſt book Hutten publiſhed was his *Vir bonus* in 1513, and conſequently that he was twenty five years of age before he ſet up for an author (14). But this is a miſtake, Hutten having publiſhed a treatiſe on the art of verſification two years before; *Ars verſificandi*, *Wittembergæ* 1511 in 4to; ſo that he began to appear publickly as an author at twenty three years of age. This piece has borne a great many impreſſions.

(14) See the text of Bayle's article of HUTTEN, after the letter [A] See alſo the remark [A].

[N] *Hutten had a conſiderable ſhare in the* Epiſtolæ obſcurorum virorum.] Theſe Letters were written on occaſion of the Controverſies which Reuchlin had with the Divines of Colen, occaſioned by one Pfefferkorn a converted Jew, who, upon pretence that the books which the Jews had relating to their Religion kept them from turning Chriſtians, obtained an edict from the Emperor, by which they were all ordered to be burnt. In theſe Epiſtles the ignorance and preſumption of the Friars and Divines who lived in thoſe barbarous times, are painted in the moſt natural colours. Moſt of them are addreſſed to Ortuinus Gratius, becauſe he had wrote an apology for the Divines of Colen in oppoſition to Reuchlin. It is a whimſical Satyr on the barbarous ſtyle of the Scholaſtic Divines, which is there imitated, but very much heightened, to make it ſtill more ridiculous. The peruſal of this work is ſaid to have had a ſurprizing effect on Eraſmus (15). Ortuinus Gratius having been chiefly attacked in thoſe letters, he thought it not adviſeable to let them go unanſwered; and therefore he publiſhed the following piece; *Lamentationes obſcurorum virorum, non prohibitæ per ſedem Apoſtolicam. Coloniæ* 1518, in 8vo. This volume contains alſo, beſides the brief of Pope Leo X againſt the *Epiſtolæ obſcurorum virorum*, and Eraſmus's letter to John Cæſarius; the following piece; *Epiſtola apologetica Ortuini Gratii, ob primam à parvulo educationem Daventrienſis cognominati, Agrippinenſis quoque Academiæ Philoſophi, Chriſtique Sacerdotis, ad obſcuram Reuchliniſtarum cohortem, citra bonorum indignationem miſſa.* The other authors of theſe Epiſtles, beſides Hutten, are ſaid to be Reuchlin, Herman de Neuwenar, &c. Hutten ſeems to own himſelf one of the authors of them, ſince he ſpeaks, in his letter to Pirckheymer, of the *Lamentationes* publiſhed againſt the *Epiſtolæ obſcurorum virorum*, as of a work written againſt him. We do not know exactly the time when thoſe Epiſtles firſt appeared in print, the year not being ſet down in the firſt edition; but it is certain that they muſt have been printed before the year 1517, ſince there is extant a brief of Pope Leo X, dated from Rome the 15th of March of that year, which forbids the reading or keeping them upon pain of excommunication. This is one reaſon; but a ſtronger is, that the ſecond edition of them was printed in 1516. The two parts which compoſe this work were publiſhed at different times. The firſt part appear'd under the following title: *Epiſtolæ obſcurorum virorum ad Magiſtrum Ortuinum Gratium Daventrienſem, Coloniæ Latinas Literas profitentem.* At the end of the book are the following words: *In Venetia impreſſum in impreſſoria Aldi Manutii, anno quo ſupra. Etiam caviſatum eſt, ut in aliis, ne quis audeat poſt nos impreſſare per decennium, per illuſtriſſimum Principem Venetiarum:* all this may probably be fictitious, and the book may have been printed in Germany. Beſides, there is no date, as is pretended in the laſt mentioned Latin words, and to which the reader is referred. The ſecond part which appeared afterwards, has the title above, together with theſe words: *Non illæ quidem veteres & prius viſæ; ſed & novæ & illis prioribus elegantia, argutiis, lepore ac venuſtate longè ſuperiores.* At the end are the following words; *Quinta Luna obſcuros viros edidit. Lector ſolve nodum, & ridebis amplius. Impreſſum Romanæ curiæ.* This firſt edition is in 4to. There have been many editions of this work: *Editio ſecunda cum multis aliis Epiſtolis annexis, quæ in prima impreſſura non habentur. Venetiis* (that is probably in Germany) 1516, 4to. It. *Cum dialogo mire feſtivo*, 1556, in 8vo. It. *Cum variis additionibus ejuſdem argumenti. Francofurti* 1581 and 1643, in 8°. But the moſt beautitul edition is that of London 1701, in 8°. It is ſurprizing that notes have not been added to it, ſince they are ſo very much wanted (16).

(15) See the remark [Z] of the article ERASMUS.

(16) Niceron's *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 15. pag. 271, & *ſeq.* and tom. 25. pag. 141.

[O] *We ſhall here give the particulars of the murther of John de Hutten.*] Lewis de Hutten, father of this John, was very intimate with Ulric Duke of Wirtemberg; and relying on the friendſhip which that Prince had for him, he intruſted him with John de Hutten, one of his four ſons, to be as his companion. The young man behaved exceedingly well, and won the Duke's friendſhip, inſomuch that he truſted him with the moſt important ſecrets, and revealed all his deſigns to him. Some time after John married the daughter of a General of that Duke's cavalry; when Lewis de Hutten, his father, being deſirous of ſettling the affairs of his family, ordered his ſon to come to him: and as the Duke could not refuſe to permit him, he told him that he muſt confer with him on certain matters before he went away, and for that purpoſe took him into the country, upon pretence that they ſhould be leſs interrupted there. But now the Duke carrying him into the foreſt of Beblingburg, he fell upon Hutten and killed him, and probably had cauſed ruffians to lie in wait for him. Be this as it will, Hutten's body was found, wounded mortally in ſeven places. This murther made a great noiſe, and the occaſion of it was long unknown; but at laſt Ulric de Hutten diſcovered the whole affair, firmly reſolved to do this, becauſe the Duke had afterwards ſaid, in juſtification of this cruel action, that John de Hutten was a perjured wretch; that he deſerved death, and conſequently that he had juſtly puniſhed him. Here follows what we are told concerning this matter. The Duke of Wirtemberg was fallen diſtractedly in love with John de Hutten's wife, and by the aſſiduity and warmth of his addreſſes, had at laſt diſpoſed her to grant what he ſo ardently wiſhed for. The only affair now was, to get an opportunity of meeting together privately, which was the more difficult, becauſe the huſband, knowing the Duke's deſigns, kept a very watchful eye over his wife. But theſe obſtacles, ſo far from extinguiſhing the Duke's flame, only heightened it the more, and prompted him to behave in a moſt extraordinary manner. He threw himſelf at John de Hutten's feet; and, with tears in his eyes, begged that he would permit him to love his wife. The huſband, in extreme ſurprize, conjured the Duke not to requeſt ſo ignominious a favour, nor to do an action ſo unworthy a man of his rank. Nevertheleſs fearing, as it really happened, that the paſſion which this Prince had for his wife would make him incur his hatred, he informed his friends of the dilemma he was in, wrote to his father about it, and uſed all the arts poſſible to diſengage himſelf from the Duke's ſervice, who

likewiſe give an account of ſome of Hutten's works [*P*] (*b*).

(*b*) All theſe particulars are extracted from Ulric de Hutten's *Life*, written by James Burchard, and publiſhed at Wolfenbuttel in the year 1717, in 12mo, and from tom. 15. of Niceron's *Hommes Illuſtres*.

who had juſt before offered him a conſiderable employment in their neighbourhood. Hutten's relations did not yet know that the Duke had ingratiated himſelf into the wife's favour: notwithſtanding which they were determined to get him out of the Duke's hands, but unhappily they delayed their reſolution too long; for the Duke whoſe flame raged daily with greater violence was reſolved not to let Hutten go, as this would have defeated all his hopes, and yet was determined to get rid of an Argus; which was the motive that prompted him to commit the murther abovementioned. The Duke, after John de Hutten's death, was indulged in all his criminal wiſhes by the widow, whom he made his concubine (*).

(*) See the laſt paragraph of Bayle's text of the article ULRIC DE HUTTEN.

Our Ulric de Hutten, at the time of this murther, was at the Baths of Ems in Germany, and not in Italy as Bayle aſſerts (17). It was thither that the news was ſent him of it by Marquard de Hatsſteyn, Canon of Mentz, a relation of his. The five orations which our Ulric de Hutten wrote againſt the Duke of Wirtemberg were compoſed at different times. The three firſt a little after John de Hutten's death, the fourth ſeventeen months after, and the fifth in 1519, after that the Princes who had made a league againſt the Duke in queſtion had driven him out of his country (18). The ſtyle of all thoſe orations is energetic; the author did not ſpare invectives, and has employed many odious expreſſions with the utmoſt ſtrength and fire; the whole ſpeaks a man who is exaſperated at the affront he has received, and which it is not in his power to revenge (19).

(17) See his text of the article ULRIC DE HUTTEN, before the letter [*B*].

(18) All this clears up the doubts that Mr. Bayle entertained with regard to the times in which theſe ſeveral Orations were written. See the remark [*B*] of his article ULRIC DE HUTTEN.

[*P*] *We ſhall give an account of ſome of our Hutten's works.*] Thoſe who deſire to ſee an ample catalogue of them may read Father Niceron's *Hommes illuſtres* (20). A ſingular circumſtance in Hutten's book *De Guaiaci Medicina, & morbo Gallico liber*, firſt printed in 1519, is, that although it is dedicated to Albert Elector of Mentz, a ſpiritual Prince, yet Hutten is not aſhamed to declare, that after having himſelf been long a martyr to the diſeaſe, he there treats of, the pox, he had been cured only by Guaiacum (21). In the two dialogues entitled *Febris*, Hutten feigns a diſcourſe between himſelf and the ſeaver with which he had been long tormented, and therefore intreats it to go and annoy thoſe, who may be in better circumſtances to maintain it. Hutten's ſervant is afterwards introduced, and joyns in the converſation. Theſe dialogues are very ingenious, and extremely ſatyrical, particularly againſt the Prelates and Monks, whom Hutten inveighs ſharply againſt in all his writings (22). The piece entitled *Phalariſmus*, one of the five ſatyrs written againſt the Duke of Wirtemberg (23), conſiſts of a dialogue, the interlocutors whereof are *Charon*, *Mercury*, the *Tyrant*, i. e. Duke Ulric, and *Phalaris*. The author feigns that the Duke, by permiſſion from Jupiter, goes down into Hell, in order to have an interview with Phalaris, and that meeting him in the infernal regions he receives the moſt horrid counſels from him, all which he promiſes to put in execution at his return to the earth (24). Beſides the two dialogues intitled *Febris*, Hutten wrote three more, all which were printed together in Mentz, in the year 1520, in 4to, with this title, *Dialogi, Fortuna, Febris* I, II, *Trias Romana ſeu Vadiſcus, Inſpicientes*. We have ſpoke of the ſecond and third of theſe dialogues juſt above. The firſt of them intitled *Fortuna* is very ingenious, as indeed all Hutten's are, which Thuanus declares are not inferior to thoſe of Lucian. The author therein ſuppoſes himſelf to be diſcourſing with fortune, concerning ſeveral things which had befallen him, and of the wiſhes he had formed in order to attain a happy life. The fourth dialogue intitled *Trias Romana*, (25) or *Vadiſcus*, is a ſtrong ſatyr againſt the Court of Rome. It is intitled, *Vadiſcus*, from the author's feigning that he was told all he related in that dialogue by one Vadiſcus, who, in his return from Rome, had paſſed by Mentz, where he had diſcourſed with him; and he intitled it *Trias Romana*, becauſe he always reduces every particular he advances to three points. Thus he begins as follows: *Tria Urbis Romæ dignitatem tuentur, authoritas Pontificis, Reliquiæ Sanctorum, & Merx Indulgentiarum*. i. e. "Three things keep up the au-
" thority of the City of Rome, the authority of the
" Pontiff, the relics of Saints, and the trade of In-
" dulgences." The reader may judge by this ſpecimen of the ſtyle of the reſt of the piece. The fifth dialogue is intitled, *Inſpicientes*, from the two principal interlocutors in it, who are the *Sun* and *Phaeton*. Theſe diſcourſe together, and afterwards with the nuncio Cajetan, on the affairs of Germany, and the tranſactions there in 1618 (26). The letters mentioned by Bayle (27), wrote by the Univerſities of Paris, Oxford and Prague, were not, as ſome (28) have objected, forged by Hutten; but being found by him at Bopart, a caſtle on the Rhine in the Archbiſhopric of Triers, he publiſhed them in ſome time after. The ſubject of theſe ſix letters relates to the ſchiſm that was then in the church; and they were written by the three Univerſities abovementioned to one another, to the Romans, to Pope Urban, and to the Emperor Winceſlaus (29). Beſides Otho Brunfels the Phyſician, who defended Hutten againſt Eraſmus (30), another perſon wrote a piece in his favour intitled, *De Eraſmi Spongia judicium Eraſmi Alberi, adeoque, quatenus illi conveniat cum M. Lutheri Doctrina*. 8vo (31). It is to be obſerved that there was publiſhed at Frankfort in 1538, a collection of all Hutten's Latin Poetical pieces in one volume in 12mo (32). The ſeveral Libels, which Bayle (33) is in doubt, whether or no they were wrote by our Hutten, were in all probability compoſed by him. Thoſe who deſire a more particular account of them may read Father Niceron's *Hommes Illuſtres*.

(19) Niceron's *Hommes Illuſtres*, vol. 15. pag. 278, & *ſeq*.

(20) Tom. 15.

(21) Ibid. pag. 277.

(22) Ibid. pag. 277, 278.

(23) See Bayle's article of ULRIC DE HUTTEN, remark [*B*].

(24) *Hommes Illuſtres*, vol. 15. pag. 283.

(25) See remark [*E*] of Bayle's article of ULRIC DE HUTTEN.

(26) Niceron's *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 15. pag. 285, 286.

(27) Remark [*M*] citation (25) of his article of ULRIC DE HUTTEN.

(28) Conrad Geſner, who has been followed by Pallavicino, Boiſſart, &c.

(29) Niceron's *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 15. pag. 287, 288.

(30) See the end of the remark [*I*] of Bayle's article of ULRIC DE HUTTEN.

(31) *Hommes Illuſtres*, vol. 5. pag. 295.

(32) Ibid. pag. 299, 300.

(33) See the remark [*E*] of his article of ULRIC DE HUTTEN.

HUTTERUS (LEONARD) Profeſſor of Divinity at Wittemberg, was born in 1562 at Ulm, where his father was Miniſter. He was ſo well inſtructed in the Sciences, and made ſo great a progreſs in them, that Hutterus, when but three and thirty, was preferred to a Profeſſorſhip of Divinity in one of the moſt famous Univerſities (*a*). He diſcharged the ſeveral duties of his employment in ſuch a manner, as got him the character of a laborious man, and as extremely well qualified to teach others (*b*). He diſcovered an ardent zeal for Orthodoxy, being a moſt rigid Lutheran. This zeal appears in every part of his writings [*A*]; and if we reflect but ever ſo little on his aſſertions with

(*a*) That of Wittemberg.

(*b*) *Extracted from* Spizelius in *Templo Honoris reſerato*, pag. 32, & *ſeq*.

[*A*] *This zeal appears in every part of his writings.*] See particularly his work intitled, *Concordia concors, ſive de origine, & progreſſu formulæ Concordiæ Eccleſiarum Auguſtanæ confeſſionis liber unus, Rudolpho Hoſpiniano oppoſitus*. It is in folio, and was printed at Wittemberg in 1614 (1). See alſo his Diſpute *pro formula Concordiæ* (2); his *Collegium Theologicum de articulis confeſſionis Auguſtanæ, & libro Chriſtianæ concordiæ* (3); his *Irenicum vere Chriſtianum, ſive de Synodo & unione Evangelicorum non fucata concilianda Tractatus Theologicus*; his *Sadeel Elenchomenus, hoc eſt Tractatio pro majeſtate humanæ naturæ Chriſti*. He wrote with great warmth againſt Popery. See his Diſputes *de Sacrificio Romanenſium Miſſatico, ejuſque horrenda abominatione: de Tranſubſtantione & Proceſſionibus Pontificiis, pro aſſerendo integro Sacramento Cœnæ Dominicæ contra Jeſuitas*. See likewiſe *Refutatio duorum Librorum Rob. Bellarmini de Miſſa: Triumphus de regno Pontificio: Ilias malorum regni Pontificio-Romani, ſive Hiſtorica Diſſertatio injuſtiſſimo Pontificis Romani in Eccleſia Dei dominatu: Actio in Jacobum Gretſerum de Imperatorum, Regum, ac Principum Chriſtianorum in ſedem Apoſtolico-Romanam munificentia pro Nicolao Clemangis* (4). I omit the title of ſeveral other of his works, both in German and Latin. His *Calviniſta Aulico-Politicus*, printed at Wittemberg in 1615, ſhall be cited in the following remark.

(1) See the remark [*E*] of the article HOSPINIAN.

(2) Printed at Wittemberg in 1605.

(3) Idem, 1610.

(4) *Extracted from* Spizelius, in *Templo Honoris reſerato*, pag. 37, 38.

with reſpect to the martyrs of the Geneva Confeſſion [*B*], it muſt be confeſſed that he ran into extremes. This turn of mind expoſed him to many vexatious diſputes, in which he was very much ſlandered [*C*]. He died in 1616. He muſt not be confounded with him who publiſhed a Polyglot Bible [*D*].

[*B*] *His aſſertions with reſpect to the martyrs of the Geneva confeſſion.*] The Elector of Brandenburg had alledged in his edict for toleration, among other particulars, the vexations and puniſhments which the common enemy had made the Calviniſts ſuffer; but to oppoſe this our Hutterus obſerved, that the Arians, the Anabaptiſts and Antitrinitarians might, in order to obtain toleration, make uſe of the like maxim. He aſſerted that the Calviniſts had not ſuffered death, for believing that the blood of Jeſus Chriſt would ſave them, but for refuſing to obey the Pope whom they called Antichriſt. *Scripſerat quondam in Edicto Sereniſſimus Elector Brandeburgicus*, non excludendos eſſe à Chriſtiana communione *Reformatos*, qui idem ſentiunt in fundamento fidei, in Evangelio cum *Lutheranis* laborant, certant, luctantur, eoque nomine à communi hoſte innumeros cruciatus ſuſtinuerunt, ſuſtinentque quique etiam ſanguinem pro confeſſione illa largiſſimè profuderunt. *Cornua illi obvertere auſus Hutterus in Aulico-Politico* cap. 2. pag. 176. &c. *ubi regerit*, à Papiſtis etiam Anabaptiſtas, Arianos, Antitrinitarios, alioſque ſupplicio affectos eſſe; cauſam ſupplicii noſtrorum non fuiſſe, quòd crediderint, ſe per Chriſtum ſervatum iri, ſed quòd Romanum Pontificem non agnoverint Paſtorem univerſalem, ſed Antichriſtum, ejuſque jugum detrectaverint ferre (5). The Swiſs divine, whoſe words I borrow on this occaſion, makes this judicious remark, viz. that this method of branding the martyrdom of the Calviniſts may be employed with equal ſucceſs againſt the Lutheran martyrs. He ſays that, after obſerving that a Divine of Straſburg employs the ſame cavil of Hutterus. *Gemella his effutivit Dannenhawerus, Argentinenſis Theologus*, Colleg. Decalog. p. 394, *ubi Reformatorum Martyrium* larvatum *vocare, & cum Judæorum, Ethnicorum, Arianorum ſub Athalaricho Gothorum Principe religionis cauſa occiſorum Martyrio comparare non erubuit. Certè μωδοκία talis etiam Lutheranæ Eccleſiæ Martyrii veri palmas laudemque præcideret* (6). i. e. "One Dannenhawerus a Straſburg "Divine, publiſhed two pieces, wherein he is not "aſhamed to call the martydom of the Reformed or "Calviniſts, *maſked*; and to compare it to the martyrdom of the Jews, Pagans, and Arians put to "death, for their religion, under the Gothic Monarch "Athalaric. It is certain that ſuch a deceitful conſtruction would likewiſe deprive the Lutheran Church "of the glory of true martyrdom." Can we enough admire the effects of a headſtrong temper or prepoſſeſſion? And is it not a deplorable circumſtance, that a Popiſh Miſſionary can object to Proteſtants, that the martyrdom of their brethren is looked upon, by ſome Lutheran Doctors, as a falſe martyrdom? See one of the remarks (7) of the article WESTPHALUS (*Joachim*). It is to be obſerved that Pappus calls thoſe calumniators, who accuſe the Lutherans of conſidering the Calviniſt martyrs as the martyrs of the Devil, *Nullo modo eos habemus pro martyribus Diaboli; quemadmodum accuſamur* (8).

(5) Heideggerus, *Diſſert. Selectar.* tom. 2. pag. 352.

(8) Heideggerus, *ibid.*

(7) The remark [*H*].

(8) Joh. Pappus, *Epit. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. m. 49.

[*C*] *His turn of mind expoſed him to many vexatious diſputes, in which he was very much ſlandered.*] He is put in parallel, in his elogium, with the Prophets and Apoſtles who were perſecuted for the truth; and it is affirmed that he anſwered calumny only by ſilence and contempt. I ſhall not diſpute about theſe matters becauſe they are not enough known to me; but I ſhall ſay in general, that ſome Doctors are ſo very paſſionate, ſo moroſe, and allow ſo little toleration to others, that they create themſelves enemies, not becauſe they maintain orthodox principles, but becauſe of their rude way of maintaining them. Their adverſaries take their revenge of them by perſonal reproaches; they publiſh the moſt vexatious truths relating to them; prove them guilty of many ſhameful things, and bring them into ſuch a dilemma that they cannot juſtify themſelves. How do they act then? They make a great merit of their patience, and compare themſelves to the Prophets, the Apoſtles, and even to Chriſt himſelf. *When*, ſay theſe, *perſecuted as they were for the truth, we do not open our mouths when the enemies of the truth revile us.* Moliere ſhould introduce this in ſome ſcene of his *Tartuffe*; for it is to be particularly obſerved, that this ſort of people are never ſilent, when they have any ſlander to publiſh againſt their neighbour, or when they can alledge any thing plauſible for their juſtification. However this be, the panegyriſt of our Hutterus beſtows the following fine elogium on him. *Sicuti verò ſummis quibuſque Viris non omnia omninò ex animi fluxêre ſententiâ, ſed cruces, calumniæ, & perſecutiones variæ illos exercuerunt, ita Hutterus certiſſimo hoc fidelium Dei ſervorum charactere neutiquam caruit, quippe quo ab omnipotente Deo, Prophetæ, Apoſtoli, & ſinceri Eccleſiæ Doctores olim ſunt ſignati... Idem prorſus noſtro fatum; quod æquo & patienti pertulit animo, magiſque de abſtergendis calumniis, ſuis anteceſſoribus impactis, quam famæ & exiſtimationis propriæ vindicatione fuit ſollicitus, haud ignorans, omnes injurias oblivione melius, quam commemoratione ſanari, & inimicorum calumnias contemptu potius quam lingua eſſe vindicandas* (2). i. e. "But as all great men have not been "ſucceſsful in all their deſires, but have been exerciſed "by croſſes, calumnies and perſecutions; ſo Hutterus "was not, in any manner without the moſt evident "characteriſtic of the faithful ſervants of God, as "being that, with which the Prophets, Apoſtles, and "true Doctors of the Church were antiently ſealed by "the Almighty... This was entirely the fate of our "Doctor, to which he ſubmitted with an equal and "patient mind; he being more ſollicitous to blot out "the aſperſions caſt on his predeceſſors, than to vindicate his own fame and reputation, well knowing "that all injuries are treated better by being forgot "than remembered, and the calumnies of enemies are "to be reſented rather with contempt than the tongue."

(9) Spizelius, *in Templo Honoris reſerato*, pag. 35.

[*D*] *He muſt not be confounded with him who publiſhed a Polyglot Bible.*] His name was ELIAS HUTTERUS. He firſt publiſhed a Bible in four languages, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German, at Hamburg, in the year 1597: but afterwards added to it the Italian, French, Sclavonian and Saxon. His New Teſtament was printed in the year 1600 in twelve languages, viz. in Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Bohemian, Italian, Spaniſh, French, Engliſh, Daniſh and Poliſh. He reduced into four the edition of 1603, viz. Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German. This Polyglot Bible is extremely ſcarce. There is a collection of letters with regard to the judgment of learned men concerning this work (10).

(10) *Extracted from* Hottinger, *Bibliotb. Quadripartita*, lib. 1. cap 2. pag. 141, 142.

HUYBERT (PETER DE) Lord of Burg, Krayeſtein &c. gained very great reputation by the conſiderable ſervices he did to the Republic of the United Provinces in the Low-Countries, and particularly to the Province of Zealand. His family is very ancient, and has produced ſeveral eminent perſons [*A*]. He was born at Middleburg Auguſt

[*A*] *His family is very antient, and has produced ſeveral eminent perſons.*] He was deſcended from CORNELIUS DE HUYBERT, and Jean Van Haemſtede. The family of Haemſtede was deſcended from Witte (of Holland) Lord of Haemſtede, natural ſon of Floris V, Count of Holland and Zealand, Lord of Frieſland, &c. by a daughter of the Lord of Heuſden (*). This maiden had been kind to Floris only becauſe he had promiſed to marry her. JACOB and HERMAN DE HUYBERT Cornelius's ſons commanded the fleet, which conducted the Archduke Philip and the Queen his conſort into Spain in the year 1506. Theſe two illuſtrious perſons were on board the ſhip commanded by theſe two brothers. The Fleet, which was very large,

(*) John the 7th.

Auguſt the 1ſt 1622, and was choſen one of the Counſellors (*) of that city March 24, 1646. He acquitted himſelf of that function with ſo much wiſdom and ability, that the Province of Zealand ſent him Deputy to the Aſſembly of the States General, and afterwards to the firſt Conferences (*a*) that were held between the King of Spain's Deputies and thoſe of the United Provinces, after a long and bloody war, which was glorioufly finiſhed at Munſter January the 30th 1648, having been continued during fourſcore years. He was ſent Embaſſador Extraordinary to the King of Sweden, to the King of Poland, and to the Elector of Brandenburg, during that famous war, in which the Swedes made themſelves maſters of Poland, and gained ſo many victories over the King of Denmark, that they forced him to yield them three noble Provinces beyond the Sond. In March 1659 he was choſen Secretary of State to the Province of Zealand, and in May following he was appointed Plenipotentiary for the treaty of peace which was concluded between Sweden and Denmark (*b*), through the mediation of France, England and the United Provinces, in the year 1660. His Principals were ſo well ſatisfied with the ability and integrity with which he had acquitted himſelf of thoſe great employments, that in March 1664 he was raiſed to the high poſt of Counſellor-Penſionary of Zealand. The commiſſion for that poſt charges the Penſionary, amongſt other things, to defend and aſſert at all times, and on all occaſions, the rights and preeminence of the State, and the Laws and Privileges of the country; which renders that poſt very dangerous and difficult; and yet he performed the functions of it during twenty three years and an half, with the approbation of all the world, and to the ſatisfaction of his Principals; who when they ſent him Deputy to the Council of State of the United Provinces, September the 27th 1687, declared expreſly in his commiſſion, *that they were very well pleaſed with his long and faithful ſervices, and would always remember them with gratitude.* We muſt not omit to obſerve that he was choſen Plenipotentiary for the United Provinces in the year 1665, for the treaty of Breda (*c*). He died at the Hague January the 7th 1697. It was obſerved of him, that he adhered conſtantly to the Religion eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the State. He was a ſtrenuous aſſertor of it on every occaſion, and would never ſuffer the leaſt alteration in it, either with regard to doctrine or to diſcipline (*d*). I ſhall mention his three ſons in the remark [*B*]. They had him interred in a chapel of the Church of Burg in Zealand, and cauſed an epitaph to be ingraved on his tomb (*e*). The reader will find it below [*C*].

(*) That is to ſay one of the Magiſtrates, not much unlike our Alderman.

(*a*) The Conferences held at Mechlin in the years 1652, and 1653.

(*b*) The King of Sweden had begun the war again, and had conquered all Denmark except the city of Copenhagen.

(*c*) This treaty which was concluded by the mediation of Sweden, put an end to the war between Charles II King of England and the United Provinces.

(*d*) Taken from Memoirs communicated to the Bookſeller.

(*e*) He had herſelf ordered this tomb to be made, and beſides that he contributed a great ſum of money towards repairing the church in which he lies buried, he had the direction of the building of that edifice, which is reckoned to be done with a good taſte for Architecture.

We

large, went through a great ſtorm in the Channel; ſeveral ſhips were caſt away in the Archduke's ſight, who yet would not ſuffer the fleet to put into any harbour of England, becauſe of ſome affairs which had happened between him and the King of England. But when the two brothers HUYBERT had repreſented to him the great danger they were in, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſhelter themſelves in the harbour of Weymouth (†), he and his conſort ſubmitted to this advice, and abandoned themſelves to the prudence and conduct of the two brothers. It was on this occaſion the Archduke gave him this motto for his Coat of Arms, WAECKT HUYBERTS, that is to ſay, WATCH HUYBERTS. The Emperor Maximilian, and the Archduke Charles, in order to teſtify their gratitude for this great ſervice done to the King of Caſtile, ſon of the former and father of the latter, did on March 13, 1513, confer on the three bothers JOHN, Jacob, and Herman DE HUYBERT, and their deſcendants, the privilege of wearing a ſword, with leave to every one of them, to ſuffer their ſervants alſo to wear it, which in thoſe days was a very particular mark of honour and diſtinction. December 19, 1512, Margaret, Archduchеſs of Auſtria, then Governeſs of the Low-Countries, ſent John and Herman de Huybert to Henry VIII, King of England, for ſome negotiations which ſhe was pleaſed to truſt them with. The Emperor Charles V being at Zierickſee lodged at LIEVEN JACOBSON DE HUYBERT's houſe, who was then Burgomaſter of the city, and *Dike-Grave* (‡) of the land of Schowen. The three brothers ſettled in the ſame city of Zierickſee, and built each of them a houſe there, and theſe three houſes are ſtill the largeſt and moſt conſiderable buildings at Zierickſee (1).

Juan Chriſtoval Calvet de Eſtrella ſpeaks of this family with praiſe: *y no poco nombrados*, ſays he (2), *eran los Huybertos de Cirixea per ſu valor y riqueza.* i. e. "The Huyberts of Zierickſee were very famous for "their courage and riches."

The author of the ſupplement to the Abbot Urſperg's Chronicle, mentions the perſon who conducted the Archduke Philip into Spain; but the name he gives him differs from that which is given him in the Memoirs I have quoted. However it be, here follows what that author ſays. *Carolus Quintus rediit in Hiſpanias, Johannes Cornelius nauta navigatione decem dierum ab Anglico littore vehit. Hic nauta regem Philippum illuſtriſſimi Auguſti patrem, ultima navigatione, in ſumma tempeſtate in Hiſpanias vexerat, & reginam Danorum una cum Principe Ultrajectino in Daniam vexerat. Vir dives & peritiſſimus rei nauticæ* (3). i. e. "Charles "the Fifth returned into Spain. John Cornelius (α), "Captain of a man of war, conducted him thither in "ten days ſailing from the coaſt of England. This "ſame Captain had conducted King Philip, the moſt "illuſtrious Emperor's father, in his laſt voyage into "Spain, during which they met with a very great "ſtorm; he had alſo conducted the Queen of Denmark, with the Prince of Utrecht, into Denmark, "he was a rich man, and a very experienced mariner."

§ (α) *John Cornelius.*] I ſuppoſe the author of that Chronicle miſtook *John* for *Jacob*; and imagined that *Corneliſz*, which ſignifies *Cornelius's Son*, was one of this Huybert's Chriſtian names. *Add. Rem.*]

[*B*] *I ſhall mention his three ſons.*] The eldeſt is ANTHONY DE HUYBERT, Lord of Kreuningen, Counſellor in the High-Court of Juſtice. The ſecond is JOHN DE HUYBERT, Lord of Nootgauw. He entered into the army; and his conduct and courage raiſed him to the poſt of Lieutenant General of the horſe (4). The third, DAVID DE HUYBERT, has been Counſellor in the Council of Flanders, and is now one of the Directors of the Eaſt-India Company (5).

[*C*] *His ſons . . . cauſed an Epitaph to be ingraved on his tomb, which the reader will find hereunder.*] It contains a ſhort account of his life, and his character expreſſed in the moſt noble manner.

D. M.
Viri Nobiliſs. & Ampliſſimi
P E T R I. D E. H U Y B E R T.
DOMINI. DE. BURG. ET CRAYSTEIN.
antiqua. & multis. imaginibus. clara. familia.
Zeelandica. oriundi.
Natus. eſt. Middelburgi. propter. ingenii. præſtantiam.
oris. facundiam. &. induſtriam. ſingularem. invigilandi. bono. publico. in. Senatum. illius. urbis.
cum. vix. adoleviſſet. eſt. cooptatus. omnium. expectationi.

(†) Mr. Bayle ſays *Weimuyon*, which is either a miſtake of his, or an error of the preſs.

(‡) That is, *Superintendant of the Moles.*

(1) Taken from Memoirs communicated to the Bookſeller.

(2) In the *Account of Don Philip Prince of Spain's Journey through the Low-Countries, in the year* 1548, printed at Antwerp in the year 1552, in folio, pag. 263.

(3) Paralipomene, *ad Abbat. Urſpergenſ. apud* Anton. Mathæum, *Veter. Ævi Analect.* p. 249.

(4) His Britannic Majeſty (King William) raiſed him to that poſt after the peace of Ryſwick.

(5) Taken from the abovementioned Memoirs.

☞ We ſhall add a ſhort ſupplement to this article which has been communicated to us by that great man's grandſon PETER ANTHONY DE HUYBERT (*) Lord of Kreuningen, &c. This ſupplement is extracted from Luicius's Dutch Dictionary. When Peter de Huybert was ſent Deputy from the Province of Zealand to the Council of State of the United Provinces in the year 1687, it was for the remainder of his life, (which was a particular mark of diſtinction, and a proof of the great eſteem the Province of Zealand had for him) and indeed the States of that Province reſolved, *that as a reward for the pains and labours he underwent a long while for the ſervice of his country, he ſhould enjoy all his life time the ſame ſalary, and be free from houſe-rent, as when he was Penſionary, and ſhould have the ſame privileges and immunities; and that it would be acceptable to the States, that he ſhould be preſent in their aſſemblies, whenever he happened to be in the Province during their meetings.* He juſtly deſerved ſuch a reward, ſince he had acted the part of a true patriot, and boldly aſſiſted his country with his good advice in the moſt critical junctures [*A*], as

(*) He has been Secretary to the city of Amſterdam, and is now *Droſſaart* of *Muyden*, and *Baljaw* of Naarden and Groviland &c. N. B. a *Droſſaart* and a *Baljaw* is a kind of Governor, as we might ſay a Lord Lieutenant of a County, but with a greater power and for life.

pectationi. cum. ſatisfeciſſet. poſt. Pacem. Monaſterienſem. ad. conventum. Mechlinenſem. controverſiis. non. deciſis. inter. Hiſpanos. &. Batavos. componendis. dein. ad. Reges. Sueciæ. Poloniæ. Daniæ. &. Elect. Brandeb. miſſus. fuit. publice. graviſſimis. de. rebus. iiſque. confectis. ex. ſententia. Reip. redux. a. Præpot. Ordd. Zeeland. perſpecta. ejus. fide. &. prudentia. delectus. fuit. ut. iis. eſſet. a. ſecretis. poſt. advocatus. perpetuus. Reip. Zeeland. eſt. factus. ſummo. omnium. conſenſu. dehinc. ab. Unitis. Belgis. Ablegatus. fuit. ad. Pacificationem. Bredanam. tandem. ne. tantæ. prudentiæ. fructum. ſoli. caperent. Zelandi. paſſi. ſunt. eum. adſcribi. Conſilio. communi. Ordd. Sociatorum. ſeptem. populorum. ut. omnium. utilitatibus. ſerviret. ad. has. dignitates. illum. evexit. non. ambitio. populi. &. potentium. ſed. teſtata. cunctis. incredibilis. vigilantia. in. obeundis. ſtationis. ſuæ. muniis. ſumma. conſilii. præſentia. in. celeriter. inveniendis. quæ. tempora. Reip. exigebant. mira. dexteritas. in. efficiendis. quæ. in. rem. ſapienter. conſuluerat. ſingularis. ſagacitas. in. arduis. &. impeditiſſimis. negotiis. explicandis. &. ingens. robur. animi. in. iis. libere. oppugnandis. qui. recte. ſententia. de. Rep. cujus. ſæpe. auctor. fuit. adverſabantur. partes. nec. ſecit. nec. fovit. in. omni. varietate. rerum. &. Reip. viciſſitudinibus. ſtatum. &. dignitatem. ſuam. tenuit. illibatam. ſatur. vitæ. defletus. bonis. omnibus. &. valde. deſideratus. O. D. VII. Januar. An. Ch. CIↃ. IↃC. XCVII. ætat. LXXV. mœſtiſſimi. liberi. P. C.

" The Epitaph of that moſt noble and great man, " PETER DE HUYBERT, Lord of Burg and " Krayeſteyn, deſcended of an antient and very noble " family in Zealand. He was born at Middelburg; " and for his eminent genius, great eloquence, and " ſingular care in watching for the public good, he " was admitted a member of the City Council, when " he was hardly of age: and having fully anſwered " the expectations of his country, he was ſent, af- " ter the peace of Munſter, to the congreſs that was " held at Mechlin, to ſettle the differences that were " not yet determined, between the Spaniards and the " Dutch. He was afterwards ſent to the Kings of " Sweden, Poland, and Denmark, and to the Elector " of Brandenburg, upon very important affairs; which " having finiſhed to the ſatisfaction of the Common- " wealth, he was appointed by the States of Zealand " their Secretary, for they were fully perſuaded of his " faithfulneſs and wiſdom: ſome time after he was " unanimouſly choſen Counſellor-Penſionary; he was " afterwards ſent by the United Provinces to the " congreſs that was held at Breda for a treaty of " peace. Laſtly, that the Zealanders might not " alone reap the benefit of his great wiſdom, they " ſuffered him to be ſent a Deputy to the Council of " State of the ſeven United Provinces, that he might " be ſerviceable to all. He was not raiſed to theſe " high dignities by the people's fondneſs, nor by the " power of the great; but by his incredible care in " acquitting himſelf of the duties of his functions, of " which all were fully perſuaded; by his great pre- " ſence of mind in quickly adviſing what was neceſ- " ſary to be done for the public good in every cir- " cumſtance; by his wonderful ability in executing " what he had prudently adviſed; by his exquiſite " ſagacity in explaining the moſt difficult and intri- " cate affairs; and by his great courage and ſtrength " of mind in oppoſing thoſe who refuſed to follow " the good advices he had often firſt propoſed for " the welfare of the Commonwealth. He never " raiſed nor encouraged parties in the State, and in " all the changes and revolutions of the Common- " wealth, he always kept his dignity and character " without blemiſh. He died full of days, lamented " by all true patriots, and very much regretted, Ja- " nuary the 7th 1697. This epitaph his moſt mourn- " ful children made for their moſt beloved father."

[*A*] *He boldly aſſiſted his country with his good advice in the moſt critical junctures.*] We ſhall give two inſtances of it, as we find them in the Memoirs that have been communicated to us. The firſt is as follows: " In the year 1675 the States of Guelderland " offered the Prince of Orange (†) the ſovereignty of " their Provinces, with the title of Duke of Guelder- " land, and Earl of Zutphen, upon certain conditi- " ons. The Prince thought it proper to conſult the " other Provinces before he accepted that offer. He " wrote therefore to the States of Holland, and al- " moſt in the ſame words to thoſe of Zealand and " Utrecht; the latter adviſed the Prince immediately " to accept the offer of thoſe of Guelderland. The " Prince ſent about the ſame time a letter written " with his own hand to the Counſellor-Penſionary, " which is ſtill kept in Peter de Huybert's family. " This great man had always been of the Prince's " party, and had often endeavoured to perſuade the " Counſellor-Penſionary De Wit to yield ſome things " to the Prince, which could not have been denied " him without expoſing the State to the danger of be- " ing forced by the populace to yield him things of " much greater conſequence. But yet he was of " opinion that if they ſhould adviſe the Prince to " accept the Sovereignty offered him by thoſe of " Guelderland, it would be paving the way to make " him obtain the Sovereignty of Zealand alſo. " The Prince being acquainted with this opinion of " Peter Huybert, deſired him to call the States of " Zealand together, but not to give his own opinion " upon this affair, but to leave the members full li- " berty to give their votes. De Huybert convened " the States accordingly; but as the members were of " different opinions, they could not come ſo ſoon to a " final reſolution. At laſt, however, it was reſolved, four " votes againſt two, that *the Prince ſhould be diſſuaded* " *from accepting the offer of the States of Guelderland*; " and that notice ſhould be given him of this reſolu- " tion, in a letter containing the advices of the mem- " bers, with the arguments alledged to ſupport them: " the letter was written to him according to a model, " which the Counſellor-Penſionary had drawn up, at " the requeſt of the States. The Prince, who being " the firſt and only Nobleman in Zealand, had very " great credit there, ſhewed his diſcontent in a long " letter, wrote March the 18th in the ſame year; " after he had refuſed the offer of Guelderland, and " declared that he would not accept it, when he " knew how ſome of the chief cities of Holland had " expreſſed themſelves upon this affair." Here follows another inſtance of our Huybert's patriotiſm. " In the year 1684 there were great commotions in " Zealand about the levying of ſixteen thouſand " men: the Prince went thither to engage the Zeal- " anders to ſuffer it. Four of the ſix cities declared " for the raiſing of thoſe ſoldiers, and the Prince de- " ſired that the Counſellor-Penſionary ſhould declare " the reſolution of the States according to that ma-

(†) William, afterwards King of England.

as we ſhall relate in the Remark below.

" But he proteſted that this was againſt his oath, " againſt his commiſſion, and againſt the union of " the cities *. Whereupon the Prince himſelf took the " votes, and the next day he delivered to the States a " writing drawn up by way of apology, in which " it was aſſerted, that the cities had agreed to deter- " mine this affair of raiſing ſoldiers, by a majority " of votes: and thus this affair ended. All the cities " kept ſilent, except Middelberg, which proteſted, " and ſoon after Zeirickſee diſapproved her Depu- " ties conduct in this affair. As Huybert by ſuch " behaviour gained a bad reputation at the Stadt- " holder's court, he was prevailed upon to reſign his " poſt of Counſellor-Penſionary in the year 1687; " but was fully rewarded for it, as we have ſeen in " the text of this ſupplement.

(*) Becauſe this was one of thoſe affairs which cannot be determined but by an unanimous conſent.

We ſhall obſerve here that there is now but one branch of the males of this family extant; namely, that of *Anthony de Huybert*, mentioned by Mr. Bayle: he died in the year 1702, leaving one ſon behind him, PETER ANTHONY DE HUYBERT ſtill living, who communicated this ſupplement to us; he has ſeveral ſons.

☞HUYGENS (CHRISTIAN) one of the greateſt Mathematicians and Aſtronomers of the ſeventeenth Century [*A*], was ſon of Conſtantine Huygens Lord of Zuylichem, who had ſerved three ſucceſſive Princes of Orange in the quality of Secretary. His mother's name was Suſannah van Baerle. He was born at the Hague in Holland April the 14th 1629. His inclination to the Mathematics appeared very early. His application to the Latin and Greek Languages did not prevent him from making a ſurprizing

[*A*] *One of the greateſt Mathematicians and Aſtronomers of the ſeventeenth century.*] This appears from his writings which are as follow. I. *Theoremata de Quadraturâ Hyperboles, Ellipſis, & Circuli, ex dato portionum Gravitatis Centro. Quibus ſubjuncta eſt* Ἐξέτασις *Cyclometriæ Cl. V. Gregorii a S. Vincentio editæ anno* 1647. *Cum aſſertione hujus* Ἐξετάσεως. Leyden 1651 in 4to. It is likewiſe inſerted among his *Opera Varia*, printed at Leyden 1724. This is the firſt work which our author publiſhed, and ſhewed what might be expected from him afterwards. II. *De Circuli magnitudine inventa. Accedunt Problematum quorundam illuſtrium conſtructiones.* Leyden 1654 in 4to. Reprinted in his *Opera Varia* p. 351. III. *De Saturni Lunâ obſervatio nova.* Hague 1656 in 4to. Reprinted in his *Opera Varia* p. 523. IV. *Ad Cl. V. Franciſc. Xaverium Ainſcom S. J. Epiſtola, quâ diluuntur ea, quibus* Ἐξέτασις *Cyclometriæ Gregorii a S. Vincentio impugnata fuit.* Hague 1656 in 4to. Reprinted in his *Opera Varia* p. 341. V. *De Ratiociniis in Ludo Aleæ:* publiſhed at the end of Francis Schooten's book, intitled, *Exercitationum Mathematicarum Libri quinq;* Leyden 1657 in 4to. Reprinted in his *Opera Varia*. Our author had written this in Low Dutch, and Schooten, who had been his Maſter in Mathematics, tranſlated it into Latin, in order to ſhew the uſefulneſs of Algebra. Huygens is the firſt, who treated of this ſubject, which has ſince been handled by Monſieur Sauveur, Bernoulli, and Montmort in a more exact manner. VI. *Brevis Inſtitutio de uſu Horologiorum ad inveniendas Longitudines.* He wrote this in Low Dutch, and it was printed in that Language in 1657. It is printed in Latin in his *Opera Varia* p. 193. VII. *Horologium.* Hague 1658 in 4to. Huygens had exhibited in the preceding work a model of a new invented Pendulum; but as ſome perſons envious of his reputation were deſirous to deprive him of the honour of the invention, he wrote this book to explain the conſtruction of it, and to ſhew, that it was very different from the Pendulum of Aſtronomers invented by Galileo, It is reprinted in his *Opera Varia* p. 1. VIII. *Syſtema Saturnium, ſive de Cauſis mirandorum Saturni Phænomenon, & comite ejus Planetâ novo.* Hague 1659 in 4to. Reprinted in his *Opera Varia* p. 553. Galileo had endeavoured to explain ſome of the ſurprizing Phænomena of the Planet Saturn. He had at firſt perceived two ſtars, which attended it; and ſome time after he was amazed to find them diſappear. Huygens being very deſirous to account for theſe changes, perfected the Teleſcopes, and made himſelf glaſſes, by which he might view objects at the greateſt diſtance. He applied himſelf then to obſerve all the Phaſes and Appearances of Saturn, and drew up a Journal of all the different aſpects of that Planet, which vary extremely. He diſcovered the two Satellites, which attend it, and after a long courſe of obſervations perceived that the Planet was ſurrounded with a ſolid and permanent ring, which never changes its ſituation, though Saturn turns upon its center in the ſpace of leſs than ſixteen days. He diſcovered alſo a third Satellite of Jupiter, which till then had eſcaped the obſervation of the Aſtronomers. This new ſyſtem gained him the eſteem of the moſt eminent perſons in that ſcience. IX. *Syſtema Saturnium; cum aſſertione Syſtematis ſui.* Hague 1659 in 4to. Reprinted in his *Opera Varia* p. 619. This tract is deſigned as an anſwer to a piece, which had attacked his ſyſtem under this title; *Euſtachii de Divinis Septempedani in Syſtema Saturnium Chriſtiani Hugenii.* Hague 1660 in 4to. X. *Lettre du 5 Février* 1665 *ſur les Horloges à Pendule.* Inſerted in the *Journal des Sçavans* for February the 23d 1665. XI. *Lettre du* 26 *Février* 1665 *ſur le même ſujet.* Inſerted in the ſame *Journal* for March the 16th 1665, and in Latin in his *Opera Varia* p. 213. XII. *Relation d'une Obſervation faite dans la Bibliotheque du Roy à Paris le* 12 *May* 1664 *d'un Halo, ou Couronne à l'entour du Soleil, avec un diſcours de la cauſe de ces Meteores & de ceiles de Parelies.* Paris 1667 in 4to. Our author read the diſcourſe, which accompanied this relation, in an aſſembly of learned men in the King's library at Paris. It is printed in Latin among his *Opuſcula Poſthuma.* XIII. *Examen du Livre de M. Gregory, intitulé:* Vera Circuli & Hyperboles Quadratura. Inſerted in the *Journal des Sçavans* of July the 2d 1668. Printed in Latin in his *Opera Varia* p. 463. XIV. *Lettre à l'Auteur du Journal des Sçavans touchant la Réponſe que M. Gregory a faite a l'examen du Livre, intitulé:* Vera Circuli & Hyperboles Quadratura. Inſerted in the *Journal des Sçavans* of November the 12th 1688, Printed in Latin in his *Opera Varia* p. 472. Our author in his *Examen* had aſſerted, that there were ſeveral miſtakes in the demonſtration, which Mr. James Gregory thought he had given of the impoſſibility of the Analytical Quadrature of the Circle; and Mr. Gregory publiſhed an anſwer to his exceptions in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions.* This engaged Mr. Huygens to write this letter, to which Mr. Gregory wrote a reply printed in the ſame *Tranſactions.* His book and his two replies are inſerted among the *Opera Varia* of our author. XV. *Obſervation de Saturne fait à la Bibliotheque du Roy.* Inſerted in the *Journal des Sçavans* of February the 11th 1669. Printed in Latin in his *Opera Varia* p. 637. XVI. *Lettre ſur le mouvement, qui eſt produit par le rencontre des corps.* Inſerted in the *Journal des Sçavans* of March the 18th 1699. Printed in Latin among his *Opera Poſthuma.* XVII. *Lettre touchant la Lunette Catoptrique de M. Newton.* Inſerted in the *Journal des Sçavans* for February the 29th 1672. Printed in Latin in his *Opera Varia* p. 757. XVIII. *Lettre touchant les Phænomenes de l'eau purgée d'air.* Inſerted in the ſame *Journal* for July 1672: and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 769. XIX. *Lettre touchant la Figure de la Planete de Saturne.* Inſerted in the ſame *Journal* for December the 12th 1672, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 638. XX. *Lettre touchant une nouvelle maniere de Barometre qu'il à inventée.* Inſerted in the ſame *Journal* for the ſame day; and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 276. XXI. *Horologium Oſcillatorium; ſive de Motu Pendularum ad Horologia aptato, Demonſtrationes Geometricæ.* Paris 1673 in folio, and reprinted among his *Opera Varia* p. 27. This book contains the five following

ſurprizing progreſs at nine years of age in Muſic, Arithmetic, and Geography, in which he was inſtructed by his father. At thirteen years of age he was put upon the ſtudy of Mechanics, for which he appeared to have a peculiar genius. Two years after, viz. in 1644, he had the aſſiſtance of a maſter of Mathematics, under whom he made a vaſt proficiency in a ſhort ſpace of time. The year following he went to ſtudy Law in the Univerſity of Leyden under the learned Civilian Vinnius; but this ſtudy did not engage him ſo fully, but that he continued that of Mathematics under Profeſſor Schooten. He left this Univerſity at the end of one year, and went to Breda, where an Univerſity had juſt been erected, the direction of which had been given to his father. He ſtaid in that city in 1646 and the two following years. After his return to the Hague in 1649 he went to Holſtein and Denmark in the retinue of Henry Count of Naſſau; and was extremely deſirous of going to Sweden, in order to ſee Des Cartes; but the ſhort ſtay of the

lowing diſcourſes; 1. *Deſcriptio Horologii Oſcillatorii.* 2. *De Deſcenſu gravium, & motu eorum in Cycloide.* 3. *De Evolutione & Dimenſione Linearum Curvarum.* 4. *De Centro Oſcillationis ſeu Agitationis.* 5. *Horologii ſecundi conſtructio, & Theoremata de vi centrifugâ.* XXII. *Lettre touchant une nouvelle Invention d'Horloges très-juſtes & très portatives.* Inſerted in the *Journal des Sçavans* for Auguſt the 15th 1678, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 764. XXIV. *Nouvelle Invention d'un Niveau à Lunette, qui porte la preuve avec ſoi, & que l'on verifie & rectifie d'un ſeul Endroit.* Inſerted in the ſame *Journal* for January the 29th 1680, and printed among his *Opera Varia* p. 254. XXV. *Demonſtration de la juſteſſe de ce Niveau.* Inſerted in the ſame *Journal* of February the 26th 1680, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 258. XXVI. *Réponſe à une Remarque faite par M. l'Abbé de Catelan contre ſa propoſition 4e. du Traité des Centres du Balancement.* Inſerted in the ſame *Journal* for June the 29th, 1682, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia*, p. 222. The Abbé de Catelan's remark, which gave occaſion to this anſwer, was publiſhed in the firſt *Journal* of the ſame year. The Abbé replied to Mr. Huygens in two pieces, one inſerted in the *Journal* of July the 20th following, and the other in that of September the 14th: and in that of Sept. 7th, the ſame year he publiſhed *Objection contre le mouvement Cycloide des Pendules.* Several learned Mathematicians intereſted themſelves in this diſpute; and Mr. Bernoulli of Baſil ſeeing that Mr. Huygens had made no reply to the Abbé de Catelan, publiſhed one for him in a letter inſerted in the *Journal* of April the 24th 1684. XXVII. *Réponſe à la Replique de M. l'Abbé Catelan touchant les Centres d'agitation.* Inſerted in the *Journal des Sçavans* of July the 3d 1684, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 231. It does not appear that the Abbé de Catelan replied to Mr. Huygens; but he anſwered Mr. Bernoulli in a piece inſerted in the *Journal* of September the 11th 1684. Mr. Bernoulli was not ſilent, but publiſhed a reply in the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipſic for the year 1686, p. 356. Six years after this the Marquis de l'Hoſpital having ſeen this piece of Mr. Bernoulli, wrote to Mr. Huygens upon that ſubject. His letter is publiſhed in the *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans* for June 1690, p. 440. XXVIII. *Remarques de M. Huygens ſur la Lettre de M. le Marquis de l'Hoſpital & ſur l'Ecrit de M. Bernoulli.* Inſerted in the ſame work, p. 449; and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia*, p. 246. Theſe are all the pieces which have been publiſhed upon this diſpute. They are all printed in Latin among Mr. Huygens's *Opera Varia.* XXIX. *Solution du Problême proposé par M. de Leibnits: Trouver une Signe de Deſcente, dans laquelle le Corps peſant deſcende uniformement, & approche également de l'Horiſon en tems égaux.* Publiſhed in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* of October 1687, p. 1110, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia*, p. 290. XXX. *Aſtroſcopia compendiaria, Tubi Optici molimine liberata.* Hague 1684 in 4to. Reprinted among his *Opera Varia* p. 261. XXXI. *Traité de la Lumiere, où ſont expliquees les Cauſes de ce qui arrive dans la Reflexion & dans la Refraction, & particulierement dans l'étrange Réfraction du Criſtal d'Iſlande, avec un Diſcours de la Cauſe de la Peſanteur.* Leyden 1690 in 4to, and printed in Latin among his *Opera reliqua*, Tom. I. p. 1. XXXII. *Lettre touchant le Cycle Harmonique.* Inſerted in the *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans* of October 1691, p. 78, and reprinted in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 745. XXXIII. *Solutio Problematis de Lineâ Catenariâ*; publiſhed in the *Acta Eruditorum* for the year 1691, p. 281, and reprinted among his *Opera Varia* p. 292. XXXIV. *Conſtruction d'un Problême de Geometrie: Trouver une Ligne égale à une partie donnée de la Ligne Logarithmique*; publiſhed in the *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans* for February 1693, p. 244; and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia*, p. 507. XXXV. *De Problemate Bernoulliano in Actis Lipſienſibus anni* 1693. *propoſito.* Publiſhed in the *Acta Eruditorum* of the ſame year, p. 475, and reprinted among his *Opera Varia*, p. 516. XXXVI. *Conſtructio Univerſalis Problematis à Joanne Bernoullio propoſita.* Publiſhed in the *Acta Eruditorum* of the year 1694, p. 338, and reprinted among his *Opera Varia* p. 518. XXXVII. *Epiſtola ad G. G. Leibnitium*, upon the ſame ſubject; inſerted in the ſame place. XXXVIII. *Remarque ſur le Livre de la Manœuvre des Vaiſſeaux de M. Renau.* Inſerted in the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, Tom. 25, p. 195, and in the *Journal des Sçavans* for May the 9th 1695, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 292. Mr. Renau having anſwered this remark in the *Journal* of the 16th and 23d of May 1695, Mr. Huygens publiſhed, XXXIX, *Replique à la Réponſe de M. Renau*; inſerted in the *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans* for April 1694, p. 355, and reprinted in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 305. XL. ΚΟΣΜΟΘΕΩΡΟΣ, *ſive de Terris Cœleſtibus eorumque ornatu conjecturæ, ad Conſtantinum Fratrem, Gulielmo III. Magnæ Britanniæ Regi a Secretis.* Hague 1698 in 4to, and reprinted among his *Opera Varia* p. 641, and tranſlated into French under the title of *Nouveau Traité de la Pluralité des Mondes par feu M. Huygens, traduit du Latin en François par M. D.* Paris 1702 in 12mo. The tranſlator of this book is Monſieur du Four, who has prefixed to it a very learned and ingenious preface. The Journaliſts of *Trevoux* had no reaſon to doubt whether this work was Mr. Huygens's; ſince it is inconteſtably his, and he had even printed the firſt ſheet during his life, but was prevented by death from proceeding any further. He endeavours to ſhew in it, that it is probable, that the Planets are inhabited. XLI. In the collection publiſhed under the title of *Divers Ouvrages de Mathematique & de Phyſique par Meſſieurs de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, printed at Paris 1693 in fol. there are ſome pieces of our author, which have been reprinted among his *Opera Varia.* XLII. *Opuſcula Poſthuma, quæ continent Dioptricam, Commentarios de Vitris figurandis, Diſſertationem de Coronâ & Parheliis, Tractatum de Motu & de Vi centrifugâ, Deſcriptionem Automati Planetarii.* Leyden 1703 in 4to. Mr. Huygens had left by will to the Univerſity of Leyden his Mathematical writings, and requeſted Meſſieurs de Volder and Fullenius, the former of whom was Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Mathematics at Leyden, and the other at Franeker, to examine theſe works, and publiſh what they ſhould think proper. This is what they have done in this volume. Mr. Huygens had written in Low Dutch the ſecond of the tracts, which it contains, and which relates to the art of forming and poliſhing Teleſcope-glaſſes, to which he had greatly applied himſelf; but Dr. Boerhaave, Profeſſor of Phyſic at Leyden, had taken the pains to tranſlate it into Latin. XLIII. *Opera Varia.* Leyden 1724 in 4to. This collection, which contains the greateſt part of the pieces, which Mr. Huygens had publiſhed ſeparately, is divided into four parts; the firſt of which contains the pieces relating

the Count in Denmark would not permit him. He travelled into France in 1655, and took the degree of Doctor of Law at Angers. He returned to that Kingdom in 1660, and from thence paſſed over to England the year following. He took a third journey to France in 1663. His merit became ſo conſpicuous in that Kingdom, that Monſieur Colbert reſolved to fix him at Paris by ſettling a conſiderable penſion upon him. Mr. Huygens conſented to it, and reſided at Paris from 1666 to 1681. But his health, which had obliged him in 1670 and 1675 to viſit his native air, at laſt forced him to leave France intirely, and return to Holland. He died at the Hague June the 8th 1695, aged ſixty ſix years. He had been choſen a Fellow of the Royal Society at London in 1663, and a Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris during his reſidence in that city. His whole life was ſpent in curious and uſeful reſearches. He loved a quiet and ſtudious manner of life. He frequently retired into the country, in order to prevent interruption; but he did not at all contract that ſour and moroſe temper and behaviour, which are commonly the effects of ſolitude and retirement (*a*).

(*a*) See his *Life* prefixed to his *Opera Varia*, and Baſnage de Bauval's *Hiſt. des Ouvrages des Savans*, tom. 11. Août, 1695, Art. 9. 2d edit. 1698.

lating to Mechanics; the ſecond, thoſe relating to Geometry; the third, thoſe relating to Aſtronomy; and the fourth, thoſe, which could not be ranged under any of theſe titles. Mr. Graveſande had the care of this edition, in which he has inſerted ſeveral additions to the pieces contained in it, collected from our author's manuſcripts. The pieces, which were originally in French or Low Dutch, were tranſlated into Latin by John Ooſterdyk Schacht, ſon of a Profeſſor of Phyſic at Leyden. XLIV. *Opera Reliqua.* Amſterdam 1728 in 4to, two Tomes. This new collection was publiſhed alſo by Mr. Graveſande. The firſt Tome contains the Treatiſes of Light and Gravity, which the Bookſellers procured to be tranſlated into Latin; but that tranſlation not being exact, it was carefully reviſed by the tranſlator of the other works of Mr. Huygens. The ſecond Tome contains his *Poſthumous Works*, which had been publiſhed in 1703, but with ſome corrections and additions. XLV. In the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* we have the following pieces of his. 1. *An Obſervation of Saturn the 17th of Auguſt* 1668. Numb. 45, p. 900. 2. *A Summary Account of the Laws of Motion:* Numb. 46. p, 925. 3. *Inſtructions concerning the uſe of Pendulum Watches for finding the Longitude at Sea, together with a Method of a Journal for ſuch Watches:* Numb. 47. p. 937. 4. *Obſervation of an Halo or Circle about the Sun at Paris May the 12th* 1667, *together with a Diſcourſe concerning the Cauſe of theſe Meteors; as alſo that of Parhelia or Mock-Suns:* Numb. 60. p. 1065. 5. *Some Communications confirming the preſent appearance of the Ring about Saturn; by Huygens and Hooke:* Numb. 65. p. 2093. 6. *Concerning the Obſervation of Saturn ſhortly to be without the Anſæ or Arms:* Numb. 78. p. 3026. 7. *An Attempt to render the Cauſe of that odd Phænomenon of the Quickſilver's remaining ſuſpended far above the uſual Height in the Torricellian Experiment:* Numb. 86. p. 5027. 8. *Some Letters exchanged between Monſieur Sluſius and Huygens about a conſiderable Optic Problem of Alhazen:* Numb. 97. p. 6119. 9. *A Continuation of the Optic Problem of Alhazen:* Numb. 98. p. 6140. 10. *Thoughts concerning Mr. Hooke's Obſervations for proving the Motion of the Earth, mentioned Numb.* 101: Numb. 105. p. 89. 11. *Concerning a new Invention of his of very exact and portative Watches:* Numb. 112. p. 272. 12. *Some Experiments made in the Air-pump upon Plants: together with a way of taking exhauſted Receivers away from off the ſaid Engine: by Huygens and Papin:* Numb. 120. p. 477. 13. *A Continuation of the Experiments made in the Air-pump by Huygens and Papin:* Numb. 121. p. 492. XLVI. In the regiſter of the manuſcripts of the *Royal Academy of Sciences* at Paris there is a *Manuſcript Treatiſe of the Load-ſtone*, written by our author. XLVII. In the hands of William Jones Eſq; F. R. S. is an original letter of Mr. Huygens dated at the Hague Auguſt the 18th 1662, *Concerning the Weight of the Air at a given Height, with a Rule to find that Height; and likewiſe the Weight of the Air at any place being given, to find the Height of that Place.* XLVIII. In the *Regiſter Books* of the *Royal Society* there are a great many pieces of our author never yet publiſhed. T.

☞ HYDE (EDWARD), Earl of Clarendon, and Lord High Chancellor of England, was ſon of Henry Hyde of Pyrton in Wiltſhire [*A*], by Mary, daughter and heir of Edward Langford of Trobridge in the ſame county. He was born at Dinton near Hindon in Wiltſhire on the 16th of February 1608 (*a*). In Lent Term 1622 he became a ſtudent of Magdalen Hall in the Univerſity of Oxford (*b*). February the 14th 1625 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*); but failing of a Fellowſhip of Exeter College, for which he ſtood (*d*), he removed to the Middle Temple, where he ſtudied the Laws for ſeveral years (*e*). In 1633 he was one of the chief managers of the Maſque preſented by the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court to their Majeſties at Whitehall on Candlemaſs Day [*B*]. In the Parliament, which began at Weſtminſter April the 10th 1640, he ſerved as Burgeſs for Wotton-Baſſet in Wiltſhire [*C*]. But that Parliament being ſoon after

(*a*) *Lives of all the Lords Chancellors, Lords Keepers, and Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal of England. By an impartial Hand*, vol. 1. in the Life of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, pag. 1. edit. London 1708 in 8vo.
(*b*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon* vol. 2. col. 533. 2d edit. London 1721.
(*c*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 231.
(*d*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*
(*e*) Idem, ibid. and *Life of the Lord Chancellor Hyde*, prefixed to *A Collection of ſeveral valuable pieces of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon*, pag. 2. edit. London 1727 in 8vo.

(1) *Life of the Lord Chancellor Hyde*, pag. 1, 2. prefixed to *A Collection of ſeveral Pieces of the Right Hon. Edward Earl of Clarendon*, edit. London 1727 in 8vo.
(2) Ibid. But Mr. Wood, *Ath. Ox.* vol. 2. col. 532. and the author of *The Lives of the Lords Chancellors, &c.* in the Life of *Edward Earl of Clarendon*, vol. 1. pag. 1. aſſert, that Mr. *Henry Hyde*, was *third ſon of Mr. Laurence Hyde.*

[*A*] *Son of Henry Hyde of Pyrton in Wiltſhire.*] This Gentleman was deſcended of an antient family, originally of Cheſhire (1), and was ſecond (2) ſon of Laurence Hyde of Guſſage St. Michael in Dorſetſhire; whoſe fourth ſon was Sir Alexander Hyde of Saliſbury, father of Dr. Hyde Biſhop of Saliſbury; Sir Robert Hyde, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas; Sir Henry Hyde, beheaded under Cromwell, and eight other ſons, all remarkable men, and raiſed by the Chancellor (3).

[*B*] *In* 1633 *he was one of the chief managers of the Maſque preſented by the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court to their Majeſties at Whitehall on Candlemaſs Day.*] Mr. Whitelocke tells us (4), that this Maſque was held "the "more ſeaſonable, becauſe it would manifeſt the "difference of their opinion from Mr. Prynne's new learn-"ing, and ſerve to confute his *Hiſtriomaſtix* againſt "Interludes." The managers choſen for the Middle Temple were Mr. Hyde and Mr. BulſtrodeWhitelocke; for the Inner Temple Sir Edward Herbert and Mr. Selden; for Lincolns-Inn Mr. Noy the Attorney General and Mr. Gerling; and for Grays-Inn Sir John Finch and another Gentleman.

[*C*] *Served as Burgeſs for Wotton-Baſſet in Wiltſhire.*] In this Parliament Mr. Hyde diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon the following occaſion. The King in a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons had acquainted them, that as he heard the ſhip-money was unwillingly ſubmitted to by the people, he would for the future releaſe it in ſuch a manner as the Parliament ſhould adviſe, if they would grant him twelve ſubſidies to be paid in three years. This occaſioned great debates that day and the next, when Mr. Hamden ſeeing the matter ripe for the queſtion, deſired it might be put, "whether the Houſe ſhould comply with the propo-"ſition made by the King, as it was contained in the "meſſage?" Hereupon Serjeant Glanville, the Speaker, (for the Houſe was then in a Committee) endeavoured in

(3) *Life of the Lord Chancellor Hyde*, ubi ſupra.
(4) *Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs*, pag. 19. edit. London 1732.

after diſſolved, he was choſen for Saltaſh in Cornwall in the long Parliament, which began November the 3d the ſame year. His abilities began now to be very much taken notice of, and he was employed in ſeveral Committees to examine into divers grievances [D]; but at laſt being diſſatisfied with the proceedings in the Parliament, he retired to his Majeſty, and was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Privy Counſellor, and Knight (f). The Parliament were ſo highly incenſed at Sir Edward's leaving them, that

(f) *Lives of the Lords Chancellors, &c.* pag. 38. *and* Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 533.

in a pathetical ſpeech to perſuade them to comply with the King, and ſo reconcile him to Parliaments for ever. No ſpeech ever united the inclinations of a popular Council more to the Speaker than this did; and if the queſtion had been preſently put, it was believed, that few would have oppoſed it. But after a ſhort ſilence, the other ſide recovering new courage, called again with ſome earneſtneſs, that Mr. Hamden's queſtion ſhould be put, which being like to meet with a concurrence, Mr. Hyde being very ſollicitous to keep things in ſome tolerable calmneſs, then ſtood up, and giving his reaſons for his diſlike to that queſtion, propoſed, "that to the end every man might freely "give his Yea or No, the queſtion might be put only "upon giving the King a ſupply; and if this was "carried, another might be put upon the manner and "proportion; if not, it would have the ſame effect "with the other propoſed by Mr. Hamden." This, after it had been ſome time oppoſed and diverted by other propoſitions, which were anſwered by Mr. Hyde, would, as it was generally believed, have been put and carried in the affirmative, though poſitively oppoſed by Herbert the Sollicitor General, if Sir H. Vane the Secretary had not ſtood up, and aſſured them as from his Majeſty, that if they ſhould paſs a vote for a ſupply, and not in the proportion propoſed in his Majeſty's meſſage, it would not be accepted by him; and therefore deſired, that the queſtion might be laid aſide. This being again urged by the Sollicitor General, and it being near five in the afternoon, it was readily conſented to, that the Houſe ſhould adjourn to the next morning, at which they were ſuddenly diſſolved; and within an hour after Mr. Hyde met Mr. St. John, who was ſeldom known to ſmile, but then had a moſt chearful aſpect, and obſerving Mr. Hyde melancholy, aſked him, *What troubled him?* who anſwered, "the "ſame, he believed, that troubled moſt good men, "that in a time of ſo much confuſion ſo wiſe a Par-"liament ſhould be ſo imprudently diſſolved." Mr. St. John replied ſomewhat warmly, "that all was "well; that things muſt grow worſe before they "would grow better; and that that Parliament would "never have done what was requiſite (5)."

(5) *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, B 2.

[D] *Employed in ſeveral Committees to examine into divers grievances.*] Being appointed in April 1641, Chairman of the Committee which took into conſideration the ſtate of the court of York, of which the Earl of Strafford had been for ſome years Preſident; he reported the caſe to the houſe; upon which it was reſolved, that the commiſſions and inſtructions, whereby the Preſident and Council in the north exerciſed a juriſdiction, were illegal both in creation and execution; and that it was unprofitable to his Majeſty, and inconvenient and grievous to his ſubjects in theſe parts. Mr. Hyde being choſen hereupon to manage the conference with the Lords touching the ſame court, made a very eloquent ſpeech, which was printed in *Ruſhworth's Collections* (6). But though he was zealous for the redreſſing of the grievances of the nation, yet he was on the other hand as watchful for the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed church; and a ſhort bill being brought in to take away the Biſhops vote in Parliament, and to leave them out of all commiſſions of the peace, or any thing that had relation to temporal affairs, he was very earneſt for throwing it out, and ſaid, "that from the "time that Parliaments begun, Biſhops had always "been a part of it. That if they were taken out, "there was no body left to repreſent the clergy; "which would introduce another piece of injuſtice, "which no other part of the Kingdom could com-"plain of, who being all repreſented in Parliament, "were bound to ſubmit to whatever was enacted "there, becauſe it was, upon the matter, with their "own conſent; whereas if the bill was carried, there "was no body left to repreſent the clergy, and yet "they muſt be bound by their determination." When he had done, the Lord Falkland, who always ſat next to him, which was ſo much obſerved, that if they came not in together, as they uſually did, every body left the place for him, who was abſent, ſtood up, and declared, that he was of another opinion; and that he never thought, that the conſtitution of the Kingdom would be violated by the paſſing that act; and that he had heard many of the Clergy proteſt, that they would not own themſelves repreſented by the Biſhops; but if that could be made appear, it was to be preſumed, that the Houſe of Peers, among whom they ſate and had their votes, would throw it out; and ſo facetiouſly anſwering ſome other particulars, he concluded for paſſing the act (7). Mr. Hyde was averſe to the ſevere proceedings againſt the Earl of Strafford; but though thoſe Lords and Commoners who were ſuppoſed to favour that Nobleman, were branded with the name of *Straffordians* and betrayers of their country, and a liſt of them was poſted up at the corner of the wall of Sir William Brouncker's houſe in the Old-Palace-Yard, Weſtminſter, yet ſuch was the prudence of Mr. Hyde in this affair, that he was not included amongſt them (8). When the Commons had drawn up a remonſtrance of all the grievances ſince the beginning of the King's reign, and Mr. Hamden moved for an order for the immediate printing of it, Mr. Hyde oppoſed that motion with ſo much vigour, that he was committed to the Tower, where continuing ſome days, he afterwards reſumed his place in the Houſe (9). The Commons having prepared a charge againſt the Lord Chief Baron Davenport, Baron Weſton, and Baron Trevor, Mr. Hyde was ſent up with the impeachment to the Lords, to whom he made an excellent ſpeech; which begins thus: "My Lords, There "cannot be a greater inſtance of a ſick and languiſh-"ing Commonwealth, than the buſineſs of this day. "Good God! how have the guilty theſe late years "been puniſhed, when the judges themſelves have "been ſuch delinquents! It is no marvel, that an ir-"regular, extravagant, arbitrary power, like a tor-"rent, hath broken in upon us, when our banks "and our bulwarks, the laws, were in the cuſtody of "ſuch perſons. Men, who had left their innocence, "could not preſerve their courage; nor could we look "that they, who had ſo viſibly undone us, them-"ſelves ſhould have the virtue or credit to reſcue us "from the oppreſſion of other men. It was ſaid by "one, who always ſpoke excellently, *that the twelve "Judges were like the twelve lions under the throne of "Solomon*; under the throne in obedience, but yet "lions. Your Lordſhips ſhall this day hear of ſix, "who (be they what they will elſe) were no lions; "who upon vulgar fear delivered up their precious "forts they were truſted with, almoſt without aſſault, "and in a tame eaſy trance of flattery and ſervitude, "loſt and forfeited (ſhamefully forfeited) that reputa-"tion, awe, and reverence, which the wiſdom, cou-"[illegible], and gravity of their venerable predeceſſors had "contracted and faſtened to the places they now hold, "and even rendered that ſtudy and profeſſion, which "in all ages hath been, and I hope, now ſhall be "of an honourable eſtimation, ſo contemptible and "vile, that had not this bleſſed day come, all men "would have had that quarrel to the law itſelf, which "Marius had to the Greek tongue, who thought it a "mockery to learn that language, the maſters where-"of lived in bondage under others. And I appeal "to theſe unhappy Gentlemen themſelves, with what "a ſtrange negligence, ſcorn, and indignation, the "faces of all men, even of the meaneſt, have been "directed towards them, ſince (to call it no worſe) "that fatal declenſion of their underſtanding in thoſe "judgments, of which they ſtand here charged before "your Lordſhips." He concludes thus: "If the ex-"cellent, envied conſtitution of this Kingdom hath "been of late diſtempered, your Lordſhips ſee the "cauſes. If the ſweet harmony between the King's "protection and the ſubjects obedience hath unluckily

(6) Vol. 1. Part 2.

(7) *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, lib. 3.

(8) *Lives of the Lord Chancellors, &c.* pag. 19.

(9) *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, B. 4.

that in their inſtructions to their General, the Earl of Eſſex, they excepted him, with a few others, from any grace or favour from them (*g*). In January 1643 he ſate as a member of the Parliament aſſembled at Oxford; and in November 1644 he was one of the King's Commiſſioners at the treaty of Uxbridge. Not long after this treaty, the King ſending the Prince of Wales into the Weſt to have the Superintendency of the affairs in thoſe parts, Sir Edward Hyde, and the Lords Capel, Hopton, and Colepepper were appointed to attend his Highneſs, and to be of his Council (*b*). Upon the declining of the King's cauſe, he, with the Lords Capel and Colepepper, ſailed from Pendennis Caſtle in Cornwall to Scilly, and thence to Jerſey, and afterwards in 1648 to France (*i*); where, after the death of King Charles I, he was ſworn of the Privy Council to Charles II. In November 1649, he and the Lord Cottington were ſent Embaſſadors extraordinary into Spain. In 1657 he was conſtituted Lord High Chancellor of England. Upon the death of Cromwell, and the diviſions in England, General Monk being ſuppoſed to have a favourable view to the King, his Majeſty's friends in England began to entertain ſome hopes of a change; and the year before the Reſtoration, the Lord Chancellor was indefatigable in writing letters, declarations, &c. to forward it [*E*], eſpecially during thoſe ſix months in which the King was abſent from Bruſſels. But while theſe things were agitating, the Duke of York falling in love with Mrs. Anne Hyde, the Lord Chancellor's eldeſt daughter, reſolved to marry her, which, with all imaginable ſecrecy both from the King and Chancellor, he performed [*F*]. Upon the Reſtoration the Chancellor reviſited his native country; and, as he had been the greateſt ſharer of his maſter's ſufferings, he had a ſhare proportionable of his glory. October the 27th 1660 he was choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and ſoon after created Baron of Hindon in Wiltſhire, Viſcount Cornbury in Oxfordſhire, and Earl of Clarendon in Wiltſhire; and, on the death of Henry Lord Falkland, Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordſhire. In the Convention he made a ſpeech by the King's order, deſiring a bill of oblivion might be brought in, as the beſt method to engage his Majeſty to his ſubjects [*G*]. He took care likewiſe neither to load the King's prerogative, nor encroach upon the liberties of the people; and therefore would not ſet aſide the *Petition of Right*, nor endeavour to raiſe the Star-Chamber or High-Commiſſion Courts again, when it was in his power; nor did he attempt to repeal the bill for triennial Parliaments; though at the ſame time he took care to repeal all things extorted by the long Parliament from King Charles I, and to ſettle the militia affairs. But other acts relating to the prerogative he did not touch upon, as tonnage, poundage, ſhip-money, &c. And when he might have obtained two millions for the ſtanding revenue, he aſked but 1200000 *l. per ann.* which he thought would ſtill put the King upon neceſſity of having recourſe to his Parliaments (*k*). This juſt conduct is ſaid to be occaſioned by a domeſtic accident [*H*]. In 1662 he is ſaid to have oppoſed the propoſal for the King's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal [*I*], and the ſale of Dunkirk.

(*g*) *Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs. By Bulſtrode Whitelocke Eſq*; pag. 62. edit. London 1732.

(*b*) *Lives of the Lords Chancellors, &c.* pag. 46.

(*i*) Ibid. pag. 46-70.

(*k*) *Life of the Lord Chancellor Hyde*, pag. 28, 29.

" ly ſuffered interruption; if the royal juſtice and " honour of the beſt of Kings have been miſtaken " by his people; if the duty and affection of the " moſt faithful and loyal nation have been ſuſpected " by their gracious Sovereign; if by theſe miſrepre- " ſentations and theſe miſunderſtandings the King " and people have been robbed of the delight and " comfort of each other, and the bleſſed peace of this " Iſland been ſhaken and frightned into tumults and " commotions, into the poverty, though not into the " rage of war, as a people prepared for deſtruction and " deſolation; theſe are the men actively or paſſively, " by doing or not doing, have brought this upon us: " *Miſera Servitus falſo Pax vocatur; ubi judicia deſi-* " *ciunt, incipit Bellum.*"

[*E*] *Indefatigable in writing letters, declarations, &c. to forward it.*] A great many of his letters [illegible] hat purpoſe are printed in the Appendix to *Vita* [illegible] *is Barwick, S. P. T.* printed at London, 1721, in 8vo.

[*F*] *Which with all imaginable ſecrecy both from the King and Chancellor he performed.*] It was done ſo ſecretly, that after the Reſtoration, when the Lady's pregnancy appeared, the Duke was attacked by ſeveral of his friends in private with ſo much vigour and reſentment, that he was brought under the ſtrongeſt temptations to diſown the obligation. But the King, though much ſurprized at the affair, very generouſly preſerved the honour of an excellent ſervant, who had not been at firſt privy to it, and aſſured him, that *this accident ſhould not leſſen the eſteem and favour he had for him* (10).

(10) Echard's *Hiſtory of England, ad ann.* 1660, B. 1. c. 1.

[*G*] *In the convention he made a ſpeech by the King's order, deſiring a bill of oblivion might be brought in, as the beſt method to engage his Majeſty to his ſubjects.*] The Chancellor was charged with adviſing the King, that not only clemency, but ſignal favour ſhould be ſhewn towards thoſe, who had oppoſed his father and himſelf; and at the ſame time a neglect of thoſe, who had adhered to the Royal Cauſe; and this upon the following maxim, " that to make his enemies friends, " would ſecure them to him; and the Loyaliſts had " given ſuch proofs of unchanged fidelity, that for- " getfulneſs, and even perſecution itſelf, could never " alter their dictates of honour and conſcience, and " therefore might ſafely be put off with the ſatiſ- " faction of having done their duty (11)." This the Chancellor ſolemnly denied to the laſt.

(11) *Life of the Lord Chancellor Hyde*, pag. 26, 27. *and* Echard, *ubi ſupra.*

[*H*] *This juſt conduct is ſaid to have been occaſioned by a domeſtic accident.*] Biſhop Burnet informs us (12), that " when he firſt began to grow eminent in his " profeſſion of the Law, he went down to viſit his " father in Wiltſhire; who one day, as they were " walking in the fields together, obſerved to him, that " men of his profeſſion were apt to ſtretch the prero- " gative too far, and injure liberty; but charged him, " if ever he came to any eminence in his profeſſion, " never to ſacrifice the laws and liberty of his country " to his own intereſt, or the will of his Prince. He " repeated this twice, and immediately fell into a fit " of Apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours; " and this advice had ſo laſting an influence on " him, that he ever after obſerved and purſued " it."

(12) *Hiſtory of his own Time*, vol. 1. B. 2.

(13) Ibid.

[*I*] *He is ſaid to have oppoſed the propoſal for the King's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal.*] This is aſſerted by Biſhop Burnet (13), Archdeacon Echard (14), Coke in his *Detection*, and other writers. But they are contradicted by the late Lord Lanſdown (15), who obſerves that " the King was newly reſtored to " dominions waſted and impoveriſhed by a long rui- " nous civil-war. The higheſt bidder in ready money " to ſupply the neceſſities of ſtate was the alliance " moſt likely to prevail. Whatever Portugal propoſed " to give, Spain offered as much; but the perform- " ance of promiſe on that ſide was ſuſpected; Portugal

(14) *Hiſtory of England.*

(15) *Vindication of General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, from ſome Calumnies of Dr. Burnet, and ſome miſtakes of Dr. Echard, in relation to the Sale of Dunkirk, and the Portugal Match.*

Dunkirk [*K*]. The year following he had articles of high-treaſon exhibited againſt him by the Earl of Briſtol, but they were rejected by the Houſe of Lords [*L*]. In 1664

" was thought the ſureſt bargin, and had the prefe-
" rence. The King had a very ample portion with
" the Infanta; but being at the ſame time engaged
" in honour to ſtand by his brother-in-law againſt
" Spain, he was ſoon reduced to ſeek for expedi-
" ents to anſwer the demands of that ſervice. The
" readieſt that offered was the ſale of Dunkirk; an
" act of neceſſity, not choice in the Earl of Claren-
" don." His Lordſhip, to prove that the Chancellor propoſed this marriage, quotes a long paſſage from the Memoirs of Portugal, written by the Sieur d'Ablancourt, Reſident from France at the Court of Portugal, when this marriage propoſal was made, *in which France itſelf*, ſays his Lordſhip, *was too much intereſted not to be well informed.* Thomas Burnet, Eſq; in his *Remarks upon the Right Honourable the Lord* Lanſdowne's Letter to the author of the *Reflections Hiſtorical and Political, &c. as far as relates to Biſhop Burnet*, has made ſome obſervations on his Lordſhip's tract above quoted. And Mr. Thomas Carte (16) citing a relation of Dr. Hough, the preſent Biſhop of Worceſter, from the Duke of Ormonde's mouth, and Sir Robert Southwell, affirms, that the King's reſolution to marry the Infanta, " was taken without the knowledge,
" either of the Duke of Ormonde, or the Lord Chan-
" cellor Clarendon. The King firſt communicated
" it to the Chancellor, and told him at the ſame time,
" that he had agreed to the match. The Chancellor
" ſaid, he hoped his Majeſty was not determined, for
" there were ſeveral things deſerved to be maturely
" conſidered in that affair, which he was ready to
" offer, if his Majeſty had not prevented it by telling
" him, that he was abſolutely determined. The
" Chancellor acquainting the Duke of Ormonde and
" the Earl of Southampton with the matter, it was
" agreed among them, that he ſhould deſire the King,
" to grant them all three an audience together. This
" was granted: they attended him in the room which
" was called *Tom Chiffinch*'s Cloſet, where the rarities
" ſtood; and gave him their reaſons againſt the
" match. The Chancellor opened the ſubject, and
" particularly urged, not only what the Spaniards had
" objected as to the barrenneſs of the Lady propoſed,
" but the accounts and reaſons, which he had from
" other hands to believe, that the Infanta would never
" prove with child. That if it proved ſo in the event,
" it would be a great infelicity to the whole King-
" dom; and this was a conſideration ſo very impor-
" tant, that the Portugal Miniſter ought to be talked
" to plainly on the ſubject, and the matter ſeriouſly
" examined. The King replied, that he was ſatisfied,
" that accuſation came originally from the malice of
" the Spaniards, and was without foundation; and
" in fine, told them, he had proceeded ſo far in the
" matter, that it was now too late for him to retreat,
" and he muſt go on with the treaty. During this
" audience, upon their remonſtrating againſt his mar-
" rying a Roman Catholic wife, the King aſked,
" *Where is there a Proteſtant fit for me to marry?* It
" was ſaid, his Majeſty could be at no loſs in that
" point, for there were Ladies enough in Germany of
" that religion, and of families fit for the alliance of
" any Prince. *Cods fiſh*, ſays the King, *they are all*
" *foggy, and I cannot like any one of them for a wife.*
" Upon this anſwer, which excluded at once all
" Proteſtants that could be propoſed, the Duke of Or-
" monde was clearly convinced, that the reſolution was
" taken for the King to marry none but a Roman
" Catholic. It was a point indeed, which his mo-
" ther, and thoſe of that religion, which were in the
" ſecret of the change he had made in his, had ex-
" tremely at heart, and thought of the utmoſt conſe-
" quence, as well to fix him theirs, as to advance the
" cauſe of Catholicity."

(16) *Hiſtory of the Life of James Duke of Ormonde*, vol. 2. B. 6. pag. 254.

[*K*] *And the ſale of Dunkirk.*] Biſhop Burnet (17) and Archdeacon Echard abſolutely acquit the Chancellor of having any hand in that ſale. But the Lord Lanſdowne (18) cites the *Letters and Negotiations of Count d'Eſtrades*, who was the ſole manager on the part of France for the treaty of Dunkirk, to ſhew, that the firſt motion came from the Chancellor in a Letter dated at Hampton-Court June 29, 1662, and ſigned *Clarendon*. There is good reaſon to think the Queen-Mother, when ſhe came over into England, was charged with this affair of Dunkirk as well as that of the Portugal match: and though the King did not immediately agree to the ſale, yet being ſoon after reduced to great ſtreights for want of money, unable to bear the expence of the garriſon of that place out of the revenue of the civil-liſt, and unwilling to apply to Parliament for a ſupply, leſt it ſhould fall into the hands of a power, which the late troubles had taught him to dread, he reſolved to take that party, and obliged the Earl of Clarendon to enter into a treaty with the Mareſchal d'Eſtrades for that purpoſe. The Chancellor in this point acted Miniſterially, it being his general maxim, as well as that of his friend the Duke of Ormonde, to offer their advice freely to the King; but when his Majeſty had once taken a reſolution, however contrary it were to their ſentiments, they preſently acquieſced, uſed great caution in avoiding all reflections on his meaſures, for fear of making bad worſe, and ſtill continued in their reſpective poſts to diſcharge their duty, and obey thoſe commands which they wiſhed had never been given (*).

(*) This remark was communicated to us by Mr. Tho. Carte.

[*L*] *The year following he had articles of high treaſon exhibited againſt him by the Earl of Briſtol; but they were rejected by the Houſe of Lords.*] The ſubſtance of the whole accuſation was as follows: " That the Chancellor being in place of higheſt
" truſt and confidence with his Majeſty, and having
" arrogated a ſupreme direction in all things, had,
" with a traiterous intent to draw contempt upon his
" Majeſty's perſon, and to alienate the affections of
" his ſubjects, abuſed the ſaid truſt in manner follow-
" ing. 1. He had endeavoured to alienate the hearts
" of his Majeſty's ſubjects, by artificially inſinuating
" to his creatures and dependents, that his Majeſty
" was inclined to popery, and deſigned to alter the
" eſtabliſhed Religion. 2. He had ſaid to ſeveral
" perſons of his Majeſty's privy-council, *That his Ma-*
" *jeſty was dangerouſly corrupted in his religion, and in-*
" *clined to Popery: That perſons of that religion had ſuch*
" *acceſs and ſuch credit with him, that unleſs there were*
" *a careful eye had upon it, the proteſtant religion would*
" *be overthrown in this kingdom.* 3. Upon his Ma-
" jeſty's admitting Sir Henry Bennet to be Secretary
" of State in the place of Sir Edward Nicholas, he
" ſaid, *That his Majeſty had given ten thouſand pounds*
" *to remove a zealous proteſtant, that he might bring*
" *into that high place a concealed papiſt.* 4. In purſu-
" ance of the ſame traiterous deſign, ſeveral friends
" and dependents of his have ſaid aloud, *That were it*
" *not for my Lord Chancellor's ſtanding in the gap, popery*
" *would be introduced into this kingdom.* 4. That he
" had perſuaded the King, contrary to his reaſons, to
" allow his name to be uſed to the Pope and ſeveral
" Cardinals in the ſollicitations of a Cardinal's cap
" for the Lord Aubigney, great Almoner to the Queen:
" In order to effect which he had employ'd Mr.
" Richard Bealing, a known papiſt; and had like-
" wiſe applied himſelf to ſeveral popiſh prieſts and Je-
" ſuits for the ſame purpoſe, promiſing great favour
" to the papiſts here, in caſe it ſhould be effected. 6.
" That he had likewiſe promiſed to ſeveral Papiſts,
" he would do his endeavour, and ſaid, *he hoped to*
" *compaſs the taking away all penal laws againſt them*;
" to the end they might preſume and grow vain upon
" his patronage, and by their publiſhing their hopes
" of toleration, encreaſe the ſcandal deſigned by him
" to be raiſed upon his Majeſty throughout the king-
" dom. 7. That being intruſted with the treaty be-
" twixt his Majeſty and his royal conſort the Queen,
" he concluded it upon articles ſcandalous and dange-
" rous to the proteſtant religion. Moreover he brought
" the King and Queen together without any ſettled
" agreement about the performance of the marriage
" rites, whereby the Queen refuſing to be married by
" a proteſtant prieſt, in caſe of her being with child,
" either the ſucceſſion ſhould be made uncertain for
" want of the due rites of matrimony, or elſe his Ma-
" jeſty be expoſed to a ſuſpicion of having been mar-
" ried

(17) *Hiſtory of his own Times*, vol. 1. B. 2.

(18) *Vindication of General Monk, &c.*

1664 he oppoſed the war with Holland. In Auguſt 1667 he was removed from his poſt of Lord Chancellor [*M*], and in November following impeached of high treaſon, and other

" ried in his own dominions by a Romiſh prieſt. 8. " That having endeavoured to alienate the hearts of " the King's ſubjects upon the ſcore of religion, he endeavoured to make uſe of all his ſcandals and jealouſies to raiſe to himſelf a popular applauſe of being " *the zealous upholder of the proteſtant religion*, &c. " 9. That he farther endeavoured to alienate the hearts " of the King's ſubjects, by venting in his own diſcourſe " and thoſe of his emiſſaries opprobrious ſcandals againſt his Majeſty's perſon and courſe of life, ſuch as " are not fit to be mentioned, unleſs neceſſity ſhall " require it. 10. That he endeavoured to alienate " the affections of the Duke of York from his Majeſty, by ſuggeſting to him, *That his Majeſty intended to legitimate the Duke of Monmouth*. 11. That " he had perſuaded the King, againſt the advice of " the Lord General, to withdraw the Engliſh garriſons " out of Scotland, and demoliſh all the forts built " there, at ſo vaſt a charge to this kingdom; and all " without expecting the advice of the Parliament of " England. 12. That he endeavoured to alienate " his Majeſty's affections and eſteem from the preſent " Parliament, by telling him, *That there was never ſo " weak and inconſiderable a Houſe of Lords, nor never ſo " weak and heady a Houſe of Commons*; and particularly, *That it was better to ſell Dunkirk, than to be " at their mercy for want of money*. 13. That contrary to a known law made laſt ſeſſion, by which " money was given and applied for maintaining of " Dunkirk, he adviſed and effected the ſale of the " ſame to the French King. 14. That he had, contrary to law, inriched himſelf and his Treaſurers " by the ſale of offices. 15. That he had converted " to his own uſe vaſt ſums of publick money raiſed " in Ireland by way of ſubſidy, private and publick " benevolences, and otherwiſe given and intended to " defray the charge of the Government in that kingdom. 16. That having arrogated to himſelf a ſupreme direction of all his Majeſty's affairs, he had " prevailed to have his Majeſty's cuſtoms farmed at a " lower rate than others offered; and that by perſons " with ſome of whom he went a ſhare, and other " parts of money reſulting from his Majeſty's revenue." This heavy charge, filled with inſinuations and aggravations, appeared rather to have been a perſonal quarrel, than any ſerious concern for publick truth and juſtice. The Words concerning the King's private inclinations, here charged as ſpoken by him, were generally thought to have been the real expreſſions or ſuggeſtions of the Lord Chancellor; but ſurely it was not altogether without a cauſe. They may be thought the effect of an indecent freedom, but can hardly be imagined to have proceeded from any want of integrity or loyalty. And indeed there appears a perverſe turn in the articles, firſt to repreſent the Chancellor as jealous of popery, and complaining of the King's inclination to it by chooſing new Miniſters popiſhly affected; and yet after all to make the Chancellor himſelf the inſtrument of thoſe very deſigns laid for popery, and the profeſſed promoter of them. This is ſomewhat ſurprizing; and what has ſince made the deſign'd revenge more apparent, is that the articles ſhould tax the Chancellor with ſaying, that Sir Henry Bennet was a concealed papiſt, when the Earl of Briſtol himſelf, the accuſer, was the ſame, and had been privy to all that the King had done at Fontarabia at the Pyrenean Treaty. And indeed the Houſe of Lords ſeemed ſenſible of the Malice of the accuſation, as ſoon as the articles were exhibited and read before them. Upon which, after a ſhort conſideration, they made the following order: " That a copy of the articles or charge " of high-treaſon exhibited this day by the Earl of " Briſtol againſt the Lord Chancellor, be delivered to " the Lord Chief Juſtice; who, with all the reſt of " the Judges, are to conſider, *Whether the ſaid charge " hath been brought in regularly and legally; and whether it may be proceeded on, and how; and whether " there be any treaſon in it or no*; and make report " thereof to this Houſe on Monday next, if they " can, or elſe as ſoon after as poſſibly they can." Upon this important occaſion all the Judges met at Sergeant's Inn, and the Earl of Briſtol repaired to them, deſiring to ſee their order; which being read, he told them, that *he came out of reſpect to know of them, whether they were informed how it came into the Houſe of Peers, whether as a charge or not*. But one of the Judges, who had been preſent when it was delivered in, ſaying, that *they were tied up by their order*, the Earl took ſome exception at the manner of his expreſſion, as if his addreſs were unneceſſary at that time; and taking it as a rebuke upon him, departed. But according to their order, which ſuppoſed it to be a charge of *high treaſon*, and not mentioning *miſdemeanors*, upon conſideration they unanimouſly agreed on this enſuing anſwer, which the Lord Chief Juſtice Foſter delivered into the Houſe of Lords: " We conceive, " that a charge of high treaſon cannot, by the laws " and ſtatutes of this realm, be originally exhibited " by one Peer againſt another unto the Houſe of Peers; " and that therefore a charge of high treaſon by the " Earl of Briſtol againſt the Lord Chancellor, mentioned in the order of reference to us of the 10th " of this inſtant July, hath not been regularly and legally brought in; and if the matters alledged in " the ſaid charge were admitted to be true, altho' " alledged to be traiterouſly done, yet there is no treaſon in it." Upon the reading of this anſwer the Earl of Briſtol took exceptions at it; and ſome of the Lords, who were friends to the Chancellor inſert'd, " that if it was not regularly and legally brought in, " it was a libel, and ought to be condemned, and the " author of it cenſured." To ſatisfy the Houſe, one of the Judges, upon conference with his brethren, did the next day deliver the reaſons of the opinion of the Judges in their anſwer; when the Earl of Briſtol, a little to extenuate the matter, ſaid, that *the articles were not intended by him as a charge, but as an information*. Hereupon their Lordſhips, upon a fair debate of the queſtion, did unanimouſly reſolve to declare their concurrence with the opinion of the Judges (19). We may obſerve here, that there had been a long courſe of friendſhip both in adverſity and proſperity between the Chancellor and Earl of Briſtol; but they gradually falling into different meaſures upon the account of religion or politics, and the Chancellor refuſing a ſmall boon, as the Earl took it to be, which was ſaid to be the paſſing a patent in favour of a Court Lady, the latter thought himſelf ſo diſobliged, that letting looſe his fiery temper, he reſolved upon nothing but revenge (20).

(19) *Lives of the Lords Chancellors*, pag. 208, *& ſeqq.* and Echard's *Hiſtory of England, ad ann.* 1663, B. 1. cap. 1.

(20) *Lives of the Lords Chancellors*, pag. 207, 208.

[*M*] *Removed from the Poſt of Lord Chancellor.*] The great ſeal was taken from him on the 31ſt of Auguſt 1667, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgman, with the title of Lord Keeper. Mr. Echard obſerves (21), that it has been often admired, that the King ſhould not only conſent to diſcard, but ſoon after baniſh a friend, who had been as honeſt and faithful to him as the beſt, and perhaps more uſeful and ſerviceable than any that he had ever employ'd; which ſurely could never have been brought to bear without numerous enviers and enemies. To ſhew how theſe were raiſed, we are to remember, that during the height of his grandeur, which continued two years without any rivalſhip, as well as the reſt of his Miniſtry, he manifeſted an inflexible ſteadineſs to the conſtitution of the Church of England, in equal oppoſition to the Papiſts on one ſide, and the Diſſenters on the other; ſo that none of theſe could be ever reconciled to him or his proceedings. Yet he ſeemed forward in the beginning to do ſo much towards the making of a coalition of all parties, that the Cavaliers and ſtrict Churchmen thought themſelves too groſsly neglected; and many of them, upon that account, though unjuſtly, entertained inſuperable prejudices againſt him, and joined with the greateſt of his enemies. His authority was once ſo great and prevailing, that even when it was much diminiſhed, the unpopular acts, miſcarriages, or misfortunes were generally charged upon him. Beſides, his perſonal behaviour was attended with a ſort of a gravity and haughtineſs, which ſtruck a very diſagreeable awe into a Court filled with licentious perſons of both ſexes. He often took liberty to give ſuch reproofs to theſe perſons of mirth and gallantry, as were very unacceptable to them; and ſometimes

(21) *Hiſtory of England, ad ann.* 1667, B. 1. c. 3.

other crimes and misdemeanors by the House of Commons [N]; upon which in the beginning

thought it his duty to advise the King himself in such a manner, that they took advantage of him, and as he passed in Court, would often say to his Majesty, *There goes your Schoolmaster!* The chief of these was the Duke of Buckingham, who had a surprizing talent of ridicule and buffoonry; and that he might make way to his ruin, he often acted and mimicked the Chancellor in the presence of the King, walking stately with a pair of bellows before him for the purse, and Colonel Titus carrying a fire-shovel on his shoulder for the mace, with which sort of banter and farce the King was too much delighted and captivated. These, with some more serious of the popish party, assisted by the sollicitations of the ladies of pleasure, made such daily impressions upon the mind of the King, that he at last gave way, and became pleased, and willing to part both from his person and services. It is generally believed, that the King had some particular and private resentments against him, as checking of those, who were too forward in loading the crown with prerogative and revenue, and such like proceedings. And more particularly we are told, that he had countermined the King in a grand design, which he had to be divorced from the Queen, under these pretences: "That she "had been pre-ingaged to another person; or that "she was uncapable of having children." The person designed to supply her place was Mrs. Stuart, a beautiful young Lady, who was related to the King, and had some office under the Queen. The Chancellor, to prevent this, sent for the Duke of Richmond, who was of the same name, and seeming to be sorry, that a person of his worth and relation to his Majesty should receive no marks of his favour, advised him to marry this Lady, as the most likely means to advance himself. The young Nobleman, liking the person, followed the advice, made immediate application to the Lady, who was ignorant of the King's intentions, and in a few days married her. The King thus disappointed, and soon after informed how the match was brought about, banished the Duke with his new Duchess from Court, and reserved his resentment against the Chancellor to a more convenient opportunity. However this might be, in a letter to the Earl of Sandwich from the Lord Arlington, who never was a friend to the Chancellor, we find these words: "His Majesty hath taken the seals from the Lord "Chancellor, and given them to my Lord Bridgman "with a great deal of satisfaction to the world and "to himself; and he hopes, that rectifying some "other important things before the Parliament, he "may expect they will deliver him out of the straits "he is so unhappily fallen into." As to the private reasons of the King's abandoning the Chancellor, his Majesty wrote an obliging letter to the Duke of Ormonde, then in Ireland, to give him satisfaction in that matter, as knowing him to be his intimate friend. Mr. Echard observes, that this letter was never yet published, nor would a copy of it be granted; but that he had more than once been told the substance of it by those who had read it; and the principal reason there given by the King was, *The Chancellor's insupportable Temper*. Mr. Thomas Carte in his *History of the Life of James Duke of Ormonde*, printed at London 1736 in fol. has given a particular account of the reasons of the disgrace of the Chancellor, from which we shall borrow some passages. He observes (22), that his enemies had found means by a swarm of libels, and by an infinite number of little emissaries, to possess the people with a notion, that he was the cause of the late miscarriages in affairs; tho' he had never intermeddled in any part of the management of the Dutch war, to which he had ever been averse. His lease of Worcester-house, wherein he had lived ever since the restoration, expiring this year, and the owner of it resolving to make it the place of his own habitation, he had taken a very unhappy resolution of building an house on a piece of ground, which the King had given him near St. James's. There he erected a magnificent pile at a much greater expence than he imagined or intended, which almost ruined him in his fortune, by loading him with an heavy debt, and at the same time raised the envy of the world, who were willing enough to suppose it built by money corruptly gotten. He had removed thither in April before the affront put upon the nation at Chatham; and the clamours and fury of the populace raised on that occasion, were all levelled at him, whom they were misled to think the author of all the calamities of the kingdom; so that he was in continual apprehensions, that they would pull down his house, and that he should fall a sacrifice to the fury of a misguided and inraged multitude. In this situation he was still intrepid, supported by the clearness of his conscience, and well satisfied, that he had done nothing that he ought to be ashamed of himself, or his friends for him. To this undeserved misfortune of popular odium some natural ones were added; the Dukes of Cambridge and Kendal, sons of the Duke of York, and the Lady Clarendon died within a few days of one another. He lost on May 16th his chief friend the Earl of Southampton, upon whose death the treasury was put into the hands of the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Ashley, Sir. T. Clifton, Sir W. Coventry, and Sir John Duncombe, none of them well affected to the Chancellor. Mr. Carte proceeds to remark, "That the Chancellor was cer-"tainly a Minister of as great probity, disinterested-"ness, and integrity, as hath been known in any "age: his whole conduct, and his letters to the Duke "of Ormonde (to a Friend, towards whom he had "no reserve) are an irrefragable proof of this part "of his character. But he seems to have fallen into "that very mistake, which he remarks in Arch-"bishop Laud, of imagining, that a man's own in-"tegrity will support him in all times and all cir-"cumstances of affairs, in the measures which he takes "for the public good. He was passionate, and tho' "solemn and cool in debate, did not bear an unrea-"sonable contradiction with that temper, which selfish, "artful, and designing men always take care to pre-"serve. He was not without the pride of conscious "virtue; and knowing well the just reasons upon "which he gave his advice on any occasion, when "he found it rejected, he thought himself the less "concerned to prevent the ill consequences of mea-"sures taken by others counsels in opposition to his "own, which were dictated purely by his zeal for "the King's service, and his regard to the good "of the kingdom. From the time that the Lord "Arlington was made Secretary of State, he was apt "upon occasion to complain, that he had no credit at "Court, which disobliged the King; and to clear "himself of having an hand in certain resolutions, "which perhaps would otherwise not have been ap-"proved in the event; and yet his dislike thereof "was still represented as the reason of their miscar-"riage, and served the advisers for an excuse. He "always gave the King prudent and honest advice; "but if it was over-ruled, (as was too often the case,) "he did not care to intermeddle, but left it to wiser "men (as he stiled them) to follow their own mea-"sures, and to perform what they had confidently "undertaken for the King's service. This manner of "conduct made him neglect his interest (of which "few Ministers have ever had a greater share, and yet "founded upon Virtue) in the House of Commons, "till at last it was utterly ruined." Mr. Carte afterward tells us (23), that the Duke of Buckingham undertook, that the Parliament should do the King's business, if his Majesty would but sacrifice the Chancellor to their resentments. That the King was weary of a Minister, of whom from his early youth he had learned to stand in awe, and who still seemed to keep up an authority over him, by the remonstrances which he made to him on all occasions with great freedom and little ceremony. And that the Chancellor was thought to have promoted the marriage of the Duke of Richmond with Mrs. Stewart, in order to prevent the King from procuring a divorce from the Queen, and marrying that Lady. "Whether he actually "encouraged the Duke of Richmond's marriage, doth "not appear, says Mr. Carte; but I find, that he "was so strongly possess'd of the King's inclination "to a Divorce, that even after his disgrace he was "persuaded, the Duke of Buckingham had under-"taken to carry that matter through the Parliament. "It is certain too, that the King considered him as "the chief promoter of that marriage, and resented "it in the highest degree. Thus affected towards the "Chancellor, he easily closed with the Duke of Buck-"ingham, to give him up to the malice of his ene-"mies."

(22) Vol. 2. B. 6. pag. 349.

(23) Pag. 351, 352.

[N] *Impeach'd of high treason by the House of Commons.*]

ginning of December he retired into France, leaving a petition to the Houſe of Lords [O]. Whereupon a bill was paſſed for baniſhing him from the King's dominions. He reſided at Roüen in Normandy, where he continued ſeven years to the time of his death. In 1668 his life was attempted at Evreux near that city [P]. He died at Roüen December the 9th 1674, and his body was brought to England and interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey. Beſides his *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* [Q] he

mons.] When the articles were exhibited to the Houſe, Lawrence Hyde, Eſq; afterwards Earl of Rocheſter, being the Lord Clarendon's ſecond ſon, roſe up and ſaid, "That every particular of the charge againſt his father was groundleſs; and he was ſo fully ſatisfied thereof, that he humbly propoſed to the Houſe, that before it was received, his accuſers might pitch on any one article, which ever they pleaſed, and ſupport it by proofs; and if they did ſo, his father was ready to acknowledge himſelf guilty of the whole charge." The violence of the Earl of Clarendon's enemies hindered this propoſal from being accepted: ſo that on the 12th of November Mr. Edward Seymour carried up the impeachment of the Earl to the bar of the Houſe of Lords, and deſired, that he might be committed to ſafe cuſtody, till the Commons ſhould make good their charge. But the Lords, diſſatisfied at this general way of proceeding, ſent to the Commons on the 15th of November, to deſire a conference in the Painted Chamber; where they informed them, that they had not confined the Earl, nor ſequeſter'd him from Parliament, it being againſt the *Petition of Right* ſo to do, till particular Treaſon was charged againſt him. This occaſioned warm debates in the Houſe of Commons, who were ſo highly enraged, as to reſolve, "that the Lords not having comply'd with the deſire of the Commons in committing the Earl of Clarendon, and ſequeſtering him from Parliament upon the impeachment from that Houſe, was an obſtruction to the public juſtice of the kingdom, and a precedent of evil and dangerous conſequence." And upon this they appointed a Committee to draw up a declaration to vindicate their proceedings. During theſe diviſions and debates, the Earl finding the ſtorm to bear very hard upon him from all quarters, and eſpecially from the Court, thought it moſt adviſeable to withdraw himſelf, and retire to Normandy.

[O] *Leaving a petition to the Houſe of Lords.*] The Lords received it on the 3d of December, and ſent two of the Judges to acquaint the Commons of it, and deſired a conference; where the Duke of Buckingham, who was plainly aimed at in the petition, delivered it to the Commons, and with his uſual way of inſult and ridicule ſaid, "The Lords have commanded me to deliver to you this ſcandalous and ſeditious paper ſent from the Earl of Clarendon. They bid me to preſent it to you, and deſire you in a convenient time to ſend it to them again; for it has a ſtyle, which they are in love with, and therefore deſire to keep it." When the petition was read in the Houſe of Commons, it occaſioned very warm ſpeeches, and was voted by them, to be *ſcandalous, malicious, and a reproach to the juſtice of the nation*, and that it ſhould be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

[P] *In* 1668 *his life was attempted at Evreux near that city.*] In the Bodleian library at Oxford there is an original letter from Mr. Oliver Long to Sir William Coventry, Secretary of State, dated at Evreux in Normandy April the 26th 1668; in which is the following paſſage. "As I was travelling from Roüen towards Orleans, it was my fortune April the 23d N. S. to overtake the Earl of Clarendon (then in his unhappy and unmerited exile) who was going towards Bourbon, but took up his lodging at a private Hotel in a ſmall walled town, called Evreux, ſome leagues from Roüen. I, as moſt Engliſh Gentlemen did to ſo valuable a patriot, went to pay him a viſit near ſupper-time, when he was, as uſual, very civil to me. Before ſupper was done, twenty or thirty Engliſh ſea-men and more came, and demanded entrance at the great gate, which being ſtrongly barred, kept them out for ſome time; but in a ſhort ſpace they brake it, and preſently drove all they found, by their advantage of numbers, into the Earl's chamber; where by the aſſiſtance of but three ſwords and piſtols we kept them out for half an hour, in which diſpute many of us were wounded by their ſwords and piſtols, whereof they had many. To conclude, they broke the windows and doors, and under the conduct of one Howard, an Iriſhman (who has three brothers, as I am told, in the King of England's ſervice) and an Enſign in the company of canoneers, they quickly found the Earl in his bed, not able to ſtand by the violence of the gout, where, after they had given him many blows with their ſwords and ſtaves, mixed with horrible curſes and oaths, they dragged him on the ground into the middle of the yard, where they encompaſſed him around with their ſwords, and after they had told him in their own language, how *he had ſold the Kingdom, and robbed them of their pay*; Howard commanded them all, as one man, to run their ſwords through his body. But what difference aroſe among themſelves before they could agree, God above, who alone ſent this ſpirit of diſſention, only knows. In this interval their Lieutenant, one Swaine, came and diſarmed them; ſixteen of the ring-leaders were put into priſon, and many of thoſe things they had rifled from him found again, which were reſtored and of great value. Monſieur la Fonde, a great man, belonging to the King of France's bed-chamber, ſent to conduct the Earl on his way hither, was ſo deſperately wounded in the head, that there were but little hopes of his life. Many of theſe aſſaſſins were grievouſly wounded; and this heinous action is ſo much reſented by all here, that many of theſe criminals will meet with an uſage equal to their merit. Had we been ſufficiently provided with fire-arms, we had infallibly done ourſelves juſtice on them; but we fear not but the Law will ſupply our defect." We ſhall add here an extract from a manuſcript communicated to us by the learned Richard Rawlinſon, LL. D. and F. R. S. and intitled *Remarks made in a Journey from Exeter 24 Febr.* 1667 *to Naples and Leghorn, ending 24 March* 1672: *By John Brocking.* The paſſage is as follows. "The 8th of April 1667. N. S. I paid a viſit to the Earl of Clarendon Hyde, *quondam* Lord Chancellor of England, who was fled hither [Roüen in Normandy] *incognito*, to avoid the penalties of ſeveral accuſations, that might have followed on his remaining at home. And chiefly incenſed were the ſeamen; for while I was here, there was a Captain of a ſhip in port, that came to ſee him, who deſired the Captain to ſend him a piece of Engliſh ſalt beef, which he promiſed to ſend him the next day without fail; but as he was putting it over-board, the ſeamen declared, that if that went over for his Lordſhip, they would immediately throw the Captain into the ſea after it. So the Captain was forced to excuſe his promiſe, and deſired my Lord to have patience mixed in his ſalad; elſe he might chance to get a ſtomach, and want what would ſatisfy it; at leaſt that which he intended ſhould. My Lord received me (in company with Mr. Wilkins) very civilly, entertaining us in diſcourſe near an hour. He is a fair, ruddy, fat, middle ſtatured, handſome man, about 60 years old, mighty affable, (though whence this ſhould proceeed, I will not judge). He told us, he was to go hence to Orleans, and thence to Bourbon, to make uſe of thoſe waters. He ſeemed much troubled with the gout, had only five or ſix attendants, and one Gentleman afforded him by the King of France for his ſafe conduct through his dominions."

[Q] *His* Hiſtory of the Rebellion.] The firſt volume of this work was printed at Oxford in fol. 1702; the ſecond in 1703; and the third in 1704. It has been reprinted ſeveral times ſince in ſix volumes in 8vo. A French tranſlation of it was printed at the Hague in 1704 and 1709 in 12mo. Dr. Henry Felton (24) ſtiles our author "the nobleſt and moſt impartial Hiſtorian this nation hath produced. The

(24) *Diſſertation on reading the Claſſicks and forming a juſt ſtyle*, pag. 220. 4th edit. London 1730.

he wrote ſeveral other works [*R*].

" compaſſion and reſentment of his thoughts, the no-
" ble openneſs and freedom of his reflections, the glo-
" rious debt he pays to friendſhip, and the veil he
" kindly draws over the ſorrows and reproach of his
" country are ſo admirably and well expreſſed in ſuch
" lively colours, that we are ſtruck with ſympathy,
" and do feel by reading, that he wrote from his heart
" under the deepeſt ſenſe and moſt preſent impreſſion
" of the evils he bewaileth. I have met with none,
" that may compare with him in the weight and ſo-
" lemnity of his ſtyle, in the ſtrength and clearneſs
" of diction, in the beauty and majeſty of expreſſion,
" and that noble negligence of phraſe, which maketh
" his words wait every where upon his ſubject, with a
" readineſs and propriety that art and ſtudy are almoſt
" ſtrangers to." The author of the *Critical and Philoſophical Enquiry into the Cauſes of Prodigies and Miracles, as related by Hiſtorians. With an Eſſay towards reſtoring a Method and Purity in Hiſtory*; tells us (25) Ralegh and Hyde " are the only two, whom our na-
" tion has yet produced of an Hiſtoric genius. The
" firſt excelling in grandeur and majeſty of thought,
" equal to the ſubject he undertook: and the latter,
" for his comprehenſive knowledge of mankind, will
" for ever bear the unrivall'd title of the *Chancellor of*
" *Human Nature*. It is the great Hyde, and he alone,
" that in the knowledge of mankind is always clear,
" deep, eaſy and perfect. I make no ſcruple to con-
" feſs, that in the *Hiſtory of the Grand Rebellion* there
" are more offences againſt the truth of compoſition
" than in all the beſt Greek and Roman Hiſtorians
" put together; and think it no difficulty to prove,
" that in that ſingle work there are more and far
" greater excellencies than in the whole body of an-
" tient Hiſtory. It is indeed the only one of Engliſh
" Hiſtory we can glory in; the French boaſt a great
" number of conſiderable writers of their own Hiſtory:
" but to them we may anſwer as the lioneſs in the fable
" did to an ignoble beaſt, who ſet an unreaſonable
" value on the fruitfulneſs of her womb: *It is true,*
" *I bear but one, but that one is a lion.*" With regard to the Charge of this Hiſtory's being interpolated we ſhall refer to the article of ATTERBURY (FRANCIS *), and only add here a memorandum written by the late Thomas Sclater Bacon Eſq; in a folio copy of that Hiſtory now in the poſſeſſion of —— Gill Eſq;

" Eaſter Sunday 1731, Dover-Street.
" Dr. Terry of Chriſt Church in Oxford told my
" Lord Oxford, Lord Duplin, Thomas Harley, Mr.
" Wotton, and me, that he was employed at Weſt-
" minſter-School by Biſhop Sprat about 1693 to read
" the MS. of the *Hiſtory of the Earl of Clarendon*,
" the firſt volume writ by the Earl in a bad hand,
" but all the volumes were fairly writ by his Secre-
" tary. The manuſcript was carried to Oxford, when
" the Biſhop, Dr. Aldrich, Mr. Smallridge, Atter-
" bury, Stratford prepared it for the preſs, and did not
" alter any thing, only particles and parentheſes; and
" the Earl of Rocheſter added about fourteen lines of the
" King's eſcape from the Spaniards to Breda, out of
" his father's MS. and there was omitted by the family
" about the Queen's government, where there is a
" text, *Woe to woman*, &c. He had given an ac-
" count of the Queen's aſking at a Play, who that
" *fat man* was, pointing to Hyde: the King ſaid, *it*
" *was he that did all the miſchief.*" There muſt be ſome miſtakes in this memorandum or in *Biſhop* Atterbury's *Vindication of Biſhop* Smallridge, *Dr.* Aldrich, *and himſelf from the ſcandalous Reflections of* Oldmixon, *relating to the publication of Lord* Clarendon's *Hiſtory*; ſince the Biſhop declares in that piece, that himſelf and Biſhop Smallridge *were not any ways concerned in preparing that Hiſtory for the preſs, nor ever ſaw it till it was in print.*

(25) Part 1. pag. 60, 61, 62. edit. London 1727, in 12mo.

(*) Vol. 2. pag. 445, 446.

[*R*] *He wrote ſeveral other works.*] *Several Speeches in Parliament*, during his Chancellorſhip, from the Reſtoration to the year 1667. They are in number at leaſt ten, and were printed in folio papers. *A full Anſwer to an infamous and traiterous Pamphlet, intitled,* " A Declaration of the Commons of England in Par-
" liament aſſembled, expreſſing the reaſons and grounds
" of paſſing their late reſolutions touching no farther
" addreſs or application to be made to the King." London 1648 in 4to. *The Difference and Diſparity between the Eſtates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Eſſex.* Printed in the *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, London 1672 in 8vo. This piece was written when he was young, and before he had entered on the ſtage of buſineſs. *Animadverſions on a Book intitled,* Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church by D. Stillingfleet, and the Imputation refuted and retorted by S. C. *By a Perſon of Honour.* London 1674 in 8vo. It was printed twice that year. The *Imprimatur* is dated November the 29th 1673. *A Letter to the Duke of York; and another to the Dutcheſs of York*, upon occaſion of her embracing the Roman Catholic Religion. *A brief View and Survey of the dangerous and pernicious Errors to the Church and State in Mr.* Hobbes's *Book, intitled* Leviathan. Oxford 1676 in 4to. The *Imprimatur* by Dr. Ralph Bathurſt, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, is dated July the 1ſt 1676. The Dedication to his Majeſty is dated at Moulins May the 10th 1673. He made likewiſe *Alterations and Additions to a Book, intitled,* " A Collection of the
" Orders heretofore uſed in Chancery." London 1661 in 8vo, done by and with the advice and aſſiſtance of Sir Harbottle Grimſtone Bart. Maſter of the Rolls. His *Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland* was printed at London 1726 in folio. His *Eſſays* were printed there in one volume in fol. T.

☞HYDE (Dr. THOMAS), one of the moſt learned Writers of the ſeventeenth Century, was ſon of Mr. Ralph Hyde, a Miniſter of Billingſley near Bridgnorth in Shropſhire, and deſcended from the Hydes of Norbury in Cheſhire. He was born at Billingſley June the 29th 1636; and having from his youth a ſtrong inclination to the Oriental Languages, began the ſtudy of them under his father; and afterwards in 1652 being admitted a ſtudent in King's College in Cambridge, he became acquainted there with Mr. Abraham Wheelock, who being an admirable Linguiſt, encouraged and promoted him in his ſtudies of the Eaſtern Learning (*a*). After he had continued a little more than a year in that College, Mr. Wheelock ſent him to London, and appointed him one of the correctors of the Polyglot Bible, then about to be publiſhed by Dr. Brian Walton, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, he being the ſole cauſe and contriver of that excellent work. Mr. Hyde, beſides his attendance in the correction of it, he ſet forth the *Perſian Pentateuch*, and aſſiſted in correcting the Arabic, Syriac, and Samaritan Languages in that work, and in collating various copies [*A*]. In 1658 he went to the Univerſity

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 973. 2d edit. London 1721.

[*A*] *He ſet forth the* Perſian Pentateuch, *and aſſiſted in correcting the Arabic, Syriac, and Samaritan languages in that work, and in collating various copies.*] He tranſcribed the *Perſian Pentateuch* out of the Hebrew characters, in which it was firſt printed at Conſtantinople, into the proper Perſian characters, which by Archbiſhop Uſher was then judged impoſſible to have been done by a native Perſian, becauſe one Hebrew letter frequently anſwered to divers Perſian letters, which were difficult to be known. He tranſlated it likewiſe into Latin. What he did further in the Polyglot, is ſpecified in the Preface of it by Dr. Walton in theſe words. *Nec prætereundus eſt D.* Thomas Hyde, *ſummæ ſpei juvenis, qui in Linguis Orientalibus ſupra ætatem*

Univerſity of Oxford, and was admitted a Student of Queen's College, where he was ſoon after made Hebrew Reader. In the beginning of April 1659, Richard Cromwell, then Chancellor of the Univerſity, ſent his letters to the members thereof, which ſay, that "he is of full ſtanding ſince his admiſſion into the Univerſity of Cambridge for the "degree of Maſter of Arts; that he hath given ſuch public teſtimony of his more than "ordinary abilities and learning in the Oriental Languages, &c." Whereupon the Delegates of the Univerſity ordered on the 12th of the ſame month, that "he ſhould ac-"cumulate the degree of Maſter of Arts by reading only a lecture in ſome of thoſe Lan-"guages, and that he ſhould have ſuch fees remitted to him as belong to the Univer-"ſity, &c." This order being confirmed by the Convocation on the ſame day, he was admitted Maſter of Arts the next (*b*), and ſoon after made ſecond Keeper of the Bodleian Library in the room of Henry Stubbe ejected. In 1665 he publiſhed a Latin tranſlation of Ulug-Beig's Obſervations concerning the Longitude and Latitude of the fixed Stars, with notes [*B*]; and in December the ſame year was elected Head-keeper of the Bodleian Library upon the reſignation of Dr. Thomas Lockey (*c*). In October 1666 he was collated to the Prebend of *Yatminſter ſecunda* in the Church of Saliſbury, upon the death of Dr. John Wall (*d*). In 1674 he publiſhed a Catalogue of the printed Books in the Bodleian Library [*C*]. December the 14th 1678 he had the Archdeaconry of Glouceſter, vacant by the death of John Gregory, conferred on him by Dr. John Prichett, Biſhop of that See, whoſe wife was nearly related to the firſt wife of our author (*e*). April the 3d 1682 he was admitted Doctor of Divinity (*f*). December the 22d 1691, he was elected Arabic Profeſſor upon the death of Dr. Edward Pocock (*g*). He publiſhed ſeveral works beſides thoſe already mentioned [*D*]. He

(*b*) Wood, *Ath. Ox.* vol. 2. 974. and *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 126.

(*c*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 974.

(*d*) Le Neve, *Faſti Eccleſ. Anglicanæ.*

(*e*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 974.

(*f*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 219.

(*g*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 974.

ætatem magnos progreſſus fecit, quorum ſpecimina dedit tum in Arabibus, Syriacis, Perſicis, &c. corrigendis, tum in Pentateucho Perſico characteribus Perſicis deſcribendo, qui antea ſolis Hebraicis extitit, ejuſque verſionem Latinam concinnando.

[*B*] *In* 1665 *he publiſhed a Latin Tranſlation of Ulug Beig's Obſervations concerning the Longitude and Latitude of the fixed Stars, with Notes.*] It was printed in 4to under this title: *Verſio Latina e Linguâ Perſicâ, Commentarii in Obſervationes Ulugh-Beigi de Tabulis Longitudinis & Latitudinis Stellarum fixarum.* This is a ſmall part of an Aſtronomical work of Ulug Beig. To this Dr. Hyde has added Mohamedes Tizinus's Tables of the Declenſion and Aſcenſion of the Fixed Stars.

[*C*] *In* 1674 *he publiſhed a catalogue of the printed books in the Bodleian library.*] It was printed at Oxford in folio under the following title: *Catalogus impreſſorum Librorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ in Academiâ Oxonienſi: Curâ & Operâ* Thomæ Hyde *è Coll. Reginæ Oxon. Protobibliothecarii.* The *Imprimatur* is dated November the 26th, 1674. The Dedication to Archbiſhop Sheldon is dated November the 25th 1674.

[*D*] *He publiſhed ſeveral works beſides thoſe already mentioned.*] He publiſhed *Quatuor Evangelia & Acta Apoſtolorum Linguâ Malaicâ, Characteribus Europæis,* at Oxford, 1677, in 4to. His *Epiſtola de Menſuris & Ponderibus Serum ſive Sinenſium, &c.* was printed at the end of Dr. Edward Bernard's book, intitled, *De Menſuris & Ponderibus antiquis Libri tres,* Oxford, 1688, in 8vo. In 1690 he publiſhed at Oxford in 4to, *Annotatiunculæ in Tractatum Alberti Bobovii Turcarum Imp. Mohammedis IV. olim Interpretis primarii de Turcarum Liturgiâ, peregrinatione Meccanâ, Circumciſione, ægrotorum viſitatione, &c. Subjungitur Caſtigatio in Angelum a Sancto Joſepho, Carmelitarum diſcalceatorum in Perſide præfectum olim generalem.* In 1691 he publiſhed at Oxford in 4to, *Itinera Mundi, ſic dicta nempe Coſmographia, autore Abrahamo Peritſol; cum verſione & notis Thomæ Hyde.* At the end of this book he has reprinted the two pieces abovementioned, viz. *Tractatus Alberti Bobovii de Turcarum Liturgiâ, &c.* and *Caſtigatio in Angelum a Sancto Joſepho.* In 1694 he publiſhed at Oxford in 8vo, *De Ludis Orientalibus Libri duo, &c.* The firſt book is divided into two parts; the firſt of which parts contains *Mandragorias, ſeu Hiſtoria Shahiludii, &c.* in Latin; and the ſecond part *Hiſt. Shahiludii, &c.* in Hebrew and Latin. This *Hiſtoria Shahiludii* had been publiſhed by itſelf at Oxford, 1689, in 8vo. The ſecond book contains *Hiſtoria Nerdiludii, hoc eſt dicere, Trunculorum, &c.* He wrote likewiſe *In Hiſtoriam Plantarum Oxonienſium Annotationes Nominum ſingularum Plantarum Linguâ Arabicâ & Perſicâ & Turcicâ,* publiſhed by Jacob Bobart in his *Hiſtoria Plantarum,* at Oxford, 1699, in 4to. Mr. Wood tells us (1), that in 1694, he had ready for the preſs *Hiſtoriæ Ægypti naturalis curioſæ de Animalibus, Plantis, &c. Compendium, Arabicè & Latinè, cum Iconibus & Notis,* in 8vo. *Chinnuch ſeu Catechiſmus Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Hebraicè verſus, cum Notis,* in 8vo. *Hiſtoria Religionis Veterum Perſarum eorumque Magorum, cum Zoroaſtris Vitâ & præceptis, ejuſque de Chriſti Vaticinium. Una cum Specimine veteris Linguæ & Scripturæ Perſicæ jam poſtliminio reſtituendæ.* This was printed at Oxford in 1700 in 4to, under the following title: *Hiſtoria Religionis Veterum Perſarum eorumque Magorum. Ubi etiam nova Abrahami, & Mithræ, & Veſtæ, & Manethis Hiſtoria, &c. atque Angelorum Officia & Præfecturæ ex Veterum Perſarum ſententiâ. Item Perſarum annus antiquiſſimus tangitur, is τῦ Gjemſhîd detegitur, verus τῦ Yeſdegherd de novâ proditur, is τῦ Melicſhâh, is τῦ Selgjûk & τῦ Chorzemſhâd notatur, & is τῆς Katâ & τῆς Oigbûr explicatur. Zoroaſtris vita ejuſque & aliorum vaticinia de Meſſiah è Perſarum aliorumque monumentis eruuntur: Primitivæ opiniones de Deo & de Hominum Origine reſerantur; originale Orientalis Sibyllæ Myſterium recluditur, atque Magorum Liber Sad-dor (Zoroaſtris præcepta ſeu Religionis Canones continens) è Perſico traductus exhibetur. Dantur Veterum Perſarum Scripturæ & Linguæ (ut hæ jam primò Europæ producantur & litterato Orbi poſtliminio reddantur) Specimina. De Perſiæ ejuſdemque Linguæ Nominibus, deque hujus Dialectis & à moderna differentiis ſtrictim agitur. Auctor eſt Thomas Hyde, S. T. D. Ling. Hebraicæ in Univerſitate Oxon. Profeſſor Regius, & Ling. Arabicæ Profeſſ. Laudianus. Præmiſſo Capitum Elencho; accedunt Icones, & Appendix variarum Diſſertationum.* This work is dedicated to John Lord Somers, Baron of Eveſham. It is divided into thirty five chapters; to which is ſubjoined a large appendix containing ſeveral diſſertations. It appears from the title, that Dr. Hyde's deſign is not to give us a plan of the religion of the modern Perſians, which is to be found in the Koran, the Mahometan being the eſtabliſhed religion in Perſia now. In the firſt chapter he diſtinguiſhes the Perſians into antient and modern. The antient Perſians had a religion intirely different from that of the modern, and it has been ſtill preſerved among ſome of their deſcendants. The modern Perſians are a mixture of ſeveral different nations, Saracens, Tartars, Parthians, Medes, old Perſians become Mahometans, and women of Georgia and other countries tranſplanted into Perſia, who have formed a language compounded of thoſe of all theſe different nations. Our author, before he enters into particulars, gives us in this firſt chapter a general idea of the religion of theſe antient Perſians. There are ſome ſtill who profeſs it, both in Perſia and India, and lived ſeparately from the reſt as much as poſſible, and eat only with thoſe of their own religion, in order to preſerve their purity. This religion has paſſed through three different ſtates. The

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 975.

He died in the middle of February $170\frac{2}{3}$.

firſt was a ſtate of purity; thoſe, who profeſſed it, worſhipped only the true God, of whom they had very juſt notions, which they had received from their anceſtors Shem and Elam. The ſecond ſtate is that, in which Sabaiſm was mixed with the knowledge and worſhip of the true God. They did not indeed worſhip the ſun and the planets; but they had too much reverence for thoſe ſtars, and fell into ſuperſtition in that reſpect. Abraham oppoſed, with the utmoſt vigour, all kinds of falſe worſhip, and all the ſuperſtitions of his age; and as the Perſians highly revere that Patriarch, and acknowledge that they received their religion from him, Dr. Hyde is perſuaded, that Abraham reduced them from their errors, and reſtored amongſt them the worſhip of the true God in all its purity. But they afterwards fell back into their former ſuperſtitions, though without loſing the knowledge of the true God, whoſe ſervice they were always ſo jealous of, that they abominated all adoration of images. The third ſtate of the religion of the antient Perſians is, when in imitation of the fire preſerved upon the altar in the temple of Jeruſalem, they kept likewiſe a perpetual fire upon an altar; which cuſtom was obſerved likewiſe by the Greeks and Romans. This gave occaſion to the common opinion, that the antient Perſians worſhipped fire; but our author endeavours to juſtify them from that imputation. He owns, that they regarded this fire as a thing ſacred, and paid to it a kind of ſervice, which he calls *Pyrodulia*; but he denies, that they ever paid to it a proper adoration, which he ſtiles *Pyrolatria*. We are not to be ſurprized, that practices have been imputed to theſe people, which they never obſerved. It is very difficult to know thoroughly their religion, ſince Zoroaſter their great Prophet has expreſly prohibited them to inſtruct ſtrangers in it, or in their language. However our author having deſired one of his friends, who lived in Perſia, to inform himſelf of the prieſts of that religion, concerning the worſhip paid by them to *Mithra*, which is the ſun; they anſwered, that they did not pay any divine worſhip to it, or to the moon, or to the ſtars; but only turned towards the ſun, when they prayed, becauſe the nature of it nearly reſembles that of fire. They regarded it likewiſe as the image of God; and ſome of them have ſaid, that God reſides in it, and others have imagined, that it will be the ſeat of the bleſſed. Theſe are the true grounds of their reſpect for the ſun: but this reſpect does not go ſo far as adoration, It is the ſame caſe with regard to fire: when they are aſked, whether they worſhip it, they conſtantly deny it, affirming, that they worſhip God alone. But as they had a great reſpect for their ſacred fire, if any one of them was obliged to take an oath, he uſed to do it before this fire burning upon an altar; as the Jews did before the altar at Jeruſalem, upon which there was fire. It was likewiſe the cuſtom of the Pagan Arabians, who when they ſuſpected, that the perſon, who was about to ſwear, would take a falſe oath, they privately caſt ſalt into the fire, in order to ſtrike a terror upon him by the crackling noiſe, which it made. As the Jews burnt their ſacrifices in the ſacred fire, the Perſians did the ſame, imagining that the ſacrifices would not pollute the fire like other prophane things; but if any perſon threw filth, or ſpit into it, it was a crime worthy of death. The Kings of Perſia, and other wealthy perſons, ſometimes caſt into the fire pearls, ſpices and precious oils, in order to nouriſh the flames more delicately, and this they called *Fire-Feaſts*. But they did this to the honour of God, and referred to him ultimately all that they did with reſpect to the fire, or by means of it. But this was not the only element, which they ſhewed their reverence to; for they reſpected the air, water, and earth, and conſidered them as the principles of all things. They had and ſtill have *Curators* of theſe four elements, who are employed to take care of the waters, the rivers, and fountains, to prevent as much as poſſible the air from being infected with any ſtink, the fire from being polluted with any filth, or the earth with any dead body. It is out of regard to the earth, that they do not bury their dead; and for fear of infecting the air, they keep crows and vultures, to devour the corpſes, which have no other tombs than the entrails of theſe birds of prey. It was for the ſame reaſon, that Numa appointed, that the Veſtals ſhould take care of the four elements; ſo that the word *Veſta* is ſometimes uſed for fire, and ſometimes for the earth. The Veſtals were alſo obliged to look after the fountain of the Muſes near their Temple. The Perſians abominate all noxious animals, and on the contrary have a prodigious eſteem for a dog and a cock. Zoroaſter expreſly commands them to maintain dogs; and they are ſo fond of cocks, becauſe they are a kind of living clocks, that they would expoſe themſelves to the ſevereſt pains rather than cut off the head of one of theſe animals. Hence it is, that Ariſtophanes calls a cock *the bird of Perſia* or *Media*; and there are ſuch a vaſt number of them in thoſe countries that our travellers ſcarce eat any thing elſe; and from hence that uſeful bird has been propagated over the whole world. In the ſecond chapter our author mentions how the Perſians boaſt of having received their religion from Abraham, which gives him occaſion to repreſent the hiſtory of the life of that Patriarch, to examine into his true ſentiments with regard to religion, and to compare them with thoſe of the Perſians. He explains in a quite new manner divers Chaldee words, the true ſignification of which was before unknown. He ſhews, that Abraham became famous over the whole world, and that God's command to him to offer up his ſon, which the Pagans imagined to have been executed, led them to think, that in order to obtain ſome ſignal favour from heaven, the ſureſt way was to offer up one of their children to God. The Indian idolaters ſtiled their chief prieſt *Brahma* or *Brahama*, which is nothing elſe but the name of *Abraham*. This Patriarch, according to the Jews and Eaſtern people, whoſe opinion our author does not diſapprove of, lived in the time of *Nimrod*, who was the *Ninus* of the Pagans, and was the ſon of *Cuſh*. The latter lived in the territory of Babylon; but Chaldea being too ſmall for his deſcendants, they removed into the neighbouring country, and ſettled there. This country was called at firſt from their father's name *the land of Cuſh*, and afterwards *the land of Havilah*, and it had the name of *Arabia* from *Yaarab*, the ſon of *Joktan*; who dwelt in that country, and poſſeſſed it. From this remark and ſome others Dr. Hyde concludes, that it is a miſtake to underſtand *Ethiopia* to be the *land of Cuſh* mentioned in ſcripture; ſince the word is not taken in that ſenſe in any part of the Bible, but always ſignifies the territory of Babylon, or Arabia. There are ſeveral other curious obſervations in this chapter. Some authors are of opinion, that Abraham was educated from his birth in the true religion, which was that of Eber, one of his anceſtors; but Dr. Hyde thinks the common notion more probable, viz that Abraham was at firſt an idolater, but afterwards converted to the knowledge of the true God, by the particular interpoſition of heaven. It is impoſſible to ſay at what age he was converted. The opinion of the Perſians, who aſſert, that he was then fifteen years of age, or that of Cedrenus, who tells us that he was twenty four years old, is not diſapproved by our author; who makes a great many other curious remarks upon Abraham, and upon his father Terah, his country, actions, &c. In the third chapter Dr. Hyde examines more particularly into the religion of the Perſians, and ſhews in what it agreed and what it ſtill agrees in with that of Abraham. He treats alſo of the Sabaites and their religion. The Perſians knew the hiſtory of the creation of the world, having learned it from the Jews, or from Zoroaſter; and they kept it more pure than any other nation. As Moſes has ſaid nothing of the creation of good or bad angels, the Perſians have likewiſe omitted it. Our author is of opinion, that though angels are created beings, and conſequently not ſo antient as their Creator, yet it is not to be doubted, but that they exiſted an infinite time before the creation of the world, and are ſo antient, that it is impoſſible for the mind of man to form a juſt idea of their duration; "for it is not, *ſays he*, pious or fit to imagine, that God was at any time without miniſters; "and we ought to believe, that he had always angels "ready to ſerve, and diſpoſed at all times to execute "his

HYPERIUS (ANDREW (GERARD) a celebrated Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity, was born at Ypres in Flanders May the 16th 1511. It is from his native place he

" his commands." *Quamvis Angeli ſint Creaturæ, adeoque non antiquitate æquales ſint cum ſuo Creatore; nullum tamen eſt dubium quin extiterint infinito tempore ante Creationem mundi, & ſint tantæ antiquitatis, quæ ſit ultra humanæ mentis vires conceptionemque rite conſiderare aut perpendere; quod piè credendum eſt, cum non ſit pium aut decorum imaginari Deum ullo unquam tempore fuiſſe Miniſtris deſtitutum, ſed ſemper habuiſſe Angelos miniſtrantes, qui ad nutum ipſius divinum juſſa præſtare conſtanter omni tempore parati fuerint* (2). Our author ſuppoſes likewiſe, that the apoſtate angels tranſgreſſed before the creation of the world, though not long before it. He thinks, that as the Perſians were deſcended from Shem, they received alſo from him the knowledge of the true God, though they fell afterwards into a kind of Sabaiſm, like the reſt of the world. They were recovered from their errors by Abraham; upon which account they gave the name of that Patriarch to their religion, calling it *the Religion of Abraham*. He conquered *Chedorlaomer*, King of Perſia; and it is probable, that this Prince and his allies, embraced the religion of the conqueror; and that this example was followed by the ſubjects of theſe Princes, as the people generally follow the religion of their governors. With regard to the Sabaites, the Doctor informs us, that this is not the name of a particular nation, as that of the *Sabeans*, who were called ſo from *Saba*, a city in Arabia Felix. It is the name of a ſect diſperſed over ſeveral nations, who worſhipped ſtars and idols. The Arabians have not ſucceeded in the origin of this name, ſince they imagined, that the word *Sabaa* ſignified *to change one's religion*. The word *Sabaite* comes from the Hebrew צבא, *Saba*, which ſignifies troops or an army or hoſt; and the name of *Sabaites* was given to thoſe, who worſhipped the hoſt of heaven, that is, the ſtars. There were two kinds of Sabaites, one of whom worſhipped the ſtars, and the other idols. The former were of two kinds; viz. the Greek Sabaites, who chiefly addreſſed their devotion to the planets; and the Indian Sabaites, who addreſſed it to the fixed ſtars. The Doctor corrects here ſeveral profane writers, who have ſpoken very differently and confuſedly of the religion of the Perſians, and rectifies their accounts by diſtinguiſhing the times. He agrees with Herodotus and Strabo, that there was a time, when the Perſians had neither temples nor altars. It was when they addreſſed their prayers only to the planets or to God, to procure their propitious influences. But when they began to build certain places, in which to keep the ſacred fire, and which the Doctor calls *Pyrea*, they began likewiſe to have altars, upon which they ſometimes offered ſacrifices. It is not abſolutely true, what thoſe Authors have written, that the Perſians had no Images, ſince *Giemſhid*, one of their Kings, is accuſed of idolatry, and ſince towards the end of their Empire they worſhiped Venus in Temples appointed for that purpoſe, where that Goddeſs had her Prieſts and Prieſteſſes. Herodotus relates, that there was a law at Babylon, which ordered, that the women ſhould come once in their lives to the Temple of Venus, and proſtitute themſelves to the firſt paſſenger who would have any commerce with them; and that they could not refuſe this. The richer ſort went in a chariot with a magnificent equipage. When they were once come to the Temple, they were obliged not to return, till ſome paſſenger had pity on them. Thoſe who were handſome, continues Herodotus, returned ſoon, but ſome ordinary women ſtay'd ſeveral years before they received their paſſport. Dr. Hyde obſerves, that he had not read any where, that the Perſians had any other ſtatues but that of Venus. The *fourth* chapter is deſigned to prove againſt the Greek and Latin Writers, that the ſervice paid to *Mithra*, or the Sun, was not a divine adoration, properly ſo called. The *fifth* chapter contains a kind of digreſſion upon the modern *Sabaiſm*, and the idolatry of the Nations, who made Idols under the influences of the Planets. In the *ſixth* chapter we ſee the care which the antient Perſians took of the water and fire; for though they endeavoured to preſerve the purity of all the four elements, yet they took a more particular care of the water and fire, ſince theſe two elements were moſt obnoxious to pollution. They believed, that there was an Angel eſpecially appointed to guard the water, and called him *Ardiſûr*, or *Arduiſûr*. They celebrated his praiſes, and deſired him to continue in his office. The *ſeventh* chapter treats of the Goddeſs *Veſta*, adored by the Greeks and Romans. The *eighth* chapter treats of the Goddeſs *Veſta* of the Perſians, and the care which the *Magi*, their Prieſts, took to preſerve the fire. Theſe Prieſts were obliged to be married, becauſe among thoſe people it was meritorious with regard both to this world and that which is to come, to increaſe the number of the faithful by propagating the ſpecies. The Doctor is of opinion, that the Perſians uſed to maintain the ſacred fire long before the reformation of their religion by Zoroaſter. Hence it follows, that before his time they had likewiſe covered places in the form of Temples, ſince they could not otherwiſe have preſerved the fire. Zoroaſter only augmented the number, as our Author proves. There is ſtill extant a Perſian book, intitled, *Gjâvidân Chrad*, i. e. *The Eternal Wiſdom*, which is older than all the writings of Zoroaſter, and aſcribed to one of their Kings named Hûſhang. This book proves evidently, that the people of thoſe times worſhiped the only true God. The ſame appears from ſome other books cited by the Doctor. The *ninth* chapter treats of the two principles of all things, according to the notions of the Perſians; of the names given to them; and of their opinions with regard to the Deity and the creation of all things. They eſtabliſhed two principles; the firſt of theſe which is ſingle and eternal, the Author and Principle of all good, is God, whom they called *Yezàd*, *Izàd*, or *Izid*, that is, *He who ought to be pray'd to*. They called him likewiſe *Ormùzd*, or *Hormùz*, or *Hormizda*, and by joining a more modern name, *Hormizda Choda*, that is, *O great God*, or, *O ſupreme God*. It is from this word, that the Greeks formed that of *Oromaſdes*. Beſides this Principle they laid down another created one, which they ſuppoſed to be the Principle of Evil, and called it *Ahâriman*, *Ahreman*, *Ahrîman*, and ſometimes in poetry *Ahrimanân*; whence the Greeks, who wrote the Hiſtory of Perſia, took their Ἀρειμάνιος. This word is compounded of two others, which are ſynonymous, and ſignify *impure*, *polluted*; ſo that theſe two words being joined ſignify *very impure*, and *very much polluted*. In their antient books, to ſhew the abhorrence which they had to the Demon, whom they called by this name, they wrote it in an inverted manner, thus: *uvuıuvqy*. With reſpect to the Creation, the Perſians taught with the ſcriptures, that it was performed in ſix ſpaces of time. But they pretend, that they are not ſimple days, and that by a day we are to underſtand the ſpace of ſeveral days. Here is the manner in which they divide theſe ſix periods of time, and the names which they give to them. They called the firſt *Mid-yûzeram*, containing the ſpace of forty five days, in which God created the Heavens. The ſecond was called *Mid-yûſham*, containing ſixty days, employed in creating the waters. The third was called *Pîtiſhahim*, and comprehends ſeventy five days, in which the earth was created. The fourth was called *Jyaſeram*, and contains thirty days, in which the trees were produced. The fifth was called *Midiyârim*, and comprehends eighty days, during which all the creatures were made. An Author cited by the Doctor tells us, that in this fifth period God created the beaſts and Birds, namely an hundred and ſeventy two kinds of beaſts, and an hundred and ten kinds of birds. The ſixth period was called *Hamſpitámidîm*, and contains ſeventy five days, in which Man was created. All theſe periods together make three hundred and ſixty five days, which form one year. According to the Perſians, the creation began about May, and ended in the ſame Month; ſo that Adam, when he roſe from the hands of God, ſaw the whole earth covered with fruits. Zoroaſter appointed, that for each of theſe ſix periods employed in the Creation, there ſhould be obſerved five feſtival days. In the *ninth* chapter our Author treats of the origin of mankind, of the deluge, of divers imaginary terreſtrial Paradiſes, of Moſes

(2) Pag. 82, 83.

he took the name under which he is known (*a*). His father, who was a Civilian, and had already ſent him to ſtudy in ſeveral places, finding his end drawing near in the year 1528

(*a*) The City of *Ypres* hae been called *Hyperæ* by ſeveral authors. Beza calls it thus in *Iconibus*, and ſays, *Andreas Gerardus a Patria Hyperius fuit cognominatus.*

and Solomon; and ſhews, that the religion of the ancient Perſians agrees in many points with that of the Jews, and was derived from it. Thoſe people believed, that Adam and Eve were the ſtock, from whence mankind deſcended, though ſome among them gave our firſt parents different names. They believed an univerſal deluge, which covered the whole earth. But all were not of this opinion; ſome denied the deluge; others ſaid, that it was not univerſal, and that it did not riſe above the top of a mountain near *Hulvan*, a City upon the frontiers of Aſſyria and Perſia. The Perſians have ſpoken of divers terreſtrial Paradiſes, and ſometimes given different names to the ſame place. This was occaſioned becauſe the true ſituation of the Garden of Eden was uncertain. Some fixed it at Jeruſalem, others at other places. The Perſians had ſome knowledge of Moſes, whom they ſtiled *the ruddy Shepherd, who holds a ſtaff*; becauſe he was a ſhepherd when he lived with *Jethro* his father-in-law; and becauſe he performed all his miracles in Egypt and the Wilderneſs by means of his rod. They had knowledge alſo of Solomon, whom they called *Gjem*, which is likewiſe the name of one of their Kings. The *eleventh*, *twelfth*, and *thirteenth* chapters contain the names and attributes, which they gave to God, to Angels, and to the Devil. In the ſeven following chapters the Doctor treats of the year, and the different epochas of the antient Perſians and other Nations, and of the names of the Angels, whom they imagined to preſide over every month of the year. The antient Perſian year was Solar, and not Lunar; but as it conſiſted only of twelve months of thirty days each, it did not anſwer exactly to the time in which the ſun paſſes through the ecliptic; by which means the beginning of their year anſwered ſucceſſively to all the degrees of the ſigns of the zodiac, and ran through all the ſeaſons, till after a revolution of 1460 years it returned to the ſame point, where it had begun. King *Giemſhid* leaving this manner of eſtimating time for civil purpoſes, eſtabliſhed another for religion, in order that in a certain period of time the ſame feſtivals might come together at the ſame ſeaſon of the year. For this purpoſe he ordered, that at the end of 120 years there ſhould be an intercalation of a whole Month, which ſhould receive its name from the month after which it was intercalated. *Yeſdegherd* eſtabliſhed another epocha; and ordered the years to be computed from the beginning of his reign, and fixed the beginning of the year at March, from which it was very different when that Prince began his reign. He aboliſhed the names of the Angels, which the months bore, and gave them natural names, taken from the ſeaſon prevailing in each month. He altered alſo the names of the days, and gave them ſuch as were taken from ſome remarkable event; calling one, for inſtance, *abundance of riches*, another by a name which expreſſed ſome great rejoycing upon it, another from the revenge which he had taken of ſome of his enemies, from ſome battle, or other ſingular event. He aboliſhed in conſequence of this all the feaſts and divine ſervice obſerved on certain days; ſo that in his Calendar there was no feſtival but that of the new year. But *Yeſdegherd* reigning but twenty years, the Perſians, who had not forgotten their ceremonies, returned after his death to their old method of computation, reſtoring to the months and days the names which they had before the reign of that Prince. It is a miſtake therefore of ſeveral Eaſtern and European Writers to call this ancient epocha the epocha of *Yeſdegherd*, ſince on the contrary that epocha was aboliſhed by that Prince, who eſtabliſhed another, which continued no longer than his reign. It appears, that the ancient Perſians did not know the diſtinction of the year into weeks, but that they divided it only into twelve equal parts; and all the days of the months had their particular names, as thoſe of the weeks have with us. Dr. Hyde gives us alſo an explanation of the epocha's of the Tartars and Chineſe; and in the *nineteenth* and *twentieth* chapters he mentions the different offices aſcribed to the Angels by the Perſians; and obſerves, that the ancient and modern Perſians, as well as the Mahometans, imagined, that every man has two Angels attending him, one good, the other bad. In the *twenty firſt* and *twenty ſecond* chapters he treats of the Legiſlators of the ancient Perſians, of the ſtate of their primitive and orthodox Church, of the hereſies, ſects, and heretics among them, and particularly of *Manes*, *Mazdek*, and ſome others. After Abraham, their oldeſt Legiſlator was Zoroaſter, who lived in the time of Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and aſſuming the character of a Prophet, after ſome difficulty procured the King to approve his religion, who eſtabliſhed it in his dominions. It was the ancient religion purged from Sabaiſm, with the addition of ſome particular rites and ceremonies. This religion is retained by many of the Perſians to this day. The works of Zoroaſter, which contain divers precepts relating to doctrine and manners, are in the ſame eſteem with them, as the Bible with Chriſtians. However if we judge by the Book, a tranſlation of which is ſubjoined to our Author's work, among ſeveral good rules of morality there are a great number of ſuperſtitious and trifling things. The religion of Zoroaſter did not always continue in the ſame ſtate; it ſuffer'd ſeveral changes, as particularly under the reign of Alexander the Great, who conquered Perſia, and under ſome other Princes. King *Ardeſhîr Babecân*, who reigned two hundred years after Chriſt, called together a kind of Council, in order to conſult the Prieſts of his dominions upon ſeveral important points of religion, and by this means cleared it from ſeveral errors, with which it had been before in a manner diſfigured. This reformation was brought about by the aſſiſtance of a certain Legiſlator named *Erdaviráph*. But it did not long continue; for *Manes* propagated his monſtrous notions over Perſia, where he was born. In the *twenty third* chapter Dr. Hyde gives us an account of the life of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*; and in the *twenty fourth* that of Zoroaſter. He obſerves, that his true name is *Zerduſht*, that of *Zoroaſter* being invented by the Greeks, who, in order to accommodate foreign names to their own language, have generally diſfigured them in ſuch a manner, that it is almoſt impoſſible to gueſs at the true name. They have likewiſe often given the ſame name to different perſons, on account of ſome reſemblance; and this has happened upon the preſent occaſion; ſo that there are almoſt as many Zoroaſters as there were Hercules's. But the Perſians ſpeak only of one, and agree about the age in which he lived, though they differ about his country. Some relate, that he came from China, and others from Europe, by which perhaps they mean Paleſtine, which is not far diſtant from it. The moſt certain opinion is, that he was born in Perſia, but that his father being poor, he became ſervant to the Prophet Eſdras, and ſeeing his maſter working divers miracles, he was induced to attempt the ſame, or, at leaſt, to pretend it, in order to eſtabliſh a new religion, or to reform that, which was already eſtabliſhed. Monſieur Bernard (3) remarks in his account of our Author's Book, that he does not find that Eſdras ever worked any miracles; but that if Zoroaſter really was a ſervant of his, we may aſſert with greater probability, that he learned of that Prophet all the miracles which Moſes and the other Prophets performed. Dr. Hyde gives a long account of the artifices made uſe of by Zoroaſter to attain his end. He ſpent but four or five years in digeſting and propagating his doctrines; and then was killed together with eighty other Prieſts. But it is probable, that before he undertook his reformation, he wrote and prepared a conſiderable number of books, which he publiſhed afterwards. Our Author rejects what the Greeks have written concerning his Death. He employs his *twenty fifth* chapter in explaining the general name of *Zend* or *Zendaveſtâ*, which Zoroaſter gave to his work. The word *Zend* in Arabic, and that of *Eſbta* Hebræo-

(3) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Mars 1701, pag. 252.

1528 ordered his wife to ſend him to Paris, that he might continue his ſtudies there. This was done accordingly. Hyperius ſtudied Philoſophy three years following in the College

Hebræo-Chaldaick, and ſignifies *Fire*; ſo that we may tranſlate the word *Zendaveſtâ*, an *Inſtrument to ſtrike fire with*; Zoroaſter intimating by this, that the deſign of his works was to kindle the fire of zeal and piety in the hearts of men. In the *twenty ſixth* chapter the Doctor treats particularly of Zoroaſter's books, and of the language and character in which they are written. The original of *Zendaveſta* was written upon twelve ſkins in the Perſian language, but in ancient characters, not underſtood by all the modern Perſians. All his works are in proſe; ſo that whatever is in verſe, and aſcribed to him, is abſolutely ſpurious. It is true, that ſome Perſian Prieſts have tranſlated into verſe a ſmall part of their Legiſlator's writings, becauſe the people did not underſtand the language of the original; but they did not begin to do it till two hundred years ago, and the ancient Perſians never undertook any thing of that kind. In the *twenty ſeventh* chapter our Author treats of the nature of fire, the manner of keeping it among the Perſians, the ſignal uſed to call them to the public aſſemblies, their manner of behaving in their Temples, their uſe of rods in divine ſervice, their daily repeating of their prayers in a low voice, and their ſilence. In the city of Nuſſari in India, the followers of Zoroaſter aſſemble at the ſound of a little bell; but at Iſpahan, the capital of Perſia, they know the proper times of aſſembling without any ſignal, or by only making uſe of a large piece of wood, which they ſtrike; and this they do to avoid offending the Mahometans, who will not permit the uſe of bells, becauſe they were invented by the Chriſtians. When the Perſians pray, they place themſelves at a ſmall diſtance from the fire, which burns in their great Temples, for fear of polluting it with their breath; but in ſmall Temples there is only a lamp. For the greater precaution, they cover their mouth with a ſquare piece of linnen called *Panâm*. They pray with a low voice, and only murmur between their teeth. The Prieſt advances nearer to the fire; he has alſo his mouth covered, and a cap with ears on his head, and is covered with an Albe, holding in one hand a book, and in the other ſeveral white rods. He chants likewiſe the prayers, and recites the office taken from the book *Zend*. Sometimes in the warmth of devotion he ſtands upon one foot, in imitation of their great Prophet. After prayers follow the offerings. Every perſon who is able caſts into the fire precious ointments, ſpices, pearls, or at leaſt corn or fleſh. In the *twenty eighth* chapter our Author treats of the Prieſthood and Hierarchy of the *Magi*, at the time when their church was in its flouriſhing ſtate, and even at preſent. He tells us, that this Hierarchy was not much different from that, which ſubſiſts now in thoſe Chriſtian Churches, in which the ſeveral ſacred orders are diſtinguiſhed. The Clergy were formerly very rich, but they are in very different circumſtances now under the oppreſſion of the Mahometans. The revenue of the Prieſts conſiſts chiefly of this, that upon the 24th of April all the inhabitants of a Pariſh extinguiſh the fire in their houſes, and go to light it again by the fire of their Prieſt, paying him each of them for this purpoſe about ſix ſhillings and three pence. They likewiſe pay tythes. In the *twenty ninth* and *thirtieth* chapters the Author treats further of the fire; mentions the names given it by the Perſians; and ſpeaks of the Temples built to preſerve it in, of the manner in which the *Magi* behave in them, of the reproachful names given by the Mahometans to the followers of Zoroaſter, of thoſe given to each other; of their Prieſthood, their ſeveral ſacred orders, and the particular names given them, and of the habits of the Prieſts. In the *thirty firſt* chapter he diſcourſes of the Perſian *Magi* in general, and particularly of thoſe who came to worſhip Chriſt immediately after his birth. The Perſians by the word *Mogh* mean their Wiſe Men and Prieſts. The Chaldeans have taken from this their word *Mag*, and the Greeks adding their termination have changed it into Μάγος, which ſignifies, not a Magician, but a Philoſopher, or Wiſe Man. Such where thoſe who came to Bethlehem, and not Kings, as is commonly ſaid without any foundation. Dr. Hyde thinks after Petavius, that they came from Perſia, and not from Arabia, which they only paſſed through, or, to ſpeak more exactly, from the Country of the Parthians, where there was the ſame religion and Magi as in Perſia, and where the ſeat of the Empire was at the birth of Chriſt. The Prince, who ſent theſe Magi, permitted them to come, was the ſame *Phraates*, the ſon of *Orodes*, who ſent his four ſons to Rome to be educated there, who did homage to Auguſtus, and reſtored to the Romans the enſigns, which his father Orodes had taken from Craſſus. The Goſpel, according to Dr. Hyde, and divers learned Writers, informs us, that the birth of Chriſt was revealed to the Perſians. They had this advantage over many other Nations, as well that the Chriſtian Revelation might be immediately known in the moſt diſtant places, as becauſe the Perſians were the only people, except the Jews, who had preſerved the knowledge and worſhip of the true God, though mixed with ſome ſuperſtitions. What the Prophet Iſaiah foretold concerning Cyrus two hundred years before the birth of that Prince, is a ſufficient proof of the particular regard which God had for the Perſians. But whence could theſe Magi learn, that a Meſſiah was to be born among the Jews? Daniel and ſome other Prophets had been in their Country. Beſides we find ſome Predictions in the writings of their pretended Prophet Zoroaſter, who was ſometimes inſpired by God, as Balaam had been before. Add to this, that the prophecies of the Old Teſtament were not unknown to them. In the *thirty ſecond* chapter our Author ſhews the original of all the fabulous ſtories relating to the Sibyls and the books aſcribed to them; and in the *thirty third* chapter he gives a ſhort account of the religion of the ancient Perſians. He ſhews, that they conſtantly believed one God, almighty and eternal, poſſeſſed of all perfections which Chriſtians aſcribe to him. They believe an univerſal reſurrection both of the good and bad, and a laſt judgment, in which every one will receive according to his works; the good a life of eternal Happineſs, and the vicious an eternity of miſery; God having prepared for the former a Paradiſe of Chryſtal, and for the latter an Abyſs to plunge them into. They believe, that they offend God every day, but they proteſt, that they repent of all their ſins, both of mind and body, by their thoughts, words, and actions. They believe, that God has given the government of cities and provinces to Planets and Angels. That they are ſent for the good or puniſhment of mankind, when he thinks proper. That every man has his good and evil Angel, the former of whom inclines him to virtue, and the latter to evil. That the Devil is an irreconcileable enemy to Mankind. That God favours certain perſons with an infuſed Light, which qualifies them to govern other men, and to become ſkilful in arts and ſciences. The good likewiſe receive ſuch a light. But Dr. Hyde is of opinion, that this ſignifies only natural light or reaſon. The Perſians believe, that in the life to come the vicious will be tormented with different kinds of puniſhment; but inſtead of fire they ſpeak of darkneſs, and a black ſtinking river, the waters of which are cold as ſnow; and ſuppoſe them to be formed of tears ſhed for the dead, and which ſerve only to enhance their puniſhment. They have not all the ſame notions concerning the place of happineſs; ſome have fixed it in the ſun, with the Manicheans and other heretics; others have imagined, that after the reſurrection the bleſſed will live upon the earth, which ſhall be renewed, after having paſſed through a conflagration. They ſpeak likewiſe of a bridge built upon the abyſs, over which the ſouls ſeparated from the bodies are to paſs into the ſeat of immortality; and they mention ſeveral other ſtrange things related by our author. In the *thirty fourth* chapter he treats of the marriage of the Perſians; of their baptiſms and ablutions; and of their funeral rites. In the laſt chapter he treats of the names of Perſia and the Perſians; and of their antient and modern language, and its different dialects, that is, of the language of the Perſians, Medes, and other people of Aſia. To theſe thirty five chapters is ſubjoined a Latin tranſlation of a book uſed

College of Calvi; and after he had taken a little journey to Ypres, he returned to Paris in the year 1532, and ſtudied Divinity there till the year 1535. He went afterwards to Louvain, and then he travelled through ſeveral Provinces of the Low-Countries and of Germany; which rendered ineffectual the pains his friends had taken to procure him a living without his knowledge; for as ſoon as it was repreſented to Carondilet Archbiſhop of Palermo and Chancellor to the Emperor, that he had travelled in Germany, this rendered him ſo much ſuſpected of hereſy, that he was obliged to think of a ſanctuary. He went into England, and lived above four years with an Engliſh Nobleman, who was a lover of learning [*A*]. He croſſed the ſea again in 1541, and deſigned to viſit the Univerſity of Straſburg, and particularly to ſee Bucer, who made that Univerſity very famous. But as he paſſed through the country of Heſſe, he met at Marpurg with a Profeſſor of Divinity, named Geldenhaur, who was one of his friends, and who in order to keep him there, gave him hopes of ſome employment in the Univerſity of that city. He ſettled there, and ſoon after ſucceeded his friend, who died in January 1542. He continued two years in that employment without marrying. But thinking that he could not live any longer comfortably without a wife, eſpecially becauſe he was not very well in health (a reaſon which would have hindred a great many other perſons from entering into the marriage ſtate) in the year 1544 he married (*b*) a widow, by whom he got ſix ſons and four daughters. He died at Marpurg February the 1ſt 1564, having acquitted himſelf

(*b*) *Animum ad matrimonium adjecit, quod non putaret ſe commode ſine uxore, maxime cum non ita firma valetudine eſſet, vitam tranſigere poſſe.* Melchior Adam. *in Vitis Theolog.* pag. 393.

by the Magi, intitled *Sad der*, containing the laws and precepts of Zoroaſter. It was written above two hundred years ago in verſe in the modern Perſian language by one of their Prieſts, the ſon of *Melichſáh*, a man of great learning and ſkill in the old Perſian, and in the antient books written in that language. In the fourth *Porta* or chapter the author exhorts ſinners not to deſpair of the mercy of God, ſince he is ready to give much, and to receive but little. He mentions upon this occaſion, that while Zoroaſter was converſing familiarly with God, that Prophet ſaw a man, whoſe whole body was in hell, except his right foot. He aſked who he was, and God anſwered, that it was a Prince who had reigned over thirty three cities, and done no good during his life, having given up himſelf to oppreſſion, injuſtice, and violence, and made his people ſuffer a thouſand evils. But that having one day met with a ſheep bound, at ſuch a diſtance from his food that it could not reach it, he thruſt it towards the ſheep with his foot; which for this reaſon was exempted from the torments of hell, to which the reſt of his body was expoſed. In the twenty fifth *Porta* the author diſſuades from faſting; and teaches, that the true faſt conſiſts in abſtinence from ſin. In the ſixty ſeventh he places lying among the worſt of ſins. The *Appendix* of Dr. Hyde contains ſeveral curious obſervations. Mr. Wood tells us (4) that 1694 Dr. Hyde deſigned to publiſh the following books, if he ſhould live to finiſh them, having already done ſomething towards all of them, viz. I. *Grammatica pro Linguâ Perſica*; in 4to. II. *Lexicon Perſico-Latinum*; in a thick 4to. III. *Lexicon Turcico-Latinum*; in a thick 4to. IV. *Nomenclator Mogolo-Tataricum, cum Grammaticâ ejuſdem Linguæ.* V. *Diſſertatio de Tartariâ. Item Hiſtoria Chartiludii*; & *Diſſertatio de Numerorum Notis, earundemque origine & combinandi ratione, doctrinâ novâ*; in 8vo. VI. *Curioſa Chinenſia & Selanenſia*; in 8vo. VII. *Hiſtoria Gemmarum Arabicè & Latinè, cum Notis*; in 8vo. VIII. *Hiſtoria Tamerlanis Arabicè & Latinè cum Notis*; in 4to. IX. *Liber* Buſtân *Perſicè & Latinè cum Notis: Liber elegantiſſimus, autore Scheia Shadi*; in 4to. X. *Divini Poetæ* Hâphix *Opus Perſicè & Latinè, cum Notis*; in 4to. XI. *Abulfedæ Geographia Arabicè & Latinè, cum Notis*; in 4to. XII. *Liber* Bâhariſtân *eloquentiſſimo Stylo conſcriptus, meri ingenii Specimina continens, Librum* Guliſtân *æquans, ſi non ſuperans, Perſicè & Latinè, cum Notis*; in 4to. XIII. *Maimonidis Liber* More Nevochim *tranſcriptus ex characteribus Hebraicis quibus a Maimonide ſcriptum eſt, in proprios Arabicos, cum novâ Verſione & Notis, Arabicè & Latine*; in a thick 4to. XIV. *Hiſtoria Regum Perſicæ ex ipſorum monumentis & autoribus extracta*; in 4to. XV. *Annotationes in difficiliora Loca Biblica ex Literaturâ Orientali*; in a thick 4to. XVI. *Periplus Marium Mediterranei & Archipelagi Turcicè & Latinè cum circulo ventorum in variis Linguis, Arabicâ, Perſicâ, Chinenſi, &c.* in 8vo. XVII. *Zoroaſtris Perſo-Medi Opera omnia Mathematico-medico-phyſico-Theologica Perſicè & Latinè*; in folio. XVIII. *Liber Erdaviraph-name Perſicè & Latine*; in 4to. XIX. *Lexicon Hebraicum emendatum ex MSS. Lexicis Rabbi Pinchon, R. Jonæ, & R. Jeſaiæ, atque ex collatione cum Linguis Arabicâ & Perſicâ & aliis Linguis Orientalibus*; in 4to. XX. *Cœlum Orientale Arabico-Perſicum, atq; Occidentale Græco-Latinum, una cum Saphii Figurationibus Stellarum duplici ſitu, prout in Cœlo, & prout in Globo apparent, cum earum nominibus ſecundum harum gentium doctrinam*; in 4to. XXI. *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Arabicè, auctor Manſûr Syro-Arabe ex Scripturâ Gerſhumi in Arabicam tranſcriptus & Latinitate donatus*; in 4to. XXII. *Urbium Armeniæ Nomenclaturæ ex eorum Geographia excerptæ*, &c. XXIII. *Varia Chinenſia, ſcil. eorum Idololatria, Opiniones de Deo & de Paradiſo atque de Gehennâ, & de Gradibus & modis ſupplicii; de eorum Literaturâ & Libris & Chartâ, & de imprimendi modo atque antiquitate &c. omnia excerpta ex ore & ſcriptis nativi Chinenſis* Shin Fo-burg; in 8vo. XXIV. *Varia Selanenſia, ubi inſulæ Selan (vulgo Batavis Ceylon) Hiſtorica quædam & vocabularium genuinis eorum Characteribus exaratum cum eorum Alphabeto & aliis rebus*; in 8vo. XXV. *Bantamenſe Alphabetum à Legato ſcriptum cum Literarum poteſtate & numerorum notis*; in 8vo. XXVI. *Notæ Arithmeticæ variarum Gentium, ubi talium Notarum Origo & combinandi ratio docetur*; in 8vo. XXVII. *Dialogi Arabico-Perſico-Turcici, Latinè verſi*; in 8vo. XXVIII. *Liber de Turcarum opinionibus in rebus religioſis, Turcicè & Latinè*; in 8vo. XXIX. *Utilia, menſalia, ſcil. quid in Converſatione Convivali decorum eſt, Arabicè & Latinè*; in 8vo. XXX. *Rivolæ Lexicon Armeniacum cum Linguis Orientalibus (ſcil. Arabicâ, Perſicâ, & Turcicâ) collatum & in margine notatum*; in 4to. XXXI. *Evangelium Lucæ & Acta Apoſtolorum Linguâ & Charactere Malaico*; in 4to. He alſo tranſlated into Engliſh the letters of ſeveral Eaſtern Kings and Princes ſent to King Charles II, King James II, and King William III. T.

(4) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 975, 976.

[*A*] *He lived with an Engliſh Nobleman, who was a lover of learning.*] It was the ſon of the Lord William Montjoy, whom Eraſmus, who was infinitely beholden to him, has ſo much commended. *In Carolum Montjoium, Guillelmi filium, Baronem incidit* (Hyperius) *quem Eraſmus Roterodamus ampliſſimè in ſcriptis ſuis ac ſæpè commendat. Is amicè cum Hyperio multis ac variis de rebus collocutus cum ingenium ejus perſpexiſſet, oblato liberali ſtipendio, domum ſuam eum invitavit, ubi annos quatuor amplius ſuaviſſimè Hyperius cum Montjoio vixit in otio literario* (1). i. e. "He met with my Lord "Charles Baron Montjoy the ſon of William, on "whom Eraſmus has often beſtowed great praiſes in "his writings. This Lord having converſed with "Hyperius in a friendly manner upon ſeveral ſub-"jects, and obſerving his great genius, invited him to "his own houſe, and offered him a handſome ſalary; "ſo that Hyperius lived above four years with him, "and was at leiſure to apply himſelf to literature." Obſerve, that they have put *Monticius* inſtead of *Montjoius* in Paul Freher's Theatre (2); and that though Eraſmus dedicated his Livy to Montjoy the ſon, and alſo commended him in ſome other places, yet what is here aſſerted of the great and numerous commendations can properly relate only to the father. The ſon was ſtill very young when Eraſmus died (3).

(1) Melch. Adam, *in Vitæ Hyperii*, pag. 392. *Vitar. Theolog.*

(2) Pag. 198.

(3) *Vide* Eraſmi, Epiſt. 16. lib. 26. & Epiſt. 15. lib. 28.

himſelf with great application of the functions of a Divinity Profeſſor above twenty two years. He wrote a great many books [*B*], ſome of which have been copied by a Doctor of Louvain [*C*]. He laboured chiefly to teach the Students in Divinity a method to preach well. He had a very clear head; and beſides his knowledge in the Languages, in Hiſtory, in Philoſophy, and in Divinity, he had alſo a particular talent of teaching well. He had begun very ſoon to exerciſe himſelf that way; for whilſt he ſtudied at Paris, he uſed to teach the other ſcholars in private. He was very modeſt at entertainments; meek and civil in converſation; and he loved to be ſometimes at a well regulated entertainment, and was delighted with an agreeable converſation, as much as he hated thoſe enormous bumpers, which gueſts are ſometimes obliged to drink [*D*], and thoſe ſilly jokes, which do but too much prevail in our converſations. In a word, he was a man who had a true wit and good ſenſe, and who added that good quality to his virtue and zeal. They who deſire to ſee a more particular account of him may read the authors to whom I refer (*c*). Verheiden's account of him differs a little from Melchior Adam's [*E*]. I can hardly believe that Hyperius had been a Monk [*F*]. Some of the books he wrote were publiſhed after

(*c*) Wigandus Orthius, *in Oratione funebri Hyperii.* Melch. Adam. *in Vita Hyperii*, which is only an Extract of the *Funeral Oration.* Verheiden, *Præſtant. aliquot Theolog. Effig.* pag. 95.

[*B*] *He wrote a great many books.*] If we may credit Verheiden, the works of Hyperius which have been publiſhed, would make up ſeven volumes in folio. There are ſome written upon the human ſciences, as Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Coſmography, Aſtronomy, Optics, Natural Philoſophy, &c. The others are either Commentaries upon ſome parts of the holy Scripture, or Theological tracts. That intitled *De recte formando Theologiæ ſtudio.* i. e. "Of "the true Method of ſtudying Divinity;" and that *De formandis Concionibus ſacris*; i. e. "Of making Ser- "mons?" have been ſo much liked by a Doctor of Louvain, that he has inſerted them almoſt word for word in the books he publiſhed upon the ſame ſubjects at Antwerp in the year 1565. Hyperius was ſtill but a young ſtudent when he delivered an oration at Paris (4), which has ſince been printed, and which contains the elogy of his friends (5).

(4) *Quem* (Joachimum Ringolbergium) *& exquiſita quæ extat Oratione ad Senatum Pariſienſem laudavit Hyperius.*

(5) Teiſſier, pag. 14. *Catalogi Auctorum*, ſpeaks of it as though it were *Ringelberg's Life*, but it is no ſuch thing.

[*C*] *Some of which have been copied by a Doctor of Louvain.*] Valerius Andreas confeſſes it. Quicquid boni habent ejuſdem (Hyperii) *de formandis ſacris concionibus* Libri duo, *deque recte formando ſtudio Theologico* Libri IV, id in ſuos ſimilis argumenti libros tranſtulit Laurentius à Villavicentio ex Ord. Auguſtiano Doctor Theol. Lovanienſis (6). i. e. "All that "is good for any thing in Hyperius's two books of the "*manner of making ſermons*, and in his four books of "the *beſt method of ſtudying Divinity*, has been tranſ- "ſcribed by Laurence a Villavicentio, a Monk of the "order of St. Auſtin, and a Doctor of Divinity of the "Univerſity of Louvain in the books he wrote upon "the ſame ſubjects." This Doctor was a Spaniſh Monk of the order of St. Auguſtin. His name was *Laurence de Villavicenza.* He is often quoted as a notorious plagiary. I have not met with any author that obſerved this plagiariſm before the learned Raynolds. He mentions it in the fourth chapter of the firſt book of his treatiſe *De Idololatria Romana*, printed at Oxford in the year 1596, and he obſerves that this Monk altered in Hyperius's book all that was inconſiſtent with the doctrines of the Church of Rome. Some time after Keckerman (7) mentioned the ſame plagiariſm, acknowledging that Raynolds had already obſerved it. Voetius (8) ſpoke of it quoting Keckerman, in a diſputation which was held in the year 1655; but he pretends that the work which the Spaniſh Monk pirated, was the manner of teaching Divinity. Now this treatiſe contains but three books, whereas the work which Raynold Keckerman and the Bibliographer of the Low Countries pretend was tranſcribed by the Spaniſh Monk, contains four books, and is uſually quoted under this title: *De Ratione Studii Theologici.* i. e. "The "Method of ſtudying Divinity." It is certain that this laſt work is not the ſame with the *Methodus Theologiæ*, i. e. "The Manner of teaching Divinity," which Hyperius alſo wrote. Voetius has not been accurate enough. Monſieur Colomies (9) does alſo mention this plagiariſm, and quotes Raynolds. Placcius (10) who ſpeaks of it, does it only on the credit of one of his friends, who wrote to him, that Simon Oomius mentioned it in the ſecond preface prefixed to a Dutch book: and he pretends as well as Konig (11) that this plunder relates to the book intitled *Methodus Theologiæ.* A modern author (12) quotes not only Keckerman and Colomies upon this plagiariſm of Villavicenza, but alſo John Heilfeld *cap.* 25. *Sphingis Theologico-Philoſophicæ.* It is to be obſerved that none of theſe authors, except Valerius Andreas, mention the double plagiariſm of the Spaniſh Monk, they ſpeak only of that which relates to the book intitled, *De Studio Theologico.* But on the other hand Nicholas Antonio does not only aſſert that Villavicenza tranſcribed all that was good in two of Hyperius's books, but he aſcribes to him the ſame conduct with regard to two other books publiſhed by Proteſtant writers; the one is *De Phraſibus ſacræ Scripturæ*; i. e. "Of the Phraſes uſed in the holy Scrip- "ture;" the other is *Tabulæ compendioſæ in Evangelia & Epiſtolas.* i. e. "Short Indexes to the Goſpels "and Epiſtles." Obſerve that he has added to his own miſtakes thoſe of Valerius Andreas. He pretends (13), like him, that Hyperius had been a Dominican; and he commits himſelf the following blunders; 1. He gives *Hyperius* the name of *Hiſperius*; 2. he ſuppoſes that the treatiſe *De formando Studio Theologico* contains but three books; 3. He aſſerts that the treatiſe *De formandis ſacris Concionibus* contains three books, whereas it contains but two.

(6) Val. And. *Bibl. Belg.* pag. 49.

(7) *In Præcognit. Logic.*

(8) *Diſp. Select.* vol. 3. pag. 687.

(9) *Gall. Orient.* pag. 10.

(10) *De Pſeudonymis*, pag. 273.

(11) *Biblioth.* pag. 420. *See alſo* pag. 846, where he quotes Rivetus, tom. 2. *Operum*, pag. 1095 (it ſhould be 1065) *qui vocat Villavicentium Hyperi interpolatorem & expilatorem*; i. e. "who ſtiles Vil- "lavicenza the "interpolator "and plunderer "of Hyperius."

(12) Joh. Albertus Faber, *Decade Decadum*, num. 36. Lipſiæ 1689.

(13) Nic. Anton. *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* tom. 2. pag. 9.

[*D*] *He hated thoſe enormous bumpers, which gueſts are ſometimes obliged to drink.*] Here follows what is obſerved in his funeral oration (14). *In colloquiis & converſationibus humanus & æquus, & quemadmodum immania illa in conviviis hominum pocula, & ſcurriles in colloquiis nugas ex animo fuit averſatus, ita moderatis conviviis, jucundiſque amicorum confabulationibus nonnunquam interfuit.*

(14) *Apud* Melchior Adam. *in Vitis Theolog.* pag. 397.

[*E*] *Verheiden's account of him differs a little from Melchior Adam's.*] Verheiden has given us but a ſhort elogium of him; but we meet in Melchior Adam with a much fuller account in a chronological order. The latter does not make Hyperius travel into Spain; he ſuppoſes that he only viſited thoſe provinces of Italy, which are between the Alps and Bologna; and that he travelled thither whilſt he was upon his ſtudies at Paris, and before he took a journey to Louvain. Verheiden on the contrary pretends that Hyperius travelled into Spain and Italy, after he had ſtudied at Paris and at Louvain. He ſuppoſes that he firſt taught Philoſophy at Marpurg, and then Divinity. Melchior Adam does not mention the Profeſſorſhip of Philoſophy.

[*F*] *I can hardly believe that Hyperius had been a Monk.*] There is not a word of it in the extract from his funeral oration; whence we may be certain that Wigandus Orthius did not ſay it; for this is a particular, which honeſt Melchior Adam would not have omitted, though he had given us but a very ſhort extract, and not a long account containing a thouſand trifling circumſtances. Yet I would not depend upon this argument only; I have enquired for Wigandus Orthius's oration, and have found it at laſt; but I could not meet in it with the leaſt hint that could make me ſuſpect, that Hyperius was ever a Monk; whence I infer that he never was one. Let it not be objected that I argue here by a negative argument. I do not pretend to vindicate that way of arguing (15); but I dare to aſſert that it is very good on this occaſion, both becauſe the perſon who delivered the funeral oration on Hyperius's death could not but know whether or not he had been a Monk, and becauſe if he had known he had been one, he would certainly have told it, and was obliged to do it. Such particulars were not omitted with regard to Muſculus, Marlorat, Peter Martyr, Zanchius, and ſeveral other ſupporters of the new reformation, who

THE blunders of Moreri and Valerius Andreas.

(15) Mr. de Launoi wrote ſome books to prove that a negative argument is good. Monſieur Thiers, amongſt others, refuted his opinion.

after his death [G], by the care of his ſon Laurence Hyperius, or of John Mylius (d).

(d) Verheiden, *Præſtant. aliquot Theolog. Effig.* pag. 95.

who had left their convents; and there was perhaps never a man leſs capable to omit ſuch a particular, than Orthius, who thought it his duty to obſerve in a funeral oration, that Hyperius went to wait for his clothes at Marpurg, becauſe he knew, that he would live cheaper there, than in any place on the banks of the Rhine. *Sciebat enim minoris ſe apud Cattos interea poſſe vivere, quam uſpiam ad Rheni ripas.* He relates a thouſand particulars as important as that is, which have all been faithfully tranſcribed by Melchior Adam. I cannot therefore but think, that Moreri was in the wrong to aſſert, that Hyperius *became a Monk of the order of St. Dominick, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning; but that he baſely apoſtatiſed afterwards.* He tranſcribed this from Valerius Andreas, who had already publiſhed that falſity. This Bibliographer of the Low-Countries, who was alſo miſtaken in placing Hyperius's death under the year 1560, is inexcuſable for omitting to obſerve that Hyperius had been a Miniſter. Moreri, who has obſerved it (16), is to be blamed for omitting to mention his Profeſſorſhip of Divinity. His inaccuracy appears alſo in this expreſſion, *he fell into Luther's errors, which he taught.* To what purpoſe is this laſt remark expreſt thus in a looſe manner? Was it not enough to have ſtiled Hyperius a Proteſtant Miniſter in the firſt line of his article? Was not this hinting ſufficiently that he had taught the doctrines of the Proteſtants? But further, it is not true that Hyperius followed Luther's reformation. The *Index* of prohibited books (17) might have ſet Moreri right in this particular.

(16) He did not ſpell the name of the city right, calling it *Marburge.*

(17) We read there in pag. 16. of the edition in folio 1667. *Andreas Hyperius, ſeu Hyperius, Theologus Calvino Zwinglianus, Profeſſor Marpurgenſis.* Konig, pag. 420. of his *Bibliotheca* calls him a *Reformed Divine*, which in the ſtyle of the Proteſtants of Germany is the ſame as a *Calviniſt Divine.*

[G] *Some of his books . . . were publiſhed after his death.*] Conſult Geſner's epitome, you will ſee there, that ſeveral of Hyperius's works were printed in his life-time. I do not think therefore that he can be quoted as an inſtance of that ſingular modeſty, which makes an author put off till after his death the publiſhing of his writings, that he may not hear his own praiſes. Let them take ſome notice of this, who read in Saldenus (19) the paſſage which I ſhall now tranſcribe. *Cujus* (contemptus famæ vel gloriæ propriæ) *illuſtre exemplum antehac præbuit Theologus ſua ætate celeberrimus* Andreas Hyperius, *de quo teſtis eſt* Juſtus Vultejus (20), *quod ideo poſt mortem demum in lucem prodire ſua voluerit, quia* gloriam *ſibi* nullam, *nec* vulgi applauſus *iis captabat.* Hos enim (*inquit*) ſi tanti faciendos eſſe putaſſet, utique *vivo* ei frui illis licuiſſet. i. e. "Andrew Hyperius, one of the moſt eminent "Divines of his time, gave a noble inſtance of this "contempt of fame and glory; for Juſtus Vultejus "teſtifies, that he would not have his books publiſhed "till after his death, becauſe he aimed at no glory by "them, and endeavoured to gain the public applauſe. "For, *adds he*, if he had had any value for it he might "have enjoyed it in his life-time."

(19) *De Libris & eorum Lectione*, pag. 47.

(20) Vultej. *in Dedic. Oper. Hyperii* præfix.

HYPSIPYLE the daughter of Thoas King of the Iſle of Lemnos, ſaved her father's life when the women of that iſland made a general ſlaughter of all the men that were there (a). She did not ſave him openly, but was obliged to make the other women believe that ſhe had killed him, and upon this ſuppoſition they choſe her for their Queen (b). The Argonauts landed ſome time after in the iſland of Lemnos, and were received with all the marks of the moſt intimate friendſhip, for the women of that iſland had not ſlain the men out of any hatred for the male ſex [A], but rather out of ſuch a revenge as ſhews, that they were very fond of the ſweet pleaſures of love. The Argonauts, after the fatigues they had ſuffered at ſea, refreſhed themſelves as much as they pleaſed in the arms of theſe widows: nor did Hypſipyle forget to take care of her ſelf; ſhe choſe their chief for her partner, and was ſoon pregnant of twins. If her fate differed from Dido's in this particular [B], it was like her's in another, for Jaſon did not prove leſs inconſtant than

(a) Apollodorus, lib. 1.

(b) *His mihi pro meritis (ut falſi criminis aſtu Parta fides) regno & ſolio confidere patris Supplicium datur.* Hypſipyle *apud* Statium, *Theb.* lib. 5. ver. 320.

[A] *The women of the iſland of* Lemnos *had not ſlain the men out of any hatred for the male ſex.*] They were determined to that ſlaughter becauſe the men did not lie any more with them, and diverted themſelves only with the ſlaves they had taken in Thrace (1). They did this becauſe their wives ſtunk ſo much that they could not come near them without the utmoſt diſguſt (2). This ſtink was an effect of Venus's anger; either becauſe this Goddeſs was exaſperated againſt them for neglecting to ſacrifice to her during ſeveral years (3), or becauſe ſhe had taken an averſion to the iſle of Lemnos, having been ſurprized there with Mars (4), for it was in that iſland the Gods ſaw her lying with him. Others (5) aſſert, that Medea being jealous of Hypſipyle had caſt certain drugs into the iſle of Lemnos, which cauſed the women to ſtink thus. It is added that during ſeveral ages they uſed to ſtink ſo much on a certain day every year, that their huſbands, and even their very children could not endure to be near them. The authors are not agreed whether it was their mouth or their armpits that ſtunk ſo. Euſtathius (6) aſſerts the firſt opinion, and Dion Chryſoſtomus (7) the ſecond. Here follows ſome verſes of Statius in which Hypſipyle repreſents the diſmal condition of that iſland during the *interregnum* of love.

(1) Apollodorus, lib. 1.

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) *In inſula Lemno mulieres Veneri ſacra aliquot annos non fecerant.* Hygin. cap. 15. *See alſo* Apollodorus, lib. 1. Stat. *Theb.* lib. 5. *and the* Scholiaſt in Euripidem in Hecub.

(4) Lactantius *in Statium*, lib. 5. Thebaid.

(5) Myrtitus Leſbius, lib. 1. Leſbiacorum. *apud* Scholiaſt. Apollon. in lib. 1. Argonaut.

(6) In Iliad. lib. 1.

(7) *Oratione* 32.

(8) Statius, *Thebaid.* lib. 5. ver. 70.

Protinus a Lemno teneri fugiſtis amores,
Motus Hymen, verſæque faces, & frigida juſti
Cura Tori: nullæ redeunt in gaudia noctes,
Nullus in amplexu ſopor eſt; odia aſpera ubique
Et furor, & medio recubat diſcordia lecto (8).

i. e. "Tender Cupids you are fled immediately from "Lemnos: Hymen is removed, his torches are extinguiſhed, the marriage bed is forſaken; no longer "do the nights afford us joyful pleaſures; no longer "do we ſleep in the arms of our huſbands; the bed "affords now nothing but bitter hatred, anger, and "quarrels."

This interregnum was ſo inſufferable, that the women reſolved upon the ſlaughter I have mentioned.

[B] *Her fate differed from Dido's in this particular.*] For poor Dido's amours with Æneas proved fruitleſs, which grieved her very much. I have obſerved in another place (9) the difference there is between her taſte and that of the women of this time. The latter being forſaken by their lovers at the beginning of the campaign, are overjoyed when the pleaſures they taſted during the winter, are not attended with generation. I quote this inſtance, without pretending to exclude thoſe that relate to perſons of another profeſſion. I quote it, I ſay, becauſe in my opinion the ſtay of the Argonauts in the iſle of Lemnos, may very well be compared to the ſoldiers continuing a long while in winter quarters.

(9) In the article GARNACHE, remark [B].

Let us obſerve that Hypſipyle ſolemnly declares in the work of a Latin Poet, that it was very much againſt her will ſhe married the lovely Jaſon.

Cinerem furiaſque meorum
Teſtor, ut externas non ſponte aut crimine tædas
Attigerim, (ſcit cura Deûm) etſi blandus Iaſon
Virginibus dare vincla novis (10).

(10) Statius, lib. 5. ver. 454.

i. e. "I call to witneſs the aſhes and furies of my an"ceſtors, that it is not of my own accord nor by any "crime, that I conſent to marry a foreigner; (the "Gods know it). Though lovely Jaſon knows "how to captivate young virgins."

But a Greek Poet repreſents her ſo much in love with him, that the moment ſhe ſaw him, ſhe offered him her Kingdom.

'E;

than Æneas [C]. See in the ſupplement to Moreri's Dictionary what became of Hypſipyle, when her ſubjects found out that ſhe had not killed her father.

Εἰ δέ κεν αὖθι
Ναιετάειν ἐθέλοις, ἡ τοὶ ἄδοι, ἦτ' ἂν ἐπίτια
Πατρὸς ἐμοῖο Θόαντος ἔχοις γήρας (11).

(11) Apollonius, lib. 5. ver. 827.

i. e. "Stay here, let it be acceptable to you; and for "your reward, you ſhall have my father's Kingdom," Valerius Flaccus, alſo repreſents her deeply ſmitten with this Hero's charms, and ready to marry him the firſt time ſhe ſees him.

Unius hæret
Alloquio, & blandos paulatim colligit ignes,
Jam non dura thoris, Veneri nec iniqua reverſæ (12).

(12) Val. Flaccus, lib. 2. ver. 353.

i. e. "She ſpeaks with one only; and inſenſibly ſuffers "the fire of love to kindle in her boſom; ſhe is no "longer averſe to the marriage-bed, nor does ſhe de-"cline the pleaſures that return to her."

[C] *Jaſon did not prove leſs inconſtant than Æneas.*] He forſook her and her two children and continued his voyage; ſo that ſhe is one of thoſe Heroines, whoſe ſad complaints and tender ſighs upon their being forſaken by the lovers to whom they refuſed nothing, are related by Ovid, Ariadne, Hypſipyle's grandmother (13), had met with the ſame fate. See in Ovid her complaint againſt Theſeus. I make a reflexion upon this ſubject. The Mythological authors and the writers of modern romances followed very different roads. The former keep too much to the Hiſtory, the latter recede too much from it. I ſay this only with regard to the deſcription they give us of men's morals as to their characters of heroes. In Mythology the Heroines are not only too amorous, but alſo too free of their favours: the Heroes are not conſtant; they get their Heroines with child, or they do their beſt endeavours for it, and then they forſake them. This favours too much of Hiſtory, and is of a bad example for either ſex (14); it is better to chooſe the oppoſite extreme, as is done in our romances: it is better, I ſay, to ſuppoſe, even againſt all probability, that ſuch Heroes and Heroines as never commit the leaſt fault.

(13) Thoas, Hypſipyle's father, was the ſon of Barchus and Ariadne.

(14) We may apply to thoſe accounts this ſentence of Horace, Ode 7. lib. 3. *Hiſtorias peccare docentes.* i. e. "Tales that are "bawds to vice." *Creech.*

I.

JACCETIUS (FRANCIS CATANEUS) was born in Florence the 16th of November 1466. He was the diſciple of Marſilius Ficinus; and improved ſo happily by the inſtructions of this great maſter, that he became one of the ableſt Platoniſts of his time, and an exceeding good Orator. He ſucceeded the abovementioned Ficinus in his Profeſſorſhip of Philoſophy; he looking upon Jaccetius as perfectly well qualified for it, and even concluding that nature had brought him into the world for that purpoſe. He publiſhed a great many books [*A*]; died in Florence in the year 1522; was buried in the church of Santa Croce or Holy Croſs in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, and left thirteen ſons [*B*]. Benedetto Varchi made his funeral Oration, and his life was written very elegantly by Euphroſynus Lapinus (*a*). Diacceto, which is his true Italian name, has been changed a numberleſs multitude of ways by thoſe writers who ſpeak of him or his poſterity [*C*]. We have another FRANCIS CATANEUS JACCETIUS who wrote books [*D*]; but I am of opinion that he is known only under the name of DIACETTIUS, or DIACETIUS. I fancy that Count de Chateauvilain, who married one of the maids of honour to Catherine de Medicis, deſcended from our Francis Jaccetius [*E*]. This young Lady was called Mademoiſelle d'Atri, and has been very well and very ill ſpoken of (*b*).

(*a*) *Ex* Michaele Pocciantio, *de Scriptor. Florentinis*, pag. 67, 68.

(*b*) See the Notes on the *Confeſſion Catholique de Sanci*, pag. 459, *& ſeq.* edit. of 1699.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a great many books.*] Here follow the titles of ſome of them; *De Pulchro libri tres. De Amore libri tres. Paraphraſis in Politicum & Theagenem Platonis, & in Ariſtotelem de Cœlo & Meteoris. Enarratio in Platonis Sympoſium. Oratio in funere Laurentii Medices. Epiſtolæ variæ, &c.* An edition was made, at Baſil, of his works, in the year 1563, in folio. It is mentioned in the epitome of Geſner's Bibliotheca, under *Franciſcus Cataneus Jaccetius.* The Bodleian Catalogue, and Konig ſpeak of it only under the word *Cataneus.* Ghilini calls this author only *Franciſco Catanio* (1). He has admirably well paraphraſed what Pocciantius ſays of him, and has not added any other incident.

(1) Ghilini, *Teatro*, tom. 2. pag. 88.

[*B*] *He left thirteen ſons.*] I doubt not but one of them is the perſon whom I mention in the article MACHIAVEL (2), and whoſe fatal end is thus deſcribed by Pierius Valerianus: *Jacobus Jacettus juvenis & Græce, & Latinè egregiè peritus, pangendi carminis auctor non illepidus, Florentinam cathedram obtinebat; ſed infelici ſuo fidere conjurationis in Julii Cardinalis Medices cædem certo die patrandam conſcius fuit; quæ patefacta, captus ipſe, & tam nefandi ſceleris convictus Senatus Florentini judicio ſecuri percuſſus eſt* (3). i. e. "James Jaccettus, a young man exceedingly well "verſed in the Greek and Latin tongues, and a good "Poet, obtained a Profeſſor's chair in Florence; but "through his ill fate, he joined in a plot in order to "murder Cardinal Julius of Medicis, on a certain day. "The conſpiracy being diſcovered, Jaccettus was ſeized, "and being found guilty of ſo horrid a crime, was be-"headed, purſuant to the ſentence of the Senate of "Florence." Paul Jovius, who beſtows no other title upon him than that of Poet (4), deſerves cenſure. I am of opinion that brother Angelius de Cataneis Diacetius (5), who after having gone thro' the ſeveral dignities of the order of Dominicans, was made Biſhop of Fieſoli in 1566, was one of the thirteen ſons of our Jaccetius. He died the 5th of May 1574, at fourſcore and one years of age (6). He is called in his epitaph (7) *Angelus Cataneus Diacetius.*

(2) At the remark [*C*].

(3) Pierius Valerian. *de Litterator. Infelicit.* lib. 2. pag. 77.

(4) See remark [*C*] of the article MACHIAVEL.

(5) He is thus named in tom. 3. pag. 340. of *Ughellis Italia Sacra.*

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) Ughelli gives it, *ibid.*

[*C*] Diacceto, *which is his true Italian name, has been changed a numberleſs multitude of ways by thoſe writers who ſpoke of him or his poſterity.*] See the remark [*C*] of the article MACHIAVEL, and obſerve that the reaſon why I make *Diacceto* his true name, is becauſe I met with this word in the ſubſcription of a letter (8), which the grand-ſon of our Jaccetius wrote to the Varchi the 9th of September 1561, upon ſending him two copies of a work of his grandfather's (9). He had received four of them from Venice. The edition pleaſed him as to the types, but he found it incorrect. Michael Pocciantius is not altogether accurate, he ſpelling our author's name thus: *Franciſcus Cathaneus Diacetius* (10). I am to obſerve that the author of the notes of the Confeſſion of Sancy informs me (11), that *Carolus Zenobii de Ghiaceto unus ex Decemviris Baliæ Florentinæ civitatis*, ſigned in the quality of J.... ſon of Coſmo de Medicis, in a contract made at Florence in 1453, which he ſaw *among the Archives of Lorrain.* This ſhews that this family was not antiently called *Diacceto.* It is very probable that Diacceto was made by joining the name and the article together. I have ſpoke elſewhere (12) of the life of one Paul Ghiacetti.

(8) Bulifone has inſerted it in pag. 199. of his *Lettere Storiche, Politiche, ed Erudite*, printed at Pozzoli in 1685.

(9) That intitled, *De Amore.*

(10) Mich. Pocciant. *de Script. Florent.* pag. 67.

(11) Pag. 461. of the edit. of 1699.

(12) In the remark of the article FONTIUS.

[*D*] *We have another* FRANCIS CATANEUS JACCETIUS *who wrote books.*] Michael Pocciantius calls him *Franciſcus Cathaneus Diacettius*, and ſays that he was a Canon in the cathedral of Florence, Apoſtolical Prothonotary, Doctor of the Civil Law, and Biſhop of Fieſoli; and that he wrote in Italian, among other works, the life of Chriſt, of the bleſſed Virgin, of St. Dominick, and of ſome Biſhops of Fieſoli; ſeveral ſermons, and the Epiſtles and Goſpels for all the year (13). Ughelli calls him *Franciſcus Cataneus Diacetius*; and ſays that he ſucceeded Angelus de Cataneis Diacetius his uncle, in the Biſhoprick of Fieſoli, in the year 1570; had a ſeat among the Fathers of the Council of Trent; wrote ſome tracts entitled *De Authoritate Papæ & Conſilii, de Superſtitione Artis Magicæ, &c.* that he diſcharged all the duties of a worthy prelate, and died the 4th of November 1595 (14).

(13) Pocciant. *de Script. Florent.* pag. 71.

(14) Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, tom. 3. pag. 340.

[*E*] *Count de Chateauvilain . . . . deſcended from our Francis Jaccetius.*] Mezerai ſpeaking of the exploits of the King's troops againſt the League, obſerves, that Sanci made himſelf maſter of Châteauvilain in Champagne in the year 1589, at the ſollicitation of the Lord of the place. *It was*, adds he (15), *a Florentine named Lewis Dijacetti, who, like many of his countrymen, had acquired great riches by farming the impoſts of the King.*

(15) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 784. edit. of 1685.

☞ JACOB (HENRY), a very learned Engliſh writer in the ſeventeenth Century, was ſon of Mr. Henry Jacob [*A*] a Miniſter in Kent, by Sarah ſiſter of John Dumaresque of the Iſle of Jerſey Gentleman. He was born in the Dioceſe of London about the

[*A*] *Mr. Henry Jacob.*] This Mr. Jacob was a native of Kent, and entered a Commoner or Batler in St. Mary's-Hall, in the Univerſity of Oxford, in 1579, at ſixteen years of age (1), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, December 16, 1583 (2), and that of Maſter of Arts July 8, 1586 (3). Entering into holy orders he became Precentor of Corpus Chriſti College, and was afterwards beneficed in Kent, particularly

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 464.

(2) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 124.

(3) Idem, ibid. col. 132.

the year 1609, and in his younger years ſent by his relations to be educated abroad, and ſtudied at Leyden under Thomas Erpenius, and made a prodigious progreſs in Philological and Oriental learning. At about the age of two and twenty years he returned to England, and by Mr. William Bedwell, who was eminent for his ſkill in the Arabic Language, he was recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms to William Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, who wrote letters to that Univerſity in his behalf [*B*], that he might be created Bachelor of Arts (*a*), as he was on the 20th of January $162\frac{8}{9}$ (*b*). The year following, by the intereſt of Mr. Selden, Mr. Henry Briggs, and Mr. Peter Turner he was elected Probationer Fellow of Merton College in Oxford (*c*). "But then, ſays Mr. Wood (*d*), he not having ſo much Logic and Philoſophy to carry "him through the ſevere exerciſes of that Society, the Warden and Fellows tacitly aſ- "ſigned him Philological Lecturer. This being done, he was called away to follow "law-ſuits concerning his patrimony; which being concluded he fell into a dangerous "ſickneſs, and by the ſudden loſs of his Patron of Pembroke, his life was in jeopardy." Biſhop Laud being ſoon after choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity, a way was found out from the ſtatutes of Merton College to make Mr. Jacob *Socius Grammaticalis*, that is, Reader of Philology to the Juniors, a place which had been diſuſed for about an hundred years. So that being made compleat Fellow, he ſpent ſome time in 1636 with Mr. Selden (*e*) [*C*]; and Auguſt the 13th the ſame year he was created Maſter of Arts (*f*). June the 14th 1641 he was elected Superior Bedell of Divinity (*g*). The ſame year Sir Nath. Brent, Warden of the College, being his enemy, endeavours were uſed to eject him out of his Fellowſhip, as appears from a letter of Mr. Peter Turner to Mr. Selden [*D*]. November the 1ſt 1642 he was created Bachelor of Phyſic (*h*). "But his head, ſays Mr. Wood (*i*), being always overbuſy about critical notions, (which

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 158, 159. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 246.

(*c*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 268, 269.

(*g*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 159.

(*h*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 20.

(*i*) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 159.

particularly at Cheriton, as Mr. Wood was informed; though upon ſearch into that Pariſh Regiſter, wherein are the names of all the Rectors of that church ſet down ſince 1591, that of Henry Jacob occurs not, he having been perhaps Rector before that time. He was a perſon exceedingly well read in theological authors, but a moſt zealous Puritan, or, as his ſon Henry uſed to ſay, *the firſt Independent* in England (4). He wrote the following works. *A Treatiſe of the Sufferings and Victory of Chriſt in the work of our Redemption, &c. written againſt certain errors in thoſe points publickly preached in London*, 1597. London, 1598, in 8vo. The points, which he endeavours to confute, were, 1. That Chriſt ſuffered for us the wrath of God, which we may well term the pains of Hell. 2. That Chriſt after his death on the croſs went not into Hell in his ſoul. *Of the Church and Miniſtry of England, written in two Treatiſes againſt the Reaſons and Objections of Mr. Francis Johnſon.* Middleburg, 1599, in 4to. Our author and Mr. Johnſon, who was a Browniſt, and lived in Holland, had ſeveral diſputes at Amſterdam about the Church of England's being a true church. *Defence of a Treatiſe touching the Sufferings and Victory of Chriſt in the work of our Redemtion.* 1600 in 4to. *Reaſons taken out of God's word and the beſt Human Teſtimonies, proving a neceſſity of reforming our Churches of England, &c.* 1604, in 4to. *A Poſition againſt vain-glorious, and that which is falſely called learned preaching.* 1604, in 8vo. *The divine Beginning and Inſtitution of Chriſt's true, viſible, and material Church.* Leyden, 1610, in 8vo. *Plain and clear Expoſition of the ſecond Commandment*, 1610, in 8vo. *Declaration and opening of certain points, with a ſound Confirmation of ſome others, in a Treatiſe, intitled*, The Divine Beginning, *&c.* Middleburg, 1611. He wrote and publiſhed likewiſe ſeveral pieces, as the *Counter-Poiſon*, &c. which being printed privately, or beyond the ſeas, are rarely to be met with. He began to gather a congregation in the city of London in 1616, and died in 1621 (5).

(4) Idem, *Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 465.

(5) Idem, ibid.

[*B*] *Who wrote letters to that Univerſity in his behalf.*] Theſe letters are dated November 24, 1628; in which the Chancellor ſays, that "Henry Jacob, a "young ſcholar, had beſtowed divers years in the "Low-Countries in the ſtudy of good literature, and "had his education principally under one *Erpenius*, a "famous ſcholar, eſpecially in the Oriental languages; "in which learning he profited under him beyond the "ordinary meaſures of his age, *&c.*"

[*C*] *He ſpent ſome time in* 1636 *with Mr. Selden.*] He was Amanuenſis to that great man, as appears from theſe words of Mr. Selden: *Ubi Amanuenſis mihi in Codice Regio tunc porrigendo operam præſtitit mihi vir doctiſſimus Henricus Jacobus, &c* (6). "At this time, "it is ſaid, he taught, or at leaſt improved Selden "in the Hebrew language, and added ſeveral things "which Selden finding to be very excellent, let them "ſtand (7)."

(6) *Vindic. Maris clauſi*, pag. 53. edit. Londini 1653.

(7) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 159.

[*D*] *As appears from a letter of Mr. Peter Turner to Mr. Selden.*] This Letter, which we copied from the original, is addreſſed to his *worthy honoured friend Mr. Selden*, and is as follows.

"Sir,

"Out of that affection, which naturally inclines "men to preſerve their own benefactors, I preſume "upon your ready aſſiſtance for the preſerving Mr. "Jacob in that fellowſhip, which by your procure- "ment my Lord of Canterbury conferred upon him. "If ſome means for prevention be not timely uſed, he "is likely the 10th of January to be pronounced *non "Socius*. The main quarrel to him, (and that not diſ- "ſembled neither) is, that he was brought in by my "Lord's Grace, irregularly and unſtatutably, ſay "they, though I know the contrarye, and am able "to demonſtrate it before indifferent judges, ſuch as "he is not likely to find our Warden or any of his "creatures. Another exception is, that the Squire "Bedell's office is not compatible with his fellowſhip; "which will eaſily be anſwered by the practice both "of our owne College and of other Colleges in both "Univerſityes. So will alſo ſome other exceptions, "which they have againſt him upon the by, be eaſily "blowne away, if they were to be ſkanned before in- "different judges. At another time there were ſome "remedies to be found againſt theſe proceedings, by "appealing to the Viſitors. But our Viſitor now be- "ing under hatches, and his juriſdiction ſuſpended, "we know not where to ſeek for remedie. If the "ſuſpenſion were intended by the Lords to extend "onely to that juriſdiction, which eſſentially is in- "herent in the Archbiſhoprick (as this power of Vi- "ſitor is not) then there is ſtill a power in my Lord's "Grace, though a fruſtraneous one, ſince he does "not make uſe of it. If it were intended that this "juriſdiction likewiſe ſhould be involved in the gene- "ral ſuſpenſion, another quære will riſe where it is "lodged all this while, whether in the ſame perſons, "&c. whence they have committed the exequution of "the ordinary juriſdiction; or *in nubibus*, to be ex- "tracted thence upon occaſion, and placed where the "Parliament pleaſeth. If in the ſame perſons, then "Mr. Warden by this means is his own Viſitor, and "a man that ſhould appeal from him to himſelf, "were like to find much remedie. If *in nubibus*, and "yet to be diſpoſed of by Parliament, I doubt "whether they will have leiſure at ſuch a time to "take ſo petty a buſineſs into their conſideration. "Then againe, it is to be feared, leſt the ſame con- "ſideration, which made them take the Archbiſhop's

" (which made him ſometimes a little better than crazed) he neglected his duty ſo much, " that he was ſuſpended once, if not twice, from his place, and had his Bedell's ſtaff " taken from him." At laſt, when the Parliament Viſitors ſate in 1648 he loſt it altogether, and was ejected from his Fellowſhip; ſo that being deſtitute of a maintenance, he retired to London, where Mr. Selden contributed to his ſupport. But the benefactions of his friends not being ſufficient, he ſold that little land which he had at Godmerſham in Kent, and died before it was ſpent. He wrote many things, but publiſhed nothing himſelf [*E*]. Having broken his health by his intenſe application to his ſtudies, he retired, by the advice of his friends, ſome weeks before his death to Canterbury in September 1652, where he was entertained by Dr. William Jacob, an eminent Phyſician of that city, though not related to him. But ſoon after a tumour breaking out in one of his legs, he died there November the 5th 1652, about the year of his age forty four, and was interred the next day in the pariſh church of All-Saints in that city (*k*). " Soon " after

(*k*) Ibid. col. 159, 161.

" juriſdiction out of his hands, will ſway them to " place it in ſuch hands, as are moſt likely to make " uſe of it againſt my Lord, to overthrowe all his " acts. If they ſhould thinke of a Clergie-man, the " Archbiſhop of Yorke is as likely a man as another; " and our Warden hath already (though very ignorantly) intitled him to the Viſitorſhip of our College; with which opinion it is likely he hath poſſeſſed his friends in the Lords Houſe (as my Lords of *Northumberland* and *Eſſex*) and they probably " may cauſe it to be ſuggeſted to the Houſe. If they " ſhould think of a Lay-Lord, our Chancellor having " the neareſt relation to the Univerſity, may in likelyhood be thought of before any other; whoſe affection though for my own particular I have no reaſon " to diſtruſt, yet I cannot be confident upon his judgment. Beſides that our Warden preſumes upon a " great intereſt in him; which (whatever it be) he is " likely to improve to the beſt advantage, through " the opportunity of his friends aſſiduous about " my Lord, Sir B. Rudyard and Mr. Oldſworth. " Theſe conſiderations and doubts drive me to wiſh, " that this ſame juriſdiction might prove a waſt or " ſtray, and ſo fall into the King's hands. I ſhould " hope it might without much difficulty be obtained " of him to intereſt himſelf in the buiſineſs ſo farre, " as to lay his injunction upon our College, that " in the interim, untill the Parliament have leyſure " to examine my Lord's acts, orders, and injunctions " made in our College, they ſhall all ſtand good, and " all acts done or ſuffered in the College, contrary to " them, ſhould be void. Thus as briefly as I could I " have repreſented to you my feares, my doubts, my " wiſhes. Out of them, (which I cannot do) your " judgment will raiſe ſome ſettled reſolution, what " is to be done in this buiſineſs; unto which I ſhall " as readily ſubſcribe, as I doe ſincerely

" Your friend, devoted
" Merte. Coll. " to ſerve and honour you,
" 30°. X^bris 1641. " Pet. Turner.

[*E*] *He wrote many things, but publiſhed nothing himſelf.*] They are as follow. I. *Oratio inauguralis ſub Aditu Prælectionis Philologicæ publicè habita apud Collegium Oxonio-Merton.* 4 *Aug.* 1635. II. *Græca & Latina Poemata.* III. *Deſcription of Oakley-Hole near Wells, ann.* 1632. Written in Engliſh verſe. IV. *Annotationes in eam partem Orationis inauguralis, in quâ dicitur,* " Oratione ſolutâ ſcripſit Ariſtæus Proconne- " ſius." Theſe four pieces were publiſhed at Oxford during the author's life, in 1652 in 4to, by his intimate friend Mr. Henry Birkhead, Fellow of All-Souls College. V. *Etymotechnia Catholica*, containing four *Diatriba's* concerning the original of letters. The firſt *de Ordine Alphabeti*; the ſecond *de tranſitu Alphabeti*; the third *de numero, figurâ, poteſtate & diviſione Literarum*; and the fourth intitled *Geographiſtor Etymotechnus.* VI. *Grammatica Ebræa.* This Grammar is drawn up in a new method. VII. ΣΒΩ *vel Oſiris inventus; de Coptiacis Originibus Commentatio.* VIII. *Geographumena:* in which are many Aſſyrian and Egyptian Antiquities diſcovered. IX. *Pancarpia, opus ex Artibus & Linguis miſcell.* This piece is imperfect. X. *Excogitata Philoſophica; nempe de novâ ratione circa Monoptoſyllogiſmum dialecticum, pridem ſemi circulariter figuratum, natalia ventorum conceptacula, &c.* XI. *Magnetologia, in Lib.* 3. *agentibus de triplici motu magnetico Lapidali, Cæleſti, & Animali, &c.* XII. *Libri Ebræo-Rabbinici in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ recenſiti, ann.* 1629. Mr. Wood had a copy of this written by the hand of Dr. Gerard Langbaine. It was the firſt work, which Mr. Jacob performed after he was ſettled at Oxford, at the deſire of his Patron William Earl of Pembroke, the Hebrew books abovementioned being the ſame which the Earl had obtained out of Italy from the Baroccian Library. XIII. Beſides the manuſcripts, which we have given an account of, Mr. Jacob left a great many others, ſeveral of which he lent to Dr. Peter Turner, who after his ejectment from the Univerſity of Oxford in 1648, retiring to the houſe of his ſiſter, the widow of Mr. Watts, a Brewer in Southwark, and dying there in January 165½, his papers came into the hands of his nephew William Watts, afterwards Reſidentiary of Hereford, who having a ſon of Brazen-Noſe College in Oxford, into whoſe poſſeſſion they came, he communicated ſeveral of them to Moſes Pengry, Fellow of that College, one of which was intitled, *De Mari Rubro*; and another *De Hiſtoriâ Beli & Draconis.* Copies of theſe tracts were communicated by Mr. Pengry to Mr. Richard Reeve, then Maſter of the School adjoining to Magdalen College. Mr. Wood informs us likewiſe (8), that " our Author being ejected in 1648 " from Merton College, and ſo conſequently from his " chamber, wherein he had left a trunk full of books, " as well written as printed, left Oxon; and taking " no care, nor appointing any friend for its ſecurity, " his chamber-door, before a year was expired, was " broke open for a new comer, who finding the trunk " there, did let it remain in its place for a time. At " length, when no man inquired after it, as the then " poſſeſſor thereof pretended, he ſecured it for his " own uſe, broke it open, and therein diſcovered a " choice treaſure of books. One of them being a " manuſcript, and fit for the preſs, he diſguiſed and " altered it with another ſtyle, and at length, after " he had learned Hebrew and the oriental languages " to blind the world, and had converſed openly with " thoſe moſt excellent in them, as Pocock and Bo- " gan of Corpus Chriſti College, or any Grecian or " Jew, that came accidentally to the Univerſity, he " publiſhed it under this title: *Delphi Phœnicizantes,* " *ſive Tractatus, in quo Græcos, quicquid Delphis celebre erat (ſeu Pythonis & Apollinis Hiſtoriam, ſeu* " *Pæanica Certamina, & Præmia, &c.) e Joſuæ* " *Hiſtoriâ ſcriptiſq; ſacris effluxiſſe rationibus haud* " *inconcinnis oſtenditur,* &c. Oxford 1655, in 8vo. " To which is added, *Diatriba de Noe in Italiam ad-* " *ventu, ejuſq; Nominibus Ethnicis,* and a little tract " *De origine Druidum:* which three things are much " commended by foreign Authors, particularly by " *Spizelius* in his book *De doctrinâ Sinenſium.*" The perſon, whom Mr. Wood means in this paſſage, and who publiſhed the *Delphi Phœnicizantes* in his own name, was Dr. Edmund Dickenſon, afterwards an eminent Phyſician at London. Mr. Jacob put notes to moſt of the printed books in his ſtudy, and particularly to Salmaſius's *Exercitationes Plinianæ in Solinum*; which book coming into the hands of Mr. Henry Birkhead, Fellow of All Souls College, " he tranſ- " crib'd the ſaid notes, and entering them into ano- " ther copy of his own, deleted thoſe of Jacob with " aqua fortis, and ſold the copy itſelf to an Oxford " Bookſeller; ſuch, ſays Mr. Wood (9), was his for- " did avarice." T.

(8) Ibid. col. 160.

(9) Ibid.

(l) Ibid. col. 161.

" after, ſays Mr. Wood (*l*), in a bright moon-ſhining night, the reſemblance of Henry " Jacob came into the bed-chamber of the Doctor, who being aſleep, the reſem- " blance laid his cold hand upon his face. Whereupon the Doctor awaking, looked up " and ſaw Henry Jacob ſtaring upon him, with his beard turned up, as he uſed to wear " it living: whereat being ſtrangely ſurpriſed, he ſtirred himſelf, thinking that it might " be a dream; but ſtill the reſemblance ſtood ſtill; ſo that the Doctor having not cou- " rage to ſpeak to it, turned on the other ſide, and lay in a cold ſweat. After ſome " time he looked again, and ſaw him ſitting on a little table near to his bed; but before " morning he vaniſhed. Another night the maid going out of the houſe, ſaw the ſaid " reſemblance ſtanding on a wood-pile, and was thereupon much affrighted. Theſe " ſtories the Doctor did confidently aver to be true, not only to Dr. Peter Moulin Pre- " bendary of Canterbury, but to others of note, among whom, if I am not miſtaken, " Dr. Meric Caſaubon was one."

(a) *The Life and Death of the venerable Dr. Jackſon, Dean of Peterborough, and Preſident of Corpus Chriſti in Oxford*, prefixed to *A Collection of his Works*, London 1653 in fol. This Life was written by Mr. *Edmund Vaughan* Fellow of Corpus Chriſti College.

☞ JACKSON (THOMAS), a very learned Engliſh Divine in the ſeventeenth Century, was deſcended of a very worthy family in the Biſhopric of Durham (*a*), and was born at Witton on the river Weer in Durham, December the 21ſt 1579 (*b*). He was at firſt deſigned by his parents to be a Merchant in Newcaſtle, where many of his relations and friends lived in great wealth and proſperity; but that temptation could not divert him from his inclination to learning (*c*). At the inſtance therefore of Ralph Lord Evre, Baron of Malton and Wilton he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford [*A*], and became a ſtudent of Queen's College under the tuition of Mr. Richard Crakanthorp in Midſummer Term 1595, and was admitted ſcholar of Corpus Chriſti College March the 24th 1596 (*d*) [*B*]. July the 23d 1599 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*), and July the 9th 1603 that of Maſter (*f*). May the 10th 1606 he was choſen Probationer Fellow of his College (*g*). June the 26th 1622 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (*h*). He read a Lecture of Divinity in his College every Sunday morning, and another day of the week at Pembroke College, then newly erected, at the deſire of the Maſter and Fellows there. He was choſen Vice-Preſident of his College for many years together, who by his place was to moderate the diſputations in Divinity (*i*). In 1624 he left the College for a Living in the Biſhopric of Durham, to which he was preſented by the Preſident and Fellows of his College; and from thence ſoon after he removed to the Vicarage of Newcaſtle upon Tine (*k*), where he diſcharged his duty in a moſt exemplary manner [*C*], and *was much followed and admired*, ſays Mr. Wood (*l*), *for his excellent way of preaching, which was then puritanical.* In 1630 (*m*) he was elected Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College [*D*], partly by the intereſt of Dr. Neile Biſhop of Durham, who had before *taken*

(b) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 633. 2d edit. London 1721.

(c) *Life*, ubi ſupra.

(d) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(e) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 156.

(f) Idem, ibid. col. 165.

(g) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(h) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 223.

(i) *Life*, ubi ſupra.

(k) Ibid. and Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(l) Ibid.

(m) Idem, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 232.

[*A*] *At the inſtance of Ralph Lord Evre, Baron of Malton and Wilton, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford.*] Our Author in the dedication to that Nobleman of his treatiſe, intitled, *The eternal Truth of Scriptures, and Chriſtian Belief thereon wholly depending, manifeſted by its own Light*, printed at London 1613 in 4to. has theſe words: " That love and duty, " which I owe unto your honourable family and per- " ſon, as in many other reſpects, ſo chiefly in this, " that being ingaged unto a more gainful, but not ſo " good a courſe of life, and well nigh rooted in ano- " ther ſoil, I was by your Lordſhip's favourable ad- " vice and countenance tranſplanted to this famous " nurſery of good learning."

[*B*] *Was admitted ſcholar of Corpus Chriſti College March 24th* 1596.] The Author of his *Life* (1) tells us, that although he had no notice of the vacancy of the place, till the day before the election, yet he anſwer'd with ſo much readineſs and applauſe, that he gained the admiration, as well as the ſuffrages of the Electors, and was choſen with full conſent, though they had received letters of favour from great men for another ſcholar. He had not been long admitted into this place, before he had like to have loſt his life by an accident. For walking out with others of the younger company to waſh himſelf, he was in imminent danger of being drowned. It was a long and almoſt incredible ſpace of time, wherein he lay under water, before a boat could be procured, which was ſent for, rather to take out his body, before it floated, for a decent funeral, than out of hopes of recovery of life. The Boatman diſcerning where he was by the bubbling of the water (the laſt ſign of a Man expiring) thruſt down his hook at that very moment, which at the firſt trial lighted under his arm, and brought him up into the boat. All the parts of his body were ſwollen to a vaſt proportion; and though by holding his head downward they let forth the water, yet no hopes of life appeared. They brought him therefore to the land, and lapped him up in the gowns of his fellow-ſtudents. After ſome warmth and former means renewed, they perceived that life was yet in him, convey'd him to the College, and commended him to the ſkill of Dr. Channel, an eminent Phyſician of the ſame houſe; where with much care, time, and difficulty he recovered to the equal joy and wonder of the whole ſociety. His grateful acknowledgments to the Fiſherman and his ſervant, who took him up, knew no limits, being a conſtant revenue to them while he lived.

(1) Prefixed to his *Works*.

[*C*] *Removed to the Vicarage of Newcaſtle upon Tine, where he diſcharged his duty in a moſt exemplary manner.*] He ſhewed himſelf to be very ſtudious, humble, courteous, and charitable. When he went out, what money he had, he uſually gave to the poor, who at length flock'd ſo to him, that his ſervant took care, that he had not too much in his pocket. At a certain time Dr. Henderſon, the Phyſician of that town, his neighbour and intimate friend, having made a purchaſe, ſitting melancholy by him, and fetching a ſigh, Dr. Jackſon aſked the reaſon. He ſaid, that he had a payment to make, and wanted money. Dr. Jackſon told him, that he would furniſh him; and calling for his ſervant, informed him of the Phyſician's need, and aſked what money he had. The man ſtepping back ſilent, the Doctor bade him ſpeak. The man ſaid, forty ſhillings. The Doctor ordered him to fetch it, for Dr. Henderſon ſhould have it all. Upon this the Phyſician turned his ſadneſs into laughter; and Dr. Jackſon demanding the reaſon, he anſwer'd, that he had occaſion for four or five hundred pounds. Dr. Jackſon replied, that he thought forty ſhillings a great ſum, and that he ſhould have it, and more alſo, if he had it (2).

(2) *Life*, ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *Elected Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College.*] The Author of his life tells us, that *he was choſen in his abſence, at ſo great a diſtance, ſo unexpectedly, without any ſuit or petition upon his part, that he knew nothing of the vacancy of the place, but by the ſame letters, that informed him, that it was conferr'd upon himſelf. A preferment of ſo good account, that it hath been much deſired and eagerly ſought after by many eminent men, but never before went ſo far to be accepted of.* But Mr.

taken him off, ſays Mr. Wood, *from his preciſe way*, and made him his Chaplain; but more by the endeavours of Biſhop Laud. Upon this he left his Vicarage, was appointed Chaplain in ordinary to his Majeſty (*n*), and June 18, 1635, Prebendary of Wincheſter (*o*), and was preſented to the Vicarage of Witney in Oxfordſhire, which, after he had been at much pains and expence to clear the title of the Rectory to all ſucceeding Miniſters, he freely beſtowed on Mr. Thomas White, then Proctor of the Univerſity, and Chaplain of Corpus Chriſti College (*p*). In 1638 he was promoted to the Deanery of Peterborough in the room of Dr. John Towers, advanced to the Epiſcopal See (*q*). He publiſhed a great many works [*E*]. He died September the 21ſt 1640, and was interred in the Inner Chapel of Corpus Chriſti College. Mr. Wood tells us (*r*), that he was furniſhed with all learned Languages, Arts, and Sciences, eſpecially Metaphyſics, which he conſidered as a neceſſary handmaid to Divinity; and that he was alſo profoundly read in the Fathers. He had a ſtrong judgment. He wrote excellently concerning the divine attributes, and with vigour againſt the Church of Rome. Mr. Barnabas Oley (*s*) declares, that

(*n*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Le Neve, *Faſti Eccleſ. Anglic.* pag. 529.

(*p*) *Life*, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Le Neve, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 241.

(*r*) *Athen. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(*s*) *Life of Mr. George Herbert*, edit. London 1652. It is not pag'd.

Mr. Wood, as we have obſerved in the text of this article, aſſerts, that Biſhop Neile and Biſhop Laud made uſe of their intereſt to procure this place for him. He governed in a moſt obliging manner the fellows, ſcholars, ſervants, and tenants. No man departed from him melancholy, except in this particular, that by ſome miſdemeanor or wilful error they had created trouble, or given offence to him. He uſed the friends as well as the memory of his predeceſſors fairly. He was a lover and maker of peace. He ſilenced and compoſed all differences, diſpleaſure, and animoſities by a prudent impartiality, and the example of his own ſweet diſpoſition. It was a new and peculiar art of diſcipline, but ſucceſsfully practiſed by him, that thoſe under his authority were kept within bounds and order, not ſo much out of fear of the penalty, as out of love to the Governor. He took notice of that which was good in the worſt men, and made that an occaſion to commend them for the good's ſake; and living himſelf, *tanquam nemini ignoſceret*, as if he were ſo ſevere, that he could forgive no man, yet he reſerved large pardons for the imperfections of others. He willingly admitted, and was much delighted in, the acquaintance and familiarity of hopeful young Divines, adviſing them what books to read. This was one of the ſpecial advices and directions which he commended to young men; *Hear the dictates of your own conſcience. Quod dubitas, ne feceris*; making this comment upon that of the ſon of Sirach, *In all thy matters truſt (or believe) thy own ſoul*, and bear it not down by impetuous and contradictious luſts (3).

(3) Ibid.

[*E*] *He publiſh'd a great many works.*] They are as follow: I. *The eternal Truth of Scriptures, and Chriſtian Belief, thereon wholly depending, manifeſted by its own Light.* London 1613 in 4to. This is the *firſt Book* of his *Comments on the Creed.* II. *How far the Miniſtry of Men is neceſſary for planting true Chriſtian Faith, and retaining the unity of it planted*, London 1614, in 4to. This is the *ſecond Book* of his *Comments on the Creed.* III. *Blaſphemous Poſitions of Jeſuits and other later Romaniſts concerning the authority of their Church.* London 1614, in 4to. This is the *third Book* of his *Comments on the Creed.* The Dedication to William Lord Biſhop of Durham is dated at Corpus Chriſti College March 25th 1614. IV. *Juſtifying Faith: Or, the Faith, by which the Juſt do live. A Treatiſe containing a Deſcription of the Nature, Properties, and Conditions of Chriſtian Faith.* London 1615 and 1631, in 4to. This is the *fourth book* of his *Comments on the Creed.* V. *A Diſcovery of Miſperſuaſions, breeding Preſumption and Hypocriſy, and Means how Faith may be planted in Unbelievers.* Printed with the preceding Treatiſe. VI. *A Treatiſe concerning the Original of Unbelief, Miſbelief, and Miſperſuaſions concerning the Verity, Unity, and Attributes of the Deity*, &c. London 1625, in 4to. This is the *fifth Book* of his *Comments on the Creed.* VII. *A Treatiſe of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes.* London 1628, in 4to the *firſt Part.* The *ſecond Part* was printed there in 1629 in 4to. Theſe two parts make the *ſixth Book* of his *Comments on the Creed.* The firſt part is dedicated to William Earl of Pembroke in an Epiſtle, wherein, as Mr. Prynne ſays (4), "the Author profeſ- "ſeth himſelf an *Arminian*, and Patron of their Tenets. "And from chap. 8. to the 20th he profeſſedly main- "tains *a mutability in God's eternal Decrees of Election "and Reprobation, depending upon the Actions and Wills "of Men, Univerſal Grace and Redemption*, with "other *Arminian* Errors. This Book, though pub- "licly complained of, was never called in by the Biſhop "[*Laud*,] but the *ſecond Part* thereof was printed "with Licenſe Ann. 1629, and the Author of it ad- "vanced to the Preſidentſhip of Corpus Chriſti Col- "lege in Oxford by this Biſhop, yea by him deſigned "to be Doctor of the Chair (though he miſſed that "preferment) to poiſon the Univerſity of Oxford with "his *Arminian* dregs." VIII. *The Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt.* This is the *ſeventh Book* of his *Comments on the Creed.* A larger title of it runs thus: *Chriſt exerciſing his everlaſting Prieſthood, &c. Or, a Treatiſe of the Knowledge of Chriſt, which conſiſts in the true Eſtimate or experimental Valuation of his Death, Reſurrection, and Exerciſe of his everlaſting ſacerdotal function*, &c. London 1624, in 4to. IX. *Humiliation of the Son of God by his becoming the Son of Man*, &c. London 1626 and 1636 in 4to. This is the *eighth Book* of his *Comments on the Creed.* X. *Treatiſe of the Conſecration of the Son of God to the everlaſting Prieſthood*, &c. London 1628 and 1633, in 4to, Oxford 1638 in 4to. This is the *ninth Book* of his *Comment on the Creed.* XI. *A Treatiſe of that Knowledge of Chriſt, which conſiſts in the true Eſtimate or experimental Valuation of his Death, Reſurrection, and Exerciſe of his everlaſting Sacerdotal Function in the Heavenly Sanctuary, where he now ſitteth at the Right Hand of God the Father.* London 1654, in folio. This is the *tenth Book* of his *Comments on the Creed.* XII. MARAN AΘA. Dominus veniet. *Of Chriſt's Seſſion at the Right Hand of God, and Exaltation thereby. Of his being made Lord and Chriſt. Of his coming to judge the Quick and the Dead. Of the Reſurrection of the Body; and Life everlaſting both in Joy and Torments.* London 1657, in folio. This is the *eleventh Book* of his *Comments on the Creed.* This with the *tenth Book*, and a preface concerning them and their Author, were publiſhed by Barnabas Oley, M. A. of Cambridge, who had before publiſhed the ſecond edition of the *three firſt Books* at London 1653, in folio, with a large Preface written by the Editor, and a life of our author written by Mr. Edmund Vaughan, Fellow of Corpus Chriſti College. To this *eleventh Book* are ſubjoin'd *divers Sermons, proper Attendants upon the precedent Tracts.* XIII. *Treatiſe of the Holy Catholic Faith and Church, in three Books.* London 1627, in 4to. This is the *twelfth Book* of his *Comments on the Creed.* XIV. *A Treatiſe of Chriſtian Obedience.* XV. *A Treatiſe of the primæval State of the firſt Man. Of the manner how Sin found entrance into, and is propagated in the world. Of the Nature of Sin. Of our firſt ſervitude to it. Of that poor Remnant of Free-Will left in the Sons of Adam, with directions to uſe it aright, and how we are to be ſet free by the Son of God. Of Mortification. Of the right Uſe of Reaſon, or Rules of Art for determining Doubts in Divinity*, &c. London 1654, in folio. XVI. *A Diſcourſe of the Limitation of the two Propoſitions in the thirteenth Verſe of the eighth Chapter to the Romans.* XVII. *A Vindication of himſelf, or a ſerious Anſwer to Mr.* Henry Burton's *Exceptions taken againſt a paſſage in his Treatiſe* of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes. XVIII. *A Paraphraſe on the eleven firſt Chapters of* Exodus, *with uſeful Annotations, Obſervations, and Parallels.* XIX. *Salvation only from God's Grace, or an Expoſition of Rom.* ix. 16. XX. *God's juſt hardening of Pharaoh, when he had filled up*

(4) *Canterbury's Doom*, pag. 166, 167.

that he " had not read ſo hearty and vigorous a champion againſt Rome, ſo convincing " and demonſtrative as Dr. Jackſon." He was a man of a blameleſs life, ſtudious, humble, courteous, charitable, and pious; and was extremely beloved by all, except the rigid Calviniſts, who conſidered him in an odious light as an *Arminian* [*F*]. There was another Divine of both his names, who was educated in the Univerſity of Cambridge, afterwards Miniſter of Wye in Kent, and at length Prebendary of Canterbury, and Doctor of Divinity. He publiſhed ſeveral Sermons, and was a ſevere enemy to the Arminians, and was a witneſs againſt Archbiſhop Laud upon his trial (*t*).

(*t*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 636.

the Meaſure of his Iniquity. Or, an Expoſition of Rom. ix. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. Theſe five laſt Treatiſes were printed in his *Second Part of the Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt*, abovementioned, at London 1654, in folio. XXI. *Several Sermons.* Theſe works of his, with ſome others not before printed, were publiſhed together at London 1672, in three volumes in folio. He wrote likewiſe *An Hiſtorical Narrative* licenſed by Dr. Edward Martin, domeſtic Chaplain to Biſhop Laud, without that Prelate's Privity; for which he was diſmiſſed the Biſhop's ſervice (2), and the book called in, and ſuppreſſed. But Mr. Prynne, an implacable enemy to Biſhop Laud, ſays (3), " that the ſaid " *Hiſtorical Narration*, which was the vileſt Im- " poſture that ever was thruſt upon our Church, was " licenſed by the ſaid *Martin* with *Laud*'s privity; " and that the calling of it in was the act of Archbiſhop " *Abbot* upon *Prynne*'s complaint, and the public " ſcandal it gave, much againſt *Laud*'s Will, who " ever ſince connived at the ſale of them."

(2) *See* Prynne's *Canterbury's Doom*, pag. 508.

(3) Ibid. pag. 510.

(*F*) *Extremely beloved by all except the rigid Puritans, who conſidered him in an odious light as an Arminian.*] Mr. Prynne ſpeaks thus of him (4): *Dr. Jackſon of Oxon is a man of great abilities, and of a plauſible, affable, courteous deportment, till of late he hath been tranſported beyond himſelf with metaphyſical contemplations, to his own infamy and his renowned Mother's ſhame; I mean, the Univerſity of Oxford, who grieves for his defection, from whoſe Dugs he never ſuck'd his poiſonous doctrines.* In another place (5), that " he was con- " vented in the laſt Parliament (6), yea openly accuſed " in the laſt Convocation for his heretical *Arminian* " books, which have been cenſured by Mr. Henry " Burton in his *Seven Vials*, and particularly anſwered " by the acute and learned Dr. Twiſſe." Mr. Burton took offence at our Author's *Treatiſe of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes*, and in the Epiſtle before his book intitled *Iſrael's Faſt*, printed in 1628, has the following paſſage: *Theſe Neutralizers, or Popiſh Arminians, or Arminian Papiſts, or what you will, under the name of the Church of England, dare vent any Arminian Hereſy: As in a book lately printed, and by authority too, there is this moſt blaſphemous Arminian Hereſy*; That there is a goodneſs objective in the creature, which in order of nature is precedent to the act or exerciſe of God's will: *Thus by neceſſary conſequence making the* Creature a God, *having a ſelf-being, independent, but only upon God's bare Preſcience, upon which, and not upon that ſupreme Cauſe of Cauſes, God's will, he hangeth the being and well-being of all the creatures.* Dr. Jackſon wrote a *Vindication of himſelf*, printed in the *Appendix* to the *tenth Book* of his *Comments on the Creed*, wherein he denies that he ever wrote the propoſition abovementioned, but owns the following one contained in his *Treatiſe of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes*, chap. 13. part. 3. p. 149. in 4to. " As there is a " logical poſſibility preſuppoſed to be the working of " the Almighty Power; ſo there is a goodneſs ob- " jective precedent in order of nature to the act or " exerciſe of his will." He aſſerts in his *Vindication*, that " all things are not good only becauſe God " willeth, but God willeth ſome things becauſe they " are good;" and that " if the acts and injunctions of " God's will were the only rule of Goodneſs, and " had not eternal Goodneſs rather for their rule, it " would be hard to avoid the Stoical error, that *all* " *ſins are equal*, beſides a kind of fatality in human " affairs worſe than Stoical. The Turks acknowledge " God's will to be a *rule of goodneſs*, as ſovereign, " as the Author of the forementioned *Epiſtle* doth; " to be ſuch a *Cauſe of Cauſes*, as he would have it: " But being ignorant, or not conſidering, that there is " an *immutable goodneſs* precedent to the act or " exerciſe of God's will; a goodneſs whereof his " will, however conſidered, is no cauſe, for it is *co-* " *eternal* to his will, to his wiſdom, and eſſence; " they fall into groſly abſurd errors. And conſe- " quently unto this their ignorance, or to the com- " mon error, that all things are *good* only becauſe God " *willeth them*, they ſometimes highly commend, and " ſometimes deeply diſcommend the ſelf ſame practices " for quality and circumſtances with as great vehe- " mency of zeal and ſpirit, and with as fair proteſta- " tions of obedience in all things to God's will, as " any other men do. . . . . Whoſoever he be, whe- " ther Jew, Turk, or Chriſtian, which thinks, that " all events are ſo irreſiſtibly decreed by God, that " none can fall out otherwiſe than they do, muſt of " neceſſity grant, either that there is no moral evil " under the ſun, or that God's will, which is the " Cauſe of Cauſes, is the only cauſe of ſuch evil.

(4) In his *Anti-Arminianiſm: or the Church of England's old Antitheſis &c.* pag. 270. edit. 1630.

(5) *Appendix to Anti-Arminianiſme.*

(6) In 1628.

T.

☞ JAMES (Dr. THOMAS), a very learned Engliſh Divine in the ſeventeenth Century, was born in the Iſle of Wight (*a*) at Newport (*b*) about the year 1571 [*A*]. He was educated in Grammar learning at Wickham ſchool near Wincheſter, from whence he went to New College in Oxford, of which he became perpetual Fellow in 1593 (*c*). May the 3d 1595 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*); and February the 3d $159\frac{8}{9}$ that of Maſter of Arts (*e*). About the year 1599 or 1600, being recommended to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Bodley by his great learning and knowledge of books, he was deſigned by him the firſt Keeper of the public Library at Oxford then founding; and this office was confirmed to him by the Univerſity in 1602 (*f*). May the 16th 1614 he accumulated the degrees in Divinity (*g*); and having about that time the Subdeanery of Wells conferred upon him freely without his ſeeking by the Biſhop of that See, and the Rectory of Mongeham in Kent, with other ſpiritual preferments by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury without aſking (*h*), he reſigned in 1620 the place of Library Keeper (*i*), being about that time a Juſtice of Peace (*k*), and betook himſelf more intenſely to his ſtudies, the fruits of which are ſeveral valuable works [*B*]. He was a Member of the Convocation

(*a*) *Fuller's Worthies in Hampſhire.*

(*b*) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 144.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

(*d*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 149. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*e*) Idem, ibid. col. 154.

(*f*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 537.

(*g*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 197.

(*h*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Idem, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 53.

(*k*) Idem, pag. 144.

[*A*] *Born about the year* 1571.] Mr. Woods tells us (1), that he was about fifty eight years of age, when he died, which was in Auguſt 1629.

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 540.

[*B*] *Several valuable works.* His writings are as follow. I. *Philobiblion Richardi Dunelmenſis*, publiſhed by our author, who collated ſeveral manuſcripts of it, at Oxford 1599 in 4to, with a dedication to Sir Thomas Bodley. To this is ſubjoined an *Appendix de Manuſcriptis Oxonienſibus.* II. *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigienſis.* London 1600 in 4to. This contains a catalogue of all the manuſcripts in each College-Library in the Univerſity of Oxford, but not thoſe in the public Library; and in each College Library in Cambridge, and in the public one there. Mr. Wood obſerves (2), that in

(2) Ibid. col. 538.

Convocation held with the Parliament at Oxford in the firſt year of King Charles I's reign, wherein he made a motion, that ſome perſons might be commiſſioned to peruſe the manuſcripts of the writings of the antient Fathers in all public and private Libraries in England, in order to detect the forgeries of foreign Popiſh editions (*l*). He was prodigiouſly well verſed in the Fathers and Schoolmen, and ſo univerſal a ſcholar, that he was eſteemed by ſome *a living Library*. His deſigns were always for the public benefit of Learning and the Engliſh Church; which being known to Camden, he ſaith of him (*m*), *he is a learned man, and a true lover of books, wholly dedicated to learning, who is now laboriouſly ſearching the Libraries of England, and purpoſeth that for the public good, which will be to the great benefit of Students.* In a letter to Mr. Calendrine dated at Oxford May the 23d 1624 (*n*) he obſerves, that if the Univerſity of Cambridge would ſet up and forward a project like Dr. Goad's, "he dared undertake more good to be done "for

(*l*) Idem, ibid. & *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 537.

(*m*) Britannia, *in Comit.* Monmouth. edit. 1607.

(*n*) *Collection of Letters*, at the end of *Archbiſhop Uſher's Life by Dr. Rich. Parr*, Num. 66. pag. 307.

in making of this catalogue "he had liberty given to "him by each College in Oxford to peruſe their ma- "nuſcripts, and from that ſociety, which he perceived "was careleſs of them, he borrowed and took away "what he pleaſed, and put them forthwith into the "public Library. Several ſuch manuſcripts were taken "from Baliol College, and ſome from Merton, and do "yet bear in their reſpective fronts the names of the "donors of them to thoſe houſes." Joſeph Scaliger in a letter to Richard Thomſon dated Decemb. 16, 1600, highly commends this cataloge. His words are as follow. *Catalogus ille ſcriptorum Oxonienſium & Cantabrigienſium Librorum mirificè me affecit; præſertim quum videam, multa in illis monumenta eſſe, quibus res Gallicæ & regni Francorum illuſtrari poſſint; & præterea non minorem numerum eorum, quibus Tyrannis Pontificia manifeſto deprehendi poſſit; tum quæ doceant, quando cloacæ illæ & colluvies monachorum ſeſe in Europam effuderint, ut Loiolitæ hodie & Capuccini. Habetis quoque Originem in Celſum, alioſque eximios Græcos nondum editos, quos parum vexari ab iis puto, qui in Collegiis degunt. A me certè non rarò reviſerentur, ſi ibi adeſſem.* III. *Cyprianus redivivus, hoc eſt, elenchus eorum, quæ in opuſculo Cypriani de Unitate Eccleſiæ ſunt vel addita, vel detracta, vel lapſu Typographi, vel alio quovis modo ſuppoſita*, &c. Printed with the *Ecloga*. IV. *Spicilegium D. Auguſtini, hoc eſt, Libri de fide ad Petr. Diaconum, cum antiquiſſimis duobus Manuſcriptis & poſtremis ac ultimis Editionibus excuſis, tam Baſilienſi quam Pariſienſi diligens Collatio, ac Caſtigatio*, &c. Printed with the *Ecloga*. V. *Bellum Papale, ſeu Concordia diſcors Sixti V & Clementis VIII. circa Hieronymianam Editionem.* London 1600 in 4to and 1678 in 8vo. VI. *Catalogus Librorum in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ.* Oxford 1605 in a large octavo, or rather a ſmall quarto. Reprinted with many additions in a thick 4to, 1620. To which was added an Appendix in 1636. In this catalogue is inſerted a catalogue of all the manuſcripts which were then in the Bodleian Library. VII. *Concordantiæ ſanctorum Patrum, i. e. vera & pia Libri Canticorum per Patres univerſos, tam Græcos, quam Latinos Expoſitio*, &c. Oxford 1607 in 4to. VIII. *Apology for* John Wicliffe, *ſhewing his Conformity with the now Church of England*, &c. Oxford 1608 in 4to. To this is added *The Life of* John Wicliff. IX. *A Treatiſe of the Corruption of Scripture, Councels, and Fathers, by the Prelats, Paſtors, and Pillars of the Church of Rome, for maintenance of Popery and Irreligion. By* Thomas James, *Student in Divinitie and chief Keeper of the Publique Librarie in the Univerſitie of Oxford, of the hon^ble foundation of Sir* Thomas Bodley *Knt. Together with a ſufficient Anſwere unto* James Gretſer & Antonie Poſſevine *Jeſuites, and the unknown author of the* Grounds of the Old Religion, and the New. *Divided into five Parts.* London 1611 in 4to, and 1688 in 8vo. It is dedicated to Dr. George Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. The firſt Part ſhews *the Baſtardie of the falſe Fathers*; the ſecond, *the Corruption of the true Fathers*; the third, *the Varietie and Contrarietie of the Popiſh Bibles, commonly called the* Vulgar Bibles *in Latine*; the fourth, *the open and ſecret wrongs done unto Fathers, antient, middle-aged, or modern Writers, by the Papiſts, chiefly in their* Indices Expurgatorii; the fifth, *particular Remedies againſt theſe ſeveral Diſeaſes, when and how to be applied, together with the uſe, profit, and commoditie of the antient Manuſcripts.* In the *Advertiſement to the Chriſtian Reader* he obſerves, that there are 187 different Treatiſes, which are ſhrewdly ſuſpected, if not plainly convicted of forgery by the Papiſts themſelves. "I follow herein, *ſays he*, the "judgment of their beſt learned writers, moſt eſteemed "in their times, ſuch as Bellarmine and Baronius Car- "dinals, Poſſevin and Gretſer Jeſuites, Sixtus Senen- "ſis of the order of the Preachers, Angelus Roccha "an Eremite, Pamelius a Monk, and ſundry others." He remarks, that the ſpecial motives of publiſhing of this treatiſe were three. "The firſt, *ſays he*, becauſe "it is a matter of faith, to appoint what is Scripture, "and what is not; which Pope Sixtus taking upon "him to determine, ſitting in Chayre, hath foulely "erred; ſo that it appears by this, that their conclu- "ſion is falſe, *that the Pope cannot erre in matter of "faith.* The ſecond, becauſe the Papiſts are ready "to oppoſe and object ſtill unto us our different tranſla- "tions of the Bibles, when there may bee very good "reaſon given out of the Originals for both readings, "little conſidering their own groſſe errors and palpa- "ble abſurdities in the ſetting forth of their two Bi- "bles, authorized by two Popes within two yeares; "which to reconcile is a matter altogether unpoſſible, "and to indure, likewiſe intolerable. I underſtand "by our *Divines of Doway*, that they meane to have "a bout with us, for the Corrections of the *Biſhop's "Bible.* I would they would be pleaſed, firſt to an- "ſwere for themſelves and their two Popes, and then "let them object what they can againſt us for changing "and altering ſome fewe words in the Bible, and they "ſhall be anſwered with reaſon. Another motive that "hath provoked me to the writing of this argument "hath been a pretended Anſwere of James Gretſer un- "to my *Bellum Papale*. It was fitte his reaſons ſhould "be anſwered, tho' his ſcurrilous jeſts and reproachful "ſpeeches deſerve no better anſwere than that of Salo- "mon's *fool*." In the *Appendix to the Reader* he tells us, that ſince the printing of this book he had been informed of a *dangerous practice in Rome.* "In the "*Vatican* Library, *ſays he*, there are certaine men "maintained only to tranſcribe Acts of the Councels, "or Copies of the Father's workes. Theſe men, ap- "pointed for this buſineſs, doe, as I am credibly in- "formed, in tranſcribing bookes imitate the letter of "the auntient copies, as neere as can bee expreſſed. "And it is to be feared, that in copying out of bookes "they doe adde and take away, alter and change the "words, according to the pleaſure of their Lord the "Pope. And ſo theſe tranſcripts may within a few "yeares, by reaſon of their counterfaiting the aun- "tient hands, be avouched for very old manuſcripts, "deluding the world with a ſhewe of antiquitie: the "danger is the greater, becauſe there may bee an "*Index Expurgatorius* (for ought we know) for purg- "ing the manuſcripts as well as the printed bookes. "This practiſe of theres I heard of ſome two or three "years agoe; but I had forgotten of whom, and "therefore did forbeare to mention it, till ſuch time "as by God's will I lighted upon the Gentleman "againe, who was at Rome in the *Vatican*, and ſaw "it with his eyes, and will teſtifie it upon his oath, if "need be." X. *The Jeſuits Downfall threatned againſt them by the Secular Prieſts for their wicked Lives, accurſed Manners, heretical Doctrine, and more than Machiavillian Policy.* Oxford 1612 in 4to. To this is added *The Life of Father* Parſons *an Engliſh Jeſuit.* XI. *Filius Papæ Papalis*, &c. London 1621, tranſlated from Latin into Engliſh by *William Craſhaw.* Our author's name is not put to it. XII. *Index generalis ſanctorum*

" for the profit of Learning and true Religion, than by building ten Colleges. I have " of late, continues he, given myſelf to the reading only of manuſcripts; and in them " I find ſo many and ſo pregnant teſtimonies, either fully for our Religion, or againſt " the Papiſts, that it is to be wondered at." And in another letter to Biſhop Uſher dated at Oxford February the 15th 1624 (*o*) he writes thus: " Not only the *Rabbins*, " but the *Thalmud* in ſix volumes at Rome hath felt the ſmart of the Popiſh *Indices*. " Would God, we were but half as diligent to reſtore, as they to aboliſh and put out " the truth. I have reſtored 300 citations, and reſcued them from corruption in thirty " quires of paper. Mr. Briggs will ſatisfy you in this point, and ſundry other projects " of mine, if they miſcarry not for want of maintenance: it would deſerve a Prince's " purſe. If I was in Germany, the Eſtates would defray all charges. Cannot our " Eſtates ſupply what is wanting? If every Churchman, that hath an 100 *l. per ann.* and " upward, will lay down but a ſhilling for every hundred toward theſe public works, I " will undertake the reprinting of the Fathers, and ſetting forth of five or ſix orthodox " writers, comparing of books printed with printed or written; collating of Popiſh " tranſlations in Greek; and generally whatſoever ſhall concern books, or the purity of " them. I will take upon me to be a *Magiſter S. Palatii* in England, if I ſhall be " thereunto lawfully required." He died at his houſe in Hollywell in the North Suburb of Oxford in Auguſt 1629, aged about fifty eight years, and was interred in New College Chapel (*p*).

(*o*) Ibid. Num. 77. pag. 320.

(*p*) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq.* pag. 145. and *Athen. Oxon.* col. 540.

ſanctorum patrum, ad ſingulos verſus cap. 5. *ſecundum Matthæum*, &c. London 1624 in 8vo. XIII. *Notæ ad Georgium Wicelium de Methodo Concordiæ Eccleſiaſticæ, cum Catalogo authorum qui ſcripſerunt contra ſqualores Eccleſiæ Romanæ.* London 1625 in 8vo. XIV. *Vindiciæ Gregorianæ, ſeu reſtitutus innumeris pene locis Gregorius Magnus, ex variis manuſcriptis, ut magno labore, ita ſingulari fide collatis.* Geneva 1625. XV. *Manuduction or Introduction unto Divinity, containing a Confutation of Papiſts by Papiſts throughout the important Articles of our Religion*, &c. Oxford 1625 in 4to. XVI. *Humble and earneſt requeſt to the Church of England for and in the behalf of Books touching Religion.* Printed in one ſheet in 8vo. 1625. XVII. *Explanation, or enlarging of the Ten Articles in his Supplication lately exhibited to the Clergy of England, for the reſtoring to integrity Authors corrupted by Papiſts.* Oxford 1625 in 4to. XVIII. *Specimen corruptelarum Pontificiorum in Cypriano, Ambroſio, Gregorio Magno & authore Operis imperfecti, & in jure Canonico.* London 1626 in 4to. XIX. *Index librorum prohibitorum a Pontificiis.* Oxford 1627 in 8vo. XX. *Admonitio ad Theologos Proteſtantes de Libris Pontificiorum cautè legendis.* MS. XXI. *Enchiridion Theologicum.* MS. XXII. *Liber de ſuſpicionibus & conjecturis.* MS. " Theſe three manuſcripts, *ſays Mr.* " *Wood* (*), I ſaw formerly in the *Lambeth* Library " under D. 1, 2, 3; but whether printed I know " not: perhaps the *Enchiridion* is." Dr. James likewiſe tranſlated from French into Engliſh, *The Moral Philoſophy of the Stoics.* London 1598 in 8vo, and publiſhed *Two ſhort Treatiſes againſt the Order of the begging Friars*, written by John Wicliff; and a book intitled, *Fiſcus Papalis: ſive Catalogus indulgentiarum & reliquiarum ſeptem principalium Eccleſiarum urbis Romæ, ex vetere MS. deſcriptus.* London 1617 in 4to. The Latin out of the Manuſcript is ſet down in one column, and the Engliſh in another. Some were of opinion, that this book was not publiſhed by Dr. James but by William Craſhaw of Cambridge. There are ſeveral letters of our author publiſhed in the *Collection of three hundred Letters written between Archbiſhop* Uſher *and moſt of the eminenteſt Perſons for Piety and Learning in his time*, ſubjoined to Dr. Richard Parr's *Life* of that Prelate. In his letter to him dated at Oxford January 28, 1623, he writes thus: " I have traced the " ſteps afar off about the *Succeſſion and Viſibility of the* " *Church*, wherein your Lordſhip hath gone a far " journey. I do but glean where you have reaped a " plentiful harveſt. Nevertheleſs, if my poor and " weak labours may any ways ſtead your Lordſhip, " I would be glad to contribute my pains... I am " not ſo far gone in years as in ſickneſſes; yet my body " is not ſo weak, but my mind is as ſtrong, and my " zeal great to ſee ſomewhat acted againſt the Papiſts " in matters of forgery and corruption, which are " matters of fact, whereto my ſtudies have always " aimed, and ſhall during life, if God will. I find " infinite corruption in the Fathers works, eſpecially " of the Roman print. In the *Canon Law* and *Decretals* I can convince them of ſhameleſs forgeries by " the Parchments. But that which hath amazed or " amuſed the world, and made it turn or continue " Popiſh, hath been the want of Cenſurers of the Fathers works, which made our *Magdeburgians* and " ſome of our beſt learned, to lance the Fathers, and " not to ſpare them, whereas they are but Pſeudo-Fathers indeed. But the notedeſt cozenage, which " is rife and moſt beguiling in theſe days, is a ſecret " *Index Expurgatorius*, and therefore the more dangerous; that is, the reprinting of books, not making " mention of any caſtigation or purgation of them, " and yet both leaving and adding, and otherwiſe infinitely depraving them, as is to be ſeen in hundreds " of books of the middle-age and later writers. I inſtance in *Sixtus Senenſis*, and *Alphonſus de Caſtro*, " and *Antoninus's Summs.* There are about five hundred " baſtard treatiſes, and about a thouſand places in the " true authors, which are corrupted, that I have diligently noted; and will ſhortly vindicate them out " of the manuſcripts; for hitherto they be but conjectures of the learned. For this purpoſe I have " gotten together the flower of our young Divines, " who voluntarily will join with me in the ſearch. " Some fruits of their labours, if your Lordſhip deſires, I will ſend up. And might I be but ſo " happy as to have other twelve thus beſtowed, four " in tranſcribing orthodox writers, whereof we have " plenty, that for the ſubſtantial points have maintained " our religion, (40 or 50 pounds would ſerve) four to " compare old prints with the new; four other to " compare the Greek tranſlations by the Papiſts, as " *Vedelius* hath done with *Ignatius*, wherein he has " been ſomewhat helped by my pains; I would not " doubt but to drive the Papiſts out of all their ſtarting holes. But alas! my Lord, I have not encouragement from our Biſhops. Preferment I ſeek " none at their hands; only 40 or 60 pounds *per annum* for others, and their Lordſhips letters to encourage others, is that I ſeek, which being gained, " the cauſe is gained, notwithſtanding their brags in " their late books. H.

(*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 539.

☞ JAMES (RICHARD), nephew of the preceding, was born at Newport in the Iſle of Wight (*a*), and admitted a ſcholar of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford from that of Exeter September the 23d 1608, aged about ſixteen years (*b*). October the 12th 1611 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*), and January the 24th 1615 that of Maſter (*d*). September the 13th 1615 he became Probationer Fellow of Corpus Chriſti College (*e*). About that time he entered into holy Orders (*f*). January the 28th 1623, his uncle Dr. Thomas James wrote thus of him in a letter from Oxford to Biſhop Uſher:

(*a*) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 240.

(*b*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 615. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*c*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 118.

(*d*) Idem, col. 197.

(*e*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Idem, ibid.

Uſher (*g*): "A kinſman of mine is at this preſent, by my direction, writing *Becket's* "*Life*, wherein it ſhall be plainly ſhewed, both out of his own writings and thoſe of "his time, that he was not, as he is eſteemed, an *Arch Saint*, but an *Arch-Rebel*, and "that the Papiſts have not been a little deceived in him. This kinſman of mine, as "well as my ſelf, ſhall be right glad to do any ſervice to your Lordſhip in this kind. "He is of ſtrength, and well both able and learned to effectuate ſomewhat in this kind; "critically ſeen both in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; knowing well the languages both "French, Spaniſh, and Italian, immenſe and beyond all other men, eſpecially in read- "ing of the manuſcripts; of an extraordinary ſtyle in penning; ſuch a one as I dare "balance with any Prieſt or Jeſuit in the world of his age, and ſuch a one as I could "wiſh your Lordſhip had about you. But *Paupertas inimica bonis eſt moribus*, and both "fatherleſs and motherleſs, and almoſt (but for my ſelf) I may ſay (the more is the "pity) friendleſs." July the 7th 1624 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*h*). He publiſhed ſome pieces, and left a great number of curious manuſcripts behind him [*A*]. Mr. Wood obſerves (*i*), "that though humorous, he was of a far better judg- "ment than his uncle Dr. Thomas James; and had he lived to his age, would have ſur- "paſſed him in publiſhed books. He was eſteemed to be a perſon well verſed in moſt "parts of learning. He was noted by all thoſe that knew him to be a very good Gre- "cian, Poet, an excellent Critic, Antiquary, Divine, and admirably well ſkilled in "the Saxon and Gothic Languages. But as for his ſkill in preaching, it was not, ex- "cept by the graver ſort, approved by any in the Univerſity. For of three Ser- "mons delivered to the Academians, one concerning the *Obſervation of Lent*, was "without a Text, according to the moſt antient manner; another againſt a Text; and "a third beſide it; ſhewing himſelf thereby a humorous perſon." He had travelled very much abroad, and was in Ruſſia in 1619. He aſſiſted Mr. Selden in the edition of the *Marmora Arundeliana*, that great man ſtyling him in the preface to his book, *Vir multijugæ Lectionis ſtudiique indefatigabilis*. He was very ſerviceable likewiſe to Sir Robert Cotton, and Sir Thomas Cotton, in diſpoſing and ſettling of their noble Library. His intimacy with the former of thoſe Gentlemen, who was no friend to the Prerogative, occaſioned him to be cloſely confined by order of the Houſe of Lords in the year 1629, when Sir Robert was impriſoned for ſome matters uttered in the Parliament. Mr. Wood remarks,

(*g*) *Collection of Letters*, printed at the end of Dr. Richard Parr's *Life of Archbiſhop Uſher*, Lett. 62. pag. 303. edit. London 1686, in fol.

(*h*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 228.

(*i*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 615.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſome pieces, and left a great number of curious manuſcripts behind him.*] He publiſhed ſeveral Latin ſermons, as, 1. *Anti-Poſſevinus, ſive Concio habita ad Clerum in Acad. Oxon. an.* 1625. *in 2 Tim. iv.* 13. Oxford 1625 in 4to. 2. *Concio habita ad Clerum Oxon. de Eccleſiâ*, in Matth. xvi. 18. Oxford 1633 in 4to. And ſeveral Engliſh ſermons, as, 1. *Sermon concerning the Euchariſt*, delivered on Eaſter-Day in Oxford, on *Matth. xxvi. ver.* 26, 27, 28. London 1629 in 4to. 2. *Hiſtory of Preaching, or concerning the Apoſtles preaching and ours*, on 1 *Cor ix.* 16. London 1630 in 4to. 3. *Sermon concerning the obſervation of Lent-faſt*. London 1630 in 4to. There is no text prefixed to this ſermon, but it is grounded on Luke iv. 2. 4. *Sermon concerning the times of receiving the Sacrament, and of mutual Forgiveneſs*, delivered in Corpus Chriſti College at the election of a Preſident on 1 *Cor.* xi. 25. London 1632 in 4to. 5. *Apologetical Eſſay for the Righteouſneſs of a miſerable unhappy People*, preached at St. Mary's in Oxford on *Pſalm* 37.25. London 1632 in 4to. He publiſhed alſo *Poemata quædam in mortem clariſſimi Viri Roberti Cottoni & Thomæ Allen*. Oxford 1633 in 4to. With theſe Poems he publiſhed Sir Thomas More's Epiſtle written from Abingdon in Berkſhire in 1519 to the Univerſity of Oxford for the cultivation of the Greek tongue, which had been for many years neglected among the members thereof. He likewiſe tranſlated into Engliſh Minutius Felix's *Octavius*, Oxford 1636 in 12mo. All the abovementioned pieces, except the tranſlation of the *Octavius*, he gave bound up in one volume to the Bodleian Library, with a copy of verſes of his compoſition written in a ſpare leaf before the firſt of them, beginning thus:

"Dear God, by whom in dark womb's ſhade
"I am to fear and wonder made, &c."

He wrote theſe verſes, when he was cloſely confined by order of the Houſe of Lords. He left behind him about 45 manuſcripts either of his own compoſition, or collected by him from various authors, all written by his own hand, which came firſt into the hands of his friend Dr. Thomas Greaves, and afterwards into the Bodleian Library. Thoſe of his own compoſition are, I. *Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuarienſis & ſuorum*, in folio. This book, containing 760 pages, begins thus: *Viam regiam mihi patefacit ad decanonizationem ficti & fucati Martyris*, &c. and the beginning of the Epiſtle to the Reader is this, *Amice Lector, rogatus ſum ſæpius*, &c. II. *Comment in Evangelia S. Johannis*, in two parts in 4to. The beginning is, *Poſtmodo ad textum ſacræ hiſtoriæ deveniam, ubi prius*, &c. Both parts contain about twelve ſheets. III. *Notæ in aliquot loca Bibliæ*, in three ſheets in 4to. The beginning is, *Videte ſub ficu. Paraphraſtes ſub umbroſâ ficu*, &c. IV. *Antiquitates Inſulæ Vectæ*, in ſeventeen pages in 4to. The beginning is *Angli Saxones Marciarum*, &c. and of the epiſtle to the reader, *Utrum moriar priuſquam hoc opus perficiam, Deus novit*, &c. It is only a ſpecimen or a foundation for a greater work to be built upon. V. *Epiſtolæ ad amicos ſuos doctos*. The beginning of the firſt epiſtle, which was written to Dr. Sebaſt. Benefield of Corpus Chriſti College, is, *Sancte Deus*, &c. This manuſcript is a thick 4to, and contains epiſtles chiefly written to thoſe of his own College, epitaphs, and ſome Engliſh copies of verſes. VI. *Epigrams* in Latin and Engliſh, with other *Poems*. VII. *Reaſons concerning the attempts on the Lives of great Perſonages*, &c. Theſe reaſons which are ſix or more, have this beginning, *Sir, if you pleaſe to learn my mind concerning the Attempts on the Lives of great Perſonages*, &c. written in two ſheets in folio. VIII. *Two Sermons:* the firſt on *James* v. 14, the ſecond on *John* xii. 32. Both written in folio. IX. *Iter Lancaſtrenſe*. It is in Engliſh verſe, and was written in 1636, and hath this beginning. *High Holt of Wood*, &c. It contains two ſheets and an half. X. *Gloſſarium Saxonicum-Anglicum*. It is a long pocket-book. XI. *Gloſſarium Sax. Angl.* another part in 8vo. XII. *A Ruſſian Dictionary*, with the Engliſh to it. XIII. *Obſervations made in his Travels through ſome parts of Wales, Scotland, on Shetland, Greenland*, &c. In four ſheets in 4to. XIV. *Obſervations made on the Countrey, with the Manners and Cuſtoms of Ruſſia or Ruſland, ann.* 1619. In 8vo. It was intended to be tranſcribed, and to have other things added to it. Beſides theſe fourteen books Mr. Wood had another of *Epigrams*, chiefly in Latin, and ſome in Greek, in 8vo, dedicated to his Tutor Dr. Sebaſt. Benefield. His collections are in twenty four volumes in 4to and ſeven in folio, and contain for the moſt part notes from antient manuſcripts, and ſometimes from printed authors, relating to hiſtory and antiquity.

remarks (*k*), " that nothing was wanting to our author and his ſtudies but a Sine-Cure or " Prebendſhip, either of which, if conferred upon him, Hercules's labours would have " ſeemed a trifle." He died of a quartan fever in the houſe of Sir Thomas Cotton in Weſtminſter in the beginning of December 1638, and was interred on the ſeventh day of that month in St. Margaret's Church.

(*k*) Ibid. col. 616. and *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 240.

JANSENIUS (CORNELIUS) Biſhop of Ipres, was one of the moſt learned Divines of the ſeventeenth Century. He was born near Leerdam [*A*] in Holland in the year 1585. It has often been objected to him that his family was Proteſtant, and that himſelf had profeſſed that Religion for ſome time [*B*], but this is a falſity. He went and ſtudied at Louvain in 1602, and applied himſelf ſo cloſely to his books that he fell ſick (*a*), and therefore was adviſed to remove to another place for the benefit of the air. Accordingly Janſenius went to Paris, where he met with John du Verger de Hauranne (*b*), with whom he had contracted a very ſtrict friendſhip in Louvain. By the recommendation of this worthy friend he got to be Preceptor in a good family (*c*), and being a man of erudition, he ſoon got acquainted with ſome perſons of figure. Some time after he went to Bayonne, to meet his good friend who had retired thither. In this place they applied themſelves with ſo extraordinary a vigour to their ſtudies [*C*], and ingratiated themſelves ſo far into the eſteem of the Biſhop of Bayonne, that he procured Du Verger a Canonry in his Cathedral, and Janſenius the Headſhip of a College (*d*). The Prelate juſt mentioned having been raiſed to the Archiepiſcopal See of Tours [*D*], prevailed with Du Verger to go to Paris; when Janſenius being thus ſeparated from his friend, and being not ſure of the protection of the new Biſhop, left Bayonne and returned to Louvain, where he was appointed Principal of St. Pulcheria's College, which employment he diſliked, becauſe it did not give him leiſure to purſue his ſtudies according to his wiſhes; this likewiſe was the reaſon why he refuſed to teach Philoſophy (*e*). He took his Doctor's degree in Divinity with great reputation in the year 1617 (*f*), and was admitted as one of the ordinary Profeſſors; and he acquired ſo much eſteem, that the Univerſity ſent him twice into Spain [*E*], on affairs of conſequence. He was appointed by the

(*a*) Valer. And. Deſſelius, *Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 154.

(*b*) He who made himſelf ſo famous, under the name of the *Abbot of St. Cyran.*

(*c*) Leydecker, *ubi infra*, citation (*g*) pag. 8.

(*d*) Ibid. citation (*g*) pag. 10.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 12.

(*f*) Valer. And. *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 154.

[*A*] *He was born at Leerdam.*] In a village called Accoy, as Mr. Leydecker obſerves. *Fallunt*, ſays he (1), *operis poſtumi editores quando referunt* eum natum eſſe Leerdami modico Bataviæ oppidulo, ſed tanti viri natalibus jam magno. *Etenim ſciant ejus Aſſeclæ eum in Comitatu quidem Leerdamenſi natum, non tamen in oppido* LEERDAMO (*Lingerdamo aliàs, quòd ad Lingam fluvium ſit ſitum*) *ſed in quodam Pago, quod Urbeculæ ſubeſt, &* ACCOY *appellatur: ſic Nepotes & Conſanguinei, qui ibi adhuc degunt, teſtantur, ſuperſtite humili Domuncula, in qua primum lucem adſpexit.* i. e. " The editors of his poſthumous works are miſtaken, " in ſaying that he was born at Leerdam, a little " town of Holland, but now great for having given " birth to ſo renowned a man. For let his followers " know, that the country of Leerdam indeed gave " birth to him, but not the town of Leerdam (or Lin- " gerdam becauſe it ſtands on the river Linga) but a " certain village, called ACCOY, lying under the " little town. This is what we are aſſured by his " poſterity and relations who ſtill live there; the " little houſe in which he was born is ſtill exiſting." We muſt not think there is any thing peculiar in Janſenius's calling himſelf *Leerdamenſis* (2); he giving himſelf that name, from the cuſtom which people have of aſſuming the name of the town in the territory where- of they were born. This may be proved by a numberleſs multitude of examples (3).

(1) Leydecker, *de Vita & Morte Janſenii*, pag. 2.

(2) *Janſenius patria fuit Batavus, atque ut ipſe ſcribit, quaſi in honore id poneret,* Leerdamenſis . . . *Unde verò iſte error? an quod, &c.* Idem, ibid. and pag. 3.

(3) See the remark [*A*] of the article CASTELLAN.

[*B*] *It has been often objected to him, that he himſelf had profeſſed the Proteſtant religion for ſome time.*] One Moſes du Bourg, a Jeſuit of Bourdeaux, publiſhed a little book (4) in 1658, wherein he aſſerts (5) that *Cornelius Janſenius's father profeſſed the Calviniſtical Hereſy; but that his ſon, when come to maturity, declared himſelf a Roman Catholic.* Father Labbe had publiſhed the ſame particular before (6); *Princeps eorum extitit* CORNELIUS JANSENIUS, *qui gente Hollandus, patria Leerdamenſis, inter hæreticos educatus à puero, tum Lovanii, &c.* i. e. " The principal of theſe " was CORNELIUS JANSENIUS, who being a Hol- " lander, born in Leerdam, was brought up among " the Heretics from a child; afterwards at Louvain, " &c." Father Hazart renewed the ſame calumny in a Flemiſh work intitled *The Triumphs of the Popes of Rome*, publiſhed by him at Antwerp in 1681. *His father*, ſays he, *was a Calviniſt*; and as to Janſenius himſelf, *when grown up, he made an outward ſhow of being a Catholic* (7). But being ſued for ſcandal, he alledged, among other reaſons, that he was not the inventor of that reproach, ſince he had publiſhed it after Moſes du Bourg (8). It has been proved indiſputably in the caſes I cite, that this reproach is abſolutely falſe. Here follows a paſſage of Mr. Leydecker, wherein are ſome particulars that are not in the factums or caſes. *Parentes habuit honeſtos, Pontificiæ Religioni addictos, licet Evangelica lux Belgio affunderetur, quibuſque modicæ opes. Ut male Hazardus Jeſuita in Hiſtoriis eum Patre Calviniano natum retulerit, illum falſi poſtulantibus, qui id non ferrent, Nepotibus. Pater appellatus fuit vernaculo nomine* JAN OTTIE (9), *fabrili opere victum quæritans, Mater autem* LYNTJE GYSBERTS, *ceu referunt ſuperſtites, unde hic Filius* CORNELIS JANSEN *dictus eſt, antiquo vulgi in Belgio more, at Latina vel erudita terminatione,* CORNELIUS JANSENIUS (10). i. e. " He ſprung from honeſt pa- " rents devoted to the Romiſh religion, notwithſtanding " the Goſpel had diffuſed its light over Holland, and " who poſſeſſed a ſmall eſtate. Therefore Hazart the " Jeſuit aſſerted a falſity, in declaring him to be a " Calviniſt; and accordingly was ſued for it in an " action of ſcandal by his relations, who highly re- " ſented that outrage. Janſenius's father was called " JAN OTTIE, in the language of the country, and " was by trade a Carpenter; his mother was named " LYNTJE GYSBERTS, as perſons now living de- " clare; whence this ſon, had the name of CORNE- " LIUS JANSEN, after the antient cuſtom of the vulgar " in Holland, but was called CORNELIUS JANSENIUS " in the Latin or learned termination."

(4) Intitled, *Hiſtoire du Janſeniſme, contenant ſa Conception, ſa Naiſſance, ſon Accroiſſement, & ſon Agonie.*

(5) See the *Factums* or Caſes of Janſenius's Relations, in tom. 8. pag. 317. of the *Morale Pratique.*

(6) In Præfatione *Triumphi Catholicæ Veritatis*, printed at Paris in the year 1651.

(7) See the *Factums of Janſenius's Relations*, pag. 307.

(8) Ibid. pag. 317.

(9) It is obſerved in the very beginning of the firſt caſe, that his name was *John Otto Acquoy.*

(10) Leydecker, *de Vita Janſen.* pag. 3.

[*C*] *They applied themſelves with extraordinary vigour to their ſtudies.*] " It was at Mr. d'Hauranne's, " who was afterwards biſhop of St. Cyran, that Jan- " ſenius ſpent the five or ſix years he ſtaid in Bay- " onne; applying himſelf ſo intenſely to the ſtudy of " the Fathers, and of St. Auſtin, that he not appear- " ing to be of a ſtrong conſtitution, Hauranne's mo- " ther uſed ſometimes to tell her ſon, that he would " prove the death of that worthy young Fleming, by " making him over-ſtudy himſelf (11).

(11) *Factum pour les Parens de Janſenius*, pag. 410.

[*D*] *This prelate . . . . . having been raiſed to the Archiepiſcopal See of Tours.*] This Archbiſhopric, according to Leydecker (12), was become vacant by the voluntary reſignation of Sebaſtian Galigai, the Marquis d'Ancre's brother-in-law (13); *Vacante Cathedra per ſpontaneam Sebaſtiani Galigaji Florentini, infelicis Marchionis Ancræi fratris, ceſſionem.*

(12) *De Vita Janſenii*, pag. 10.

(13) Or rather brother-inlaw; for Marquis d'Ancre's name was *Concini*, and his wife *Galligai.*

[*E*] *The Univerſity ſent him twice into Spain.*] His enemies have publiſhed a great many falſities on this occaſion. They have aſſerted, that *he fled into Spain to eſcape the Inquiſition, who was going to ſeize him, for venting*

the King his Sovereign, Profeſſor of the holy Scriptures in the year 1630 in the Univerſity of Louvain; and five years after created by him Biſhop of Ypres. A book which Janſenius publiſhed againſt France [F], greatly contributed to his promotion to that See,

venting his new doctrine in that country (14). This Father Hazart has advanced, after Moſes du Bourg, whom he copied. Here follows what is anſwered in the Factums (15).

(14) *Factum*, pag. 450.

(15) Pag. 451.

(16) That is of *Moſes du Bourg.*

" This ignorance (16) with regard to the affairs of " Janſenius, ſhews ſufficiently that this is mere ca- " lumny and fiction. He ſpeaks of his journey to " Spain, as though he had made but one; whereas " he undertook two (†), the one in 1624, and the " other in 1625. This circumſtance would have " puzzled this Jeſuit of Bourdeaux; for had he fixed " his tale to Janſenius's firſt journey, the falſity would " have been viſible; becauſe Janſenius would have " taken care not to have gone thither a ſecond time: " And had he fixed it to the ſecond journey, it would " have been viſible another way; it being infallibly " certain, that ſo unlucky an accident would have de- " feated all his negotiation, and he would have re- " turned in diſgrace to Louvain; inſtead of this it is " very certain that he returned with glory to it, " having obtained all that the Univerſity of Lou- " vain had requeſted of his Catholic Majeſty, to put a " ſtop to the enterprizes of the Jeſuits. In fine an " author, who deſerves ſo little credit on other ac- " counts, is altogether unworthy of credit with regard " to a particular that deſerves ſo little belief itſelf, " when he, in the ſame place, advances three other " palpable falſities againſt the ſame perſon; and this " the Jeſuit of Bourdeaux has done. The firſt falſity " is, that Janſenius's father was a Calviniſt, &c. The " falſity of this calumny is very evidently proved in " the firſt and third Factum. The ſecond falſity is, " *that Janſenius at his return to Louvain, after the* " *long excurſion he had made in France, managed his* " *intrigues ſo well, that, under the notion of his being a* " *poor Dutch Catholic, he got a penſioner's place in a* " *College, where certain monies were beſtowed for the* " *maintenance of ſuch poor ſcholars.* An impudent " falſhood which has been refuted by the public re- " cords (‡), ſince Janſenius, immediately at his " return to Louvain in 1617, took his Doctor's de- " gree in Divinity, and was appointed Preſident of " St. Pulcheria's College: *Louvanium revocatus novo* " *Collegio D. Pulcheriæ præficitur.* The third is an " infamous calumny, viz. *that this honeſt penſioner uſed* " *to ſteal the College-money, to pay the boarding of two* " *nephews of the Abbot of St. Cyran.* Now all theſe " are falſe aſſertions. 1. The Abbot had but one " nephew, not two, in Louvain. 2. Had Janſenius " been only a Penſioner, how could he have had the " diſpoſal of the College monies? 3. This pretended " theft is a horrid calumny, that is vented in many " of the Jeſuits libels, whereof they have been con- " victed in the ſixteenth *Provincial Letter*, beginning " thus, *I will tell you*, &c."

(†) Val. And. *in Faſtis Academicis*, pag. 393.

(‡) *Faſti Acad.* pag. 138.

It had been aſſerted a numberleſs multitude of times, that there is no fiction but what is grounded on ſome true incident. This may be ſaid with regard to that of Moſes du Bourg; for it appears by a Letter of Janſenius, that the Spaniſh Inquiſition lodged ſome informations againſt him after he was gone. Here follow the words of his Letter (17). " They write to " me from the other ſide the Pyrenees (Spain), that " the Inquiſition has been raiſed againſt a Doctor of " Louvain who has been in Spain, and that they ap- " plied themſelves to a Doctor of Salamanca, (the " principal Doctor of that Univerſity) at whoſe " houſe he lodged, and who is called Baſil de Leon, " to lodge an information againſt him, as being a " Dutchman, and conſequently a Heretic; but he " anſwered them ſo much to the advantage of this " Doctor, that they were quite put out of counte- " nance (18)." I ſhall conclude this remark with the following words of Valerius Andreas (19). *Brevi quoque tempore eam de ſe opinionem apud Academicos omnes excitavit, ut præ* Janſenio *alius magis idoneus non fuerit judicatus, qui nomine ejuſdem Academiæ bis Legatus in Hiſpanias mitteretur. Ubi quâ prudentiâ ac dexteritate ſeſe geſſerit, tum apud Regem Catholicum, tum in Academia Salmanticenſi ac Valliſoletana, feliciſſimus utriuſque Legationis eventus docuit.* i. e. " He " likewiſe, in a ſhort ſpace of time, gained ſo much " eſteem among all the members of the Univerſity, " that no perſon was thought ſo well qualified as Jan- " ſenius, to be ſent into Spain as Embaſſador from " the ſaid Univerſity; where, the happy ſucceſs of " both embaſſies proves with how great wiſdom and " dexterity he acted, as well with regard to the Ca- " tholic King, as to the Univerſities of Salamanca and " Valladolid." Conſult Leydecker (20) concerning the ſubject and ſucceſs of theſe two journies into Spain.

(17) Dated the 31ſt of December 1627.

(18) *Factum*, pag. 462, 463.

(19) *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 154.

(20) Pag. 23, & *ſeq.*

[F] *Janſenius publiſhed* (21) *a book againſt France.*] (21) Anno 1635. The arguments in it are exceedingly ſtrong; and it is intitled *Alexandri Patricii Armacani, Theologi, Mars Gallicus, ſeu de Juſtitia armorum & fœderum Regis Galliæ libri duo.* It contains the moſt malicious and the moſt odious exclamations againſt the ſervices which France continually did the Proteſtants of Holland and Germany, to the great prejudice of the Romiſh religion. The Dutch are there treated as rebels, who owe the republican liberty they enjoy to an infamous uſurpation. They have anſwered that reproach an hundred times; and Leydecker did not forget to make a ſolid anſwer to it not long ſince (22). He informs us (23) that a report was ſpread, viz. that Janſenius being conſulted by the Duke d'Arſchot and the Archbiſhop of Malines, after the taking of Boiſleduc and Maeſtricht, adviſed them to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, and to form themſelves into Cantons after the manner of the Swiſs. It was diſcovered that he had given that counſel, and he was very uneaſy about it. Upon this Preſident Roſe ſuggeſted an expedient by which he might extricate himſelf, which was, that he ſhould write againſt France, and gave him the plan of the *Mars Gallicus*. *Opportunè ſuam operam offerebat P. Roſæus, vir eruditiſſimus, Sanctioris Conſilii Præſes, cujus ante meminimus, ſuppeditato voluminis argumento, quo vel pœnitentiam ageret, vel famam falſi accuſaret. Iſtud autem erat* Mars Gallicus, *ſtylo quidem Janſenii ornandus, cujus tamen materia ipſius opus, eruditionem & ingenium excedebat* (24). Leydecker alledges a letter of Fabio Chigi the Nuncio. *Et ne mentiri viderentur, Literas produxêre Fabii Gighii, Nuntii Apoſtolici (qui deinde Alexander VII fuit) ad F. Barberinum, Cardinalem, datas Coloniæ 25 Martii, 1641, ubi hæc ſcripta,* Cardinalis Richelius admodum ſtomachatur in Janſenium, quod cum Roſæo Martem Gallicum conſcripſerit. *Nimirum hæ Literæ adhuc in Collegio S. Officii Romæ aſſervantur* (25). i. e. " And that " they might not ſeem to tell an untruth, they ſhew- " ed the Letters of Fabio Chighi the Apoſtolical Nun- " cio (who was afterwards Alexander VII) to Cardinal " F. Barberini, dated at Colen the 25th of March " 1625, wherein was the following words; *Cardinal* " *Richelieu is greatly offended at Janſenius for his* " *writing the* Mars Gallicus *in concert with Roſe.* " Theſe letters are ſtill preſerved in the College of the " Holy Office at Rome." The Jeſuits did not fail to exaſperate the Court of France againſt Janſenius's followers, as being a man who had defamed the Nation and his Monarchs, from the firſt almoſt to the laſt. Leydecker cites a long paſſage which he ſuppoſes to be of Father Annat (26), but which, in all probability, is of Father Vavaſſeur (27). I will tranſcribe no more of that long paſſage than the circumſtance which relates to the ingratitude with which Janſenius was reproached. *Ante omnia Janſenio exprobrat ingratum in Galliam animum, quæ ipſi valetudinem, quam recipere non poſſet in patria, concreto & pingui cœlo, reſtituerat puro & ſalubri; quæ victum, cum egeret, præbuerat, tum domeſtico Præceptori Lutetiæ Pariſiorum, tum ludi publici Magiſtro Bajonæ, quæ notitiâ Virorum illuſtrium atque doctorum animum fecerat ad majora, additumque & viam muniverat. Quin in Galliis, quod beneficii loco ſine dubio numeravit, magnam adeptus erat librorum Calvinianorum copiam, quorum de fontibus hauſit Auguſtini interpretationem, & invenerat homines à Calvini diſciplina non alienos, quibuſcum liberiores de Gratia ſermones contulerit* (28). i. e. " He particular- " ly

(22) Leydecker, *de Vita Janſenii*, pag. 94, & *ſeq.*

(23) Pag. 92.

(24) Pag. 93.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Ibid. pag. 89.

(27) It is aſcribed to him pag. 31. of Sebaſtian Mabre-Cramoiſy's *Catalogue*, printed in the year 1678. The *Janſenius Suſpectus* was printed in the year 1630, by Sebaſtian and Gabriel Cramoiſy.

(28) *Autor Libri cui titulus* Janſenius Suſpectus, *apud* Leydeckerum, pag. 89.

See, but he did not enjoy it long, he dying the 6th of May 1638. He had ſpent above twenty years on a work in which he explained St. Auſtin's ſyſtem concerning the doctrine of Grace; and this book being publiſhed after his death, occaſioned great diſturbances in the Romiſh Church [G], and cut out a great deal of work for the Popes. Thoſe perſons who have aſſerted the ſame doctrine as Janſenius have been called Janſeniſts, and the Jeſuits have been their chief adverſaries. Perhaps the inſincerity and foul play that attends ſuch ſort of controverſies, was never ſo glaring as on this occaſion [H]. This Doctor had engaged in controverſy with the Proteſtants [I], and left them the field of battle.

" ly reproaches Janſenius with being ungrateful to " France, which by its pure and ſalubrious air had " reſtored him to the health he could not obtain from " the groſs and thick air of his native country; which " gave him a ſubſiſtence when he was in want, both " when he was a domeſtic-tutor in Paris, and maſter of " a public ſchool in Bayonne; which, by an acquain- " tance with learned and illuſtrious men, had formed " his mind to greater things, and ſtrengthened his in- " tereſt. Nay, in France (which he doubtleſs thought " a benefit) he got a great number of Calviniſtical " books, from which fountain he drew his interpreta- " tion of St. Auſtin; and met with perſons that were " not averſe to Calvin's doctrine, and with whom he " converſed more freely concerning Grace."

Let us admire in this place the viciſſitude of human things. Janſenius was rewarded with a mitre, for having confounded France upon her forming alliances with Proteſtant States; and at this time (29) the Court of Spain would no doubt beſtow a good Biſhopric on a Doctor of Louvain, who ſhould write a book in as ſtrong terms in juſtification of ſuch an alliance or league, as that book was which Janſenius wrote againſt France; ſo true it is, that men may arrive at the ſame ends by quite contrary ways; and that what is good at one time is very bad at another (30). The refutation of a book may deſerve the ſame recompence which the book itſelf had deſerved. What a pleaſant ſcene would it be for unexperienced people, to ſee a Profeſſor of Louvain raiſed to a Biſhopric, for ſolidly refuting our Janſenius's *Mars Gallicus?*

(29) I write this in 1695.

(30) See the remark [I] of the article HOTMAN.

Naudé (31) makes him author of the *Admonitio* (32) and *Myſteria Politica*, two pieces, ſays he, which produced wonderful effects in oppoſition to the deſigns of Lewis XIII; but I fancy he is miſtaken.

(31) Naudé, *Coups d'Eſtat*, chap. 4. pag. m. 610.

[G] *This book . . . . occaſioned great diſturbances in the Romiſh church.*] It has given birth to a numberleſs multitude of other books, ſome of which contain all that could be ſaid on both ſides upon the ſubject, by men of great acuteneſs, ſubtlety, and learning; but after all, a man is not a whit the wiſer than he was before, and this will ever be the fate of ſuch diſputes; the more they are handled, the more they will be perplexed; and the more they will give the reader occaſion to ſay, *Feciſtis probe, incertior ſum multo quam dudum* (33). i. e. " Admirably well, indeed, I now am " much more in doubt than I was before." Some author has ſaid, that the doctrine of Grace is an ocean which has neither ſhore nor bottom. He perhaps could have compared it more juſtly to the Faro of Meſſina, where people are always in danger of ſplitting upon one rock, by their endeavouring to ſhun another; *Incidit in Syllam cupiens vitare Charybdim.* The whole, in fine, is reducible to this. Did Adam ſin freely? If you anſwer, yes; then his fall, will it be replied, was not foreſeen: But if you anſwer no; then, will it be ſaid, he is not guilty. You may write a hundred books againſt either of theſe conſequences, and at laſt you muſt be forced to own, either that the infallible foreſeeing of a contingent event is a myſtery which it is impoſſible to conceive; or that the manner how a creature, who acts without liberty or neceſſity, ſins nevertheleſs, is quite incomprehenſible. I deſire no more: for to what purpoſe is it to write ſo many books, ſince you muſt be forced at laſt to own one of theſe two incomprehenſible myſteries?

(32) See the remark [F] of the article BOUCHER (John).

(33) Terent. *Phormio*, Act. 2. Scene 3.

[H] *The inſincerity and foul play that attends ſuch ſort of controverſies, was never ſo glaring as on this occaſion.*] Thoſe perſons who have a little penetration ſee manifeſtly, that, in the diſpute with regard to liberty, theſe two ſides only can be taken; the one is to aſſert, that all cauſes diſtinct from the ſoul, which concur with it, endue it with the power of acting or not acting; the other is to aſſert, that they determine the ſoul in ſuch a manner, to act, that it cannot do otherwiſe. The firſt opinion is that of the Moliniſts; and the ſecond that of the Thomiſts, the Janſeniſts and Proteſtants of the Geneva confeſſion. There we have three kinds of people who oppoſe Moliniſm; and who, in the main, muſt be of the ſame opinion on that head. Nevertheleſs the Thomiſts have aſſerted with all their might, that they were not Janſeniſts,; and the laſt mentioned have aſſerted with the ſame heat, that they were not Calviniſts, on the article of liberty. There are no artifices or ill-grounded diſtinctions but what have been made uſe of, to colour over this pretence; and all this in order to avoid the ill conſequences which they foreſaw would follow, in caſe any conformity ſhould be allowed either with the Janſeniſts or Calviniſts. On the other ſide, the Moliniſts have not omitted any kind of ſophiſtry, to ſhew that St. Auſtin did not teach Janſeniſm; as being unwilling to own that their tenets are contrary to thoſe of this great ſaint. In this manner the Thomiſts refuſing to own that there was any conformity between them and a ſet of people who were conſidered as Hereticks: and the Moliniſts too own their doctrine different from that of a Doctor whoſe opinions have been always looked upon as orthodox; both have play'd an hundred tricks, and conducted themſelves with the utmoſt inſincerity on thoſe occaſions.

[I] *This Doctor had engag'd in controverſy with the Proteſtants.*] The ſubſtance of this diſpute is ſaid to be as follows (34). The States-General publiſhed an edict in 1629, forbidding the publick exerciſe of the Romiſh Religion in Boiſleduc; and appropriated the eccleſiaſtical revenues of the mayoralty of that city to the ſervice of the Proteſtant Religion, which they appointed four miniſters to preach there. The laſt mentioned hearing that many horrid ſlanders, concerning their doctrine, were ſecretly ſpread, publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that they taught nothing but the pure Goſpel; and intreating their adverſaries to propoſe whatever objections they might have to make in a publick manner. This was anſwered only by a piece (35) writ by Janſenius. Giſbert Voetius, one of the four miniſters who preached in Boiſleduc, wrote remarks on this work (36), which Janſenius refuted by a new work (37). The author of the remarks replied, he again refuting his adverſary in a large book he publiſhed anno 1635, and entitled *Deſperata Cauſa Papatûs*. Janſenius did not make any reply, but Libertus Fromondus, one of his friends, anſwered for him. This work (38) was printed at Antwerp anno 1636, and refuted by Martin Schoockius, Profeſſor in hiſtory and eloquence at Deventer, who entitled his anſwer, *Deſperatiſſima Cauſa Papatus*. It was printed anno 1638. There the diſpute ended, if we may believe Leydecker (39). I nevertheleſs find in Valerius Andreas's Bibliotheca, among Fromondus's works, a piece entitled *Sycophanta: Epiſtola ad Giſbertum Voetium*, printed in 1640. And ſince the firſt impreſſion of this article, I have ſeen a letter, in which this Utrecht Profeſſor is reproached with being miſtaken. *Falleris, O Præclare, ſecus res habet . . . . Fromondus . . . . ultimo ictu proſtravit adverſarium, nunquam quod ſciam refutatus* (40). *i. e.* " Illuſtrious man, thou art " miſtaken; the affair is otherwiſe——Fromondus—— " fell'd his adverſary with the laſt blow, and has ne- " ver been refuted that I know of."

(34) Leydecker, *de Vita Janſenii*, pag. 57, & ſeq.

(35) Intitled, *Alexipharmacum*, printed in the year 1630.

(36) Intitled, *Philonius Romanus correctus.*

(37) Intitled, *Notarum Spongia*, printed in the year 1631.

(38) Intitled, *Cauſæ deſperatæ Gisb. Voetii adverſus Spongiam . . . Cornelii Janſenii Criſis oſtenſa.*

(39) *De Vita Janſenii*, pag. 64.

(40) *Epiſtola Chriſtiani Philereni ad Janum Palæologum*, p. 5.

Janſenius had another war to maintain which may be called a Proteſtant one: for Theodore Simonis (41), a wavering Roman Catholick, who wanted a maſter, waited upon him at Louvain, to deſire him to clear up ſome doubts with reſpect to the Pope's infallibility, the worſhip of the Euchariſt, and ſome other points. Janſenius being puzzled with this man's objections, told him one day, that he would not diſpute any longer with him by word of mouth, but in writing; and that he ſaw plainly he had to do with a Roman Catholick who would ſoon go to Holland, and there boaſt that he had overcome him. Simonis,

(41) He was born in Holſtein.

battle. He wrote ſome other books [*K*]. I did not aſſert that the Court of Rome iſſued out informations againſt this Biſhop's epitaph [*L*]. Conſult the work which Leydecker has lately publiſhed. It is an excellent work (*g*).

(*g*) It is intitled, *De Hiſtoria Janſeniſmi Libri VI, quibus de Cornelii Janſenii Vita & Morte, nec non de ipſius & ſequacium Dogmatibus diſſeritur.* Utrecht, 1695, 8vo.

nis, who could ſcarce prevail with himſelf to diſpute in writing, reſolved however at laſt to do it. But after both had wrote twice on the ſubject in queſtion, his lodgings were ſurrounded with ſoldiers, and himſelf threatned with the puniſhment due to Hereticks. Duke d'Arſchot's Secretary exclaimed aloud againſt him; and ſaid that there was wood enough in his maſter's forreſts to burn that Heretic. But as the perſon who examined Simonis, in the name of the Archbiſhop of Malines, declared that he had found him a good Catholic, and fully reſolved to perſevere in the Romiſh Communion, the priſoner was ſet at liberty, and Janſenius was forced to pay the expences of the ſoldiers, &c. Two years after Simonis turned Proteſtant, and publiſhed a book (42) intitled *De Statu & Religione propria Papatus adverſus Janſenium* (43). I have lately read, that this man having quitted the Lutheran Communion to go over to that of Rome, turned Lutheran again, and at laſt Socinian: He was Principal of the Socinian college of Kiſſelin in Lithuania (44); was well verſed in the Greek tongue; and was he who tranſlated Comenius's *Janua Linguarum* into that language.

(42) Printed at Leyden in 1636.

(43) See a very ample relation of all this affair in Leydecker, pag. 68, *& ſeq.*

(44) *See* Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſtoriam Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ*, Part 3. pag. 108.

[*K*] *He wrote ſome other books.*] An Oration *de interioris hominis reformatione. Tetrateuchus ſive Commentarius in* IV. *Evangelia. Pentateuchus ſive Commentarius in* V *libros Moyſis.* The anſwer of the Divines of Louvain, *de vi obligandi conſcientias quam habent edicta regia ſuper re monetaria*, and that of the Divines and Civilians, *de Juramento quod publica auctoritate Magiſtratui deſignato imponi ſolet*, were all written by Janſenius (45). Leydecker complains (46) that the harmony of the Goſpels, in Moreri's Dictionary, is aſcrib'd to our Janſenius, and ſays it was wrote by another Janſenius, biſhop of Ghent. I have not found this in Moreri. The miſtake which Arnauld (47) aſcribed to George Hornius, viz of his ſuppoſing that our Janſenius was biſhop of Ypres, and afterwards of Ghent, is corrected in Leydecker's edition (48).

(45) *Extracted from* Valer. Andreas, pag. 155.

(46) Pag. 2.

(47) *Morale Pratique*, tom. 3. pag. 130.

(48) *In Notis ad Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Hornii*, pag. 517.

[*L*] *The court of Rome iſſued out informations againſt* Janſenius.] The 10th of December 1655. "The "Biſhop of Ypres, Francis de Robes (49), of the family "of the Counts of Annap, cauſed the monument of Cor- "nelius Janſenius, his predeceſſor, to be taken away "privately in the night; on which monument was "engraved an elogium of his virtue and erudition, "and particularly of his book entitled, *Auguſtinus*, "declaring, *that this faithful interpreter of the moſt "ſecret thoughts of St. Auſtin had employ'd on that "work a divine Genius, an indefatigable labour, and "his whole life-time; and that the Church would re- "ceive the benefit of it upon earth, as he did the re- "ward of it in Heaven:* Words that were highly "injurious to the bulls of Pope Urban VIII. and "Innocent X. who had cenſur'd that work. The "Biſhop deſtroy'd this monument by the expreſs or- "ders of Pope Alexander VII. and with conſent of "Archduke Leopold, Governour of the Netherlands, "in ſpite of the reſiſtance of the Chapter, which "went ſuch lengths, that one of the principal Can- "nons had the courage to ſay, that it was not in "the Pope nor the King's power to ſuppreſs that "epitaph; ſo dear was Janſenius to this canon and "his collegues (50)." Conſult Leydecker (51), who relates all this more at large. I can ſcarce believe what he ſays (52), that father la Chaiſe the Jeſuit adviſed the breaking to pieces the ſtone on which Janſenius's epitaph was engraved, but that the Biſhop of Ypres only had it thrown by. I am of opinion, that Father la Chaiſe, in 1655, was not in a condition to have a concern in any ſuch counſels. I will add the following curious particular. "The laſt time that "the Moſt Chriſtian King was at Ypres, an hoſ- "pitular nun who had aſſiſted him (53) in his laſt "ſickneſs, and ſpoke of him as a ſaint, declared "with a flood of tears to ſome Lords of the Court, "that ſhe held Janſenius by the arm when he wrote "his laſt will; and ſhe conjured them at the ſame "time to intreat the King to cauſe a reparation to "be made, for the injury which had been done to "ſo holy a man, in taking away his tomb-ſtone (54)."

(49) Leydecker, pag. 133. calls him *Johannes Robleſius.*

(50) St. Romuald, *Journal Chronologique & Hiſtorique*, tom. 2. pag. 612.

(51) *De Vita Janſenii*, pag. 132, *& ſeq.*

(52) Pag. 135.

(53) *Janſenius.*

(54) *Morale Pratique*, tom. 8. pag. 462.

JAPAN. This is the name of a wide-extended country ſituated to the Eaſt of China, and divided into ſeveral iſlands. Such ample mention is made of it in Moreri's Dictionary (*a*), that I have but few particulars to obſerve. I will not even enumerate all his omiſſions, but only take notice of ſome of the articles of the Theology of thoſe Iſlanders. "The monarchy of Japan is divided into two Eſtates, the Eccleſiaſtical and the "Secular. The former is compoſed of the Bonzes, and the latter of the Nobility "and People. The name of Bonzes is common to all the Miniſters devoted to the "ſervice of the Gods whom the Japoneſe adore. They profeſs celibacy [*A*], and... "they have a Sovereign Pontiff called Iaco or Xaco, who is veſted with authority over "all the reſt; judges of matters relating to Religion; determines what is to be obſerved "concerning the worſhip of the Gods, and believed with reſpect to their nature. He "elects the Tundes who diſpoſe of matters of leſs importance, and are in ſome meaſure "like our Biſhops... (*b*). The Japoneſe have two ſorts of Deities. The firſt are the "Demons or Devils whom they worſhip under ſeveral ſhapes; not from the hopes of "receiving good from them, but out of fear of being hurt by them. The ſecond are the "Kings,

(*a*) Particularly in the edit. of 1699.

(*b*) *Journal des Savans* of July 18, 1689. pag. m. 492. in the Extract of *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe de Japon.* by Mr. l'Abbé *de T.*

[*A*] *The Bonzes profeſs celibacy.*] But then "they do "not always obſerve it very exactly. They abſtain "from fiſh and fleſh, ſhave their beard and hair, "and conceal their debaucheries under the appear- "ance of an auſtere life (1)." The greateſt profit they make is, *the burying of the dead. The people, perſuaded that the ſouls of their relations may, in the life to come, fall into ſome neceſſity, ſpare no expence in order to procure them the comfort wich the Bonzes promiſe they ſhall meet with, upon condition that large alms are beſtowed. They alſo employ another artifice to inrich themſelves, viz, they borrow money from weak and credulous people, promiſing to repay them in the next world with large intereſt; and borrowing in this manner, they ſay among themſelves, that the term of years is worth the money* (2). Thoſe who would be deſirous of drawing a parallel between the eaſt and weſt, would find it defective with reſpect to the article of thoſe debts payable in the other world; but then a celibacy not well obſerved, frauds concealed under the appearance of a rigid morality, the profit accruing from burials, ſuccours ſent to ſouls ſeparated from the body; all theſe things would furniſh a great number of Parallels. I am perſuaded that many people could not forbear, as they read the extracts of Couſin (3), to ſay inwardly to themſelves, *'Tis thus with us.* It would be curious enough to ſee a relation of the weſtern parts of the world written by a Japoneſe or Chineze, who had lived ſeveral years in the capital cities of Europe. They would pay us in our own coin. The Miſſionaries who go into the Indies publiſh accounts of theſe countries, wherein they exhibit the falſities and frauds they have obſerved in the worſhip of thoſe idolatrous nations. They ridicule it, but whilſt they

(1) *Journ. des Savans* of July 18, 1689. pag. 492. Dutch edit.

(2) Ibid. pag. 493.

(3) Author of the *Journal des Savans*, cited above and below.

" Kings, Conquerors, and learned Men, whom they have ranked in the number of " the Gods, the chief whereof are Amida and Xaca [*B*]... There are ſaid to be ten or " twelve ſects or religions in Japan, and each is indulged the liberty of following that " which he pleaſes; which does not occaſion feuds or diviſions; and for this reaſon, ſay " they, becauſe minds or underſtandings are not united by way of relation or kindred " like bodies. Among theſe ſects there are three principal ones. The firſt does not " hope or expect a life after this; and acknowledge or know no other ſubſtance but " what ſtrikes the ſenſes... The ſecond, who believe the immortality of the ſoul and a " life to come, is followed by the worthieſt ſort of people, and is called the Sect of the " Men of the moſt high God. The third is that of the worſhippers of Xaca (*c*)." The Bonzes may be compared to our Monks (*d*). According to ſome authors (*e*), the moſt general diviſion that can be made of the ſects of the Japoneſe, is to divide them into ſuch as profeſſedly go no farther than bare appearances; and ſuch as ſearch for reality which does not ſtrike the ſenſes, and is by them called truth. Thoſe who adhere only to appearances, believe another life after this [*C*], for the eternal reward of good men, and the everlaſting puniſhment of the wicked. But ſuch as ſeek for the internal and inſenſible reality, reject the notion of heaven and hell, and teach doctrines which bear a great affinity to Spinoza's opinion [*D*]. They agree with the Epicureans in this particular, viz. that

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 494.

(*d*) See the remark [*B*].

(*e*) *See* Poſſevin. *Biblioth. Select.* lib. 10. cap. 2. pag. m. 410. tom. 1.

do this, ought they not to fear that it will be retorted upon them?

Quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur (4).

(4) Horat. Sat. 1. lib. 1. ver. 69, 70.

That is,

" What, doſt thou laugh? and think that thou art free?
" Fool, change the name, the ſtory's told of thee?

CREECH.

Or that they ſhould meet with the juſt reproaches which all ſuch deſerve who wink at their own faults, but are eagle-ey'd at diſcovering thoſe of other people?

Cùm tua pervideas oculis mala lippus inunctis,
Cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum,
Quàm aut aquila, aut ſerpens Epidaurius? at tibi contrà
Evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rurſùs & illi (5).

(5) Idem, Satyr. 3. lib. 1. ver. 25.

That is,

" When thou art blind and ſenſeleſs to thine own,
" How doſt thou ſee thy friend's diſeaſe ſo ſoon;
" That ſcarce a ſerpent can ſo quickly ſpy,
" Nor any eagle hath ſo good an eye?
" Well then, go on, purſue thy mean deſign,
" As thou doſt find their faults, ſo they will thine.

CREECH.

[*B*] *The chiefs are .... Amida and Xaca.*] " The former is repreſented under various monſtrous ſhapes. " In one of his Temples, at Iedo, he is carried on a " ſeven-headed horſe. The fineſt of his Temples is " near Meaco, and is five hundred foot long, and a " thouſand Idols of maſſy gold are in it. With re- " gard to Saca or Xaca, the Bonzes tell a thouſand " impertinent ſtories of him. They ſay that he was " born eight hundred times in different ſpecies, before " he was born of a woman; and that when he " was born of her, he iſſued through his mother's " ſides, through which he had gnawed with his teeth. " The truth is, Xaca was a Sophiſter, who perſuaded " people any thing he pleaſed. His mother, being " big of him, dreamt that a white elephant iſſued " through her mouth. Hence it is that white ele- " phants are held in veneration in India, China, Tun- " quin, Siam and Pegu. They are ſerved in gold " plate; and Noblemen of great diſtinction viſit them " in crouds, and pay them the ſame honour as to " Kings (6)." One of the three principal Sects of the Japoneſe is that of Xaça's worſhippers. " They form " a community, riſe at midnight to ſing hymns, " meet every evening to hear the diſcourſe which " their Superiour makes to them on ſome moral ſub- " ject, and then gives them ſome points to meditate " upon. He ſometimes repreſents to them a dying " man; and repeats the reproaches which the ſoul " and body make to one another in the expiring " moments. The meditation laſts an hour: and when " it is ended, every perſon gives the Superiour an ac- " count of the thoughts which came into his mind, " and the reſolutions he has formed (7)."

(6) *Journal des Savans*, of July 1689, pag. 495.

(7) Ibid. pag. 426.

[*C*] *Thoſe who adhere only to appearances, believe another life after this.*] Their opinion ſeems to be that of Amida, of Xaca and Fotoke. They ſay that at the four cardinal points of the world there are certain Countries, the inhabitants whereof are in a fulneſs of ſatisfaction, whereby they enjoy a ſupreme felicity; that all the laws of Japan were made by Fotoke; and that thoſe who obſerve them ſhall no ſooner leave this life, but they will go up into thoſe places; that they will be born again there; and that Fotoke will transform them, and give them thirty two forms or ſhapes, and fourſcore qualities, with which they ſhall live in perfect beatitude to all eternity, happy and contented with their condition. *In omnem æternitatem vivent læti admodum, felices & ſua ſorte contenti* (8). Women will not be admitted in thoſe Countries; but thoſe who ſhall be ſaved for having obſerved Fotoke's laws, will be transformed into men; for otherwiſe they would not receive the reward for the good life they led, becauſe (ſay theſe) they are in their own nature unclean, deteſtable, and execrable. *Eo quod fœminæ ſint natura deteſtabiles, execrandæ & immundæ* (9). With regard to the tranſgreſſors of Fotoke's laws, they ſhall go from this life, into certain infernal places, and there ſuffer ſix ſorts of never-ending puniſhments. Such is the general doctrine of thoſe who follow appearances. As to the other Sects, they argue as they pleaſe on this ſubject; but theſe agree in this center of unity, and their opinion is that of the ignorant and vulgar: *Et quamvis de hiſce rebus unaquæque Japoniorum ſecta loquatur, ut vult, communi tamen conſenſu quicunque extrinſecam rerum faciem ſectantur, in hoc, quod diximus, conveniunt, & hanc opinionem rudes & vulgares homines amplectuntur* (10). I borrow all this from Poſſevinus the Jeſuit (11), who did not think himſelf obliged to refute the doctrines of this Sect; for ſince, ſays he, they profeſs to adhere only to appearances, what they ſay has in reality no ſolidity nor truth; 'tis at moſt but a phantom, or exterior of truth. The Bonzes themſelves confeſs manifeſtly, that this whole ſyſtem of Camus and Fotoke was built, or rather invented for the ſake of the ignorant and weak minds: *Nam (ut ipſimet Bonzii, qui ſuæ ſententiæ Magiſtri & Doctores ſunt, aperte fatentur) totam de* CAMI & FOTOQUE *diſciplinam propter rudes & inſcios rerum homines, captu, & ingenio imbecillos, eſſe compoſitam, vel potius conflictam, non quod aliquid eorum, quæ in ipſa docentur, verum ſit* (12). However Poſſevin refutes the doctrine of this Sect in his 5th chapter (13).

(8) Poſſevin. *ubi infra.*

(9) Idem, ibid.

(10) Idem, ibid.

(11) *Extracted from* Poſſevin, *Biblioth. Select.* tom. 1. lib. 10. cap. 2. pag. m. 410, 411.

(12) Idem, ibid. pag. 411.

(13) Ibid. pag. 429, & *ſeq.*

[*D*] *Such as ſeek for the internal and inſenſible reality, reject the notion of heaven and hell, and teach doctrines which bear a great affinity to Spinoza's opinion.*] They neglect externals, they devote themſelves wholly to meditation, they reject all diſcipline that conſiſts in words, and adhere only to the exerciſe called by them SOKUZIN SOKUBUT, that is, *the heart*. They maintain that there is but one principle of all things, and that this principle is found every where; and that the heart of man, and the interior of other beings differ not from this common principle; and that all other beings return to this common principle when they are deſtroyed. It exiſts, *adds they*, to all eternity; it is one only principle, clear and luminous; it is incapable of increaſing or decreaſing, it has no ſhape; it does not reaſon, but

that they diveſt God of the government of the world; as a circumſtance that would interfere with the ſupreme tranquillity, which, according to them, forms all his felicity. They even go farther than Epicurus, for they deprive God of reaſon and underſtanding. They doubtleſs are afraid that theſe qualities would diſturb his repoſe, ſince they find by experience that reaſoning is attended with ſome fatigue (*f*). The Chriſtian Religion which Francis Xavier, and ſeveral other Miſſionaries after him, preached to the Japoneſe, did not find any greater obſtacles than what the Bonzes raiſed againſt it; not ſo much by diſputes and arguments, as by the methods commonly employed by Eccleſiaſtics; I mean by having recourſe to the ſecular arm, and by force, exhorting the Kings and the People to maintain the old Religion, and perſecute the followers of the new (*g*). It muſt be confeſſed however, that theſe Japoneſe Prieſts had conferences with the Chriſtian Prieſts; and made ſuch objections to them as ſhewed they did not want ſenſe (*h*). They could not prevent the Chriſtian Religion from making a very great progreſs in a ſhort time; but they at laſt excited the Emperor to have recourſe to ſuch violent proceedings, as quite extirpated it in Japan, and very much ſwelled the martyrology [*E*]. Father

(*f*) Ibid. lib. 10. cap. 3. pag. 415.

(*g*) *See Journal des Savans* of July 1689, pag. 499.

(*h*) See *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans*, Sept. 1691, pag. 8, & *ſeq.* in the extract of *Hiſtoire des Egliſe du Japan.*

lives in idleneſs and a perfect repoſe. *Figura carens, ratiocinationis expers, vitam agens otii, quietis, & tranquillitatis pleniſſimam* (14). They teach that thoſe who, in this life, have known this principle extremely well, attain to the perfect glory of Fotoke and his ſucceſſors; and that ſuch as never arrive at this exalted pitch of knowledge, are born again ſeveral times, and migrate from place to place; but that they, in the other world ſhall be all abſorbed in this common principle of all things. They likewiſe aſſert that knowledge does not differ from ignorance; that good and evil are not two beings, and that the one is not diſtinct or ſeparate from the other (15). Poſſevin reduces this ſyſtem to theſe four points: I. That there is but one principle of all things; that this principle is ſupremely perfect; that it is wiſe, but underſtands nothing, and does not concern itſelf with the affairs of this world, inaſmuch as it lives in a perfect repoſe; and, like a man, who is ſtrongly attentive to one thing, and leaves or neglects all the reſt. II. That this principle is in all particular beings, and communicates its eſſence to them; ſo that they are the ſame thing with it, and return to it when they themſelves end. III. That the heart of man does not differ from this common principle of all beings; and that when men die, their hearts periſh and are conſumed; but that the firſt principle which before endued them with life, ſubſiſts ſtill in them; whence it follows that there is neither paradiſe nor hell, neither rewards nor puniſhments after this life. IV. That it is poſſible for man, in this world, to raiſe himſelf to the condition and ſupreme majeſty of the firſt principle, foraſmuch as by ſtrength of meditation he may know it perfectly, and ſo arrive to the ſupreme tranquillity which this principle enjoys in itſelf; that this is all the good which man can attain to; and that till he has attained it by a perfect meditation and knowledge, he is tormented with perpetual diſquiet; he often is toſt from one hell to another, and does not find reſt in any place. It is very certain that we here have a great number of particulars which Spinoza did not teach; but, on the other ſide, it is very certain, that he, like thoſe Japoneſe Prieſts, has taught that the firſt principle of all things, and all the beings of which the univerſe is formed, are but one and the ſame ſubſtance; that all things are God, and that God is all things; in ſuch a manner that God and all things that exiſt make but one and the ſame being. One cannot enough admire that ſo extravagant a notion, ſo full of abſurd contradictions, ſhould have got into the heads of ſo many people ſo diſtant one from the other, and ſo different in temper, education, cuſtom, and genius. Poſſevin (16) brings many arguments againſt the hypotheſis of theſe Bonzes, and refutes it chiefly by the contradictions it contains; and firſt he obſerves, that they have but very few doctrines concerning the nature of the firſt principle, that they do not ſay any thing upon it with perſpicuity, that they are not able to anſwer the queſtions or objections propoſed to them, nor confirm their opinions; and that their only refuge is to ſay, that it is to no purpoſe for men to enquire into the nature and power of the firſt principle (17). *Omnia unico verbo putant ſe diſſolvere, dicentes* hominum non intereſſe hujus principii vim, & naturam perſcrutari inquirendo aut diſputando: *quod totum manifeſte conſtat, ex ignoratione profectum & natum* (18). It is to be obſerved that part of his objections (19) combat alſo part of Spinoza's ſyſtem.

(14) Poſſevin. *Bibliotb. Select.* tom. 1. lib. 10. cap. 2. pag. 411.

(15) *Extracted from* Poſſevin. ibid.

(16) Poſſevin. *Biblioth.* tom. 1. pag. 412, 413.

(17) This is a groſs contradiction, which Poſſevin ſhould have objected to them; for ſince they ſay that the greateſt happineſs of man proceeds from the perfect knowledge he can acquire of the firſt principle, it concerns him to enquire into the nature of that firſt principle.

(18) Poſſevin. *Biblioth.* tom. 1. pag. 412.

(19) Ibid. pag. 419, 420.

[*E*] *The violent proceedings of the Japoneſe very much ſwelled the martyrology.*] Read the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Japan, written by Francis Solier the Jeſuit, and the Hiſtory of the Church of Japan, by Abbé de T (20). "This Abbé admires the depth of God's "judgments; and wonders, he ſhould have permitted "the blood of ſo many martyrs to be ſhed, without "its having ſerved, as in the firſt ages of the Church, "as a fruitful ſeed for the forming or producing of "new Chriſtians (21)." Without preſuming to enquire into the reaſons the divine wiſdom may have, for permitting at one time what it does not permit at another; it may be ſaid that the Chriſtianity of the ſixteenth century had no right to hope for the ſame favour, and the ſame protection from God as the Chriſtianity of the three firſt centuries. The latter was a benign, gentle and patient religion, which recommended to ſubjects ſubmiſſion to their ſovereigns, and did not endeavour to raiſe itſelf to the throne by rebellions; but the Chriſtianity which was preached to the infidels of the ſixteenth century was far different; it was a bloody, murtherous religion, that had been uſed to ſlaughter for five or ſix hundred years. It had contracted a very long habit of maintaining and aggrandizing itſelf, by putting to the ſword, all that reſiſted it. Fires, executions, the dreadful tribunal of the inquiſition, cruſades, bulls exciting ſubjects to rebellion, ſeditious Preachers, conſpiracies, aſſaſſinations of Princes, were the ordinary methods employed againſt thoſe who refuſed ſubmiſſion to its orders. Could theſe Chriſtians promiſe themſelves the bleſſing which Heaven had granted the primitive Church, to the Goſpel of peace, of patience and gentleneſs? The beſt choice the Japoneſe had to make was, to become converts to the true God; but not having knowledge ſufficient to renounce their falſe religion, they then had no other choice to make but an active or paſſive perſecution. They could not preſerve their antient government nor their antient worſhip but by getting rid of the Chriſtians. Theſe, one time or other, would have deſtroyed both; they would have armed all their new converts; would have introduced into Japan the ſoldiers and cruel maxims of the Spaniards; and, by hanging and ſlaughtering in America, would have enſlaved all Japan. Thus, to conſider things only in a political view, it muſt be confeſſed, that the perſecution which the Chriſtians ſuffered in that country was a prudent means to prevent the overthrow of the monarchy and plundering of a ſtate. The ingenuous confeſſion of a Spaniard juſtifies the precautions which theſe infidels took. "It furniſhed the Bonzes with a ſpecious pretence for "exerciſing their hatred, and ſolliciting the extirpa"tion of the Chriſtians. Being aſked by the King of "Toſſa, how the King of Spain got poſſeſſion of ſo "great an extent of country in both hemiſpheres, he "anſwered too frankly, that he uſed to ſend Friars to "preach the Goſpel to foreign nations; and that after "having converted a conſiderable number of Heathens, "he uſed to ſend his forces, which, joining with the "new converts to Chriſtianity, by that means con"quered the country. The Chriſtians paid dear for "this indiſcreet confeſſion (22)."

(20) It was printed at Paris in 2 vol. 4to, in the year 1689.

(21) *Journal des Savans* of July 25, 1689. pag. m. 507.

(22) *Hiſt. des Ouvrages des Savans*, Sept. 1691, pag. 13, 14.

Father Poſſevin has cenſured very ſeverely the Laws eſtabliſhed by the Japoneſe Legiſlator [F].

[F] *Father Poſſevin has cenſured . . the laws eſtabliſhed by the Japoneſe legiſlator.*] The firſt fault he finds with them is, that they enjoin idolatry, and particularly the worſhip and adoration of Camus and Fotoke. He gives a very juſt deſcription of the enormity of idolatry, and places it in the higheſt rank of injuries that can be done to God. This he proves from the example of rebellion; for he ſays that the greateſt crime which can be committed againſt a ſovereign is, to diveſt him of his power, and beſtow it on another. *Sicut nullum crimen in Regem ac Principem poteſt gravius admitti, quum eum è ſuo regno pellere, è regiæ dignitatis gradu dejicere, & alium in ſummum regiæ amplitudinis faſtigium evehere; ita ſumma eſt in Deum injuria, ſummum in eum ſceius admittitur, cùm divinus honor, & cultus, qui ipſi ſoli debitur, in alium transfertur, ipſi detrahitur, alii tribuitur* (23). "As there cannot be a greater crime committed againſt a King or Prince than to drive him "from his Kingdom, to diveſt him of the regal dignity, and to raiſe another perſon to his throne; "ſo it is doing the higheſt injury to God, and acting "the moſt horrid wickedneſs againſt him, when the "divine honour and worſhip that are due to him only, "are taken from him and transferred to another." The ſecond fault in thoſe laws is, that whilſt they very ſeverely prohibit to the Bonzes the uſe of women, they allow them that of their own ſex. They prohibit them the former as a naſty and abominable thing, and approve the latter as honeſt and holy. *In Bonziis omnem cum fœminis concubitum, ut rem fœdam, turpem, & deteſtabilem damnant: at uſum puerorum permittunt, imo in eiſdem Bonziis coitum cum pueris approbant, ut rem honeſtam & ſanctam* (24). Poſſevin ſhews, on many accounts, the atrocious nature of Sodomy. The third fault is, that forbidding the killing of certain beaſts ſacred to Camus and Fotoke, they permit men to kill one another, and even to be their own murtherers. They ſuppoſe, not only that it is an action agreeable to thoſe Deities, but alſo the true way to Deification, and hence it is that very great numbers of the Japoneſe kill themſelves, either by plunging into the water, burning or burying themſelves alive, or leaping from the top of a rock. Many alſo rip up their bellies for very ſlight reaſons; and ſeveral mothers kill their own children. Poſſevin ſhews the wickedneſs of all ſuch proceedings (25). The laſt fault he cenſures is, that the laws of Japan declare, that by the bare invocation of NAMUAMIDABUT, or by crying FORENGUELIO, all kinds of ſins are expiated without there being any need of repentance. The Japoneſe, *continues he*, do not ſpeak either of ſatisfactory puniſhments or good works; they pretend that thoſe things are injurious to the merit of XACA and AMIDA, who have been afflicted enough for the crimes which men have committed, and have ſufficiently expiated them by their ſufferings. This doctrine opens the door to ſin; for as nothing can be eaſier than to throw out an invocation or a cry, men are ſure to avoid eaſily all the puniſhments they have reaſon to fear, after having abandoned themſelves to the greateſt crimes. Poſſevin (26) ſhews very evidently the enormity and horrour of this doctrine, and the pernicious effects which reſult from it.

No reader need fear he would be guilty of a miſtake, in condemning ſuch a doctrine; but ſhould he venture to pronounce, that Poſſevin has faithfully repreſented the doctrine of the Bonzes, he very poſſibly may form a raſh judgment; for, in ſhort, people muſt never be condemned on the teſtimony of their enemies; and enquiry ought to be made, whether their doctrine has been faithfully repreſented. Now it would not be a faithful repreſentation of it, to inſiſt on the letter of ſome law, without regarding the interpretations of the Doctors; for, by ſuch a method of proceeding, one might aſcribe a great number of abſurdities to the moſt rational religions. There are ſome harſh things in ſcripture, which it would be wrong to conſider as laws enacted by the Chriſtians; for theſe do not take them in the literal ſenſe, but explain and ſoften them by other paſſages, and agreeably to the analogy of the faith. It would be proper for us to be informed whether the Bonzes do not the ſame, with reſpect to ſome of the ordinances of the legiſlators. I could eaſily believe thoſe particulars that are related concerning the knaviſh tricks and hypocriſy of thoſe idolatrous Prieſts; but I think it probable, that they cover, with ſome exterior of ſeverity, their doctrine as well as their behaviour; and perhaps we ought to aſcribe only to ſome of them, what Poſſevin charges the whole body of their ſects with. Some Friars have declared, that very great villains have been ſaved by the bare invocation of the Bleſſed Virgin. The extravagance of thoſe who ſpeak of the treaſure of indulgences, and who ſay that the merits of Saints, and their works of ſupererogation ſupply the want of repentance in many perſons, would furniſh a Japoneſe traveller with very good chapters. Would it not be unjuſt, ſhould he relate all theſe particulars as articles of the Chriſtian faith? Once again, I ſhould be curious to know what anſwer the Bonzes would make to the following queſtion. Do you teach thoſe things which Poſſevin aſcribes to you? I alſo ſhould be glad to ſee a hiſtory written by them, concerning the ſettling of Chriſtianity in their iſland, and its extirpation. And in caſe ſuch Japoneze had writ it after having peruſed the hiſtory compoſed by Francis Solier and Abbé de T, it would ſtill be more curious to compare them.

(23) Poſſevin. *Biblioth. Select.* tom. 1. lib. 10. cap. 6. pag. 435. See, on this ſubject, *Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes*, pag. 340, 390.

(24) Poſſevin. ibid.

(25) Poſſevin. ibid. pag. 436.

(26) Poſſevin. *Biblioth. Select.* tom. 1. lib. 10. cap. 6. pag. 437.

JARCHI or JARHI (SOLOMON) a famous Rabbi, lived in the twelfth Century [A]. His true name is *Iſaaki* (a). "And yet that pretended name of Jarhi made "ſome perſons imagine that he was of Lunel in Languedoc, but he was of Troyes in "Champagne, as R. Ghedalia, and moſt of the Jewiſh Chronologers aſſert . . . His "books are very much eſteemed amongſt the Jews [B], and we may ſay that he is their "grand

(a) Simon, *Hiſt. Crit. du Vieux Teſtament*, pag. m. 545.

[A] *He lived in the twelfth century.*] This is what Father Simon (1) ſuppoſes. Others place his death in the year 1105 (2). Some make him live in the thirteenth century, and pretend that he was contemporary with Maimonides (3). Others again ſuppoſe that he lived in the fourteenth century (4); for they aſſert that he was baniſhed from France with all the other Jews by King Philip ſurnamed *le Bel:* now this Monarch's edict againſt the Jews is dated July the 22d 1307 (5). Hoornbeeck ſuppoſes that this Rabbi was baniſhed from France at that time; he makes him a native of Lunel in Languedoc; and he obſerves that there were always a great many Jews in that city; which he proves thus. *Unde in epiſtolis Gregorii, libr. 3. epiſtol. 21. Venantio Epiſcopo Lunenſi inſcripta ita incipit:* multorum ad nos relatione pervenit, à Judæis in Lunenſi civitate de gentibus ad ſervitium Chriſtiana detineri mancipia (6). i. e. "Whence the twenty firſt "letter of the third book of Gregory's Letters, "which is written to Venantius Biſhop of *Lunel*, begins "thus: *We have been told by a great many perſons, "that the Jews who live in the city of* Lunel *keep ſe-"veral Chriſtians as ſlaves.*" This is a very groſs blunder; for *Lunel* in Languedoc never was an Epiſcopal city. Pope Gregory means in this paſſage *Luna* a city of Tuſcany in Italy, the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen near the mouth of the river Magra. The Epiſcopal See of that city was removed to Sarzana by Pope Nicholas V (7).

[B] *His books are very much eſteemed among the Jews.*] "His commentaries on the Bibles of Venice and Baſil are extant. They have alſo printed with the "text of the Talmud his gloſſes or commentaries upon "that great work (8)." Monſieur Brun (9) relates, that he has ſeen ſeveral Jews "at Bourdeaux, who had "ſtill ſo great a reſpect for the memory of *Solomon "Jarchi*, the moſt illuſtrious of their Rabbies, by the "learned commentaries he wrote both upon the holy "Scripture,

(1) Simon, *Hiſt. Crit. de Vieux Teſtament*, pag. 545.

(2) *See* Konig, *Biblioth.* p. 423.

(3) Ibid. But obſerve that Konig, ibid. pag. 496. who after *Hottinger* places *Maimonides* in the 13th century, does not follow the common opinion, according to which he lived in the 12th.

(4) Hoornbeeck, *contra Judæos*, pag. 7.

(5) Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.* tom. 2. p. m. 799.

(6) Hoornbeeck, *contra Judæos*, pag. 7.

(7) See Miræus, *Geog. Eccleſ.* pag. 236.

(8) Simon, *Hiſt. Crit. du Vieux Teſtament*, pag. m. 545.

(9) Brun, *Véritable Religion des Hollandois*, pag. 224.

(b) Ibid. pag. 514. col. 2.
(c) I give the article of this ſame Rabbi under the word ISAACITES.

" grand author." They add ſometimes to the books they call the five volumes, *the Commentaries of Raſci, who is their chief author upon the Bible, becauſe he is very well ſkilled in their ſyſtems of Divinity, and in their Tranſlations* (b). Father Simon, who ſays all this, ought to have obſerved, that Rabbi Raſci is the ſame with Rabbi Jarchi or Iſaaki. He is alſo called *Iſaacites*. See the margin (c).

" Scripture, and upon the Talmud, that they aſſured
" me, *ſays he*, they were determined to take very
(10) He ſhould have ſaid Lunel. " ſoon a journey to Lunelle (10) near Niſmes, to ſee
" the place where this great man was born, and
" whence he took his name (*), and that they would
" endeavour to ſettle there, which they hoped would
" be granted them."

(*) *Jarcha* ſignifies the *Moon* in *Hebrew* (and the *Moon* in French is *la Lune*) ſo that he was called *Jarchi* of *Lunelle*.

JARDINS (MARY CATHERINE DES) famous for her Romances [*A*], flouriſhed in the ſeventeenth Century. She was " born at Alençon, a little city of which " her father was Provoſt. As ſoon as ſhe was nineteen years of age ſhe began to con- " ſider how ſmall her eſtate was; and finding her ſelf poor, and having as much wit as " ambition, ſhe went to Paris with a deſign to mend her fortune. She was not entirely " diſappointed in her hopes; for ſhe ſoon gained a reputation by her genius; and the " men of wit were proud of her acquaintance. Monſieur de Ville-Dieu, a handſome " Gentleman, and in pretty good circumſtances, was one of the firſt that became ac- " quainted with Miſtreſs de Jardins; he eſteemed her, loved her, and married her, " though ſhe wanted beauty: but he died unfortunately ſoon after. The poor woman " retired for grief into a Convent; but when ſhe had eaſed her grief a little there, ſhe " left the place, and entered into the world again, and married to her ſecond huſband " Monſieur de la Châte, whom ſhe alſo buried. Being deeply afflicted at this new miſ- " fortune ſhe reſolved never to marry again, but to paſs the remainder of her days in " love-intrigues. She began therefore to hearken to the flattering addreſſes of her lovers, " and to anſwer them in little Poems and Letters, which are very ingenious and witty (a)."

(a) Richelet, *Vie des Auteurs François*, p. lviii. of the Hague edition, 1699.

The author, from whom I borrow this account, has omitted a great many particulars [*B*], and has not been accurate with regard to chronology; for he pretends that ſhe did not begin to hearken to the flatteries of her lovers, till after the death of her two huſbands; whereas ſeveral perſons have told me poſitively, that this epoch is very ill-placed, and that this woman's galantry was infinitely leſs than ever at the time he mentions. There has been in the Low-Countries one Miſtreſs DES JARDINS, whoſe name and picture have for ſome years following been prefixed to the Almanack; ſhe was contemporary with the perſon who is the ſubject of this article, and who died in the year 1683 (b).

(b) See the *Mercure Galant*, for November 1683, pag. 267.

JARRIGE

[*A*] *She is famous for her romances.*] The firſt, or one of the firſt ſhe wrote (1) was to contain ſeveral volumes in 8vo, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times. But ſhe did not carry it on ſo far as ſhe deſigned at firſt; and I have been told that ſhe dropt it, becauſe it was found out that ſhe deſigned to repreſent under fictitious names and with ſome alterations, the adventures of a great Lady, who married below her dignity. She was threatened with the reſentment of the perſons concerned, if ſhe dared to carry on the intrigue to the end of the romance; ſhe broke off therefore in the middle of her ſtory. However ſhe did not bury her talents; on the contrary, ſhe invented a new kind of romantick ſtories, of which ſhe publiſhed a great many, and ſhe ſucceeded very well that way; ſhe brought thoſe little ſtories of amorous adventures into faſhion, in which ſtories the good or bad ſucceſs of love appears very ſoon, and thus ſhe ſunk the reputation of thoſe long and tedious accounts of heroick adventures, which made the Printers of Caſſandra, Cleopatra, Cyrus, Clelia, &c. get ſo much money. The new taſte ſhe raiſed does ſtill ſubſiſt; and though that ſort of works pleaſe only when they are new, and ſoon become obſolete, yet the firſt romances ſhe wrote according to her new fancy, are ſtill read with pleaſure; as her *Journal Amoreux*, her *Annales Galantes*, her *Galanteries Grenadines*, and ſeveral others. She publiſhed in the year 1672 *Les Exiles de la Cour d'Auguſte*: i. e. " The per- " ſons baniſhed from Auguſtus's Court." An illuſtrious Lady (2) thought this romance *very pretty*. That intitled *Les Deſordres de l'Amour* (3). i. e. " The bad " conſequences of Love," and that other the title of which is *Portrait des Foibleſſes humaines* (4). i. e. " A " Deſcription of the Weakneſſes of Men," are not inferior to any of the former. The misfortune is that Miſtreſs des Jardins gave occaſion to an abuſe, which grows worſe and worſe every day. I mean that of aſcribing ſtories and amorous intrigues of one's own invention to the greateſt men of former ages, and of interſperſing them with ſome particulars, that have ſome foundation in hiſtory. This mixture of truths with fables creeps into a great many new books, ſpoils the taſte of young people, and is the reaſon why one dares not to believe even what is really true. See the remark [*C*] of the article NIDHARD.

(1) It was, I think, intitled, *Alcidiane*, or *Alcidamie*, I do do not remember it well.

(2) Madam de Sevigné. See the *Lettres du Comte de Buſſi-Rabutin*, Part 3. Let. CC. pag. m. 362.

(3) See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Sept. 1686. in the *Catalogue des Livres Nouveaux*, num. 1.

(4) See the ſame *Nouvelles*, for November 1685 Art. 1. and the *Journal des Savans*, for Nov. 19, 1685, pag. m. 494.

(5) See the *Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres*, for Oct. 1684, in the *Catalog.* num. 8.

[*B*] *Monſieur Richelet . . . has omitted a great many particulars.*] Since I obſerve this, it would be reaſonable for me to ſupply his defects. But it is not in my power to conſult the perſons who might acquaint me with thoſe particulars; it is therefore juſt to excuſe an omiſſion in me, for which Monſieur Richelet may juſtly be blamed; for as he lived at Paris, where he did not lead a ſedentary life, it was eaſy for him to enquire about the time when Miſtreſs Des Jardins left the country, and ſettled in the capital city of the Kingdom. It would not have coſt him more trouble to learn with whom ſhe was firſt acquainted there, what patrons ſhe got, what book ſhe publiſhed firſt, and when ſhe publiſhed it; in what year ſhe was married to her firſt huſband, when he died, at what time ſhe married again, when ſhe loſt her ſecond huſband; the chronological order in which her Romances were printed; the time of her death, and ſeveral other particulars of that kind, which he does not mention in the leaſt; and yet we read on the top of his pages, *Vie des Auteurs François*. i. e. " The Lives of the French Authors." Is not this impoſing moſt ſhamefully upon the readers by a ſham title? Ought an account to be called thus, when it wants the moſt material particulars? You will ſay, no doubt, that there are a great many readers, who do not mind thoſe omiſſions; but this is not clearing the writer. Theſe readers would not have been diſpleaſed had they met in his work with the particulars he has omitted; and a great many other readers would have been very glad to find them there. He did not therefore follow the beſt method; for it is much better to do what pleaſes a great many perſons, and diſpleaſes none, than to do that which ſome diſlike, though others do not diſlike it.

JARRIGE (PETER), born at Tulle in Limouſin, was one of the moſt famous Preachers amongſt the Jeſuits, but otherwiſe a diſhoneſt man [*A*]: he was ſo exaſperated againſt his whole Order, becauſe he was not promoted in it to the employments which he imagined he deſerved, that he reſolved to turn Proteſtant. He imparted his mind to a Miniſter (*a*), who procured him an opportunity to retire into Holland (*b*). He abjured the Roman Catholic Religion in the Conſiſtory of Rochelle on Chriſtmaſs-day in the year 1647. When he was arrived at Leyden, he preached to a very numerous congregation upon the motives of his converſion, and endeavoured afterwards to perſuade the world, that he had no longer the leaſt inclination for Popery. The States of Holland granted him a penſion (*c*). But "the Jeſuits cauſed information to be made "againſt him with the utmoſt ſeverity, and endeavoured as much as lay in their power "to defame him. They obliged the Judge of Rochelle to condemn him to be hanged "and afterwards burnt. But all that noiſe ſerved only to make the public know how "much they were vexed at this loſs, and to afford Jarrige, who was very paſſionate "and revengeful, a pretence to revenge himſelf upon them. He did it with a witneſs in a book, which he intitled *Les Jeſuites mis ſur l'Echafant*; i. e. *The Jeſuites expoſed upon a Scaffold at the place of execution*; he abuſed them ſo ſeverely in that book, that their ſociety never met with any thing that vexed them ſo much (*d*). He alſo publiſhed a particular anſwer to Father Beaufés, who had defamed him very much (*e*). His treating the Jeſuits thus, might have made the world imagine, that they would be for ever irreconcileable; and yet the Jeſuit Ponthelier (*f*), who was then at the Hague amongſt the attendants of an Embaſſador, had ſome hopes to reclaim that haughty ſpirit; he practiſed upon him ſo, that he perſuaded him to return into the Pale of the Church of Rome; which he did accordingly in the year 1650. Jarrige left Leyden, and went amongſt the Jeſuits of Antwerp, where he publiſhed his recantation immediately [*B*]; but

(*a*) To Monſieur Vincent Miniſter of Rochelle.

(*b*) *Hiſtoire de l'edit de Nantes*, tom. 3. pag. 93.

(*c*) *Jarrige, Retractation*, pag. 101.

(*d*) *Hiſt. de l'edit. de Nantes*, tom. 3. pag. 93.

(*e*) In a book intitled, *Les Impietez & Sacrileges de Pierre Jarrige*, Retractat. de Jarrige, pag. 70.

(*f*) See the remark [*C*].

[*A*] *He was a diſhoneſt man.*] This appears moſt evidently by what he confeſſes himſelf in his recantation. I need not therefore to inſiſt upon an argument, which a very honeſt man urged one day before ſeveral perſons of the Reformed religion. He obſerved that a ſtudious man, like Jarrige, who was continually compoſing of Sermons, could not have remembered at Leiden that vaſt number of little ſtories, which he has related in his *Jeſuites mis ſur l'Echaffant*, and in his anſwer to James Beaufés; he could not, I ſay, have remembered them, had he not wrote them down, at the time he heard them, with the names and ſirnames of the perſons concerned, and with all the minute particulars of times and places. Now this betrays a wicked heart; this ſhews that he was a diſhoneſt man; for he would not have taken the trouble to keep ſuch a regiſter, had he not deſigned to prepare weapons to uſe them on occaſion againſt the Jeſuits, if he ſhould happen to fall out with them. This was therefore thinking of revenge, and providing means to make himſelf formidable, even before he knew whether he would ever have occaſion for them. There are ſome perſons, who keep all, even the moſt inconſiderable letters of their friends, and who are moſt careful to keep particularly thoſe letters of which they may take an advantage, in caſe they ſhould happen to fall out with their friends. They conſider the inconſtancy of our paſſions, and they love as tho' they were to hate one day (1), and take their meaſures accordingly. It is certain, that they who keep their friends letters, and remember their moſt free converſations, and greateſt ſecrets, with ſuch a deſign, are very wicked men. The perſon, whom I have mentioned in the beginning of this remark, made uſe of that compariſon. I do not pretend to vindicate his reflection: I relate it only as a matter of fact; the reader will judge of it as he pleaſes. I have, beſides this, wherewithall to ſupport the aſſertion in my text, as you will ſee in the following remark.

A REFLECTION on the conduct of thoſe who keep all their friends Letters.

(1) *Ita amicum habeas, poſſe ut fieri inimicum putes*; i. e. "Act with your "friend, as tho' "he might once "become your "enemy." Publius Syrus, *apud* Macrob. *Saturn.* lib 2. cap. 7.

[*B*] *He publiſhed his recantation immediately.*] He confeſſed (2), that *a moſt bitter and violent paſſion* made him retire from the Jeſuits; and that there *was* (3) *not a word in the curſed and ſcandalous* Sermon which he preached at Leyden, *but what was, properly ſpeaking, a blaſphemy, which deſerved ſo much the more to be puniſhed on the day of God's judgment, as his heart diſowned his words.* He acknowledged (4), that he had added *to his firſt and impudent lye ſuch circumſtances as were both falſe and criminal, namely, that it was ſixteen years ſince God had laid in his mind the firſt foundations of that work, which he had begun to perform ſome months before in his own country, and which he happily finiſhed to his ſatisfaction in the territories of Holland.* He confeſſed (5), that *to compleat his wickedneſs he had ſlandered ſeveral innocent perſons, to revenge himſelf of two whom he thought guilty; that upon reading the ſentence by which he was condemned to death* (6) *for a religion which he abhorred in his heart . . . . his anger deprived him of his judgment, and without minding what he did, acted like mad dogs, who bite their own maſters without knowing them. Being therefore deprived of my right ſenſes*, ſays he (7), *I wrote a virulent and bitter libel againſt the Province of Guienne which I had left. . . . . I made uſe of all the artifices I was capable of to aſperſe their reputation. Rhetoric has the properties of thoſe multiplying glaſſes, which make the ſmalleſt objects appear very large, and repreſent a frog as big as an ox. It was an eaſy matter for me to find ſome ſlight foundations upon which I might build the moſt heinous crimes. I did not mind to tell the truth, if I could but find ſome probable arguments to ſupport the falſities I aſſerted. I had but a ſmall ground to work upon, but by the particulars which I induſtriouſly raiſed upon it, I made a mountain of a mole-hill. They who knew the trifling and inconſiderable ſtories that happened in that holy Province, will underſtand, much eaſier than any other readers, that a revengeful ſpirit rendered me very induſtrious in exaggerating the ſmalleſt things, and exceedingly artful to make them appear probable. The reverend father Ponthelier has cenſured me ſeverely, but yet with kindneſs, for theſe artifices, whilſt my paſſion was ſtill in its height; and he received no other anſwer from me but this; namely, that*, ſince Father Rouſſeau and Father Beaufais had made uſe of a thouſand artifices and falſities to get me condemned to be burnt, it was but reaſonable that I ſhould alſo find ſome means to be revenged, and that upon a ſmall foundation I ſhould ground the moſt heinous charges, as they had raiſed theirs upon mere appearances. *I added*, that they had not barely wrote, as I did, but that they had really cauſed me to be hanged and afterwards burnt in effigy . . . . . (8). *As a revengful man I choſe the blind ſide of my enemies, that I might more effectually diſperſe my ſlanders . . . . Whenever I met with the leaſt opportunity to cenſure them, I never failed to make my own conjectures paſs for proofs; and if it happened that any of them were ſuſpected, either with or without reaſons, by perſons of their own ſociety or by ſtrangers, I took thoſe bare ſuſpicions for real truths, and I generally endeavoured to make honeſt men paſs for very great criminals, who after a very ſtrict examination would have been found guilty only of ſome imprudent actions, or at moſt of ſome very ſlight faults. Whoever will examine my diſcourſe ſeriouſly and with an unbiaſs'd mind, will find, that in order to render my forgeries more acceptable to the reader and more probable, I generally prefix to them ſome reflections that are both plauſible and artful. I have ſaid too much to deſerve any*

(2) Page 8.

(3) Pag. 11.

(4) Pag. 22.

(5) Pag. 69.

(6) *The Provincial of the Jeſuits obtained from the Preſidial Court of* la Rochelle *a ſentence by which* Jarrige *was condemned to be hanged, and afterwards burnt.* He carried me to the gallows, *ſays* Jarrige, pag. 72. of his *Recantation*, and from the gallows to the wood-pile. He cauſed the ſentence of the Preſidial Court to be printed; he had it explained, and laid open the grounds of the ſentence pronounced againſt me, and diſperſed it through all the Provinces; and he would have had my body treated after the ſame manner as he did my picture, had not God protected me in a country, where I was then only ſinning againſt him.

(7) Pag. 73.

(8) Pag. 77.

but it is not known what became of him ſince that time (α). A great many perſons believe that the Jeſuits impriſoned him for the remainder of his life [C]. This might be; but other reaſons may be given why ſuch a man ſhould have entirely diſappeared [D]. The Hiſtorian whom I have quoted will not, I am ſure, take it amiſs, if for

any credit, and even the Heretics themſelves, though they may perhaps urge my ſlanders hereafter as good arguments, diſproved them in the Synod of Middelburg; and indeed a man cannot believe thoſe ſlanders, unleſs he be as blind and paſſionate as I was when I wrote that book. And if there has been any evil committed, the guilty have been baniſhed from the ſociety (of the Jeſuits), which as it has the proprieties of the great ocean, ſo it cannot keep any dead corps in its boſom. I was therefore unjuſt, to make an illuſtrious and religious ſociety anſwerable for the faults of thoſe, whom ſhe has caſt out as men unworthy to live with ſaints, *and to cheriſh a ſpirit of devils amongſt ſaints. My anger and paſſion made me relate the evil, and conceal the remedies that were uſed againſt it. I have ſaid indeed what ſome had committed, but I have not added, that they were expelled immediately and without delay as ſo many infected men. I was writing a ſatyre to revenge myſelf, and not a panegyric to commend them. They who know the Jeſuits, will be perſuaded, that the crimes of regicides, of murthering children, of Sodomy, and ſuch other abominable actions, which I charged them with, are mere forgeries* . . . . . (9). *How often have I made uſe of captious reflections, againſt all the rules of ſound reaſoning, in order to draw general inferences from particular facts, and to charge the whole ſociety with ſuch crimes, as I could not have proved upon one ſingle perſon, had I been called upon to do it in a legal manner? What ſtories have I not forged, altered and falſified a thouſand ways, in order to ſting more cruelly, and to make deeper and more dangerous wounds? If I were to give in this place a particular account of all that I have ſaid, and refute every thing, and to mention the grounds of my accuſation, I ſhould tire you, dear reader, with a thouſand circumſtances, which would make my recantation abound with difficulties, and little edifying. Let it therefore be ſufficient for me to declare, that I retract all that I have ſaid in that pernicious book, both in the whole and in every part of it, except however what I have aſſerted of Father Rouſſeau, and of Father Beaufais, in my own vindication and defence. I deſire the equitable reader to place that book in the ſame rank with my declaration, and I intreat him by the tender mercies of our Lord* JESUS CHRIST, *not to read that declaration any more, becauſe it is heretical; and never to caſt his eyes upon that book, becauſe it is an abortive child, which an evil conſcience conceived, melancholy formed, and revenge brought forth.*

(9) Pag. 79.

I leave my readers to judge, whether the Gentlemen of Port-Royal were in the right to aſſert, that Peter Jarrige did not publiſh a ſufficient recantation; and that he *accuſes indeed himſelf of too much paſſion in his book againſt the Jeſuits, but that he does not retract poſitively any of the ſcandalous ſtories he had related.* They who anſwered Father Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm were ſure to make an advantage of this obſervation of the Gentlemen of Port-Royal (10).

(10) See the *Apologie pour les Reformateurs.* liv. c. 9. p. 154. and the *Crit. General. Lettre* 9. p. 137. 2d edit.

§ (α) *It is not known what became of him.*] Jarrige being reconciled to the church of Rome retired to Tulle in the Limouſin, where he lived as a ſecular prieſt, the Pope having given him leave to do it. He died there September the 26th, 1670 (*). ADD. REM.

(*) From the remarks printed at the end of the Paris edition of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary.

[C] *A great many perſons believe, that the Jeſuits impriſoned him for the remainder of his life.*] As he knew beforehand that people would ſay this, or even ſomething worſe of him, he took care to let the world know, that the Jeſuits received him very kindly; adding, that they who would not believe it, might come and ſee him. "I know very well, *ſaid he*, "that the Miniſters and the Gentlemen whom I have "left, will publiſh that I am dead, or in priſon; but "do me the favour to tell all thoſe that come to Ant-"werp, that they may viſit me in the College, and I "promiſe you, that I ſhall not only ſpeak with them "freely and with a perfect liberty, but, if they pleaſe, "I ſhall alſo accompany them through the whole city, "and take a journey with them into the Roman Ca-"tholic territories (11). Add to this the following paſſage from his recantation (12). "I know very "well that the Heretics, who judge of other people's "actions by their own, will ſpread a falſe report, as, "for inſtance, that I was poiſoned; or that I am ſhut "up in a dungeon, where I ſee the light only thro' "a little hole; that the reverend Father John Ponthe-"lier, who was the chief inſtrument God made uſe "of to help me out of the abyſs, has ſeduced me, "and drew me artfully from the United Provinces, "and from a ſafe ſanctuary, to deliver me up into "the hands of my enemies, or to a certain death. "But it is neceſſary for the converſion of all the apoſ-"tates of ſeveral orders, who are ſtill in the mire "of error, where they are detained only through the "fear of being puniſhed, that they ſhould know, all "theſe reports are falſe, and that I eſcaped the wolf's "clutches, to enter into the boſom of a merciful "ſhepherd, who takes a pride in carrying the loſt "ſheep on his ſhoulders. Indeed if I ſhould receive ſuch "a treatment as my crimes deſerve, an impriſomnent "of ten years would not be long enough to atone for "them. But ſince I returned freely into my Father's "boſom, without being forced to it, where ſin abound-"ed during two years, grace abounds much more at "preſent." He affected to let the public know all the ſecurities that had been given him. "I have received "from his Majeſty, *ſays he* (13), the fulleſt pardon "and abſolution that was ever granted, ſo that I do "no longer fear either Bourdeaux on account of my "book, or Rochelle on account of the ſentence of "death paſſed upon me. I have received, in the ſecond "place, letters of ſecurity, or letters of aſſurance from "our Holy Father the Pope, with full liberty to re-"tire into ſuch Catholic city as I ſhall chooſe, and "by theſe letters all Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Magi-"ſtrates are commanded to protect me, his Holineſs "being ſatisfied, if I do but wear a Prieſt's garment. "Thirdly, I have received from the Archduke Leo-"pold a paſs to travel freely over all his territories. "Fourthly, Francis Picolomini, General of the So-"ciety of Jeſus, has ſent me Letters-Patent to enter "again amongſt the Jeſuits, with whom I am now, "they having fully pardoned me my fault, without en-"joyning me any penance, or requiring any ſatiſ-"faction from me, but what I may make privately "of my own accord. The ſame has given me other "Letters-Patent to go into ſuch Kingdom or Province "of the world as I ſhall think fit; ſo that I have had "the liberty to chooſe any of the Society's Colleges: "All this is ſealed with the Great Seal of the Ge-"neral's Office, ſo that nothing can be more authen-"tic. And to compleat my happineſs, *Father Pon-"thelier*, who has been the chief author and promoter "of all theſe favours and wonders, has got leave to "live with me as long as he pleaſes; and I aſſure you, "that he will not forſake me, till I be entirely ſatiſ-"fied. And beſides all this, I have the liberty to be "either a ſecular Prieſt, or to continue in the So-"ciety of the Jeſuits (which is a thing that is never "granted to any perſon) and I expect definitive an-"ſwers from Rome."

(11) *Lettre de Jarrige au Sieur G. M. Marchand. à Leide*, dated from Antwerp, May 8, 1650. It was printed at Leyden the ſame year, with an anſwer to it, of which I ſhall ſpeak in the remark [F].

(12) Pag. 4.

(13) *Lettre au Marchand de Leide.*

[D] *Other reaſons may by given why ſuch a man ſhould have entirely diſappeared.*] By his own recantation he was convicted of being the greateſt villain upon earth. For he acknowledged there, that in order to revenge himſelf of two Jeſuits, he had defamed the whole Society by the charges of *regicide, murdering of infants, Sodomy, and ſuch other abominable crimes* (14). When a man publickly confeſſes himſelf guilty of calumny with regard to ſuch crimes, he has no other courſe to take, but to hide himſelf for the remainder of his days. If he has any principles of conſcience left, he ought to confine himſelf to ſome ſecret place, to do penance all his life-time. If he has no conſcience, yet is not paſt all ſhame, he ought to avoid all company, and after the example of Bellerophon, the very prints of mens feet.

(14) *Retract.* pag. 79.

Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κακίῃσι ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,

Hom.

for the Reader's inſtruction I ſhould correct his account a little [*E*]. In the Anſwers that were publiſhed to Jarrige's Recantation, it was aſſerted that his conduct had not been offenſive, than Jarrige's books, though perhaps it does not contain ſo many ſtories relating to particular perſons. This work was received with great applauſe; the Jeſuits obliged James Gretſerus to refute it, which gave riſe to ſeveral works *pro* and *con*.

I have obſerved that Haſenmullerus does not relate ſo many ſtories as Jarrige does; but it is certain that in the chapter concerning the Vow of Chaſtity, he relates ſome that are very ſcandalous; and, with a deſign, no doubt, to make the public more ſtrongly condemn the lewd actions, which he accuſes the Jeſuites of, he expatiates upon ſeveral precautions, which he ſays the Jeſuites take in order to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt thoſe crimes. He aſſerts, that they take ſuch food as mortifies and enervates the fleſh; that they recommend watching, faſting, laſhing, and the wearing of an hair-cloth, to thoſe that confeſs their temptations to them. *In cibis & potu variis utuntur herbis & pharmacis, quibus naturæ vim enervant, & ſobolem, ut ita dicam, intra viſcera propria occidunt μισάνθρωποι, & à Deo ordinatæ humanæ propagationis hoſtes. Si qui fratres in confeſſionibus conquiruntur de carnis infirmitate, flammis atque uſtione, eam ut extinguant, ordinant illis vigilias, jejunia, cilicia, & flagella quibus carnem ſuam doment, conſtigent, & in ſervitutem, ut loquuntur, ſpiritus redigant* (23). i. e. "For their meat and drink "they uſe herbs and drugs, by which they enervate "the ſtrength of nature, and theſe man-haters, theſe "enemies to the propagation of mankind eſtabliſhed "by God himſelf, do, if I may ſay ſo, kill their "offspring in their own bowels. If any of the bre-"thren complain in their confeſſions of the weakneſs "of the fleſh, of their flames, and burning, they "command them, in order to extinguiſh that fire of "luſt, to watch, to faſt, to wear an hair-cloth, and to "laſh themſelves, that they may thereby ſubdue the "fleſh, and bring it into ſubjection to the ſpirit, as "they uſe to ſpeak." He adds, that there are ſome who labour to kindle and cheriſh in their ſoul a great hatred for the female ſex. *Nonnullos vidi qui nihil voluerunt edere, quòd à muliere coctum ſciebant. Alios dicentes audivi, quoties de fœmina cogito, toties ſtomachus meus & bilis commoventur & conturbantur. Alius dicebat, tædet pudetque me quod à muliere ſum in hanc lucem editus; dignus certe cui vacca fuiſſet genetrix. Alii nihil prorſus boni in tota mulieris ſubſtantia eſſe dicunt, ſique ex illis quidam cæteros in harum calumniarum palæſtra vincere conantur, illi ad menticnem mulieris expuunt, & in tabula maledicos, & in ſexum fœmineum contumelioſos Mantuani verſus (quos tamen is non niſi de malis cecinit) deſcriptos ob oculos ponunt, ut ſic in ſeipſis majus in mulieres odium excitent* (24). i. e. "I have "ſeen ſome, who would not eat of any thing which "they knew was dreſſed by a woman. I have heard "others ſay, whenever I think of a woman, my ſto-"mach riſes, and my blood is up: another ſaid, it "grieves me, and I am aſhamed that a woman "brought me into the world: he deſerved indeed to "have had a cow for his dam. Others again aſſert, "that there is no good at all in the whole ſubſtance of "a woman, and if there be ſome amongſt them who "pretend to excell above the reſt in theſe calumnies "againſt the fair ſex, they ſpit at the bare mention-"ing of a woman, and they keep ſome ſlanderous "verſes, injurious to the female ſex, compoſed by "Baptiſt Mantuanus (which yet he intended only a-"gainſt the bad women) engraved on a plate, conti-"nually before their eyes, that they may thus perpe-"tually ſtir up in themſelves an hatred for the wo-"men." It appears from this paſſage, that all ſorts of ſilly and extravagant notions can make their way to people's mind, under the auſpices of a miſtaken devotion. For can there be any thing more abſurd, and more worthy of a mad-man, than the diſcourſes of theſe people, *My ſtomach turns*, ſay they, *my blood is up whenever I think of a woman. It grieves me, and I am aſhamed that I owe my birth to a woman. I ſpit when I bear a woman mentioned.* I have not met in Haſenmullerus's work with a paſſage, which a modern author has quoted from it (25); he aſſerts that he read there, that a certain labourer, who worked in a Convent of the Jeſuits, could never careſs his wife, though

Ἦλοι ὃ καπποδόκον τὸ Ἀληΐον οἷος ἀλᾶτο,
Ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων (15).

That is,

"Being now odious to all the Gods, he wandered alone "through the plains of Aleii (in Cilicia) devouring "his own heart, and avoiding the very foot-ſteps of "men."

It is then a man muſt practiſe, what Balſac ſaid he would do for a much leſs conſiderable reaſon: I would go, ſaid he (16), and eat my very heart in the deſerts of Thebais; *Ipſe cor meum edens, hominum veſtigia vitans.*

[*E*] *The Hiſtorian, whom I have quoted, will not take it amiſs . . . . . that I ſhould correct his account a little.*] Jarrige "was a turbulent and ambitious "man, and his converſion was owing perhaps to the "anger he conceived when he was diſappointed in "his hopes of being raiſed to the higheſt dignities in "the Society, rather than to any real zeal for the "truth. He abjured the Roman Catholic religion in "the Conſiſtory of Rochelle, on Chriſtmas-day, "after which he retired into Holland. This was the "firſt wound of that kind the Society of the Jeſuits "received, not one perſon amongſt them having for-"ſaken the Roman Catholic religion before him. Or "at leaſt, if others had forſaken it, it did not make "any noiſe abroad, either becauſe the Jeſuits out of "prudence thought it not fit to blaze it out, or be-"cauſe the perſons were too inſignificant to complain "of their forſaking the Society . . . . . (17). Jarrige "diſappeared ſoon after his book had been publiſhed, "and the Jeſuits boaſted, that as he had left their So-"ciety only out of ſpite, he returned to it through re-"pentance, and had confined himſelf to one of their "Convents, in order to renounce the world, and to "make penance all his life time. But as he never "appeared any where ſince, it was thought on the "contrary, that the Jeſuits found means to have him "carried away, and that they revenged themſelves ſe-"cretly upon him for the vexation he gave them by "changing his religion. And indeed, it is not to be "imagined, that after they had made ſuch an out-"cry upon his forſaking them, they would make no "advantage of his return, nor carry him at leaſt "ſometimes through thoſe Provinces, in which his "apoſtacy was known, in order to check the joy, "which his converſion gave to the Reformed. And "beſides, we have had ſince that time other inſtances "of what they are capable of doing againſt thoſe, that "forſake them; it is well known, that they find "means to carry them off out of their ſafeſt retreats, "and that they make them atone, by long and heavy "puniſhments, for the crime they committed by "breaking their vows (18)." I ſhall make but three remarks upon this account.

The Iſt will be very ſhort; that author ſhould not have made uſe of the word *perhaps*, with regard to the motives of Jarrige's converſion. It is plain that it was owing only to ſpite. Monſieur Spanheim was fully perſuaded of it from the very firſt converſation he had with him (19); and Jarrige's whole recantation ſavours of nothing elſe.

My IId obſervation is, that this was not the *firſt wound of that kind* which the Society received, and the conſequences of which made a great noiſe. A Jeſuit named Elias Haſenmullerus left his Order in the XVIth Century, and turned Lutheran. He was a man who had very exactly obſerved all that could be ſaid for or againſt that Society; ſo that the Jeſuits did all that lay in their power to ſeize him, leſt he ſhould publiſh an hiſtory of them. He was ſo happy as to avoid the ſnares they had laid for him, by hiding himſelf now in one place and then in another. But at laſt, the better to ſecure himſelf againſt all their attempts, he retired to Wittemberg in the year 1587 (20), where he employed his time in putting the finiſhing-hand to an Hiſtory of the Jeſuits, which he deſigned to publiſh; but he died before he could ſend it to the preſs. His manuſcript was publiſhed ſometime after by Polycarpus Lyſerus (21). It is a very ſmart piece againſt the Jeſuits (22), and upon the whole more

(15) Homer. Iliad. lib. 6. ver. 200.

(16) Lettre 34. to Chapelain, lib. 5. *See* Cicero, *Tuſcul. Quæſt.* lib. 3. folio 263. D.

(17) *Hiſt. de l'edit. de Nantes*, tom. 3. pag. 93.

(18) Ibid. pag. 94.

(19) Jarrige, *Retractation*, pag. 7.

(23) Haſenmullerus, *Hiſtoria Ordinis Jeſuitici*, pag. 127. edit. Francof. 1605.

(24) Ibid. pag. 131.

(25) The author of the *Polygamia triumphatrix*. Here follows what we find there, pag. 130. Haſenm. *Hiſtoria Jeſ* c. 6. p. 99. *ubi jocoſam ſed tamen veram hiſtoriam narrat de* opifice *quodam, qui apud Jeſuitas laborans, comedens, & bibens,* uxori benevolentiam debitam non potuit reddere, *ſed apud alios vel aquam bibens virum ſe valuit præſtare, eamque ob cauſam non voluit, ut amplius Jeſuitis inſerviret, uti & poſtea Landsbergenſes prohibuerint in Bavaria, ne amplius* cerevisiam *apud Jeſuitas emerent.*

CONCERNING Haſenmullerus, an Ex-Jeſuit, and his *Hiſtoria Ordinis Jeſuitici*.

(20) Taken from the preface which Polycarpus Liſerus prefixed to Haſenmullerus's work.

(21) At Franckfort, in the year 1593. in 4to.

(22) *Haſenmullerus, qui fuit Jeſuita, & ſcripſit Triumphum Papalem, habet multa bona.* Scaliger, in *Scaligeranis poſterioribus*, pag. m. 105. It is not true that he is the author of the *Triumphus Papalis*, which is prefixed to his *Hiſtoria Ordinis Jeſuitici*. Maximilian Philo is the author of it. This blunder of Scaliger is alſo committed in the *Oxford Catalogue*.

been very edifying, whilſt he acted the Proteſtant [F]. Konig (g) calls him *Jarrichius*, and pretends that he publiſhed *The Jeſuit upon the Scaffold* in the year 1665 (h). There are three blunders here (*).

(g) *Biblioth. Vetus & Nova*, pag. 424.

(h) *Jeſuitam... feràli pegmate conſtitutum.* It ſhould have been *Jeſuitas.*

(*) I Jarrighius *for* Jarrigius; II The Jeſuit, *inſtead of* the Jeſuits; III. *The year* 1665, *inſtead of* 1650.

In the Oxford Catalogue they have miſtaken him for another Jeſuit, a work of whom is aſcribed to him, and whoſe name was Peter Jarric.

though they gave him abundantly to eat and drink; and yet when he worked at other peoples houſes, he could very well perform his nocturnal duty, though he drank nothing but water: wherefore his wife would not have him work any more in the Convent of the Jeſuits, and afterwards the Magiſtrates of Landeſberg (26) would not ſuffer any beer to be bought of them. If this beer had really that bad quality, the Magiſtrates did very well to prohibit it amongſt the lay-men, for the conjugal duty is ſo much a privileged caſe, that ſeveral Caſuiſts ſubmit even the Canon-Law to it; they pretend that when faſting renders a man uncapable to pay his wife what he owes her, he is *ipſo facto* excuſed from faſting. See the margin (27).

(26) A city in Bavaria.

(27) They are not obliged to faſt, who when they faſt cannot perform the conjugal duty. Emmanuel Sa. *Aphoriſ. verbo* Jejunium, num. 9. Tolet. *Inſtruct. Sacerdot.* lib. 6. cap. 4. Thomas, 2 *ſecundæ* Quæſt. 147. Art. 4. Du Moulin in the book of *Traditions*, pag. m. 343.

If the Jeſuit Haſenmullerus's converſion made a great noiſe, that of the Jeſuit Reihing made ſtill more noiſe (38). He is generally thought to have contributed to make the Duke of Newburg enter into the pale of the church of Rome. See the article REIHING. We have here then two remarkable converſions of Jeſuits, which happened before that of Peter Jarrige. I ſay nothing of Daniel Peirol, Paſtor of the church at Montauban, and Profeſſor in the Univerſity of that city. He had been a Jeſuit, and wrote ſomething againſt Father Coton. I met with this particular in page 21 of Giſbert Voetius's *Confraternitas Mariana.*

(28) He turned Lutheran about the year 1621.

My IIId obſervation is, that Jarrige was not carried away by force; he retired of his own accord, being perſuaded to it at the Jeſuit Ponthelier's inſtigation. This appears by the authentic pieces which have been printed; ſuch is the letter he wrote to a Merchant at Leyden, and more ſtill, his own recantation (29).

(29) See the remark [C] quotations (11), (12), and (13).

[F] *His conduct was not very edifying, whilſt he acted the Proteſtant.*] I have ſeen two anſwers to his recantation, the one was written by Ezekiel Daunois, of Compiegne, Miniſter of the Goſpel; the other by John Nicolai, of Luxemburg, a Member of the French church at Amſterdam. In the Preface to this ſecond anſwer, I read, that Peter Jarrige laboured in vain to be admitted a Miniſter before the four years tryal, which the Synod require of thoſe, who forſake Idolatry, was expired. This tryal, ſays the author to him, "made you burſt with anger, after the laſt denial "you met with at the Synod of Haerlem, in which "you were alſo accuſed (you know beſt in your own "conſcience, whether it was juſtly or not) of an action "as ſhameful as thoſe wickedneſſes, with which you "charge the Jeſuits of your Province, in order to ex-"poſe them on a ſcaffold. And though that affair "was not thoroughly examined at that time, becauſe "the witneſſes were abſent, yet the ſuſpicions that "were conceived againſt you have not been removed, "conſidering the great knowledge and experience you "ſeem to have in thoſe things in your book againſt "the Jeſuits." The letter which the Merchant of Leiden wrote to him will explain all this; we meet in it with the following words. "You may remem-"ber with what ſpirit you was acted upon, when you "returned from the Synod of Middelburg, in which "you had ſo earneſtly endeavoured to be diſpenſed "from the order which is made, that no converted "Roman Catholic be admitted to the holy Miniſtry "(which you deſigned to invade, that you might "give greater offence) till after a tryal of four years "your petition being rejected, you ſhewed your pre-"ſumption, pride, and vanity; and returning home, "you happened to be in the night-time in the cabin "of the boat with ſeveral women; and as you could "not ſpeak to them but by ſigns, you expoſed "your obſcene parts before them by the light of the "candle, which made them cry out ſo loudly againſt "*the wicked and abominable Prieſt*, as they called "you, that they awaked not only a faithful ſervant "of God, who was there, but alſo all the paſſengers "that were in the boat, who being alarmed by the "womens outcry, run to their aſſiſtance, and having "heard the whole ſtory, would needs throw you "into the water, which they had certainly done, "had not that honeſt man appeaſed them: however "the ſkipper promiſed ſolemnly that he would give "an account of the whole ſtory at the place whence "you came."

JAVERSAC (N) was one of the authors that entered the liſt during the great controverſy between Balzac and Father Goulu. He was *born in a city pretty near Angoulême* (a); he went to Paris *with a Book againſt both Phyllarchus* (b) *and Narciſſus* (c), *and intitled it Ariſtarque à Nicandre* (Ariſtarchus to Nicander). His criticiſms were very wrong in ſome particulars; as for inſtance, he aſſerted *that one muſt ſay* (in French) *une Ruette* (a narrow lane, and alſo the bed-ſide) and not *une Ruelle*; *un Livraire* (a Bookſeller) and not *un Libraire*, becauſe we ſay *un Livre* (a Book) and not *un Libre.* This new author was aſſaulted *with ſword and piſtol at his Inn, and even whilſt he was in bed.* But as he was young and valiant, he took his ſword, and *purſued his enemy into the ſtreet, ſo that he had all the honour of that ſtout defence.* Notwithſtanding this, *ſome perſons took care to have this ſtory cried the next day about the ſtreets, quite otherwiſe than it really happened* [A]. They publiſhed a libel intitled *Le Defaite du Paladin Javerſac par les alliez & confederez du Prince des feuilles* (d). i. e. "The Overthrow of the Knight "Errant Javerſac by the Allies and Confederates of the Prince of the Leaves (*)." I have been told by a man, who has a great deal of wit, that Balzac was the author of that piece, and that it is the beſt that was publiſhed about this controverſy. The public found that there was *a ſacrilegious calumny in the title of that libel* (e); for Father Goulu was charged there *with the attempt committed notwithſtanding the holineſs of his profeſſion.*

(a) Sorel, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 132. edit. 1667. Obſerve that the city mentioned by Sorel is *Coignac.*

(b) It is the name which F. Goulu took.

(c) Thus F. Goulu called Balzac.

(*) This is what *Phyllarchus* ſignifies in Greek.

(d) Sorel, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 132.

(e) Idem, ibid.

[A] *This ſtory was publiſhed quite otherwiſe than it happened.*] Never did two things differ more, than the account of this ſtory as it is related by Sorel, differs from the account we read in the *Défaite du Paladin Javerſac* (1). It is aſſerted in this pamphlet, that the Knight-errant was of Cognac, where he had pleaded at the bar; that when his book was publiſhed, there was a wicked plot formed to aſſault him in the open ſtreet, but they were obliged to attack him in his own chamber, becauſe he kept himſelf locked in all day long; that they ſurprized him in bed ſleeping in the arms of his landlord's wife, on a thurſday, Auguſt 11, 1628; that they waked him out of his ſleep by a volley of baſtinadoes, which did not ceaſe till the aggreſſor thought fit, for the Knight-errant did nothing but ſubmit entirely to providence. The concluſion of the libel is, that Phyllarchus's friends, "being united in this "with thoſe of the other ſide, have ſworn to exter-"minate all the Javerſacs they ſhall meet with, and "to let the bad Poets know, that beſides the golden "age, the brazen age, and the iron age, ſo often "mentioned, there is ſtill a wooden age to come, of "which the antient Poets do not ſpeak a word, and "in the misfortunes and calamities of which the bad "Poets will have a greater ſhare than other men." I make uſe of the edition publiſhed in 1665 (2). See the following remark.

(1) It is a very ſmall pamphlet containing but 16 pages in 8vo. It has been reprinted in the folio edition of Balzac's works, with other pieces written in his defence.

(2) That is to ſay in the folio edition of Balzac's Works.

(f) See the laſt remark, quotation (14).

(g) Sorel, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 132.

feſſion. Javerſac cleared him of the charge, and laid it only upon Balzac (*f*), but *conſiderate perſons* could neither accuſe *Phyllarchus nor Narciſſus* of it (*g*). However we know certainly, that it has been publiſhed (*h*), that Balzac being on his death-bed *called to mind that in his younger days there happened ſomething between him and Monſieur de Javerzac, upon which he ſent one of his friends to that Gentleman's houſe, ſeven or eight leagues diſtant from* Angoulême, *deſiring him to come to ſee him that he might have the pleaſure of embracing him before he died. That he actually embraced him with an incredible tranſport of joy, and ſhewed him ſuch a ſincere love as agreeably baniſhed from their mind the remembrance of their former quarrel.* That Monſieur de Javerzac was ſo deeply affected with it, that he immediately, with tears in his eyes, compoſed a Sonnet, to lament for ever the loſs of his friend.

(h) Moriſcer, in his *Account of Balzac's death.* It is printed in the folio edition of Balzac's works.

Since the firſt edition of this Dictionary I have learnt ſome particulars, which I ſhall acquaint the reader with [*B*].

[*B*] *I have learnt ſome particulars, which I ſhall acquaint the reader with.*] The Sieur de Javerſac's book was printed and reprinted in the year 1628, with this title, *Diſcours d'Ariſtarque à Nicandre, ſur le jugement des eſprits de ce temps, & ſur les fautes de Phyllarque.* i. e. "A diſcourſe from Ariſtarchus to Nicander, concerning the judgment of the wits of this age, and "concerning Phyllarchus's miſtakes." The firſt thing we meet with in it is an advertiſement from the printer. It contains nothing but falſities; for it is aſſerted there, that they were obliged to make uſe of a thouſand artifices, in order to render the care, with which the author endeavoured to prevent the publication of his work, ineffectual. *He was not ſo very fond of it, as willingly to expoſe it to the rage of envy.* We meet next with an abuſive letter, which he had written to Monſieur Bergeron, the King's Counſellor, and Referendary in Chancery. He ſhews a very great paſſion in that letter, becauſe he ſuppoſed this Monſieur Bergeron had made objections againſt granting him a licenſe for his book, that he might not have the advantage of being the firſt that publiſhed any thing concerning this controverſy between Balſac and Father Goulu, and that la Motte Aignon might have time to be before-hand with him. We meet thirdly with his preface, in which he gives us an account of the great pains which his enemies took to ſtop the printing of this work. After all theſe pieces follows the book itſelf. This is not the only work which the Sieur de Javerſac publiſhed. The ſame year 1628, he preſented the world with a *Diſcours d'Ariſtarque à Calidoxe ſur ce qui s'eſt paſſé entre lui & Balſac.* i. e. "A diſcourſe of Ariſtarchus to *Calidoxus*, concerning what paſſed between him and Balſac." The printing of it coſt him an hundred crowns (3); nor could he find means to have it printed *at Paris, neither with a licenſe, nor otherwiſe.* He aſſerts (4), that *his father had been in ſeveral honourable deputations, and was raiſed to the moſt conſiderable employments in the aſſemblies of the reformed before the civil wars.* . . . . and (5) that *he can prove by authentic records, that his anceſtors acquired him a title to nobility, by their poſſeſſing a long while ſeveral conſiderable employments at the court of Navarre.* He aſſerts alſo (6), that he had offered Balſac to give him ſatisfaction either as a gentleman or as a philoſopher. He relates at length the misfortune that happened to him when he was aſſaulted in his bed (7). *He avoided a little the blow* which one of the three fellows, that entered the chamber, ſtruck at him; *but it is too glorious for me*, ſays he (8), *not to confeſs that he hit me on the arm, telling me, you was forbidden to write againſt Balſac.* He adds (9), that his landlady was wounded in her little finger, and that *he purſued them ſword in hand into the ſtreet*, and that two hundred witneſſes, who ſaw him in his ſhirt on the threſhold, had publiſhed it every where before-hand; that *with his ſword he thruſt the man*, who had ſtruck him, *in the breaſt*, and that fifty perſons, who ſaw *his ſword bend quite double, judge from it that the* villain *had a coat of mail on* (10). He obſerves (11), that he had the honour, two or three days before, to be a ſecond to a Marquis in a duel. And indeed I think that he was more proper to fight than to write books, and that he would ſoon have got the better of Balſac, in a diſpute that muſt have been determined ſword in hand. He lets fall from his pen very ſilly bravadoes againſt him (12), but he ſeems to be afraid leſt his adverſary ſhould charge him *with ſome amorous intrigues, in which he was engaged in his youth* (13). Let us remember that he never ſuſpected Father Goulu to be the author of the affront that was offered him. *I do not know*, ſays he (14), *why Balſac ſhould ſtand in fear of me, if he be not guilty, and if he think he can clear himſelf perfectly of that crime, by charging Phyllarchus with it, who has acted a much more generous part, and who has too good an opinion of his own wit to vindicate himſelf. I had ſuch ſtrong proofs againſt Balſac, and judged ſo well of Phyllarchus's honeſty, that I never could ſuſpect him in the leaſt. He was, I think, much more angry with my book, than with my perſon.*

(3) Ariſtarque, *Avis au Lecteur.*

(4) *Diſcours à Ariſtarque*, pag. m. 166.

(5) Ibid. pag. 168.

(6) Ibid. pag. 174.

(7) It was on a Thurſday Auguſt 2, 1628, according to the 8vo edition of the *Defait du Paladin Javerſac.*

(8) *Diſcours d'Ariſtarque*, pag. 183.

(9) Ibid. pag. 184.

(10) Ibid. pag. 185.

(11) Ibid. pag. 198.

(12) See eſpecially pag. 198.

(13) Ibid. pag. 201.

(14) Ibid. pag. 199.

Let us conclude with obſerving, that it is eaſy to know he was born an Huguenot, but not, whether or no he was one ſtill; for the paſſage which I ſhall now quote is equivocal. *After they had enquired where I lodged, and heard from my landlady that I lodged at her houſe, they aſked her of what religion I was. She anſwered, that ſhe did not know it, but that, however, I went often to church. It might very well have been declared upon oath, that there is not one Catholic, whoſe faith is more orthodox than mine is* (15). The Sieur de Bergeron printed a letter *againſt the impertinencies and falſities written by the Sieur de Javerſac, in a letter which he prefixed to a book, &c.* (16). There was alſo publiſhed (17) a piece with this title, *Le non paſſionné ſur le Livre intitule la Defaicte du Palladin Javerſac.* i. e. "The impartial judge concerning a book intitled "the deſeat of the knight-errant." This piece is infinitely more favourable to the knight than to his adverſary. But as for the book intitled, *Achates à Palemon pour la Defenſe de Phyllarque* (18). i. e. "Achates to Polemon, in defence of Phyllarchus;" it cuts Javerſac in pieces. I have quoted a paſſage from it in the remark of the article ARTABANUS IV (19).

(15) Ibid. pag. 176.

(16) It was written to Monſ. Balzac, and printed in the year 1628.

(17) In the year 1628.

(18) Printed that ſame year.

(19) See alſo the article MUSAC.

JENISCHIUS (PAUL) was born at Antwerp June the 17th 1558, and died at Stugart December the 18th 1647. He was a learned man, and underſtood ſeveral languages. His book intitled *Theſaurus Animarum*, (The Treaſure of Souls) drew a heavy perſecution upon him; he was baniſhed, and his baniſhment continued above fifty years. He ſuffered it very patiently, and enjoyed a very good health till the laſt year of his life; eating and ſleeping well (*a*), and applying himſelf to Muſic, which he underſtood in perfection, and to the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures, and to Mechanics. He had nineteen children, of whom there were but four alive when he died. The laſt year of his life his health was very much impaired, and he expired in very violent pains (*b*). The Bibliographers of the Low-Countries knew nothing of him.

(a) *Perpetua animi tranquillitate & corporis valetudine firma cum orexi & ſuavi ſomno uſus.* Joh. Valentinus Andreas, *Epiſt.* 190.

(b) Taken from the 190th Letter of John Valentine Andreas.

☞JENKIN (ROBERT), a learned Engliſh Divine, in the beginning of the eighteenth Century, was ſon of Mr. Thomas Jenkin of Minſter in the Iſle of Thanet in Kent, and born there, and baptized January the 31ſt 1656. He was educated at

King's School at Canterbury, and from thence ſent to St. John's College in the Univerſity of Cambridge, of which he was afterwards choſen Fellow. He was made Chaplain to Dr. John Lake, who was tranſlated from the See of Briſtol to that of Chicheſter in 1685; and in 1688 promoted by him to the Præcentorſhip of that Church, which he ſoon vacated by refuſing to take the Oaths to King William and Queen Mary. In 1711, upon the death of Dr. Humphrey Gower, Maſter of St. John's College, he was elected Maſter in his room, and likewiſe Lady Margaret's Profeſſor of Divinity; which places he held to the time of his death, which happened April the 7th 1727 (*a*). He wrote ſeveral works [*A*].

(*a*) *Hiſtory and Antiquities as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil of the Iſle of Tenet in Kent. By John Lewis, M. A.* pag. 40. 2d edit. London 1736 in 4to.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral works.*] I. *An hiſtorical Examination of the Authority of General Councils; ſhewing the falſe dealing, which hath been uſed in the publiſhing of them; and the difference among the Papiſts themſelves about their Number.* 1688, in 4to. II. *The Reaſonableneſs and Certainty of the Chriſtian Religion*, two Volumes in 8vo. 3d Edit. 1708. III. *Defenſio S. Auguſtini adverſus Joannis Phereponi in ejus opera Animadverſiones*, Cambridge 1707, in 8vo. There was a ſecond Edition printed at London 1728, in 8vo. This book is written againſt Monſieur Le Clerc, whom our author complains of for having treated the fathers, and eſpecially St. Auſtin, with ſeverity, tho' he allows Monſieur Le Clerc to be a man of no ſmall or contemptible abilities: *Mihi profecto eſt nec amore nec odio, ſed ſcriptis ſolis cognitus: in ipſo autem non exiguas nec contemnendas dotes agnoſco.* IV. *Remarks on ſome Books lately publiſhed, viz. Mr.* Baſnage's *Hiſtory of the Jews: Mr.* Whiſton's *Eight Sermons: Mr.* Lock's *Paraphraſe and Notes on St. Paul's Epiſtles: Mr.* Le Clerc's *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, London 1709, in 8vo. V. He tranſlated *the Life of Apollonius Tyanæus*, written in French by Monſieur Tillemont. H.

☞JEWEL (JOHN) a learned Engliſh Writer and Biſhop in the ſixteenth Century, was ſon of John Jewel Gent. and was born at Bowden or Buden in the Pariſh of Berrinerber in Devonſhire May the 24th 1522 (*a*). In July 1535 he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, and entered into Merton College (*b*) under the tuition of Mr. John Parkhurſt, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich. Auguſt the 19th 1539 he was admitted Scholar of Corpus Chriſti College; and on the 20th of October 1540 took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*). Being now in the capacity of taking Pupils, many reſorted to him, whom he moſtly inſtructed privately in Proteſtant principles, and publicly in Humanity Studies, being choſen Rhetoric Reader in his College (*d*). January the 28th 1544 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*e*). His life during his reſidence in the College was ſo exemplary, that Mr. Moren, Dean of the College, uſed to ſay to him: *I ſhould love thee*, Jewel, *if thou wert not a Zuinglian; in thy Faith I hold thee a Heretic; but ſurely in thy life thou art an Angel. Thou art very good and honeſt, but a Lutheran* (*f*). Upon the death of King Henry VIII he openly declared himſelf a Proteſtant, and upon Peter Martyr's coming to Oxford, he frequented his lectures and ſermons, and was Notary to that Divine, when he diſputed in the Divinity-Schools with Chedſey, Treſham, Morgan, and others, about the Real Preſence (*g*). In 1550 he took the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*h*); and became a zealous promoter of the Reformation, and a Preacher and Catechiſer at Sunningwel near Abingdon in Berkſhire (*i*). Upon the acceſſion of Queen Mary to the Crown in July 1553, he was one of the firſt who felt the rage of the ſtorm then raiſed againſt the Reformation; for before any law was made, or order given by the Queen, he was expelled the College by the Fellows, by their own private authority (*k*) [*A*]: upon this he retired to Broad-gate's Hall, (now Pembroke College) where he continued ſome time, and the fame of his learning drew many ſcholars to him. He was likewiſe choſen Orator to the Univerſity [*B*]. He continued

(*a*) See his *Life* prefixed to his *Works*, and to his *Apology*; and Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, pag. 418.

(*b*) Prince, *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 63. 2d edit.

(*d*) Idem, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 169.

(*e*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 69.

(*f*) Prince, pag. 419.

(*g*) Idem, ibid.

(*b*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 75.

(*i*) Prince, *ubi ſupra, and* Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 169.

(*k*) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory of Britain*, B. 8. pag. 8. *and* Prince, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 419.

[*A*] *Expell'd the college by the fellows, by their own private authority.*] They had nothing to object againſt him, but, 1. His following of Peter Martyr. 2. His preaching ſome doctrines contrary to Popery. 3. His taking orders according to the laws then in force (1). 4. His refuſal to be preſent at maſs, and other Popiſh ſolemnities (2). At his departure he took leave of the college in a Latin ſpeech, full of pathetic eloquence: "I have often, *ſays he*, heretofore upon divers occaſions, if not "with ſo good ſucceſs as I wiſhed, yet with moſt "ardent affection and deſire of good, ſpoken unto you "out of this place. But now, thro' the iniquity of "the times, things are brought to this paſs, that I "am to ſpeak only this at the laſt, that I muſt ſpeak "no more unto you. I have incurred, I ſee, ſome "mens implacable hatred; but how deſervedly, God "knows, and let them look to it. This I am ſure "of, that they who would not have me ſtay here, "would ſuffer me to live no where. I yield to the "time; and if they take any delight in my miſery, "I hinder them not. What Ariſtides prayed before "he went into baniſhment, that I pray of Almighty "God, that no man may think of me when I am "gone; and can they deſire more?" Here his tears could no longer be reſtrained; at laſt he proceeded thus: "Pardon me, if it do grieve me to leave the place, "where I have been brought up, where I have lived "hitherto, where I have been in ſome place of reckon-"ing. But why do I ſtick to kill my heart with one "word? Alas! that I muſt ſpeak it, as with grief I "muſt. *Valeant ſtudia, valeant hæc tecta, valeat "ſedes cultiſſima literarum, valeat jucundiſſimus con-"ſpectus veſtri; valete juvenes, valete ſocii, valete "fratres, valete oculi mei, valete omnes mei.*"

(1) Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, pag. 419.

(2) Fuller, *Church Hiſtory of Britain*, B. 8. pag. 8.

[*B*] *He was likewiſe choſen Orator to the univerſity.*] This we are informed of by Mr. Prince (3). And we find that in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign he was employed to write in the name of the univerſity, the firſt congratulatory letter to her Majeſty. Wood informs us (4), that this taſk was evidently impoſed upon Mr. Jewel by thoſe who meant him no kindneſs; for it was taken for granted, that he muſt either provoke the Roman Catholicks, or loſe the good opinion of his party. But he was ſo dexterous in his compoſition, as to eſcape the ſnare. The addreſs being both reſpectful and guarded, paſſed the approbation of Treſham the Commiſſary (5), and ſome other Doctors, and was well received by the Queen. *Epiſtolam quandam gratulatoriam tranſmittendam decrevere ſodalitiorum præpoſiti, Magiſtro Johanni Jewel, Collegii Corporis Chriſti Socio, id negotii demandantes. Hoc hoſtili in virum animo factum liquet, quem utique munere illo fungi non aliter poſſe ſponderent, quam ut vel Pontificiorum exacerbaret,*

(3) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 420.

(4) *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 1. pag. 274, 275. *See likewiſe* Fuller, *Church Hiſtory*, B. 8. pag. 6.

(5) *Commiſſario.* Mr. Collier in his *Eccleſiaſt. Hiſtory*, Part 2. B. 5. pag. 349. has erroneouſly rendered this word *Vice-Chancellor.*

continued ſo long at Oxford, till he was called upon to ſubſcribe to ſome of the Popiſh doctrnes under the ſevereſt penalties; which he ſubmitted to. However this did not procure his ſafety; for Dr. Martial, Dean of Chriſt Church, who had changed his Religion twice already, as he afterwards did twice or thrice more in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*l*), had certainly caught him in a ſnare laid for him, had he not gone that very night he was ſent for, a wrong way to London. In this journey, one Auguſtin Berner, a Swiſs, firſt a ſervant of Biſhop Latimer, and afterwards a Miniſter, found him lying upon the ground, almoſt dead with wearineſs and cold; and ſetting him upon an horſe, (for Mr. Jewel, though lame, made his eſcape on foot) conveyed him to the Lady Anne Warcup's a widow, who entertained him for ſome time, and then ſent him up to London. Having twice or thrice changed his lodgings in London, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a man of great diſtinction and in conſiderable offices at that time, furniſhed him with money for his journey, and procured him a ſhip to convey him beyond ſea. He arrived at Francfort in the beginning of the ſecond year of Queen Mary's reign, where he made a public recantation of his ſubſcription to the Popiſh doctrines. Thence he went to Straſburg, and afterwards to Zurich, whither he attended Peter Martyr, in whoſe houſe he reſided. During this time it is probable, that he made an excurſion to Padua, where he contracted a friendſhip with Signior Scipio, a Venetian Gentleman, to whom he afterwards addreſſed his Epiſtle concerning the Council of Trent (*m*). After Queen Mary's death he returned to England in 1558, and was ſoon after employed with ſome others in a diſputation at Weſtminſter againſt the Papiſts; and deputed by the Queen to viſit the weſtern parts of England in order to root out Popery there (*n*). About this time he wrote a letter to Henry Bullinger concerning the ſtate of Religion in England [*C*]. January the 21ſt 1559 he was conſecrated Biſhop of Saliſbury (*o*). His writings have rendered his name famous over all Europe [*D*]. He was created Doctor of Divinity May the 26th 1565 (*p*). He died at Monketon-Farley September the 23d 1571

(*l*) *Life of Biſhop Jewel*, prefixed to his *Apology*, printed in 1585, pag. 11.

(*m*) Ibid. *and* Prince, pag. 420, 421.

(*n*) Prince, pag. 422.

(*o*) Godwin, *de Præſulibus Angliæ, in Epiſcop. Sariſburienſib.*

(*p*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 96.

cerbaret, vel ſuorum à ſe mentes alienaret. Verum ſpes eos egregie fefellit, utriſque enim dubio quodam & obſcuro ſcribendi genere ſatisfecit Jewellus, & epiſtolam à Treſhamo Commiſſario ac Doctoribus nonnullis prius approbatam, grate admodnm accepit Maria.

[*C*] *About this time he wrote a letter to Henry Bullinger at Zurich, concerning the ſtate of religion in England.*] In this letter, dated May 22, 1559, he returns Bullinger thanks for his favours in Germany, and for the letters which he had lately written to encourage the Engliſh Divines to ſtand firm for the truth. He obſerves, "That arguments for reſolution were "very neceſſary at the preſent juncture. That the "reformed in England had not only their old antago-"niſts, but their late friends to encounter. That "theſe latter had deſerted the cauſe, joined the enemy. "and made a more vigorous and obſtinate reſiſtance "than any of the reſt. And what gives us, ſays he, "moſt trouble, we have the remainder of the Spaniſh "vices, luxury, pride, and libertiniſm to contend "with. As yet our fortunes are unreſtored, and we "are little better for returning to our country. But "we hope our affairs will mend ſhortly; for the "Queen is a prudent and religious Princeſs, and in-"clined to favour us. Religion is recovered to the "ſame foot, in which it ſtood in the reign of King "Edward VI. And I am ſatisfied the letters ſent "hither by yourſelf and your republic, had a conſi-"derable weight in this matter. The Queen will not "endure the ſtyle of head of the Church. She is al-"together of opinion, that this title is too great for "any mortal, and ought to be given to none but "Chriſt. And beſides, it has been ſo horribly abuſed "by the Pope, that it is ſcarcely conſiſtent with a good "conſcience for any perſon to make uſe of it. The "Scottiſh Preſbyterians called this diſtinction a *blaſ-"phemous Title*, when uſed either by Popes or Princes. "Their argument is this: The Church, ſay they, is "the Spouſe of Chriſt. No Spouſe can be ſaid to "have any other head, but him whoſe Spouſe ſhe is. "Now if the Church ſhould acknowledge herſelf to "be the Spouſe of any other but Chriſt, ſhe would be "a profeſſed Adultereſs. To return, our univerſities "are in a lamentable Condition, and almoſt quite loſt "to all ſenſe of orthodoxy. There are not now above "two in Oxford of our ſentiment, and thoſe ſo far "diſpirited as to be of no uſe. Thus Friar Soto, and "another Spaniſh Monk, have entirely deſtroyed "Peter Martyr's plantation, and made a mere wilder-"neſs of the Lord's vineyard. You can ſcarcely ima-"gine that ſo great a ravage and deſolation of prin-"ciples could have happened in ſo ſhort a time. And "tho' I ſhould be glad to ſee any thing from Zurich "in England, yet I would not adviſe you to ſend any "young travellers hither at preſent, unleſs you would "have them come home with leſs learning, and a "worſe belief." The reſt of the letter relates either to private perſons, or buſineſs of the ſtate.

(6) *Bibliotheca Tigurina*, pag. 134. *and* Collier, *ubi ſupra*, Part 2. B. 6. pag. 432.

[*D*] *His learned writings have rendered his name famous over all Europe.*] They are as follow, I. *Exhortatio ad Oxonienſes* (7). II. *Exhortatio in Collegio Corporis Chriſti, ſive Concio in Fundatoris Foxi Commemorationem* (8). III. *Concio in Templo B. Mariæ Virg. Oxon. Ann.* 1550, *in Pet.* 4. 11. This ſermon was preached for his Degree of Batchelor of Divinity. It is reprinted in Dr. Laurence Humphrey's Life of him, p. 49. and it was tranſlated into Engliſh by R. V. and printed at London 1586, in 8vo. IV. *Oratio in Aulâ Collegii Corporis Chriſti* (9). This ſpeech was made to this ſociety, when he was obliged to leave them in 1554. V. *Epiſtola ad Scipionem Patritium Venetum de Cauſis cur Epiſcopi Angliæ ad Concilium Tridentinum non convenirent, Ann.* 1559. It is reprinted in an *Appendix* to the ſecond edition of Sir Nathaniel Brent's tranſlation of the *Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*, London 1629, in folio. Signior Scipio, a noble Venetian, with whom our author had contracted an acquaintance at Padua, had written a letter to him, in which he obſerved, that himſelf, and many others, were extremely ſurpriſed, that the Engliſh took no notice of the Council of Trent, nor ſent any repreſentatives, nor excuſed their abſence by letters. "That they had "made a ſudden alteration in religion, and taken "leave in a manner of every thing, which had been "for ſo many years eſtabliſhed. That as far as he "could judge, this looked like pride in the manage-"ment, and ſchiſm in the iſſue. That it was a moſt "unwarrantable neglect to ſet aſide the Pope's autho-"rity, and not appear at the Council upon his ſum-"mons. That it was not lawful to diſcuſs matters of "religion elſewhere. That at ſuch general aſſemblies "the Patriarchs and Biſhops might be conſulted. "Here the learning of Chriſtendom and the flower of "the Church was to be met with. This was the place "where people might expect the Oracles of truth, and "the reſolutions of the Holy Ghoſt. That when any "controverſy happened about the worſhip of God, it "had been the cuſtom of pious Princes to refer the "matter to a public aſſembly of the Biſhops. That "the Apoſtles and Primitive Fathers eſteemed councils "as the beſt expedient for diſcovering truth, and ſettling "controverſies. By this means the hereſies of *Arius* "and *Eunomius*, of *Eutyches*, of *Macedonius*, and *Pe-"lagius*, were ſuppreſſed. And thus the modern dif-

(7) *Vide* Laurent. Humfredum in Vitâ Johann. Juelli, pag. 35. edit. 1573, in 4to.

(8) Ibid. pag. 45, 46, &c.

"ferences

1571 in the fiftieth year of his age, and was interred almoſt in the middle of the choir of his Cathedral at Saliſbury (q). With regard to his perſon, he was of a thin habit of body, which he exhauſted by his intenſe application to his ſtudies, which occaſioned a cold

(q) Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

" ferences might be agreed, and the breaches in the " Church made up, if the parties would lay down " animoſities, and apply to this remedy. But that to " go about adjuſting of theſe matters without the de- " ciſion of a Council, is an irreligious attempt." To this letter our author returned a large and ſolemn anſwer, wherein he takes notice, " That the Engliſh " were not the only nation which declined coming to " Trent; ſince the Patriarchs of Conſtantinople, An- " tioch, and Alexandria, ſtood off; and the Church " of the Abyſſines, the Greeks, and Armenians, the " Chriſtians in Egypt and Barbary, in Perſia and " India, ſent no body to appear at the Council. And " for inſtance in Europe; did the Crowns of Sweden " and Denmark, ſays he, the Princes of Germany, " the Republics of Swiſſerland, the Kingdom of Scot- " land, to mention no more, comply with the ſum- " mons? And ſince ſo many other countries are not " repreſented at Trent, it is ſomewhat odd to wonder " at the Engliſh. And beſides, the Pope himſelf does " not appear at a Synod of his own convening. This " ought to be eſteemed a ſtrange omiſſion." Our author goes on with his objections and remonſtrances againſt the Council, becauſe it was convened by the Pope, and not by the Emperor. He ſuppoſes, that Trent was not large enough to accommodate ſuch numbers as were neceſſary. He obſerves, that the Engliſh Biſhops were employed in inſtructing and governing their charge, and could not be abſent from their dioceſes without deſerting their function in ſome meaſure. That the preſent Pope Pius IV. made his way to the chair by Simony, and bribing the Cardinals. That inſtead of paying his debts to Cardinal Caraffa, who procured him a majority, he confined that Prelate, and diſpatched him in priſon. That the antient Fathers declined coming to Councils, when they had reaſon to believe them to be packed and prejudiced againſt them. Thus St. *Athanaſius* refuſed to come to the Council of Sirmium; and St. *Chryſoſtom* took no notice of the Synod *ſub quercu*; neither could *Paulinus*, Biſhop of Triers, appear at the Council of Milan, where he foreſaw that every thing would be carried in favour of the Arrians. That the Fathers of Trent had pre-engaged themſelves to the Pope, and ſworn away their freedom in voting. Laſtly he wonders, " That the Pope ſhould ſummon the Engliſh to " the Council, who had been already pronounced he- " retics by his predeceſſors. What character ſhould " they appear under? It was not probable, that the " Council would allow them the common privilege, " conſidering the cenſure paſſed on their doctrine. " What then muſt they take ſo long a journey to be " ſet at the bar, and plead as criminals? By this me- " thod they could expect nothing more, but either to " recant, or have the cenſure repeated upon them. " But to ſtand to the Pope's juſtice, when they had " ſuch weighty exceptions to his authority, was more " than they could ſubmit to." VI. *Letters between him and Dr.* Henry Cole, *upon occaſion of a Sermon that Mr.* Jewel *preached before the Queen's Majeſty, and her Honourable Council,* London 1560, in 8vo. This letter-combat began March 18, 1559, and continued till May 18, 1560. VII. *A Sermon preached at St. Paul's Croſs the ſecond Sunday before Eaſter, Ann.* 1560. *on* 1 *Cor.* xi. 23. London 1560, in 8vo. From this text he took occaſion to make a remarkable challenge in defence of the Reformation. The Church of England was reproached with novelty by the Papiſts, and charged with departing from the primitive doctrine. In anſwer to this charge, the Biſhop defended the Proteſtant cauſe from the Scriptures and Fathers, adding this ſolemn proteſtation; " That if any learned man " of all our adverſaries, or if all the learned men that " be alive, are able to ſhew any one ſufficient ſentence " out of any old Catholic Doctor or Father, or out " of any old General Council, or out of the Holy " Scriptures of God, or any one example of the Pri- " mitive Church, whereby it may be clearly and " plainly proved, that there was any private maſs in " the world for the ſpace of ſix hundred years after " Chriſt, or that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper " was ever adminiſtred to the people under one kind, " or that the people then had their Common Prayers in " a ſtrange tongue, that they underſtood not, or that " the Biſhop of Rome was then called an univerſal " Biſhop, or the head of the univerſal Church, or " that the people were taught to believe that Chriſt's " body is really, ſubſtantially, corporeally, carnally, " or naturally in the Sacrament, or that his body is " or may be in above a thouſand places at one time, " or that the Prieſt did then hold up the Sacrament " over his head, or that the people did then fall down " and worſhip it with Divine honour, or that then the " Sacrament was hanged up under a canopy, or " that in the Sacrament, after words of conſecration, " there remained only the accidents or ſhew, without " the ſubſtance of bread and wine, or that the Prieſt " then divided the Sacrament in three parts, and after " received all alone himſelf, or that whoſoever had " then ſaid, that the then Sacrament is a pledge, token, " or remembrance of Chriſt's body, had therefore been " judged for an heretic, or that it was then lawful to " have thirty, twenty, fifteen, or five maſſes ſaid in " one day, or that images were then ſet up in churches, " that the people might worſhip them, or that the " lay-people were then forbidden to read the word of " God in their own language; if any man alive can " prove any one of theſe articles, by any one clear or " plain clauſe or ſentence of Scripture, antient Fathers, " or any one General Council, or any example of the " Primitive Church, I here promiſe, that I will give " over my opinion, and ſubſcribe to him. Yea, I " further promiſe, that if any of all our adverſaries be " able clearly and plainly to prove, in manner afore- " ſaid, that it was then lawful for a Prieſt to pro- " nounce the words of Conſecration cloſely and in " ſilence to himſelf, or that the Prieſt had then autho- " rity to offer up Chriſt unto his Father, or to receive " the Sacrament for another, as they now do, or apply " the virtue of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion to any man " by means of the maſs, or that then it was thought " a ſound doctrine to teach the people, that the maſs " *ex opere operato* is able to remove our ſins, or that " any Chriſtian man called the Sacrament his Lord " and God, or that the people were then taught to " believe, that the body of Chriſt remaineth in the " Sacrament ſo long as that bread remaineth without " corruption, or that a mouſe, worm, or other creature " may eat the body of Chriſt, or that ignorance is the " mother of devotion: as I ſaid before, ſo ſay I now " again, if any of them can clearly prove any of theſe " things in the manner aforeſaid, I promiſe to yield " and ſubſcribe unto him. Indeed they have long " boaſted of antiquity, &c. but when they are put to " their proofs, they can produce nothing. I ſpeak " not this out of arrogancy, (thou Lord knoweſt it, " that knoweſt all things) but becauſe it is in the cauſe " of God, and for aſſerting his truth, I ſhould do God " great injury, if I ſhould conceal it." This challenge made a great noiſe, and the Papiſts thought themſelves obliged to anſwer it. Dr. Henry Cole wrote ſeveral letters to him upon this ſubject (9). John Raſtell, a Jeſuit, publiſhed likewiſe, *A Confutation of a Sermon pronounced by Mr.* Jewel *at Paul's Croſs,* Antwerp 1564. The Biſhop was likewiſe attacked by Dorman, in his *Proof of certain Articles of Religion denied by Mr.* Jewel, Antwerp 1564, in 4to, and his *Requeſt to Mr.* Jewel, that *he keep his Promiſe made by a ſolemn Proteſtation in his late Sermon at St. Paul's Croſs, 15 June* 1567, London 1567, in 8vo. And by Martial. But the former of theſe was anſwered by Dr. Alexander Nowel, in his *Reproof of a Book intitled, A Proof of certain Articles in Religion denied by Mr.* Jewel, *ſet forth by* Tho. Dorman, London 1565, in 4to; and his *Reproof of Mr.* Dorman's *Proof continued,* &c. London 1566, in 4to. The latter was anſwered by his *Anſwer to* John Martial's *Treatiſe of the Croſs,* London 1565, in 4to. But the Biſhop's moſt conſiderable antagoniſt was Mr. Thomas (10) Hardyng, who publiſhed, *An Anſwer to Mr.* Jewel's *Challenge,* Louvain 1564, in 4to. Upon this Biſhop Jewel publiſhed, VIII. *A Reply to Mr.* Hardyng's *Anſwer; by peruſing whereof the diſcreet*

(9) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 197.

(10) Mr. Collier in his *Eccleſ. Hiſtory,* Part 2. B. 6. pag. 462. erroneouſly calls him *John.*

cold that was the cauſe of his lameneſs, which affected him to his death. Notwithſtanding this, moſt of his journies in Germany as well as in England were undertaken on foot, till he became a Biſhop. He was of a pleaſant and affable temper. He had naturally a very ſtrong memory, which he greatly improved by art; ſo that he could exactly repeat whatever he had written after once reading; and therefore generally at the ringing of the bell he began to commit his ſermons to his memory; which was ſo firm, that he uſed to ſay, that *if he were to deliver a premeditated ſpeech before a thouſand auditors, ſhouting or fighting all the while, yet he could ſay all that he had provided to ſpeak.* And ſo quick was it in receiving, that when the Biſhop of Norwich propoſed to him many barbarous words out of a Kalendar, and Hooper Biſhop of Glouceſter forty ſtrange words, Welſh, Iriſh, and foreign terms, he after once or twice reading at the moſt, and a little recollection repeated them all by heart backward and forward. Another time when Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal read to him only the laſt clauſes of ten lines in *Eraſmus's Paraphraſe* confuſed and diſmembered on purpoſe, he ſitting ſilent a while, and covering his face with his hand, on the ſudden rehearſed all thoſe broken parcels of ſentences the right way, and the contrary, without any heſitation. He profeſſed to teach others this art, and taught it his tutor Parkhurſt beyond the ſeas; and in a ſhort time learned all the Goſpel forward and backward. He was a great maſter of the antient languages, and ſkilled in the German and Italian. He was a conſtant Preacher, greatly charitable, an encourager of learning, and a regular Conformiſt [*E*].

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and diligent Reader may eaſily ſee the weak and unſtable Grounds of the Romiſh Religion in 27 Articles, London 1566, in fol. This was tranſlated into Latin by William Whitaker, Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, and printed at Geneva 1585, in fol. with our author's *Apologia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*. Mr. Hardyng wrote, in anſwer to this Reply, *A Rejoinder to Mr.* Jewel's *Reply; by peruſing whereof the diſcreet and diligent Reader may eaſily ſee the Anſwer to his inſolent Challenge juſtified, and his Objections againſt the Maſs, &c.* Antwerp 1566, in a thick quarto. And, *Another Rejoinder to Mr.* Jewel's *Reply againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs*, Louvain 1567, in 4to. IX. *Apologia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*, London 1562, in 8vo. It was ſeveral times printed in England and abroad, and tranſlated into Greek, and printed at Oxford 1614, in 8vo. It was alſo tranſlated into Engliſh, by the Lady Bacon, wife to Sir Nicholas Bacon, ſoon after the publication of it, and printed under this title, *An Apology, or Anſwer in Defence of this Church of England, concerning the State of Religion uſed in the ſame*, London 1562, in 4to. This *Apology* was approved by the Queen, and ſet forth with the conſent of the Biſhops. It is a defence of the Engliſh Reformation, with a brief declaration of the religion profeſſed in the Church of England. It is written with great learning, clearneſs, and ſtrength, and with a peculiar elegance of ſtyle. It was well received by the Proteſtants abroad, as appears from a letter of Peter Martyr to our Biſhop, in which he informs him, that himſelf, Bullinger, and other Divines had read it with prodigious ſatisfaction. Mr. Wood obſerves (11), "That the Council of Trent, held at that "time, ſaw and cenſured it, and appointed a French-"man and an Italian to anſwer it; but they hung "back, and would, or rather could, not anſwer it." Mr. Thomas Hardyng publiſhed *A Confutation of it*, printed at Antwerp 1563, in 4to. Upon this the Biſhop wrote, X. *A Defence of the* Apology of the Church of England, *containing an Anſwer to a certain Book lately ſet forth by Mr.* Hardyng, *and intitled*, A Confutation, &c. *in ſix Parts*, London 1564, 1567, in folio. Tranſlated into Latin by Thomas Braddock, B. D. and Fellow of Chriſt's College in Cambridge, and printed abroad in 1600, in folio. In anſwer to the Biſhop's *Defence*, Mr. Hardyng publiſhed *A Detection of ſeveral foul Errors, Lyes, Slanders, &c. uttered and practiſed by Mr.* Jewel, *in a Book by him ſet forth, intitled*, A Defence of the Apology, &c. Louvain 1564, in 4to. Upon this the Biſhop wrote, XI. *An Anſwer to Mr.* Hardyng's *Book, intitled*, A Detection of certain Errors, &c. London 1565. XII. *A View of a ſeditious Bull ſent into England from Pius the Fifth, Biſhop of Rome, ann.* 1569. *Delivered in certain Sermons in the Cathedral Church of Sarum*, 1570. London 1582, in 8vo. XIII. *A Treatiſe of the Holy Scriptures, gathered out of the Sermons preached at Saliſbury*, 1570, London 1582, in 8vo. XIV. *Expoſition on the two Epiſtles of the Apoſtle St. Paul to the Theſſalonians*, London 1594, in 8vo. XV. *A Treatiſe of the Sacraments, gathered out of his Sermons*, London 1583, in 8vo. XVI. *Certain Sermons preached before the Queen's Majeſty at Paul's Croſs, and elſewhere.* There are 13 in number. All theſe books, (except the firſt five abovementioned) with the *Sermons* and *Apology*, were printed in one volume in folio at London 1609, with an Abſtract of his Life, *but full of faults*, (ſays Mr. Wood) written by Daniel Featly. Beſides theſe writings, he left in manuſcript, *A Paraphraſtical Expoſition of the Epiſtles and Goſpels throughout the whole Year: A continuate Expoſition of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments: A Commentary upon the Epiſtle of the Galatians, and on the Epiſtle of St. Peter.* In 1641 there was printed in his name at London, in one ſheet in quarto, *An Anſwer to certain frivolous Objections againſt the Government of the Church of England.* He wrote likewiſe a *Dialogue*, in which he comprehended the ſum of the Art of Rhetoric (12).

(11) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 171.

(12) Prince's *Worthies*, pag. 424.

[*E*] *A regular conformiſt.*] Dr. Laurence Humfrey, in the *Life* of our Biſhop, has endeavoured to repreſent him a favourer of the Non-conformiſts. But it is certain, that he oppoſed them in his exile, when they began their diſputes at Franckfort; and in a ſermon of his preached at Paul's Croſs, not long before his death, and printed among his *Works* in 1609, he defended the rites and ceremonies of the Church againſt them. He had likewiſe a conference with ſome of them concerning the ceremonies of the preſent ſtate of the Church, which he mentioned with ſuch vigour, that tho' upon his death-bed he profeſſed, that neither his ſermon nor conference were undertaken to pleaſe any mortal man, or to trouble thoſe who thought differently from him; yet the Puritans could not forbear ſhewing their reſentments againſt him (13). *It was ſtrange to me*, ſays Dr. Whitgift (14), *to hear ſo notable a Biſhop, ſo learned a man, ſo ſtout a champion of true religion, ſo painful a Prelate, as Biſhop* Jewel, *ſo ungratefully and ſpightfully uſed by a ſort of wavering wicked tongues.* He is ſuppoſed likewiſe to have been the author of a paper, intitled, *A brief and lamentable Conſideration of the Apparel now uſed by the Clergy of England*, written in the year 1566. His addreſs to the Non-conformiſts in the cloſe is very remarkable; "Do not ſuffer Satan, *ſays he*, to perplex your con-"ſciences. Throw up your conteſt, and make for "unity. Be not aſhamed to repent, nor afraid of "loſing your credit with the people. We are com-"manded to go to Nineveh, and denounce the judg-"ment of God. Inſtead of this, we deſert our buſi-"neſs, and lie idle in the hold. This miſbehaviour "draws the ſtorm upon us; and unleſs Jonas repents, "the ſhip is in danger of being loſt. You have "churches; why do ye quit them, and run to field-"conventicles? You have public places to officiate in; "what makes you affect private meetings? You have "the Chriſtian Religion preached to you in its original "purity; what reaſon then can ye have to be diſ-"guſted? Are not the Holy Scriptures read to you? "Have ye not the liberty of peruſing them at plea-"ſure? And is not Popery diſcharged? As for thoſe, "who conform to the habit, were they not baniſhed

(13) Prince, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 426.

(14) *Anſwer to the Admonition*, pag. 423.

IGNATIUS, the Founder of the Jeſuits. See LOYOLA.

" for their orthodoxy? And did they not give up " their fortune with all the reſignation imaginable? " Who takes more pains in preaching? Who writes " to better purpoſe? Who manages with more vigi- " lance and vigour in their reſpective ſtations than " theſe men? You talk of reformation, but they " practiſe it. If you love Chriſt, feed his ſheep, and " do not quarrel in his vineyard. Let us help to bear " one another's burthens, love our brethren, and not " diſturb the public repoſe." T.

ILLYRICUS (MATTHIAS FLACIUS) one of the moſt learned Divines of the Augſburg Confeſſion, was born at Albona in Iſtria (*a*) March the 3d 1520. He ſtudied the Belles Lettres at Venice under Egnatius, and having from his ſeventeenth year a ſtrong inclination to ſtudy Divinity, he reſolved to be a Monk, becauſe he wanted money to maintain himſelf in the Univerſities, and therefore the only means he had to ſatisfy his inclination was by ſtudying in a monaſtery. He acquainted a Provincial of the Cordeliers, who was his mother's relation, with his deſign. This Provincial, who began already to have a taſte for the Reformation [*A*], adviſed him to go into Germany, and not to ſhut himſelf up in a convent. Flacius followed that advice, and arrived at Baſil in the year 1539 [*B*]. Having continued there a few months he went to Tubingen, whence he removed to Wittemberg in the year 1541, and ſtudied there under Luther and Melanchthon. He got a livelihood by teaching Greek and Hebrew. Having acquainted Pomeranius, and afterwards Luther with the temptations that diſturbed his mind concerning ſin, God's wrath, and predeſtination, he was publicly prayed for at church, and they afforded him all the comfort which the holy Scriptures furniſh us with, ſo that his mind was ſoon eaſy. Melanchthon gave him a thouſand proofs of his good nature and generoſity: they found a wife for him, and gave him ſome employment in the Univerſity in the year 1544 (*b*). All the ſchools in Saxony having been diſperſed by the war, Flacius went to Brunſwick, where he gained a great reputation by his Lectures. He returned to his former employment at Wittemberg in the year 1547, and ſoon after he ſtrongly oppoſed the *Interim*, and all the prudent and diſcreet methods, which Melanchthon hinted were proper to be followed; and that he might be more at liberty to exclaim againſt Popery, without regard for any body, he retired (*c*) to Magdeburg, which town was at that time proſcribed by the Emperor. He publiſhed there ſeveral works, but the moſt conſiderable of them is certainly that Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which was called the *Centuries of Magdeburg*, and of which he had the chief direction. He accepted the poſt that was offered him in the new Univerſity of Iena in the year 1557, and taught there five years; after which, as he could not agree with his collegue Victorinus Strigelius [*C*], he

(*a*) A part of the Country, which was anciently called *Illyrium* or *Illyris*; hence it is, that Matthias Flacius was ſurnamed *Illyricus*. It is not true, as Melchior Adam, and ſeveral others aſſert, that he was born in Sclavonia.

(*b*) Micrelius therefore is miſtaken who makes him Profeſſor at Wittemberg as ſoon as the year 1540. Syntagm. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. m. 751.

(*c*) In April 1549. Buchole. pag. m. 564.

[*A*] *This Provincial, who began already to have a taſte for the Reformation.*] He deſerves a place in the Martyrology of the Proteſtants, ſince after he had ſuffered during twenty years great hardſhips in goal, becauſe he was ſuſpected of hereſy, he was thrown into the ſea. His name was Baldus Lupatinus. *Baldus autem iſte, ut hoc ἐν παρόδῳ addamus, paulo poſt in ſuſpicionem hæreſeos venit: ac Venetiis viginti ipſos annos ſitum ſqualoremque carceris, tandem in mari ſummerſus ſupplicium fortiter pertulit* (1). i. e. " This Baldus, to add " this by the by, was ſoon after ſuſpected of hereſy; " and having ſuffered great hardſhip in goal at Ve- " nice during twenty years, he was at laſt caſt into " the ſea, and underwent his puniſhment with a great " courage."

(1) Melch. Adam, *in Vit. Theol.* pag. 472. *See alſo* Verheiden, in *Effigiebus*, pag. 157.

(2) *In Effigiebus*, pag. 157.

(3) *Addit. aux Elog.* tom. 1. pag. 471.

[*B*] *He arrived at Baſil in the year* 1539.] He was therefore nineteen years old at that time. Whence it follows that Verheiden (2) is miſtaken, when he aſſerts that Illyricus was ſeventeen years old when he went to Baſil. Monſieur Teiſſier (3) has followed Verheiden's account.

(4) In the year 1560 according to Micrælius, *Syntagm. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. m. 827, 828. But according to Melch. Adam, *in Vit. Theolog. Germ.* pag. 420. it was in 1557.

[*C*] *He could not agree with his Collegue Victorinus Strigelius.*] They were of different opinions concerning the converſion of man, and concerning the power of free-will. They diſputed upon theſe ſubjects at Weimar before the Duke of Saxony (4). They ran upon the contrary extremes; Strigelius favoured thoſe that are called Adiaphoriſtes and Synergiſts, who aſcribed a great deal to free-will, and pretended that original ſin did but ſlightly wound the ſoul (5). Flacius on the contrary aſſerted, that that ſin was the very ſubſtance of the ſoul. The controverſy was carried on in thirteen meetings, the acts of which were publiſhed with a preface to them by Muſæus, who was one of Flacius's followers (6). We ſee here plainly what a deſire to contradict others may produce. It is a paſſion which carries perſons of a briſk and lively genius beyond bounds. Flacius, who could not be ſatisfied with differing moderately from his rival, receded from his opinion as far as he could, and ſeeing him aſſert that original ſin wounded the ſoul only with regard to her accidental properties, he reſolved to maintain that the very ſubſtance of the ſoul was corrupted, whence it followed that ſin was the very ſubſtance of the ſoul. Flacius would never have dreamed of that doctrine, had not his Collegue taught the contrary doctrine. But if the controverſy which aroſe between theſe two Profeſſors, ſhews us what may be the conſequences of a ſpirit of contradiction, and of the ἀμεσρία τῆς ἀνθολχῆς, or the keeping no medium in going to contrary extremes, it ſhews us alſo how proper the Peripatetic Philoſophy is to foment diviſions amongſt the Divines: For Illyricus's doctrine would have given no offence, had men believed with the new Philoſophers, that there are no accidents diſtinct from the ſubſtances; that pain for inſtance is nothing elſe but the ſoul itſelf as it is modified after a certain manner: this being granted, it is plain that Illyricus's doctrine is very true; ſin is not a being diſtinct from the ſoul that ſins, nor is virtue a being diſtinct from the virtuous ſoul. I cannot conceive how thoſe Divines, who ſuppoſe, that there is a real diſtinction between the ſoul and the modifications of the ſoul, dare to aſſert that there happens an alteration in a man, when he paſſes from a ſtate of innocence to a ſtate of ſin, or from a ſtate of ſin to a ſtate of grace. According to theſe Divines, when a man ſins, there is an entity produced diſtinct from the ſoul, which entity unites with the ſoul, and makes up with it an whole, which contains two beings really diſtinct from each other, the one of which is called ſubſtance, and the other accident. I maintain that this union does not produce any alteration in the ſoul, and that the ſoul continues to be exactly the ſame as it was before that union. You may mix grains of wheat with grains of barley as much as you pleaſe, you will never make them ceaſe to be wheat; and in all the natural and artificial mixtures, the compound bodies become indeed capable of a new kind of actions; but yet each part of theſe compounds, as much as it is diſtinct from all the other parts, keeps diſtinctly the ſame

(5) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1560, num. 32.

(6) *See* Micrælius, *Syntagm. Hiſt. Eccleſ* pag. m. 827, 828.

REFLECTIONS on Flacius's opinion concerning the nature of ſin.

he retired to Ratiſbon, where he continued to publiſh a great many books. In the year 1567 he was called into Brabant to eſtabliſh churches there according to the Augſburg Confeſſion; but the perſecution ſoon diſperſed theſe new congregations; ſo that he went to Straſburg, and thence to Francfort, where his reputation ſuffered a great loſs; for he was forſaken by moſt of his followers, becauſe he was charged with holding the opinions of the Manichees; the ground of this charge was, his teaching that ſin is not an accident, but the very eſſence of our ſouls (*d*). He died at Francfort March the 11th 1575 (*e*). He was a man of excellent parts, of a vaſt genius, extenſive learning, and great zeal againſt Popery, but his reſtleſs, paſſionate, and quarrelſome temper ſpoiled all his good qualities, and occaſioned a thouſand diſturbances in the Proteſtant Church. He did not ſcruple to aſſert that Princes ought to be kept in awe by the fear of ſeditions (*f*). There was no reaſon to lament his death; for diviſions, which are always juſtly ſcandalous, were at that time more pernicious than war, becauſe they gave the Church of Rome a fair opportunity to reproach the growing Reformation. Some have ſaid that the only good action he did was to die (*g*): this is running upon extremes. He publiſhed a great many books (*b*), and none of his contemporaries knew how to ſearch old Libraries with more advantage than he did. He got from one of them an antient Maſs-book [*D*], which

(*d*) See the remark [C].

(*e*) *Taken from* Melchior Adam. *in Vitis Germanorum Theologorum*, pag. 472, *& ſeq.*

(*f*) *Metu ſeditionum terrendos eſſe Principes.* Melanchth *Epiſt.* cvii. pag. 134.

(*g*) *Nequidquam recti ferisse niſi cum moreretur.* Guil. Budæus, Cent. 16. Σχολίας, *ad ann.* 1575. *apud* Quenſtedt, *de Patriis Eruditor.* pag. 263.

(*b*) Simlerus, in his *Epitome of Geſner, and* Teiſſier, *Addit. aux Eloges*, tom. 1. pag. 422. gives a catalogue of them.

ſame nature it had before. And thus we may ſay, that if the ſoul were really diſtinct from its ſin, that is to ſay, from the ſin, with which it would be united, in that caſe the ſoul would never paſs to another ſtate. A ſoul once innocent would for ever be ſo. See what the *Nominals* ſay (7) againſt thoſe who aſſert that *Accidents* are really diſtinct from *Subſtances*.

(7) Caſimirus Tholoſas, *in Atomis Peripatetici*, tom. 3. pag. 249, *& ſeq.*

[*D*] *He got from a Library an antient Maſs-Book.*] Here follows the title of that work, which was printed at Straſburg for Chriſtopher Mylius in the year 1557. *Miſſa Latina, quæ olim ante Romanam circa ſeptingenteſimum Domini annum in uſu fuit bona fide ex vetuſto authenticoque Codice deſcripta à Matthia Flacio Illyrico.* i. e. "The Latin Maſs-Book, which "was formerly in uſe before the Roman, about the "year 700, faithfully tranſcribed from an antient and "authentic Manuſcript, by Matthias Flacius Illyri-"cus." Thus Monſieur Colomiés gives us that title (8), and he had perhaps tranſcribed it from the Sieur du Peyrat's work (9). He has added ſeveral curious particulars concerning that Maſs-Book. He obſerves that the Lutherans thinking it "inconſiſtent "with the belief and practice of the Roman Catho-"lics, boaſted of it on every occaſion; that the Ca-"tholics, for their part, without examining that "Maſs-Book very exactly, prohibited it in their In-"dexes (10); .... that the Lutherans coming to "examine that Maſs-Book more carefully, and find-"ing that it did not favour their opinions, ſuppreſſed "all the copies of it they could meet with, ſo that it "became very ſcarce: and that the Roman Catho-"lics making an advantage of this kind of a retrac-"tation, have ſince cauſed that Maſs-Book (11) to be "reprinted, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the "Pope and of the King of Spain." I do not doubt but he owes to the Sieur du Peyrat all that he aſſerts of the Lutherans concerning the ſuppreſſing of the copies: but I would not anſwer for him, that he was not a little too credulous in this reſpect; for du Peyrat does not give us any other reaſon for what he charges the Lutherans with, but the ſcarcity of the copies of that Maſs-Book. I own that he quotes a paſſage from Wicelius, in which Illyricus is cenſured for imprudently furniſhing the Roman Catholics with arms againſt his own ſect by the printing of that Maſs-Book. But this makes rather againſt than for du Peyrat's aſſertion. For Wicelius does not charge the Lutherans with making amends for their blunder by ſuppreſſing the copies; and yet if du Peyrat were in the right, they had already ſuppreſſed them when Wicelius publiſhed his book. He publiſhed it in the year 1564. Now du Peyrat's argument is grounded upon this, namely, that Caſſander and Pamelius *his Contemporary*, did not in the leaſt mention Illyricus's Maſs-Book in their works concerning Liturgies. And yet, ſays he (12), *they have very carefully enquired for all that* relates to this ſubject, and *they had great credit in Germany .... by which they could eaſily get all the books that were of any uſe to them.* He argued therefore after this manner: If the Lutherans had not deſtroyed all the copies of the Maſs-Book, which Illyricus had publiſhed, Caſſander would have mentioned that Maſs-Book, for he would certainly have ſeen a copy of it. But he has not mentioned it in the leaſt; it is therefore certain that the Lutherans had deſtroyed all the copies of it. Obſerve that Caſſander's book upon the Liturgies was printed (13) ſome years before Wicelius's. We ſhall ſhew hereunder, that Caſſander's not mentioning Illyricus's Maſs-Book is no proof of the ſcarcity of it, and that it does not follow from thence that he knew nothing of it. I ſhall only obſerve at preſent, that Wicelius's cenſure is an argument againſt the Sieur du Peyrat. But let us ſee what he relates (14).

(8) Colomiés, *Biblioth. Choiſie*, pag. 12.

(9) Du Peyrat, *Antiquitez de la Chapelle du Roi*, pag. 561.

(10) Philip II by the Duke of Alva's advice and at his requeſt, and afterwards Sixtus V. Colomiés, *Biblioth. Choiſie*, pag. 12.

(11) Father Le Cointe has inſerted it in his *Eccleſiaſtical Annals of France*; and Cardinal Bona at the end of his *Liturgica*. Ibid. pag. 12.

(12) Du Peyrat, *Antiquitez de la Chapelle du Roi*, pag. 618.

(13) In the year 1558. *See* Val. Andr. *Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 261.

(14) Du Peyrat, *Antiquitez de la Chapelle du Roy*, pag. 617.

"Flavius (15) Illyricus having inconſiderately pub-"liſhed it at Straſburg in the year 1557, not mind-"ing what he was doing, and the Lutherans and "other Heretics in Germany obſerving the great "prejudice their new opinions received from that "antient Maſs-Book, gathered up all the copies of it "they could meet with, and ſuppreſſed them, that "the Roman Catholics might not have any know-"ledge of it, nor urge it againſt them, as claſhing "entirely with Luther and Calvin's ſect. George "Wicelius (*), an antient diſciple of Luther, who left "him at laſt, and threw himſelf into the pale of the "church, mentioning Flavius Illyricus in his defence "of the Church-Liturgy, printed in the year 1564, "ſeven years after this Gallican Maſs-Book was pub-"liſhed, ſeverely cenſures Flavius Illyricus on ac-"count of that Latin Maſs-Book's (†), ſaying, even "the blind might ſee very plainly, that by printing "it, he had ignorantly and imprudently hurt the "cauſe of Luther and Calvin's parties, and very much "obliged the Catholics. Wicelius's words are as "follow. *Mathias Flavius Illyricus edidit repertam "Miſſam Latinam, non triumphans tamen de Theſauro "tanto adverſus Catholicos, quùm vel cæcutienti homini "apparet totum illud quod edidit, contra Lutheri, "Calvinique ſectas edidiſſe, ſed & Catholicis nobis rem "longe gratiſſimam feciſſe; quid enim ibi niſi Miſſam "Latinam, quæ hodie in uſu generali eſt, inſciens, im-"prudenſque defendit? Tantùm abeſt, ut ſuo, ſectæque "more oppugnet; locupletior eſt illa quidem, pluſque pre-"cum continet, ſed omninò tamen eadem cum uſitatâ, "cujus etiam dicta, factaque omnia paſſim ſequitur, ut "diverſam eſſe confirmare nemo audeat.* i. e. "Mathias "Flavius Illyricus publiſhed a Latin Maſs-book which "he met with: but yet he could not make any ad-"vantage of that treaſure againſt the Catholics; for "even the blind may plainly ſee that the whole book "he publiſhed is againſt Luther and Calvin's ſect, and "that by printing it he obliged us Catholics very "much. For what elſe has been done beſides vindica-"ting the Latin Maſs, which is generally in uſe? "That which he publiſhed is indeed larger, and con-"tains more prayers, but yet it contains the very "ſame things with that which is in uſe, the words "and actions of which it follows through the whole, "ſo that no one will dare to aſſert that it is different "from it." This was undoubtedly the reaſon, why "Flavius Illyricus and his followers in Germany, be-"ing ſenſible of the imprudence they had been guilty "of, burnt or otherwiſe ſuppreſſed that Gallican or La-"tin Maſs-Book, fearing leſt they ſhould be a laugh-"ing-ſtock to all the world. I am confirmed in this "opinion, when I conſider, that though that Maſs-"Book was printed at Straſburg in the year 1557,

(15) He calls him always thus.

(*) Vide *Georgium Wicelium* in *Defenſione Liturgiæ Eccleſiaſticæ.*

(†) It was called the *Gallic* or *Latin Maſs-Book.*

which he publiſhed in the year 1557. This will give us an opportunity to examine ſeveral particulars. He got alſo from thoſe Libraries an infinite number of collections, which have been very uſeful to ſeveral perſons. I mean the Memoirs he collected to compile his *Catalogus Teſtium Veritatis* [*E*]; i. e. "A Liſt of the Witneſſes to the Truth." It

" yet neither George Caſſander, who died but in Fe-
" bruary 1566 (†), nor Pamelius his Contempo-
" rary . . . . mention it in the leaſt." Du Peyrat re-
ports the ſame thing in page 623. " I maintain, *ſays*
" *he*, that ſince neither Caſſander nor Pamelius, who
" carefully enquired for all kinds of Liturgies, never
" ſaw this, which yet was printed in their life-time,
" eight or nine years before the death of either (16),
" and ſince even at preſent it is very ſcarce both in
" France and in Germany, the Lutherans and the
" Calviniſts have made a ſacrifice of it to Vulcan, as
" ſoon as it was publiſhed, to prevent the Catholics
" from having any knowledge of it, and from urging
" it againſt them, as a very ſharp knife, come from
" their own ſhop and out of their own hands, to cut
" their throat with, and prove their blind obſtinacy
" againſt the antient and true doctrine of the Ca-
" tholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman Church." Let us ſee now whether Caſſander's ſilence proves any thing.

(†) This is plain from Caſſander's Epitaph, made by Cornelius Galterus of the City of Ghent, and put up in the church of St. Francis of Poland. It is prefixed to *Caſſander's Liturgies.*

(16) This is falſe with regard to Pamelius, who died in Sept. 1587, in the 52d year of his age. His book of *Liturgies*, was printed in the year 1571. *See* Val. Andreas, *Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 425.

Mr. Colomiés, who refutes Cardinal Bona, ought to have known, that du Peyrat miſled that Cardinal: The cenſure muſt therefore have been levelled firſt againſt du Peyrat. However it be, here follow Colomiés's words (67). " Cardinal Bona was miſtaken,
" when he imagined that Caſſander never ſaw the
" Maſs-Book publiſhed by Illyricus. For beſides that
" in Caſſander's collection of antient prayers, there
" are ſome which are alſo to be met with in Illyricus's
" Maſs-Book, here follow the words of Fr. Baudouin,
" a famous Civilian, in a letter to Caſſander, dated from
" Francfort in the year 1557, that is to ſay, the ſame
" year that Maſs-Book was printed. *Francofordiam re-*
" *verſus, reperi Illyrici ad me literas cum libello de*
" *Miſſa ad Palatinum noſtrum.* (He means Otho Elec-
" tor Palatine, to whom the book is dedicated.) *Ro-*
" *gat ille meum judicium de ſuis Miſſæ antiquitatibus.*
" *Ego id ad te nunc refero, & libellum ipſum mitto, de*
" *quo quid ſentire debeamus familiariter nos moneas, ut*
" *de qua re tam multi multa confuſè balbutiunt, rectè &*
" *diſtinctè reſpondere aliquando poſſimus.* i. e. " Being
" returned to Frankfort, I found there a letter from
" Illyricus to me, with his Maſs-Book dedicated to
" Otho Elector Palatine. He deſires me to give him
" my opinion concerning the antiquity of that Maſs-
" Book. I refer it now to you, and ſend you the
" book, praying you would let me know in a friendly
" manner, what we ought to think of it; that as ſe-
" veral perſons ſay now a great many things of it at
" random, we may know at laſt how to anſwer them
" rightly and poſitively." I have another argument ſtronger than that to prove, that Caſſander had peruſed Illyricus's Maſs-Book; and, what is very remarkable, du Peyrat himſelf affords me that argument. I find in a marginal note (18), which he has put in page 622, that this Maſs-Book is mentioned at the end of a book printed in the year 1561, intitled, *De officio pii ac publicæ tranquillitatis vere amantis viri, &c.* i. e. " Con-
" cerning the duty of a pious man, and a true lover of
" the public tranquillity, &c." Now it is certain that Caſſander wrote a book with this title. If du Peyrat had known this, he would not have aſſerted that Caſſander never ſaw Flacius's Maſs-Book. It appears from thence that he urged a very bad argument, as to what relates to Caſſander, in order to prove that the copies of that Maſs-Book were become very ſcarce. But after all, will ſome ſay, it is certain that they became ſcarce, and that Caſſander did not mention that Maſs-Book in his Book of Liturgies. With regard to this laſt particular I anſwer, that this work of Caſſander was perhaps already printed off, when the author received Illyricus's book. Valerius Andreas obſerves in his Bibliotheque, that Caſſander's book was printed in the year 1558. Though this be put in the title-page, yet the book might have been expoſed to ſale in Autumn 1557, at which time Caſſander might not yet have received the book, which Illyricus had publiſhed in the year 1557. As to the other particular, I ſhall only obſerve that there are ſeveral works of Illyricus which are as ſcarce as his Gallican Maſs-Book.

(17) Colomiés, *Biblioth. Choiſie*, pag. 14.

(18) Here it follows, but I have corrected ſome errors of the preſs in it. *Ad calcem libelli de officio pii ac publicæ tranquillitatis vere amantis viri in hoc Religionis diſſidio typis excuſi, anno* 1561 *referuntur doctorum aliquot ac piorum virorum libri, ex quibus videri poteſt quam non ſit difficilis controverſiarum in Religione conciliatio, ſi controvertendi ſtudium vitetur, inter quos ſit mentio ejuſmodi Miſſæ his verbis, Miſſa Latina vetus, quæ ante* 700 *annos in uſu fuit in Eccleſia Gallicana, & Germanica, Argentorati apud Chriſt. Mylium* 1557.

There are a great many other reaſons of the ſcarcity of a book, beſides the care that is taken to burn all the copies of it, that can be met with.

[*E*] *I mean the Memoirs he collected to compile his* Catalogus Teſtium Veritatis.] The misfortune is, that he is charged with having ſtolen manuſcripts. Let us ſee what Melchior Adam relates. *Tertium locum facile obtinet* Martyrologium *illud, quod hac occaſione compilatum ferunt. Contexuit abbas* Johannes Trithemius *catalogum auctorum. Hunc cum vidiſſet Flacius, temperare ſibi non potuit, quin diſſimulatâ perſonâ & habitu, aliquot in Germaniâ monaſteriorum bibliothecas perluſtraret: quos commode poſſet hiſtoricos clam auferret: atque iſto adminiculo librum, qui* Catalogus Teſtium Veritatis *indigitatur, conſcriberet* (19). i. e. "We may juſtly place in
" the third rank that *Martyrology*, which was compoſed
" on this occaſion. The Abbot John Trithemius drew
" up a catalogue of authors. When Flacius had ſeen
" it, he had no reſt till under a falſe name and in diſ-
" guiſe he viſited ſome libraries of the Convents in
" Germany; whence he ſtole clandeſtinely all the hiſ-
" torical books he could conveniently take, and by
" that help he wrote the work, which is intitled, *A*
" *Liſt or Catalogue of the Witneſſes of the Truth.*" The Roman Catholic writers did not fail to make an advantage of this obſervation. *Egregium ſcilicet opus,* ſays Spondanus (20), after he had tranſcribed that remark, and quoted Melchior Adam, *quod ex furto & ſacrilegio impii tranſfugæ confectum eſt, ut mirum videri non debeat ſi tot mendaciis & falſiloquiis ſcateat à patre omnis nequitiæ & immunditiæ eructatis.* i. e. " An
" egregious work indeed, which an impious deſerter
" compiled from what he ſacrilegiouſly ſtole: nor
" ought we to wonder that it ſhould abound with
" ſo many lies and falſities, belched out by the fa-
" ther of all wickedneſs and villainy." See in page 120 of Colomiés's *Opuſcula*, what is ſaid there of Lindenbroch. But after all, it is going too far, to infer from a man's ſtealing of manuſcripts, that he alſo falſifies them afterwards, and publiſhes them with a thouſand alterations. Spondanus is not well warranted in drawing ſuch a reference. And beſides he is miſtaken in ſuppoſing that Illyricus publiſhed his *Catalogus Teſtium Veritatis*, only with a deſign to oppoſe it to *William Eiſengreinius*'s work. For on the contrary, Eiſengreinius publiſhed his *Catalogus Teſtium Veritatis*, only to oppoſe that of Illyricus. This appears from the date of the impreſſions. Illyricus's Catalogue, firſt printed at Baſil in the year 1556, was reprinted at Straſburg in the year 1562. Whereas Eiſengreinius's was printed at Dillingen in the year 1565. This is ſufficient to refute the paſſage which I ſhall now tranſcribe (21). *Nec vero tam illud æmulatione Trithemii, cujus opus omninò diverſum eſt, ſuum concinnaſſe putamus; quàm turpiori flagitio ad obſcurandum illud, quod* Guilelmus Eiſengreinius *itidem Germanus Catholicus ediderat eodem titulo* Catalogi Teſtium Veritatis, *quo Patrum & Eccleſiaſticorum omnium qui ad eum uſque diem hæreſes expugnaverant, non parvo labore teſtimonia pro veritate fidei Catholicæ protulerat. In cujus invidiam, ſimul & ut fucum faceret imperitis, Flacius commentarium ſuum eodem titulo edidit, ſed abſque nomine auctoris* (22), *fabulis & mendaciis refertum.* i. e. " Nor do I think
" that he (Illyricus) wrote his book, with a deſign to
" imitate Trithemius, whoſe work is quite different;
" but with a more baſe and wicked intention, to de-
" ſtroy the reputation of that, which William Eiſen-
" greinius, who was alſo a German, but a Roman
" Catholic, had publiſhed with the ſame title, of *A*
" *Catalogue of the Witneſſes of the Truth*, in which he
" had with great pains collected the paſſages from
" the Fathers and from all the eccleſiaſtical writers to
" his time, in favour of the Catholic faith. Flacius
" therefore out of envy againſt him, and with a de-
" ſign to miſlead the ignorant, publiſhed his book
" with the ſame title, but without his name (22):
" it abounds with idle ſtories and falſities."

Obſerve that Simon Goulart of Senlis had made a great many additions to that work of Illyricus in the editions publiſhed in 1597, and 1608. But the public

(19) Melchior Adam, *in Vitis Theol.* pag. 475. *He quotes* Keckerman. *in Method. Hiſtor.*

(20) Spondanus, *ann.* 1560. num. 32. He is miſtaken when he ſtiles Melchior Adam a Lutheran.

(21) Spond. *ad ann.* 1560, pag. m. 602. Poſſevin. *Apparat. Sacr.* tom. 1. and ſeveral other authors, as Baillet obſerves in his quotation, aſſert the ſame. He aſſerts it alſo himſelf, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 1. pag. 537, 538.

(22) This is falſe; ſee below quotation (59).

It is pretended that he concealed ſometimes his own name under a fictitious one [*F*]. Moreri was very much in the wrong to refer his article to the letter T, under the name of *Trancowitz* [*G*].

Spondanus committed a very groſs blunder when he mentioned the Centuries of Magdeburg [*H*]. You will find it in the remark (*i*), in which I relate ſome particulars concerning

(*i*) It is the remark [*H*].

public had reaſons to complain (23), that ſince he took the liberty to alter the whole diſpoſition of that work, and to add or ſuppreſs what he thought fit, he did not diſtinguiſh by ſome particular marks, what was his, and what belonged to Illyricus. It was this perhaps, that engaged a Lutheran to publiſh a new edition of the *Catalogus teſtium veritatis*, in every reſpect like that of Illyricus himſelf, except only that he prefixed to it the teſtimonies of the learned both for and againſt it. This new edition was printed at Francfort in the year 1666 in 4°, without John Conrad Dietericus's name, who publiſhed it, but his name was prefixed to it in the edition which was publiſhed in the year 1672 (24). Let us obſerve that Melchior Adam does not well abridge the author he quotes. I have conſulted the original ſince the firſt edition of this Dictionary, and I have met with a particular in Keckerman which ought not to have been omitted. It is, that our Illyricus having learnt from John Trithemius's work, that ſeveral authors, who lived in the darkeſt ages of Popery, and yet ſhewed the corruptions of it, reſolved to render ineffectual the care that was taken to conceal the books of thoſe authors. Let us tranſcribe the whole paſſage from Keckerman. *Cæterum quod attinet ad inſidioſos occultatores Hiſtoriarum, certum eſt in Bibliotheca Vaticana, & aliis Bibliothecis Italiæ, imprimis autem in Bibliothecis Monaſteriorum, clam ſervari multos Hiſtoricos ſuperiorum ſeculorum, qui de fraudibus Pontificum, deque abuſibus Eccleſiæ Romanæ, & contra de conſervatione veræ doctrinæ, etiam ſub mediis tenebris Papatus ſcripſerunt, id quod manifeſtè patet ex Catalogo autorum, edito ab Abbate Johanne Trithemio qui iſtos autores ex Bibliothecis ante annos paulo plus centum collegit; quem Catalogum cum vidiſſet Matthias Flacius, temperare ſibi non potuit, quin diſſimulatâ perſonâ, & habitu aliquot in Germania Monaſteriorum Bibliothecas perluſtraret, artemque arte eluſerit, quos commodè poſſet Hiſtoricos clam auferret, atque adeo eximium iſtum librum, qui dicitur* Catalogus teſtium veritatis, *iſto adminiculo conſcriberet* (25). i. e. "As to the crafty concealers of Hiſtorians, it is "certain that in the library of the Vatican, and in "ſeveral other libraries of Italy, particularly in thoſe "of the Monaſteries, they keep ſecretly a great many "Hiſtorians of the former ages, who wrote of the "impoſtures of the Popes, and of the abuſes of the "Church of Rome, and of the preſervation of the "true doctrine, even in the greateſt darkneſs of Po-"pery; as appears plainly from the catalogue of au-"thors publiſhed by the Abbot John Trithemius, who "a little above an hundred years ago made a collection "of thoſe authors from the libraries. Matthias Flacius "having ſeen that catalogue had no reſt, till under a "falſe name and in diſguiſe he viſited ſome libraries "of the Convents in Germany, and eluding artifice "by artifice, ſtole clandeſtinely all the hiſtorical "books he could conveniently take, and by that help "he wrote that egregious book, which is intitled, *A "Catalogue of the Witneſſes of the Truth*."

(23) *See* John Albertus Faber, in *Decade Decadum*, num. 96.

(24) Joh. Albertus Faber, *in Decade Decad.* num. 96.

(25) Keckerm. *de Natura & Propietat. Hiſtor.* in *Auctario*, cap. 1. p. m. 151.

(26) He lived in the 9th Century.

[*F*] *It is pretended that he concealed ſometimes his own name under a fictitious one.*] It is aſſerted that the Achilles Gaſſarus, who publiſhed a work of Otfridus a Monk of Weiſſenburg (26), is no other but Flacius Illyricus. That Monk's work is an harmony of the four Goſpel's in German verſe; it was dedicated to Solomon and Luitbert, Archbiſhops of Mentz, and to Lewis King of Eaſtern France (27). Wharton, who pretends (28) that Illyricus publiſhed it under the name of Achilles Gaſſarus, muſt give me leave to obſerve to my readers, that there was in the ſixteenth century a German Phyſician named Achilles Gaſſarus, who had publiſhed ſome books (29), when Illyricus was ſtill a ſchool-boy.

(27) See the *Acta Erudit. Lipſ.* for 1691, pag. 295. in the account of Archbiſhop Uſher's book intitled, *Hiſtoria Dogmatica Controverſiæ de Scripturis ſacris Vernaculis.*

(28) Apud *Acta Erud. Lipſienſ.* ibid.

(29) His *Epitome Chronicorum mundi* was printed at Baſil in the year 1532. *See* Geſner's *Bibliotheca.*

[*G*] *Moreri was very much in the wrong to refer him to the letter* T *under the name of* Trancowitz.] Monſieur Teiſſier has been the occaſion of that blunder by theſe words in page 471 of his firſt volume. *The name of* Matthias Flacius *was Trancowitz.* He quotes *Verheiden's effigies.* But Verheiden does not ſay this. Let us ſee what the curious Colomies has diſcovered upon this ſubject (30). "To conclude, let us "here give the true name of Illyricus, which was "*Francowitz*, as Bucholcer the ſon tells us in page "83 of his Chronology, or rather of the Continua-"tion of his Fathers, printed at Gorlitz in the year "1599. *Verum & integrum*, ſays he, *Flacii nomen "ego ex certis authoribus cognovi eſſe tale; Matthias "Francowitzius, cognomento Flacius, gente Illyricus, pa-"triâ Albonenſis.*" i. e. "I have found in authors of "an unqueſtionable authority, that the true and whole "name of Flacius was, Matthew Francowitz, an Il-"lyrian by nation, and a native of Albona." Konig (31) calls him alſo *Francowitzius*; but Quenſtedt (32) calls him *Trancowitzium.*

(30) *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, pag. 15.

(31) *Biblioth. vet. & nova*, pag. 306.

(32) *De Patriis Illuſt.* pap. 262.

[*H*] *Spondanus committed a very groſs blunder, when he mentioned the centuries of Magdeburg*] He aſſerts that they began to publiſh them in the year 1560, and that the fourth volume was the firſt that was publiſhed (33). This is what is abſolutely falſe. The three firſt centuries were printed before the fourth. In the catalogue of the library of Francfort, publiſhed in the year 1604 by Becman (34), the three firſt centuries are ſaid to have been printed in the year 1559, and the fourth in the year 1560. Draudius (35) alſo places the edition of the three firſt under the year 1559. Monſieur Sagittarius tells us, that in his copy the year 1562 was ſet down for the three firſt centuries, the year 1560 for the fourth, 1562 for the fifth and ſixth, 1564 for the ſeventh and eighth, 1565 for the ninth, 1567 for the tenth and eleventh, 1569 for the twelfth, and 1574 for the thirteenth, which is alſo the laſt. It is very probable, that Spondanus's edition was like that of Monſieur Sagittarius; that is to ſay, that neither of them had the firſt edition of the three firſt centuries. But this does not clear Spondanus; for if he had read the preface to the firſt century, he would have ſeen that the centuriators complain there of a libel in which their work was cried down, before the public had ſeen any thing of what they had compoſed. *De ſumptibus vero profitemur*, ſay they, *nos pauciſſimos habere, qui annuatim aliquid conferunt: nec pro laborum conditione operarii ſatis ſuſtentantur, ſicut ipſimet optimè teſtes ſunt: imo niſi Deus nobis quoſdam Mecœnates adhuc excitarit (quod tamen ne fiat, multi invidi ſtrenue laborant) neque progredi ſatis expedite poterimus: neque forte totum Opus, ut eſt inſtitutum, abſolvere. Impudens igitur, planeque diabolicum eſt mendacium, & criminatio tetra iſtius ſcurræ, qui nuper in maledico & famoſo ſcripto, ſine nomine edito (ubi tamen aliam ſaltat fabulam) Sardonio riſu, & virulento ſarcaſmo noſtrum opus hiſtoricum* Aureum *appellat: eo quod ex multo auro Germanico ſit conflatum. Non vidit ſceleratus iſte ſcurra Opus, & tamen non veretur canino, aut viperino potius dente arrodere. Deinde non habet cognitas rationes noſtras iſte conviciator ac criminator: & tamen ut Semei, nos falſe irridet, ac mentitur ſplendide. Nam quam pauci, & quam parce dent, quam frugaliter alantur hujus inſtituti operarii, poterat iſte irriſor explorare, non a profugis, ſceleratis, pollutis, mendacibus, quibus gubernationis noſtræ ratio ne nota quidem eſt, ſed a nobis ipſis.* i. e. "As to the charges of this work we can truly de-"clare, that there are but few perſons who contribute "any thing yearly towards them; nor are the under-"takers ſufficiently ſupported in proportion to their la-"bour, as they can all witneſs; nay, if God does "not raiſe us ſome more friends (which invidious "perſons endeavour to prevent as much as lies in "their power) we ſhall not be able to carry on this "work with ſpeed, nor even perhaps, to compleat it "according to our deſign. It is therefore an impu-"dent and deviliſh lie, and an horrible ſlander, which "a certain buffoon lately publiſhed in an anonymous "and ſlanderous libel (in which he would however "ſeem to have another deſign) calling our work ironi-"cally and with a very bitter joke, a *golden work*, "becauſe, ſays he, it is made with a great deal of "German

(33) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1560, num. 31. p. 601.

(34) *See* Gaſpar. Sagittarius, *Introduct. in Hiſt. Eccleſioſt.* p. 279.

(35) Ibid.

concerning the Hiſtory of thoſe Centuries. Monſieur Varillas, who has faithfully tranſcribed that blunder of Spondanus, has added ſo many others of his own to it [*I*], that one

" German gold. The wicked wretch has not ſeen " all the work, and yet he dares to aſperſe it in the " moſt cruel manner. And beſides, this ſlanderer and " accuſer does not know our circumſtances, and yet, " like Shimei, he pretends to be ſmart againſt us, and " lies impudently. For this ſcoffer might have en- " quired, not indeed from renegado's, villains, wicked " men, and lyars, who have not the leaſt knowledge " of our affairs, but from ourſelves, how few perſons " there are, that give us any thing, how ſparingly " they give, and how frugally the undertakers of " this work are ſupported." This long paſſage may ſerve us for two purpoſes. For beſides that it is an argument againſt the falſe æra of the centuries, it does alſo hint to us, what we ought to think of theſe words of Spondanus. *Quod opus vocatum eſt ab aliis Evangelicis* Aureum: *non quidem in laudem, ſed ironice, propterea quod multo principum quorundam Germaniæ & civitatum auro, oſtiatim emendicato, ſit editum.* i. e. " The other Evangelicks (or Proteſtants) " called it a *golden work*; not to commend it, but " ironically, becauſe it was made by dint of gold, " begged from door to door, of ſome Princes and " cities in Germany." This is aſſerting that the other Evangelicks called that work of the centuriators a golden work, to ridicule it, and to give the public to underſtand that it was compiled at the expence of the Princes of Germany. But all theſe pretended Evangelicks are no more than anonymous writers, who publiſhed a libel under the falſe name of the ſtudents of Wittemberg (36). See in Monſieur Sagittarius (37) ſeveral extracts from the dedications of the centuries, which are deſigned to ſhew, that Illyricus, Wigandus, Judex, Faber, and the other undertakers of that work, had but too much reaſon to deſire the public's aſſiſtance. Obſerve that there were addititions made to the third century, when it was reprinted at Baſil (38). *Acceſſerunt caſtigationes & additiones locorum aliquot in prima editione depravatorum vel omiſſorum* (39). i. e. " With " corrections and additions of ſome paſſages, which " were either erroneouſly printed or omitted in the firſt " edition." Obſerve alſo that the firſt four centuries and part of the fifth were compoſed at Magdeburg; that the fifth was finiſhed at Iëna; that the ſixth was written in the place to which Illyricus, Wigandus, and Judex retired, on account of the perſecution; that the ſeventh was compoſed in the country of Mecklenburg, and the reſt in the city of Wiſmar in the ſame country (40).

(36) *See* Sagittarius, *Introd. ad Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 256 and 266.

(37) Idem, ibid. pag. 260, &c.

(38) In the year 1562, if I am not miſtaken.

(39) Sagittar. *Introd. ad Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* pag. 269.

(40) Idem, ibid. pag. 245.

I had compoſed all this before I could meet with a copy of the firſt editions of theſe centuries; for as the edition of Baſil 1624, in three volumes in folio, publiſhed by the care of Lewis Lucius, is more eſteemed than any of the others, every one endeavours to get it, and it is a difficult matter to meet with the others in the libraries of private perſons. I have at laſt been able to conſult leiſurely the edition which the centuriators cauſed to be printed at Baſil by Oporinus; but the copy of the three firſt centuries, which was lent me, having been bound more than once, I could not meet in it with the date of the impreſſion. I believe that the laſt leaf had been torn off before it was bound the laſt time, and it was probably on that laſt leaf, that Oporinus placed the date 1559 (41). However it be, this copy of the three firſt centuries is printed in an Italic letter, and contains neither corrections nor additions. Now we have ſeen that the edition which Monſieur Sagittarius made uſe of, which is of the year 1562, contains additions and corrections. It is therefore neither the firſt, nor that which I have now before me. Obſerve that the copy of the fourth century, printed by Oporinus in the year 1560, is in a Roman letter.

(41) Mr. Hill, Miniſter of the Engliſh Church at Rotterdam, who has a fine Library, and an admirable knowledge of books, has aſſured me that the firſt Centuries were printed that year.

[*I*] *Monſieur Varillas .... has added many blunders of his own to that of Spondanus.*] Melanchthon, ſays he (42), was hardly dead, when the centuriators of Magdeburg began to publiſh their work upon Church Hiſtory, with the fourth volume. This is his firſt blunder. That volume, continues he, *is indeed the beſt of the thirteen in the opinion of the Lutherans, or the laſt bad according to the Catholics.* We defy him to prove this. *There were* (43) *at firſt but four of the Miniſters of Magdeburg that were engaged in it, namely Matthias Flacius, John Vigand, Matthew Judex, and Baſil Faber. But afterwards the moſt learned of the Lutherans had an hand in it, though we know the names of but four more, who were Nicholas Gal, Celeſtinus Hutten, Jaſpar Nidpruc Counſellor of State to the Emperor, and Baptiſt Hoincel* (44). Conſult Monſ. Sagittarius, he will tell you, that Andrew Corvinus, Thomas Holthuter, Pancratius Veltbeck, Nicholas Amſdorf, Nicholas Gallus, Martin Copus, Ebeling Almannus, Ambroſe Hidfeld, David Cicelerus, Jaſper Leunculus, William Radenſis, Nicholas Beumuller, Bernard Niger, Peter Schrader, and Conrad Agrius have alſo had a ſhare in that work. So that Monſieur Varillas names three perſons who are not in that liſt of Monſieur Sagittarius, and he ſuppoſes falſely that we know the names of only eight centuriators. I have ſeen indeed in Monſieur Sagittarius the name of John Baptiſt Heinzelius, and that of Jaſpar Nidpruck, Counſellor to the Emperor; but he does not ſay that theſe perſons were concerned in the centuries, he obſerves only that they encouraged Marc Wagner, who went from one library to another in order to collect materials (46). This Wagner was very ſerviceable to the centuriators; he viſited the libraries in Germany and Denmark, that of Edinburgh in Scotland, &c. He had a particular talent for that kind of inquiries, and they gave him a very glorious certificate, in which they acknowledged his fidelity, diligence and accuracy (47). That certificate is dated September the 30th 1557; it is declared therein amongſt other things, that he had taken ſeveral journeys with Illyricus to collect materials (48), and that having given ſeveral proofs of his capacity that way, it was thought that he could alone continue his travels; that they had therefore committed it to his care, giving him recommendatory letters, by which all learned and devout perſons were deſired to communicate to him the manuſcripts and antient records, which could be of any uſe. Illyricus was one of thoſe that ſigned this certificate. Monſieur Varillas aſſerts, that *the authors of the other ſects, which ſeparated from that of Luther, cenſured the centuries ſeveral ways, and publiſhed divers extracts of the errors, which they pretended crept into them.* Not one perſon, that I know of, ever mentioned thoſe extracts; Monſieur Varillas would have been very much puzzled, had he been obliged to prove his aſſertion. Conrad Brunus, whoſe invective againſt the work of the centuriators has been refuted by Illyricus in the year 1556, was a Roman Catholic. Eiſengreinius, who alſo wrote againſt them, was of the ſame religion. Let us take notice of ſome other blunders of Monſieur Varillas. Illyricus, ſays he (49), *engaged the next year* 1561 *at Weimar in Thuringia, in a public diſputation with the famous Victorinus Spingel.* He is miſtaken both with regard to the time when this diſputation was held (50), and with regard to the name of Illyricus's antagoniſt (51). *The Catholics obſerved that in leſs than fifty years there ſprung up more hereſies from that of Luther, than there had been ſince Jeſus Chriſt even to Luther* (52). This hyperbole, which he tranſcribed from Spondanus, but not without making it ſomething leſs, is the moſt ſilly thing in the world. *Et videas hinc etiam quam fœcundus fuerit Lutherus qui plures protulerit peſtiferarum hæreſum auctores, quam ab orbis ortu fuerint ante in univerſo mundo* (53). " i. e. It appears alſo from thence how fruitful Luther " was, who has produced more authors of peſtiferous " hereſies, than there had been before in the whole " world ſince the creation." You will find in Moreri, " that the number of the chief heretics, who appeared in the world, from the firſt century of Chriſtianity, to the time of Luther, amounts to 183: and it is hardly poſſible to find above ten or twelve ſchiſms during the firſt fifty years of Lutheraniſm. Let us continue to hear Mr. Varillas (54). " It was probable with a de- " ſign to eſcape for a time the perſecution which Fla- " cius expected from his friends, on account of the " paſſion he had ſhewed at Weymar, that he diſguiſed " himſelf, and went incognito to viſit all the libraries " of the Monaſteries in Germany. He made bold " to ſteal all the ſcarce books he could conveniently " take,

(42) Varillas, *Hiſt. de l'Hereſie*, liv. 24. pag. m. 229. under the year 1561.

(43) Ibid.

(44) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1560, num. 52. p. 602, calls him *Joannem Baptiſtam Hencelium.*

(45) Sagit. *Introd. ad Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 247, 248, 249.

(46) Idem, ibid. pag. 252, 253. Obſerve that Melchior Adam, *in Vit. Theol.* pag. 474. aſſerts, that Jaſpar Nidpruck and John Baptiſt Heincelius aſſiſted Flacius and his fellow-labourers.

(47) Ibid. pag. 253, 254.

(48) *Cum D. Illyrico aliquot monaſteria perluſtraſſe, & cum ipſo nulla alia de cauſa peregrinatum fuiſſe, quam ut pium hunc conatum pro ſua tenuitate juvaret.* Ibid. pag. 254.

(49) Varillas, *Hiſt. de l'Hereſ.* lib. 24. pag. 231, 232.

(50) See the remark [C].

(51) His name was *Strigelius*, and not *Spingel.*

(52) Varillas, *Hiſt. de l'Hereſ.* lib. 24. pag. 232, 233.

(53) Spondan. *ad ann.* 1560, num. 32. pag. 602.

(54) Varillas, *Hiſt. de l'Hereſ.* liv. 24. pag. 233.

one cannot conceive how a man of wit can be guilty of ſo many miſtakes. Let us not forget to obſerve, that Illyricus's *Clavis Sacræ Scripturæ*, i. e. "A Key to the holy "Scripture," is one of his beſt works. See what Monſieur Simon ſays of it in his *Critical*

(*) In the *Life of Flacius.*

"take (*), and made extracts of the others. The "author of his life relates that he did it out of emu- "lation, and to compoſe, after Trithemius's example, "a collection of all thoſe that had wrote books: but "this will not ſeem probable to thoſe who will com- "pare theſe two books together, ſince they are quite "different. Trithemius's work is, properly ſpeak- "ing, a catalogue of the Eccleſiaſtical writers, and of "the books they have compoſed; and Flacius's is a "collection of paſſages which ſeem to be contrary to "the Roman Catholic Religion, and favourable to "rigid Lutheraniſm." There are a great many errors in theſe words. For in the firſt place, Illyricus viſited the libraries before the year 1560; he did it with a deſign to collect materials for his *Catalogus teſtium veritatis*. Melchior Adam, the only voucher quoted by Spondanus and by Monſieur Varillas, declares it poſitively. Now that *Catalogue* was printed in the year 1556 (55); therefore, &c. In the ſecond place, it is falſe that Melchior Adam aſſerts that Illyricus undertook ſuch a work *out of emulation, and to compoſe after Trithemius's example a collection of thoſe that had wrote books*, If Melchior Adam had ſaid this, he would have been very much miſtaken; and conſequently Spondanus (56) would aſſert a thing, which upon the whole is falſe. See in the remark [*E*] how the reading of Trithemius's work gave riſe to Illyricus's deſign. In the third place, what Varillas ſays of Trithemius's work, and of that of Illyricus ſhews plainly that he knew nothing of either: for Trithemius does not confine himſelf to the *Eccleſiaſtical writers*, nor does the other confine himſelf to thoſe paſſages, which ſeem to be favourable to the *ſtricteſt Lutheraniſm*. Monſieur Varillas ſuppoſes, that *the envy* which Illyricus had conceived *againſt the book of William Eiſengrem* (†) *a Roman Catholic Divine, intitled* The Catalogue of thoſe, who bore witneſs to the Truth, *determined him to undertake a work of the ſame kind in favour of his ſect* (57); the contrary of this is true, as you have ſeen above (58). Laſtly, Monſieur Varillas charges him with having publiſhed his book *without putting his name to it, either becauſe he would not expoſe himſelf again to the reſentment of the other ſects, which he foreſaw would not like his work, or becauſe he ſuppoſed that the world would know well enough that he was the author of it, though his name was not prefixed to it* (59). All this is nothing but idle fancies; for he put his name to that work; nor had he any reaſon to fear leſt the other Proteſtants ſhould diſlike his compilation.

(55) *See* Joh. Albertus Faber, in *Decade Decadum*, num. 96.

(56) *Nec vero tam illud æmulatione Trithemii . . ſuum concinnaſſe putamus, quam* &c. Spondan. *ad ann.* 1560, pag. 602.

(†) Thus he writes that name.

(57) Varillas, *Hiſt. de l'Hereſie*, liv. 24. pag. 233.

(58) In the remark [*E*].

(59) Varillas, *Hiſt. de l'Hereſie.* liv. 24. pag. 234.

I have omitted a particular, for which Monſieur Varillas deſerves to be cenſured. Let us conſider it here. It relates to the dedication to Queen Elizabeth. Monſieur Varillas aſſerts (60), that *it vexed that Princeſs more than it did her honour*; and that *there are but few inſtances of ſuch ſtrange and unſeaſonable actions in the hiſtory of men of letters, though they be charged with not being always very polite. The centuriators could not but know this notorious fact, namely that Queen Elizabeth was a Calviniſt with regard to doctrine, though ſhe were a Lutheran with regard to Church diſcipline. And yet in that ſame dedication, by which they endeavoured to obtain that Queen's protection, they inſerted a ſatire againſt the Calviniſts. They charged them with rendering Chriſt's teſtament ineffectual, as much as lay in their power, by arguments borrowed from Philoſophy; with rejecting the Real Preſence, and the Communion of our bleſſed Saviour's Body and Blood, againſt his own expreſſions, which are very plain; with endeavouring to miſlead thoſe who read the Goſpel, by perplexing with ſubtle and farfetched interpretations the natural ſenſe of a great many paſſages, which are ſo plain that they need no explication. They proved afterwards unanſwerably in the body of that volume, and in the twelve following, that the Church had always believed that Preſence; and whoever will take the pains to read them, will obſerve immediately, that though they who paid them wiſhed that they would write with leſs accuracy and with more temper upon that ſubject, that they might not prevent the union between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, which was then again negotiating; yet they had ſo little condeſcenſion for their benefactors, that they handled this ſubject with more accuracy and paſſion than they did any other.* Theſe are all gloſſes forged in the hiſtorian's own brains. He added theſe flouriſhes of his own invention to an obſervation which Spondanus made incidentally; and we may be ſure he ſpoke without any voucher, and without having read the dedication he was cenſuring. There was not the leaſt unpoliteneſs or imprudence in the conduct of the centuriators. They did not know yet what final reſolution the Queen of England would take: they knew only that ſhe laboured to eſtabliſh a good form of religion. They commended her for it; they congratulated her upon it, and they encouraged her very earneſtly to apply herſelf effectually to root out all the evils which the followers of Antichriſt had occaſioned. *Ad te igitur nunc, Regina potentiſſima & ſereniſſima, convertimur. Audimus enim, te poſt accepta Regia ſceptra, etiam de præcipuo fine ac munere tui officii, ſocietatis ac vitæ totius omnium ſubditorum tuorum cogitare. Itaque non tantum lætis acclamationibus Regiæ tuæ dignitati gratulamur: ſed toto etiam pectore patrem Domini noſtri* Jesu Christi *invocamus, ac rogamus, ut . . . Sed quia non ſatis eſt bene cœpiſſe, hortamur etiam te, illuſtriſſima & potentiſſima Regina, ut totis viribus in id opus incumbas, ut Religio pura, integra, inviolata in toto regno tuo inſtauretur, omnibus Antichriſti crudelitatibus, vulneribus, peſtibus ac carcinomatis rectè curatis, atque ſublatis. Debes enim hunc honorem Deo conditori ac redemptori tuo, debes tibi ipſi, debes ſubditis tuis* (61). i. e. "We addreſs ourſelves therefore unto "you, moſt powerful and ſerene Queen: for we hear "that after your acceſſion to the Crown, you began "immediately to think of the chief end and duty of "your ſtation, on which the union and life of all your "ſubjects depends. And therefore we do not only "congratulate you with joyful acclamations upon "your royal dignity, but we alſo from our hearts pray "and beſeech the Father of our Lord Jeius Christ, "that . . . But as it is not enough to begin well, we "alſo intreat you, moſt illuſtrious and powerful Prin- "ceſs, to apply yourſelf earneſtly, and as much as "lies in your power, to eſtabliſh a ſound, pure and "uncorrupted religion throughout your whole King- "dom, and to root out all the cruelties, wounds, dan- "gerous evils, and cankers of Antichriſt. This you "are bound to do in honour to God your Creator and "Redeemer; this you owe to yourſelf, this you owe "to your ſubjects." It was but fit that Divines of the Augſburg Confeſſion ſhould add to this a word of advice concerning the Corporal Preſence, They did it after the following manner (62). *Illud verò etiam non prætereundum eſt, cum jam variæ paſſim graſſentur quaſi factiones opinionum, inter quas aliqui etiam teſtamentum Domini planè philoſophicis rationibus ita evacuant, ut corpus & ſanguinem Chriſti, quod ad præſentiam & communicationem, juxta clariſſima, evidentiſſima, veraciſſima & potentiſſima verba ipſius* Christi, *prorſus removeant, miraque verborum perplexitate fucum faciant: in primis videndum tibi eſt, ut & articuli fidei ſine phariſaico fermento, & Sacramenta à Chriſto inſtituta citra omnem adulterationem inſtaurentur: id quod te facturam eſſe, omnes pii ſperant, ſummiſque votis à te contendunt.* i. e. "We muſt not omit to obſerve, "that there are ſeveral factions, if we may ſay ſo, "with regard to opinions, and amongſt them ſome "who by arguments that are only Philoſophical, do "ſo enervate the Teſtament of our Lord, that they "entirely exclude the Body and Blood of Chriſt, as to "their Preſence and Communication from the Sacra- "ment, againſt the moſt plain, moſt clear, moſt evi- "dent and ſtrong expreſſions of Christ himſelf; and "by the wonderful ambiguity of their words they im- "poſe upon the readers. You ought therefore to take "a particular care that the articles of the Chriſtian "Faith be eſtabliſhed without any Phariſaical Leaven, "and the Sacraments inſtituted by Chriſt himſelf be "reſtored without any corruption. This is what all "good men hope you will do, and what they moſt "earneſtly entreat you to do."

(60) Ibid. pag. 230.

(61) *Epiſt. Dedicat. Centuriæ quartæ Magdeb.* pag. 8.

(62) Ibid. pag. 9.

When Monſieur Varillas ſuppoſes that the centuriators *could not but know this notorious fact, namely that Queen Elizabeth was a Calviniſt with regard to doctrine,*

Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament (*k*). See alſo John Albert Faber in the 96th article of his *Decas Decadum.*

(k) *Hiſt. Critique du Vieux Teſtament*, chap. 13. pag. 428, &c. of the edition printed at Rotterdam 1685.

trine, he only ſhews his own ignorance: he does not conſider that they wrote their dedication at a time when they did not yet know upon what footing the reformation would be eſtabliſhed in England. Their volume is indeed dated 1560, and Elizabeth's reformation was eſtabliſhed in the year 1559. But who is there that does not know it is the Bookſeller's cuſtom to put the date of the next year to the books that are printed off towards the end of Auguſt? I believe therefore, that this dedication, which has no date to it, was ſent to Oporinus, Bookſeller at Baſil, in the year 1559, before they knew in Germany the Eccleſiaſtical regulations made in England by Queen Elizabeth; and after all it could not appear at that time that this Princeſs had declared for Calvin's opinion with regard to the Corporal Preſence. Read the following page from Biſhop Burnet. "Some of the reformed Divines were appointed to review King Edward's liturgy, and to ſee if in any particular it was fit to change it. The only conſiderable variation was made about the Lord's Supper... It was propoſed to have the Communion Book ſo contrived, that it might not exclude the belief of the Corporal Preſence. For the chief deſign of the Queen's Council was to unite the nation in one faith, and the greateſt part of the nation continued to believe ſuch a preſence. Therefore it was recommended to the Divines to ſee that there ſhould be no expreſs definition made againſt it, that ſo it might be as a ſpeculative opinion, not determined, in which every man was left to the freedom of his own mind. Hereupon the rubric that explained the reaſon for kneeling at the Sacrament, *that thereby no adoration is intended to any Corporal Preſence of Chriſt's natural Fleſh and Blood, becauſe that is only in Heaven*, which had been in King Edward's liturgy, was now left out, &c. (63)."

(63) Burnet, *Hiſt. of the Reform. of England*, vol. 2. B. 3. under the year 1559 pag. 393. *See alſo* pag. 405.

INCHOFER (MELCHIOR) a German Jeſuit, born at Vienna in the year 1584, entered into the Society of the Jeſuits at Rome in the year 1607. He had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge of the Law. He taught a great while Philoſophy, Mathematics and Divinity at Meſſina, and in the year 1630 he publiſhed there a book, which brought him into ſome trouble [*A*]. He was obliged to go to Rome to anſwer the complaints that had been made againſt him before the Congregation of the *Index*. The Judges were very well ſatisfied with the reaſons he pleaded in his defence, and ordered him only to alter the title of his book, and to explain ſome things in it more at large, which he did accordingly in a ſecond edition. He continued ſeveral years at Rome, and died at laſt at Milan, September the 28th 1648 (*a*). Beſides the works of his that are extant [*B*], and by which it appears that he was very learned, he was preparing others for the preſs (*b*), which would have ſhewed how extenſive his learning was, had not death prevented him from compleating them. He is thought to be the author

(a) *Taken from* Nath. Southwell, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jeſu*, pag. 608.

(b) See the titles of them, in Nathaniel Southwell, *ibid.*

[*A*] *He publiſhed a book, which brought him into ſome trouble.*] Here follows the title of it. *Epiſtolæ B. Mariæ Virginis ad Meſſanenſes Veritas vindicata*, i. e. "The Bleſſed Virgin Mary's Letter to the "people of Meſſina, proved to be genuine," in Folio. The Congregation of the Index having heard Father Inchofer's arguments, gave him leave to reprint that work with this title, *Conjectatio ad Epiſtolam beatiſſimæ Mariæ Virginis ad Meſſanenſes.* i. e. "A Conjecture "concerning the Bleſſed Virgin Mary's Letter to the "people of Meſſina." This ſecond edition was publiſhed at Viterbo in the year 1633. He got leave to ſtrike out and add to it what he pleaſed. *S. Congregatio non ſolum permiſit eidem dictum opus de novo edere, mutato tamen juſtis de cauſis titulo in hunc modum*, Conjectatio, &c. *& quibuſdam magis explicatis ..... ſed etiam demendi & addendi ſi quæ viderentur, liberam & amplam facultatem permiſit* (1). This gives us to underſtand, that provided one does not affirm too poſitively, that the Virgin Mary wrote to the inhabitants of Meſſina the letter which paſſes under her name, it is not unlawful to believe it, and to make others believe it alſo. A German writer (2) obſerves, that Baronius and Theophilus Raynaud are not of Inchofer's opinion with regard to that letter. I will not contradict what he aſſerts of Baronius; for though this Annaliſt does not mention particularly the pretended letter to the Meſſinians, yet he declares in the general, that all the letters, which it is pretended the Bleſſed Virgin wrote to ſome cities, muſt be looked upon as apocryphal. *Traduntur & aliæ ab ipſa ad alias ſcriptæ civitates, quas cunctas, cum careant Eccleſiæ auctoritate, nonniſi in apocryphorum claſſem rejiciendas eſſe omnes facile judicabunt* (3). i. e. "There are ſome other letters handed about written by her to other cities; "but as they are not ſupported by the authority of "the church, every one will eaſily judge, that they "muſt be placed amongſt the apocryphal pieces." But as for Theophilus Raynaud, he ought not to be quoted on this occaſion, ſince he only mentions the letter, which it is pretended the Bleſſed Virgin wrote to St. Ignatius, and that Saint's pretended anſwer (4). The German author is not more happy, when he quotes Rivetus (5), who without mentioning in the leaſt the letter to the Meſſinians, does only explode what has been reported concerning the epiſtolary correſpondence between the Bleſſed Virgin and St. Ignatius.

(1) Nath. Sotuel, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jeſu.* pag. 608.

(2) Placcius, *de Pſeudonymis Jo. Rhodii*, num. 59. pag. 44.

(3) Baron, *ad ann.* 48. num. 25.

(4) Theophil. Raynaudus, *de malis & bonis Libris*, num. 235. pag. m. 148.

(5) In *Critico Sacro*, lib. 2. cap. 1.

[*B*] *The works of his that are extant.*] I ſhall not repeat here what relates to his volume concerning the Virgin Mary's pretended letter to the Meſſinians. His other works are, *Tractatus Syllepticus, in quo quid de terræ ſoliſque motu vel ſtatione ſecundum ſacrum Scripturam & SS. Patres ſentiendum, quave certitudine alterutra ſententia tenenda ſit, oſtenditur.* i. e. "A Trea-"tiſe, in which is ſhewed what we ought to believe "concerning the motion or reſt of the Earth and the "Sun, according to the holy Scriptures, and the Fa-"thers, and with that certainty we muſt hold either "opinion." Printed at Rome in the year 1633, in 4to. *De ſacra Latinitate, hoc eſt, de variis Linguæ Latinæ myſteriis, ex origine, progreſſu, fine, cæteraque inſtituti ſui ratione ad Evangelii prædicationem, Latinæ Eccleſiæ exaltationem, Romanique Imperii majeſtatem ſpectantibus.* i. e. "Of the ſacred Latin tongue; that "is to ſay, of the ſeveral myſteries of the Latin "tongue, from its riſe, progreſs, deſign, and other "reaſons of its being uſed, relating to the preaching "of the Goſpel, to the exaltation of the Latin Church, "and to the Majeſty of the Roman Empire." Printed at Meſſina, in the year 1635, in 4to; and at Munich in the year 1638, in 8vo. *Hiſtoria trium Magorum.* i. e. "The Hiſtory of the three Wiſe Men." Printed at Rome in the year 1639. *Annalium Eccleſiaſticorum Regni Hungariæ Tomus I.* i. e. "The firſt "Volume of the Annals of the Church of the King-"dom of Hungary;" at Rome in 1644, folio. The Funeral Oration on the death of Nicholas Ricardi, a Dominican, and Maſter of the Sacred Palace. He publiſhed ſome other books, to which he did not put his name. *Alia quædam ipſius prodierunt ſub alienis nominibus R. P. E. L. &c. & ſub nomine Academici Vertumnii, adjectum prælectionibus Joannis Baptiſtæ Corteſii Poëma in laudem Medicinæ & contra malos Medicos.* i. e. "He had publiſhed ſome other works under "fictitious names, and there is a Poem of his in praiſe "of Phyſic, and againſt bad Phyſicians, under the "name of *Vertumnius Academicus*: it is added to John "Baptiſt Corteſius's Lectures."

(6) Sotuel, *Biblioth. Societ. Jeſu.* pag. 608.

thor of a Libel againſt the Jeſuits, intitled, *Monarchia Solipſorum* [C]. He was not well pleaſed with them (c).

(c) This appears from the following words of the Preface. *Illud conſtat, niſi inter Solipſos rubiginaſſet, & copia & ſplendore inter ſummates literarum viros fuiſſe radiaturum.* i. e. "It is certain that he would have gained a very great reputation amongſt the moſt "eminent men of Letters, had he not been forced to ruſt away amongſt the Solipſi, that is to ſay, thoſe men who live only for "themſelves."

[C] *He is thought to be the author of a libel againſt the Jeſuits, intitled* Monarchia Solipſorum.] The author of that libel (†) calls himſelf *Lucius Cornelius Europæus*. It was printed in Holland in the year 1648, *juxta exemplar Venetum*, according to the copy printed at Venice, as it is ſaid in the title-page; they added to it a key to explain the fictitious names mentioned therein. This work is aſcribed to Melchior Inchofer in the edition publiſhed at Venice in the year 1652 (7). Chriſtopher Pellerus, who relates this conjecture, adds alſo, that this German Jeſuit went to Rome after he had wrote that book, and never returned from thence. *Monarchia Solipſorum quam perhibent ſcripſiſſe quempiam patrem ex Societate N. Inckhoferum Germanum, poſtea Romam profectum nunquam reverſum* (8). i. e. "The Monarchy of the Solipſi, "which is ſaid to be written by a Father Jeſuit, "named N. Inckhofer, a German, who went afterwards to Rome, whence he never returned." He is miſtaken with regard to this journey to Rome; for it was a great while after Inchofer had left Germany, that he wrote that ſatyr: he wrote it only after he had bore great diſcontents in the order, the habit of which he took at Rome at the age of twenty three years. The paſſage I have quoted from Pellerus made Konig (9) give us two authors out of one. He mentions *Melchior Inchofer*, and *Nicholas Inkoffer*: To the former he aſcribes part of what Alegambe relates, and to the latter the Monarchy of the Solipſi. He quotes Chriſtopher Pellerus, but he makes him ſay more than he ſhould, namely, that this piece was compoſed in the year 1648. Pellerus does not ſay this. If Konig had remembred, that when we do not know a perſon's Chriſtian name, we uſe to put an N. inſtead of it, he would not have invented, on Pellerus's authority, a pretended *Nicholas Inckoffer*. He obſerves that others aſcribe that work to Scioppius. It is certain that Otto Tabor, a German Civilian, imagined that Scioppius might be the author of it; but he did not aſſert it poſitively. *Lucius Cornelius Europæus*, ſays he (10), *ſive is ſit* Gaſpar Scioppius, *ſive quis alius ex genere Scriptorum ſatyricorum, in Monarchia quam dicit Solipſorum Leoni Allatio dedicata, &c.* i. e. "Lucius "Cornelius Europeus, whether he be Jaſper Scioppius, "or any other of the ſatyrical writers, in the Monarchy of the Solipſi, as he calls it, dedicated to "Leo Allatius, &c." Decker (11), without exploding Pellerus's conjecture (12), or that of Tabor, offers us another, which is intirely groundleſs. He imagines that one *Gabriel Bariacus Lermæus*, a Gentleman of Languedoc, might be the author of that Monarchy of the Solipſi. We ſhall now quote two paſſages from Monſieur Arnauld, one of which will remove our doubts, and the other will acquaint us with Inchofer's deſign, and with the true meaning of the word *Solipſi*. *One would think*, ſays Monſieur Arnauld (13), *that the* Monarchia Solipſorum *was written by Scioppius, becauſe we find it printed in Germany with ſome books, which were undoubtedly compoſed by that author. And yet* IT IS CERTAIN *that this* Monarchy of the Solipſi *is the work of a German Jeſuit, named Melchior Inchofer. We know where the original of a letter, written by a Spaniſh Jeſuit, who acknowledges this, and complains bitterly of it, is lodged.* The other paſſage is as follows (14). *It is well known,* ſays Monſieur Arnauld to the Jeſuits, *that it is your character to be eager in doing good, provided you do it* ALONE, *and no man has a ſhare in the glory of it but yourſelves. And if you will be ſincere, you muſt confeſs, that one of your Fathers, who wrote a book intitled* Monarchia Solipſorum, *was very well acquainted with your character.* See Giſbert Voetius's Theſes (15).

There was a pretended Letter from Pope Innocent the XIIIth to the Emperor, diſperſed abroad in the year 1696; the Pope in that letter calls the Society of the Jeſuits *Monarchiam Monopanthorum*: upon which Father Papebroch made the following reflection. *Forſitan quaſi μόνοι πάντα ſoli omnia velint eſſe & æſtimari Jeſuitæ, ſcilicet alludendo ad vetus ſcomma ſatirici cujuſdam commenti quo ſcripſit anonymus aliquis* Monarchiam Solipſorum, *veluti innuere volens quod Societas ſoli ſibi arrogare nitatur omnia* (16). i. e. "Perhaps from "the Greek words μόνοι πάντα *(alone all)*, as though "the Jeſuits pretended that they alone were ſufficient "for every thing, and muſt be eſteemed ſuch; for "this is an alluſion to a ſatyrical invention of an "anonymous writer, who publiſhed the *Monarchy of "the Solipſi*, as though he would hint thereby, that "the Society of the Jeſuits endeavoured to arrogate "every thing to themſelves alone."

(†) It was tranſlated into French and printed at Amſterdam in 12mo. The Tranſlator added ſome remarks, and ſeveral other pieces to it. The Preface contains a great many particulars concerning that work and its author. *Addit. to the Amſt. edit.*

(7) *Vide* Placcium, in *Rhodianis*, num. 59. pag. 43.

(8) Chriſtoph. Pellerus, in *Politico ſcelerato impugnato*, pag. 9. edit. 1665.

(9) *Biblioth. vet. & nova*, p. 417.

(10) Otto Tabor, in Præfat. ad *Diſputationes de confrontatione*, *apud* Placcium in *Rhodianis*, pag. 43.

(11) *De Scriptis Adeſpotis*, pag. 93. edit. 1686.

(12) There is Pecler, in the edition of Decker printed in 1686.

(13) *Morale Pratique*, tom. 3. pag. 686.

(14) Ibid. pag. 86.

(15) Vol. 3. pag. 685, 686.

(16) Papebroch. *Elucid. Hiſtor. Actor. in Controverſia Carmelitica*, cap. 10. pag. 138.

INNOCENT VIII, elected Pope in the year 1484, was of Genoa, and his name was John Baptiſt Cibo. Authors differ with regard to the nobility or meanneſs of this extraction [A]. But it is agreed that he was ſent to the Court of Naples in his youth, and that he waited on King Alphonſus. He went afterwards to Rome, and was one of the Cardinal of Bologna's ſervants; and this, I think, was the occaſion of his being promoted to the Biſhopric of Savona (a). Pope Sixtus IV, who had a great friendſhip for him, gave him the Biſhopric of Melfi, and afterwards a Cardinal's Cap. One of the firſt actions, which Innocent VIII did after he was raiſed to the Papal dignity, was his entering into a conſpiration againſt Ferdinand King of Naples with the Barons of that Kingdom. He ſent for Robert Sanſeverini to Rome, and conferred upon him the command of the army in the expedition againſt that Prince; but as he had no reaſons to be well

(a) You will find in Moreri, that Paul II gave him that Biſhopric.

[A] *Authors differ with regard to the nobility or meanneſs of his extraction.*] We ſhall ſee hereunder (1), that he had been a poor boy according to Volaterranus. Onuphrius Panvini aſſerts the ſame in one of his books (2), and ſuppoſes that he was born of a mean family, and that his father was a Phyſician. But he ſpeaks quite otherwiſe in another work (3); for he expatiates there upon the antientneſs and nobility of the houſe of Cibo, he makes Innocent VIII to be the ſon of Aaron Cibo, a Nobleman of Geneva, illuſtrious for his military actions, Governor of Naples under the Kings Renatus, and Alfonſus, and famous for the office of a Roman Senator, the functions of which he had gloriouſly performed (4). It is ſuppoſed (5), that Panvini corrected his former account upon reading the Funeral Oration on the death of Pope Innocent VIII, delivered by Leonelli, Biſhop of Concordia, who was ſure to ſpeak of Aaron Cibo's noble extraction and employments. It is a little ſurpriſing, that ſo learned an Hiſtorian as Panvini was, who was alſo a Monk, and lived ſoon after this Pope, ſhould have been unacquainted with the merit and great employments of Innocent VIII's father, and ſhould have known him rather as a Phyſician and Commoner, than in the glorious character of a Nobleman of Genoa, a Governor of Naples, and a Roman Senator. Several perſons will imagine, that when Panvini retracted his former aſſertions, he conformed not ſo much to the exact truth, as to the notions of the Preacher who made Innocent's Funeral Oration, a kind of diſcourſe which admits of flattery without meaſure. Let the reader judge of this what he pleaſes; but I would adviſe him to remember, that exaggerations are often made uſe of to diſgrace the former condition of thoſe, who riſe to the higheſt poſts (6).

(1) In the remark [E].

(2) *In Commentario de Pontificibus & Cardinalibus.*

(3) In *Vita Innocentii VIII.*

(4) *See* Spondanus, *Annal. Eccleſ. ad ann.* 1484, num. 5. pag. m. 180.

(5) Idem, ibid.

(6) See the remark [A] of the article TOUCHET.

well pleaſed with this General's conduct, he turned him out of his place, and made a treaty of peace with Ferdinand. The terms of this treaty were, that the King of Naples would pardon the rebels, and pay to the holy See the tribute which he owed; but he performed neither of theſe conditions, and rendered ineffectual all the meaſures which the Pope took, to get ſatisfaction for this infringement [*B*]. After this Innocent VIII would not engage any more in a war, and applied himſelf intirely to make the city of Rome reap the benefits of peace [*C*]. He took care to have proviſions plentiful and cheap in that city, and cauſed all robbers to be puniſhed ſeverely. He created new offices, the ſale of which brought him in large ſums of money; he was the firſt Pope who ever boaſted of his baſtards, and who loaded them with riches [*D*]. He was a handſome man,

[*B*] *Ferdinand . . : . rendered ineffectual all the meaſures which the Pope took to get ſatisfaction for this infringement.*] The author from whom I borrow this article, does not tell us, that Innocent VIII excommunicated King Ferdinand; he obſerves only the Pope's Deputies returned home without ſucceeding in their commiſſion. *Quorum neutrum Ferdinandus quum poſtea minimè præſtaret, miſſus Petrus Vincentinus cameræ auditor audaciſſimus, una ſimul cum Jacobo Volaterrano Secretario Apoſtolico ac cubiculario viro prudente ad res repetendas re infecta revertit* (7). i. e. "As Ferdinand performed neither of the conditions, Peter Vincentius, Auditor of the chamber, a very haughty man, being ſent with James Volaterranus, Apoſtolical Secretary, and Chamberlain to the Pope, a prudent man, to demand ſatisfaction, returned home without obtaining any thing." To ſupply Volaterranus's omiſſions, I ſhall tranſcribe here Coeffeteau's words. "As Ferdinand had not performed the conditions of the treaty he had made with him (the Pope) he ſent to aſk him the tribute which he owed to the church; but Ferdinand did not give his Embaſſadors much ſatisfaction, upon which the Pope thundered out a ſentence of excommunication againſt him, deprived him of his Kingdom, and declared Charles King of France lawful heir of it, in right of King Renatus of Sicily, and of his brother the Count of Maine (8)."

(7) Volaterranus, lib. 22. pag. 821.

(8) Coeffeteau, *Réponſe au Miſtére d'Iniquité*, pag. 1209.

[*C*] *He would not engage any more in war, and applied himſelf intirely to make the city of Rome reap the benefits of the peace.*] You will ſee here how difficult it is for a Pope to acquit himſelf of his functions to the ſatisfaction of mankind. For if the Popes are blamed, when they pretend to meddle with the political affairs of Europe, they are alſo blamed when they do not meddle with them, in which caſe it is aſſerted, that they are of no uſe to the public good. Guicciardini has given us this notion of Innocent VIII. He adds indeed an obſervation to it, which ſoftens his cenſure; for he obſerves, that the idleneſs, in which the Pope indulged himſelf, was attended with this good effect, namely, that nothing was apprehended from him that could diſturb the tranquillity of Italy. You will ſee this fact related with a parentheſis of a Proteſtant Divine. "Guicciardini gives us the following character of Innocent VIII. His life, which otherwiſe was of no uſe to the public (*a noble qualification in a Pope*), was however attended with this advantage, that having on a ſudden laid down his arms, which he had unluckily taken up in the beginning of his Pontificate, againſt Ferdinand, at the inſtigation of ſeveral Barons of the Kingdom of Naples, he indulged himſelf afterwards only in IDLE PLEASURES; ſo that he had not the leaſt thought nor deſign, neither for his own, nor for his relation's advantage, that could in the leaſt diſturb the tranquillity of Italy (9)." They, who will take notice of the parentheſis, will eaſily underſtand, that if I chooſe rather to quote Rivet's words, than Guicciardini's original, it is becauſe they are a proof of my aſſertion. Would to God that men committed no other faults but ſuch as promote the public tranquillity!

(9) Rivet, *Remarques ſur la Réponſe au Myſtére d'Iniquité*, Part 2. pag. 626, 627. What he quotes from Guicciardini is towards the beginning of the 1ſt book.

[*D*] *He was the firſt Pope that boaſted of his baſtards, and who loaded them with riches*] Volaterranus ſpeaks of it thus: *Pontificum etiam primus qui novum & ipſe exemplum introduceret palam liberos nothos jactandi, ac ſoluta omni antiqua diſciplina divitiis eos omnibus cumulandi* (10). i. e. "He was alſo the firſt Pope who gave a new example of boaſting publickly of his baſtard children, and loading them with all ſorts of riches, having entirely relaxed the antient diſcipline." He mentions only one ſon and one daughter of this Pope; and he obſerves, that the former obtained from his father ſome cities in the neighbourhood of Rome, with the advantage of being ſon-in-law to Laurence of Medicis; and that he married his daughter (11) to a Genoeſe, and gave her a very great portion (12). Moreri has blundered here: he aſſerts, that Innocent VIII *left two ſons behind him very rich, whom he had got before he was raiſed to the Papal See.* This is a miſtake both with regard to the ſex and to the number of theſe baſtards; there were ſixteen of them, eight ſons and eight daughters, upon which this epigram was made:

(10) Volaterran. lib. 22. pag. 822.

(11) Her name was *Theodorina.*

(12) *Gerardo Uſumari Gennenſi nuptam opibus per quam magnis ornavit.* Volaterran. lib. 22. pag. 821.

Quid quæris teſtes, ſit mas an fœmina Cibo,
Reſpice natorum, pignora certa, gregem:
Octo nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas.
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem.

"Why would you inquire for witneſſes, to know whether Cibo is a man, or a woman? Do but look upon the number of his children; they are a certain proof of what he is: he has wickedly begotten eight boys, and as many girls; ſo that Rome may juſtly call him father."

According to Monſieur du Pleſſis (13), theſe four verſes are an epitaph, which Marcellus compoſed for Innocent VIII; but I do not meet with them in my edition (14) of that Poet's works; nor do I think that they were omitted out of regard to the Court of Rome; for they have left the following verſes in it.

(13) Du Pleſſis Mornai *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 559.

(14) Printed at Spires in the year 1595.

Epitaph. Innocentii Octavi.
Spurcities, gula, avaritia, atque ignavia deſes
Hoc Octave jacent quo tegeris tumulo (15).

(15) Marcell. *Epigram.* lib. 4. pag. m. 84.

"The Epitaph of Innocent the Eighth. Villainy, gluttony, covetouſneſs, and ſlothful lazineſs lie here in this tomb, Innocent, in which you are buried."

We alſo meet there with the following epigram.

De Xyſto & hærede.
Exhauſit Xyſtus bellis & cædibus urbem;
Tercentena hæres reſtituit ſobole (16).

(16) Idem, lib. 3. pag. 60.

"On Pope Sixtus and his ſucceſſor. Sixtus has drained the City of men by wars and murders: his ſucceſſor has peopled it again with three hundred children of his own."

Mr. du Pleſſis aſſerts, that the former of theſe two diſtichs is the concluſion of the epitaph, or four lines, which I have tranſcribed in the firſt place. I do not know whether or not he made uſe of an edition different from mine, or whether he followed ſome inaccurate tranſcriber; but I am certain that the author of the *Well-grounded prepoſſeſſions againſt Popery* aſſerted without any examination (17), that *the character of Pope Innocent VIII was expreſſed after his death in ſix Latin verſes*, which he tranſcribes. They are an epigram, the laſt diſtich of which is the epitaph, which is really to be met with amongſt Marullus's Poems. The two firſt diſtichs are thoſe four lines which are not in my edition, neither before the epitaph nor in any other place. Mr. Zuinger (18) Profeſſor at Baſil, ſuppoſes that theſe ſix lines are two of Marullus's Epigrams; however he has ſhewed more good ſenſe than the author of the Prepoſſeſſions; he has not joined together

(17) Jurieu, *Préjugez Legitimes*, Part 1. pag. 247.

(18) Jo. Zuinger, *de Feſto Corporis Chriſti*, pag. 135.

man, polite to an exceſs, but covetous, ignorant, and of an indifferent genius [*E*]. He died in July 1492, at the age of ſixty. He had received a conſiderable preſent from the Sultan, namely the head of the ſpear, with which our Lord's ſide had been pierced [*F*]. It

together what ought to be ſeparated. As for the following epigram of Sannazar,

Innocuo priſcos æquum eſt debere Quirites,
Progenie exhauſtam reſtituit patriam,

" The antient Romans are juſtly obligated to Inno-
" cent, ſince he has peopled again with his own chil-
" dren their country, which was drained of men."

Mr. Zuinger, I ſay, is in the right to quote this epigram as Sannazar's, for it is really to be met amongſt his Poems (19). Coeffeteau was in a great perplexity when he came to anſwer that part of Monſieur du Pleſſis's book, which relates to Pope Innocent's baſtards. Let us tranſcribe Coeffeteau's words. " Du Pleſſis, " not being able to aſperſe Innocent with regard to " his lawful marriage (for he had been married be- " fore he was choſen Pope) quotes an obſcure writer, " who aſſerts that this Pope *was the firſt that took a* " *pride in having baſtards.* And to confirm this aſ- " ſertion, he tranſcribes an epitaph written by Marul- " lus, who yet ſpeaks there only of the children which " Innocent had got in lawful marriage. Now none of " theſe authors are worthy to be credited, and they all " deſerve to be ſeverely puniſhed for the licentiouſ- " neſs with which they wrote, having taken li- " berty thus to aſperſe with their calumnies the ſu- " preme head of the church. And indeed the good " Hiſtorians do not accuſe Innocent VIII of any of " thoſe wickedneſſes, which the obſcene Poet Marul- " lus charges him with. However we are willing to " let him enjoy the privileges of his profeſſion (20)." The abſurdity of this anſwer of Coeffeteau, will plainly appear by Rivet's reply. " This Pope's pleaſures, " *ſays he*, had not always been idle, for he got a " great many children. If it had been in lawful " marriage, before he was a Prieſt, he could not " have been blamed for it. And if Coeffeteau had " quoted credible authors to prove this aſſertion, he " would have vindicated the Pope's memory to ſome " purpoſe. But I do not meet with any author who " aſſerted that this Pope had been married. And as " for the writer who obſerves, that *he was the firſt* " *Pope who gave a new example of boaſting publickly* " *of his baſtard children*, he is no obſcure writer, as " my adverſary would make us believe, but that Vo- " laterranus, whom not long ago he called *a great* " *man, and an orthodox writer* . . . . Coeffeteau could " not but know this author, but he diſſembled it, " and fell only upon the poor Poet Marullus, as tho' " he had been the inventor of that ſtory, and he calls " him an *obſcene Poet*. But let him conſult his Poſſe- " vinus, who will tell him that this Marullus (*) lived " in the Church of Rome with the reputation of a " pious man, and his works have often been printed " at Antwerp, at Cologne, and elſewhere (21)." I obſerve that there is a ſin of commiſſion, and not of omiſſion, in theſe words of Rivet. The latter is his not cenſuring Coeffeteau's audaciouſneſs, with regard to Marullus's verſes (22) : He aſſerts that this Poet *ſpeaks only of the children which Innocent had got in a lawful marriage*. But in this caſe, what can be the ſenſe of the word *nocens* (criminal), which we read in the third line ? Does it not ſignify that he became a father in a criminal manner ? The ſin of commiſſion conſiſts in his pretending that Marullus of Spalato, whom Poſſevinus commended, is the ſame Marullus, whoſe poems are ſo well known. They are two different perſons.

[*E*] *He was a handſome man, polite to an exceſs ; but covetous, ignorant, of an indifferent genius.*] Let us quote a Roman Catholic author, for a Proteſtant might be excepted againſt. *Fuit Innocentius corpore excelſo, ac candido, decoroque : ingenio tardo, ac literis procul* (23). i. e. " Innocent was tall, fair and handſome, " but of a ſlow genius, and had no inclination for " literature." He had ſaid a little before (24) : *Pauper olim puer, forma tamen præſtanti inter Alfonſi regis Siciliæ miniſtros* (25) *inde Romam veniens in contubernio Philippi Cardinalis Bononienſis fuit* . . . . . *Quum* Xyſto *plurimum dilectus eſſet ob dulces mores & humanitatem qua omnes uſque ad vitium ſuperavit. Nam & infimæ conditionis homines ſæpe exoſculabatur, amplectebaturque. Verum quum omnibus blandus eſſet, nemini tamen benignus, innatamque avaritiam jocis atque dicteriis tranſigebat.* i. e. " Formerly when he was a poor boy " but very handſome, he was one of the under-ſer- " vants of Alfonſus King of Sicily. He went after- " wards to Rome, and lived in the family of Philip " Cardinal of Bologna . . . . Pope Sixtus had a great " friendſhip for him on account of his ſweet temper, " and politeneſs, in which he excelled all others, " even to an exceſs. For he would often kiſs and em- " brace even perſons of the meaneſt condition. But tho' " he was civil to all, yet he was kind to none, and " his jokes and jeſts he diſguiſed that covetouſneſs, " which was born with him." Monſieur du Pleſſis Mornai imagined, that Volaterranus hinted there *by modeſt expreſſions the infamy* of Innocent VIII's private life (26). Upon which Coeffeteau fell into a paſſion. " It is a ſtrange thing, *ſays he* (27), that he " would reckon his natural beauty as a crime, and " ſuſpect him from thence of that ſin, which was pu- " niſhed with fire from heaven ; which againſt all the " rules of charity, and even againſt all the rules of " that civil behaviour we owe to each other, he would " confirm by this Prelate's great affability, which " made him embrace even perſons of the meaneſt con- " dition. Reader, muſt not a man's mind be ex- " tremely corrupted by hereſy, to paſs ſo odious a " judgment on a Pope, who was commendable for his " ſingular innocence ?

[*F*] *He had received from the Sultan . . . . the head of the ſpear, with which our Lord's ſide had been pierced.*] Bajazet II dreading his brother, even after he had obliged him to retire to Rhodes, tried all poſſible means to perſuade the Grand Maſter, Peter d'Aubuſſon, to deliver him up to him, or at leaſt to prevent him from having any correſpondence with the Turks. The Grand-Maſter engaged himſelf upon very advantageous terms to have him well guarded. The articles of this agreement were ſigned December 8, 1482 (28). He ſuffered him to go into France ſome time after, and conſented at laſt that Innocent VIII ſhould have him in his power, and receive the money which Bajazet paid (29). He obtained a Cardinal's cap as a reward for it, and took the precaution to ſhelter himſelf under the authority of the King of France ; for it was the French Court that delivered the Turkiſh Prince into the hands of the Pope's Embaſſadors in the year 1488 (30). Bajazet had made the King of France very conſiderable offers, " only to prevail upon him to keep " the young Prince in his own Kingdom in ſafe cuſ- " tody, ſo that it might not be in his power to make " his eſcape, to return into his own country, and be- " gin a new war there. Theſe offers were, that he " would give him all the relics of God our Creator, " of the Apoſtles, of the male and female Saints, " which his late father Mahomet had met with at " Conſtantinople, when he took that city, and in all " the other cities which he had conquered from the " Chriſtians ; he repeated the ſame offers, which he " had already made to the Grand-Maſter of Rhodes, " namely, that he would do his beſt endeavours to " conquer the Holy Land, and to deliver it up to the " King ; he offered him alſo a very conſiderable pen- " ſion for his maintenance (31)." Bajazet's Letter came too late : it had already been promiſed to commit his brother to the care and keeping of Innocent VIII. As ſoon as he was acquainted with this, he wrote to the Pope, *and endeavoured to prevail upon him by preſents, and particularly by offering him the head of the ſpear, which had pierced the ſide of our Lord, which he had already offered to the Grand-Maſter, and he aſſured him, that he would punctually pay him* 40000 *ducats yearly, on condition that he would not let him go away for whatſoever pretence it might be* (32). Volaterranus mentions this ; it is proper to tranſcribe the whole paſſage : the reader will meet with other particulars in it, he will ſee, that Innocent VIII was buried near the ſhrine in which was contained the head of the ſpear found at Antioch at the time of the cruſades (33).

Sepultus

(19) It is the 38th of the 1ſt book, pag. 124. of the edition publiſhed at Amſterdam in the year 1689.

(*) Marcus Marullus *Spalatinus.*

(20) Coeffeteau, *Reponſe au Myſtére d'Iniquité*, pag. 1209.

(21) Rivet, *Remarques ſur la Réponſe au Myſtére d'Iniquite*, pag. 627.

(22) That is to ſay the verſes which he confeſſed were written by Marullus.

(23) Volaterran. lib. 22. pag. 821.

(24) Idem, ibid. pag. 820.

(25) The Sieur de Rocolles, in pag. 123. of his *Vie du Sultan Gemes*, ſays that *he waited on an Officer of Alfonſus's Court* ; and in the next page that he *had been a footman in his youth.*

(26) Du Pleſſis Mornai, *Myſtere d'Iniquite*, pag. 558.

(27) Coeffeteau, *Reponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquite*, pag. 1208.

(28) *See* Rocolles, *Vie du Sultan Gemes*, p. 91.

(29) Bajazet paid 40000 ducats yearly, beſides 35000 for his brother's maintenance. Ibid. pag. 92.

(30) Ibid. pag. 126.

(31) Rocolles, *Vie du Sultan Gemes*, pag. 127, 128.

(32) Ibid. pag. 142.

(33) See the *Hiſtoire des Croiſades*, written by the Jeſuit Maimbourg, lib. 2. pag. 178, &c. of the Dutch edition, under the year 1089.

(b) *Taken from* Volaterran. lib. 22. pag. m. 820, *& ſeq.*

It is reported, that the title which had been put on the croſs was found at Rome under his reign (*b*). See in Father Gretſer how the Roman Catholics endeavour to anſwer the objections that are urged to prove that this title is ſpurious (*c*).

(c) Gretſer, *Exam Myſterii Pleſſæani*, pag. 549, *& ult.*

Sepultus in Baſilica Petri æreo monumento juxta arcam ab eo deſignatam, in qua ferrum haſtæ conditur quod latus dominicum perfodit. Hoc ſiquidem olim apud ædem ſancti Andreæ Antiochia repertum, capta jam civitate, Bohemundus in prælio corripiens, arcem quæ expugnari non poterat illico cepit, ſimul & hoſtium L. *milia prodigioſe trucidavit. Inde Conſtantinopolim dono imperatori advectum. Poſtremo Turca illi ſuccedens, Innocentio ut eum fratris captivi cauſa leniret, pro munere miſerat* (34). i. e. "He is buried in St. Peter's church, under a braſs "tomb, near the ſhrine which he had appointed, and "in which is contained the head of the ſpear, which "pierced our Lord's ſide. It had been formerly found "in St. Andrew's church at Antioch, and that city "being taken, Boemundus ſeized upon this relic du-"ring the battle, upon which the fort, which till then "could not be maſtered, was immediately taken, and "50000 men were ſlain by Boemundus. This relic "was carried thence to Conſtantinople, the Emperor "having made a preſent of it to that city. The Turk "ſucceeding him afterwards, ſent it as a preſent to "Innocent, with a deſign to draw him over to his "intereſt, on account of his brother who was Inno-"cent's priſoner." See the article VIGERIUS (35).

(94) Volaterran. lib. 22. pag. 821, 822.

(35) Remark [*A*].

INNOCENT XI, created Pope September the 21ſt 1676, was of Como in Lombardy; his name was Benedict Odeſchalchi, as you may ſee in Moreri's Dictionary, where you will alſo meet with ſeveral other particulars, which for that reaſon I ſhall omit here. He bore arms in his youth [*A*]; and left them afterwards to enter into the Eccleſiaſtical State. He went to ſtudy at Naples, where he commenced Doctor; after which he retired to Rome, under Pope Urban VIII, who appointed him firſt Apoſtolic Secretary. He acquitted himſelf ſo well of that employment, that he was promoted to that of Preſident of the Apoſtolic Chamber, and then to that of Apoſtolic Commiſſary, and Governor of the *Marca di Roma*. He was made a Cardinal March the 6th 1645, and ſoon after he was ſent Legate to Ferrara, and then promoted to the Biſhopric of Novara (*a*). The French reported that his liberality and court artifices procured him the Cardinal's Cap, by Donna Olympia's credit [*B*]; but they muſt confeſs that he appeared to have a great averſion for a voluptuous life. He was a man of ſtrict morals, and had the reputation of a religious man. He favoured the Janſeniſts much more than his predeceſſors had done; which made the Janſeniſts adhere to the cauſe of the Pope with more zeal than they had done before [*C*]. He gave offence to an infinite number of perſons, by

(a) Taken from a piece containing but 16 pages in 4to, and intitled, *La Vie d'Innocent XI, Pape de Rome, écrite par D. G. B. P. à l'Illuſtre Seigneur le Baron Giovannelli, Couſin de ſa Sainctété.*

[*A*] *He bore arms in his youth.*] Here follows what we read in the pamphlet of ſixteen pages (1). "*Benedict* therefore had a mind in his younger days "to exert himſelf in the profeſſion of a ſoldier, for he "had a great deal of courage and bravery, though he "was not very tall; and as if he had foreſeen the "wars in which he was to be engaged in his old age, "he deſired chiefly to improve himſelf in the know-"ledge of the art of war, that he might afterwards "carry it on to an advantage in the church militant." The reaſoning in theſe words is not much better than the ſtyle; but this is out of the queſtion here. Let us only obſerve, that this author gives us to underſtand that his *Benedict* bore arms only in Poland. And yet other writers aſſert (2), that he alſo bore arms in Flanders under the Spaniards againſt the French, and that he was wounded there with a muſket-ſhot in his right ſhoulder, of which he continued indiſpoſed all his life-time. I have read in I know not what news-writer, that Innocent XI's indignation againſt France was owing to an affront he received from a certain Frenchman in the army, and which Benedict Odeſchalchi ſuffered to go unpuniſhed, but of which he revenged himſelf on the whole French nation, when he came to be Pope.

(1) See the title of it in the margin of the text of this article, quotation (*a*).

(2) *Mercure Galant*, fur Auguſt 1689.

[*B*] *His liberality and court-artifices procured him the Cardinal's cap, by Donna Olympia's credit.*] See the *Mercure Galant* (3); you will find there, that our Benedict Odeſchalchi, who was the ſon of a rich Banker of Como, uſed to game with Donna Olympia, and loſt his money deſignedly out of complaiſance to that woman. The mentioning of a Banker calls to my mind the following paſſage in the *Menagiana* (4). "Pope "Innocent XI was a Banker's ſon: he was elected "Pope on St. Matthew's-day; and that very day "Paſquin ſaid, *Invenerunt hominem ſedentem in te-"lonio.* i. e. "They have met with a man ſitting at "the receit of cuſtom."

(3) Ibid.

(4) Page 185. of the 1ſt edition printed in Holland.

We meet with the following paſſage in a ſmall pamphlet printed at Avignon for John Bramereau in the year 1652, which is intitled, *La juſte Balance des Cardinaux vivans.* i. e. "A true Balance of the Car-"dinals now living." "After the death of Urban VIII, "Odeſchalchi began to make his court to Donna O-"lympia, Innocent X's niece (5), and after he had "given her ſeveral entertainments, ſhe began to make "intereſt for him very zealouſly, particularly for an "action which this prelate did, and which deſerves to "be related. As he was gone to pay her a viſit, in "the beginning of the reign of her uncle (6) Pope "Innocent X, it happened that a Silver-ſmith came to "her houſe to ſhew her a very rich and beautiful ſilver "cheſt which he had to ſell. After ſhe had examined "it ſome time ſhe ſaid, in the preſence of Odeſchal-"chi and of ſeveral Lords, who heard her anſwer, "that *it was a beautiful piece of plate, but as ſhe "was a poor widow, ſhe could not go to the price of "it:* having ſaid this ſhe retired into her chamber. "Odeſchalchi called the Silver-ſmith immediately, "aſked him the price of that piece of plate, and "agreed with him to buy it for eight thouſand crowns, "after which, without more words, he ſent it with a "compliment to Donna Olympia, who ſeeing ſo fine a "preſent, wondered at this extraordinary action, and "went immediately to meet the Pope, and aſked him "the poſt of Clerk to the Chamber as a preſent for the "prelate, and afterwards a Cardinal's cap, which he "obtained alſo by Cardinal Palotta's interceſſion." I tranſcribe theſe words according to the copy which has been communicated to me (7). I have the ſame book in Italian; it is intitled *La giuſta Statera de' Porporati*, and was printed at Geneva in the year 1650. I have examined it, and met in it not only with the paſſage you have juſt now read, but alſo with ſome other particulars, namely, that our Benedict Odeſchalchi had paid his attendance to Don Barberini, in order to be promoted to the poſt of Clerk of the Chamber, that he had paid him the money that is required, and that nevertheleſs he could not compaſs his deſign; that he was a man of an indifferent underſtanding (8), and that though he had ſpent large ſums of money, yet he was a rich and liberal Cardinal; that when he was but a Biſhop, he loved to make parties of pleaſure, and was very fond of plays, and entertainments, but that he led a very retired life after he was a Cardinal.

(5) It ſhould have been ſiſter-in-law, for this is the ſenſe of the word *cognata*, which is in the Italian original.

(6) It ſhould be her *brother-in-law*.

(7) By Monſieur Pillardy, whom I have mentioned above, quotation (*e*) of the article GLEICHEN.

(8) *E ſogetto di mediocre intelligenza.*

[*C*] *The Janſeniſts adhered to the cauſe of the Popes with more zeal, than they had done before.*] This is what Monſieur Talon cenſures them for in the famous plea he made againſt Innocent XI, January 23, 1688. "It

by ſuppreſſing an office of the Immaculate Conception, and ſeveral Indulgences. None but the Janſeniſts were pleaſed with this in France. They diſperſed his two decrees, and added ſome remarks to them [*D*]. I do not believe that his prohibiting ſeverely to pay any honour to the name and bones of Anthony Cala [*E*] was generally approved. He ſhewed an inflexible obſtinacy in his conteſts with France, by which he convinced all the world, that perſons who pretend to a ſtrict morality, exceed all others when they deſign to revenge themſelves [*F*]. It is pretended that a voluptuous Pope, but who at the

(9) Talon, *Plaidoyer*, pag. 42. of the Dutch edition.

" It is a ſtrange thing, *ſays he* (9), that the Pope, " whoſe chief care ought to be to keep our faith un- " corrupted, and to prevent the ſpreading of new opi- " nions, ſhould not have ceaſed, ſince he is raiſed to " St. Peter's See, to keep a correſpondence with thoſe, " who publickly profeſs themſelves to be the followers " of Janſenius, whoſe doctrine all his predeceſſors " have condemned. He has loaded them with fa- " vours, he has made their elogies, he has declared " himſelf their protector; and this dangerous faction, " which during the ſpace of thirty years has omitted " nothing that could leſſen the authority of all the " ſpiritual and temporal ſuperiors, who would not " favour it, does now raiſe altars to the Pope, be- " cauſe he ſupports and encourages its cabal, which " would again have diſturbed the peace of the church, " had not its progreſs been ſtopped by the prudence " and indefatigable labours of a Prince, ſent by Hea- " ven to be the protector and defender of the faith." I do not think that any Janſeniſt ever undertook to write a vindication of the four propoſitions agreed upon by the French Clergy in the year 1682, againſt which the ſupporters of the Italian doctrines have exclaimed ſo loudly, and publiſhed ſo many books. If the ſame thing had happened under Pope Innocent X, or Alexander VII, it is certain that the Janſeniſts would have compoſed a thouſand volumes to vindicate the deciſions of the clergy, and to refute the writings of the Italians. The weakneſs of man appears in every thing; the rules of our conduct differ according to the times we live in, and as we happen to be well or ill diſpoſed towards ſome perſons. The ſame doctrines, which we ſpare out of gratitude towards a benefactor, are cenſured and exploded out of reſentment againſt an oppreſſor.

[*D*] . . *They diſperſed two of his decrees, and added ſome remarks to them.*] The one was given at Rome February the 17th 1678, and condemns the book intitled *Officio dell' immaculata concettione della Sanctiſſima Vergine noſtra Signora, approvato dal ſommo Pontefice Paolo V, il quale à chi devotamente lo recitarà concede indulgenza di cento giorni, come appariſce nel ſuo breve dato in Roma li x. Juglio M DC XV. in Milano per Franceſco Vigone.* i. e. " The Office of the Immaculate Conception of " the moſt bleſſed Virgin our Lady, approved by Pope " Paul V, who grants an Indulgence for an hundred " days, to thoſe who repeat it with devotion, as ap- " pears by his Brief dated from Rome July the 10th, " 1615. Printed at Milan, for Francis Vigone." The other decree was given at Rome March the 17th 1678, and abrogates a great many indulgences. The Janſeniſts took care to have theſe two decrees ſecretly printed in France, and added ſome rules to it, by which the readers might know how uſeful they were; they are made up of a collection of paſſages. It will be of ſome uſe to tranſcribe here the reflection of a Jeſuit concerning the eager zeal of the Janſeniſts with regard to theſe decrees, and concerning the little account they make of the Pope's conſtitutions againſt Janſenius. " Some years ago they put into the *Index* at Rome an " Italian book printed at Milan, which contains the " office of the Immaculate Conception of the Mo- " ther of God. The prohibition did not relate to the " office of the Conception, which has been a long " while known and admitted in the Church, and " which has been again approved ſince by Innocent XI. " But this decree related to ſome other matters which " are either falſe or raſh, and which happened to be " printed with the ſame book: and beſides the decree " was made for Italy only, and not for the reſt of the " world, where this little book could not certainly " be publiſhed. And yet this decree was immediately " printed and publiſhed both in Latin and in French " by ſome perſons of that party (the Janſeniſts) with " a rhapſody of paſſages which were nothing to the " purpoſe, and deſigned only to make it ſwell to the " bulk of a conſiderable pamphlet. It was diſperſed, " I ſay, through all France and the Low-Countries " with as much care and diligence as though it had " been a Canon of ſome General Council upon a moſt " important doctrine of religion; and it is well known " to what an exceſs ſome of their Ghoſtly Fathers " carried their inconſiderate zeal. Thus you ſee how " far theſe Gentlemen know how to ſubmit to the or- " ders of the Church, when they pleaſe. Would not " this make us think, that as ſoon as the Pope (10) " ſhould prohibit the tranſlation of the New Teſta- " ment publiſhed at Mons, they would no longer diſ- " perſe it nor recommend it to the world? And had we " not reaſon to expect, that they would do no leſs " with regard to his new decree in favour of the office " of the Conception, than they had done for the firſt, " which I have mentioned? But we ſhould have been " very much diſappointed in our expectations. They " act upon other principles with regard to thoſe things, " in which they are themſelves concerned (11).

(10) He means *Innocent XI*, who had condemned the *Tranſlation* printed at Mons.

(11) Father Le Tellier, *Obſervations ſur la nouvelle Defenſe de la Verſion de Mons*, pag. 422.

[*F*] *He prohibited the paying any honour to the name and bones of Anthony Cala.*] This man had been a long time venerated as an holy Hermit in the Kingdom of Naples; but Innocent XI in the year 1680 commanded to ſuppreſs all that worſhip, and ordered to carry Anthony Cala's bones into a common Church-yard, to be there mixed with the other bones, and never to be carried off again. He alſo ordered to remove his images, clothes and other relicks from all conſecrated places (12). Father Papebroch quotes this inſtance to juſtify the liberty he took to ſuppreſs ſome ſaints.

(12) See Father Papebroch, in *Reſponſ. ad Exhibitionem Error*, pag. 18, 19.

[*F*] *When they deſign to revenge themſelves.*] The Court of France under Lewis XIV and the Court of Rome under Innocent XI were acted upon by the ſame ſpirit of haughtineſs and inflexibility, and have thus preſented all Europe with a long ſcene in which they tried which of the two would gain the greateſt reputation with regard to ſuch a ſpirit. They vied with each other who would be moſt openly revenged. But at leaſt the civil world was obliged to yield to the Church. The Pope ſhewed that it is not without reaſon he ſtyles himſelf the Vicegerent of God upon Earth; of God, I ſay, who keeps to himſelf the right of revenge (13), and declares that *to him belongeth vengeance*, and that he will take it. The Pope as Lieutenant of the God of Vengeance, has admirably well aſſerted the rights and privileges of that noble Lieutenancy. I do not admit of the thoughts of thoſe ſatyrical wits, who pretend that in matters of revenge laymen are but unſkilful beginners, if compared with Clergymen; but there have been few controverſies between the civil world and the Church, in which the Popes have not at laſt gained the upperhand, and been much beyond the laymen in point of revenge. They are the Vicars and Proxies of God, who has kept vengeance to himſelf; which is ſaying all that can be ſaid. If my memory does not fail me, the firſt ſtep, which exaſperated the Court of France, was the protection which Innocent XI granted to ſome French Biſhops (14) who were perſecuted becauſe they would not conſent to the extenſion of the *Regale*. The reaſon why the Court of France was ſo angry, was that the briefs of Pope Innocent XI (15) in behalf of theſe Biſhops contained very ſtrong and ſmart expreſſions. When they had obſerved this haughtineſs, they reſolved to make uſe of the moſt effectual means to vex him. The French Clergy delivered (16) their opinions concerning the power of the Church, and drew up four propoſitions upon this ſubject, by which the Pope's power is confined within ſuch narrow bounds, as are very odious to the Court of Rome. But after all this was no new doctrine; the Clergy determined nothing but what was agreeable to the maxims of the Church of France, and what the Sorbonne had taught an hundred times over. Men might therefore have imagined that any other Pope would not have taken offence at it, and that

(13) Deut. xxxii. 35.

(14) See a *Catalogue of ſeveral other reaſons of diſcontent which the Court of France had, and which were poſterior to this, in the Anſwer to the Marquiſs of Lowardin's Proteſt*, pag. m 97, &c.

(15) Directed to the King of France in the year 1678, and in the year 1679.

(16) In the year 1682.

the ſame time had known how to make his own private paſſions a ſacrifice to political views, had been much more uſeful to the Roman Catholic party [G]. The French are very

Innocent XI would perhaps conceal his grief; but in order to put him under a neceſſity to confeſs, that he had received a very great affront, the determinations of the Clergy were propoſed, by the King's authority, as a doctrine, which no perſon whatſoever would be ſuffered to contradict, and which all they, who deſigned to take their degrees in Divinity or in the Canon Law, and commence Doctors, would be obliged to hold and maintain. Thoſe propoſitions were aſſerted by the Rector of the Univerſity of Paris in a public diſputation, at which the Archbiſhop of Paris preſided, and in which the diſputant was in all his formalities as Rector, that it might appear it was the whole body of the Univerſity, repreſented by the head of it, that aſſerted theſe propoſitions. The Theſis was poſted up at the door of the Nuncio's houſe, in ſpite of all the oppoſition he pretended to make againſt it. The Pope ſhewed his reſentment openly againſt the Clergy; he made a ſevere anſwer to a letter he received from them, and would never grant bulls to thoſe who had been preſent at the Aſſembly held in the year 1682. He abrogated all the immunities of the French Embaſſador, as well as thoſe of the others, and he would never receive the Marqueſs de Lavardin who was ſent Embaſſador to him (27). Hereupon France did a bold action: that Embaſſador entered Rome in a manner ſword in hand, and having taken poſſeſſion of his privileged quarters, he cauſed it to be guarded as though it had been a ſtrong hold (18). The Pope, without ſhewing any concern, revenged himſelf in a ſurpriſing manner; he ſhut up St. Lewis's Church, becauſe the Marquiſs of Lavardin had been ſuffered to come into it; he excommunicated that Embaſſador, and perſiſted in his reſolution not to acknowledge him as ſuch.

(17) In the year 1687.

(18) See Mr. Leti, *Monarchie Univerſelle*, Part 2. pag. 346, &c.

Things were in that paſs, when his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, obſerving that the continuing of theſe diſputes would be detrimental to him, *ſent ſecretly to Rome a perſon whom he could truſt, and to whom he gave a credential letter written in his own hand for his Holineſs* (19). This perſon was to acquaint the Pope with the King's *moſt ſecret intentions*. But the Pope would neither receive his letter, nor give him audience. Whereupon the King wrote another letter to Cardinal d'Etrée, which was communicated to the other Cardinals. His Majeſty complained therein of the Pope's behaviour, and ſhewed particularly what prejudice all Europe and the Church might receive from what the Pope had already done againſt the Cardinal of Furſtenberg. To this partiality he aſcribed the meaſures that were taking againſt King James in favour of the Proteſtant Religion, &c. This letter being diſperſed through the city of Rome was perhaps a new reaſon, which determined the Pope to ſupport more and more the cauſe of Prince Clement of Bavaria againſt the Cardinal of Furſtenberg. Now by giving this Cardinal the excluſion he revenged himſelf fully of all the affronts he might have received: he robbed the French King of the advantage of being the ſole arbiter of peace and war, and forced him, whether he would or not, to engage in a war againſt all Europe. He perceived very ſoon what were the conſequences of this conduct; and though he did not live long after ſo dreadful a revenge, yet he lived long enough to have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing France attacked by ſo many enemies, that it was a general opinion ſhe muſt abſolutely ſink and be undone at the very firſt campaign. Who will ſay then that the Church did not get the victory over the civil world in a long trial who ſhould better be revenged? If Alexander the Great had been a Roman Catholic, he had found it a very difficult matter in a ſtruggle with the Pope to make him ſay the words which he forced from the Prieſteſs of Delphos; *My Son, thou art invincible.* Delphos invifit, Apollinem de eventu belli, quod moliebatur, conſulturus. Sed Virgo fatidica negabat, *per eos dies adiri deum fas eſſe*; donec ipſe eo profectus, vi conripuit virginem, & ad templum traxit. Sed quum inter eundum illa patrium morem pertinacia regis victum reputans, exclamaſſet, *invictus es, fili*; *accipere omen* dixit: *nec alio oraculo ſibi opus eſſe* (20). "Alexander went to Delphos to conſult Apollo about "the war which he deſigned to undertake. But the "Virgin Propheteſs told him it was not lawful to "conſult the God in thoſe days. Wherefore he went "thither himſelf, took her by force, and dragged "her to the temple. As they went along ſhe conſi- "dered that that King's obſtinacy made her break "through the cuſtom of their anceſtors, and ſhe cried "out, *My ſon, thou art invincible. I accept the omen,* "ſaid he, *nor have I occaſion for any other oracle.*"

(19) *Lettre du Roy de France au Cardinal de Etrée*, dated Sept. 6, 1688. It is inſerted in Mr. Leti's *Monarchie Univerſelle*, Part 2. pag. 447, &c.

(20) Freinſhem. *Supplem. in Q. Curtium*, lib. 1. cap. 11. num. 16. ex Plutarcho.

[G] *It is pretended that a voluptuous Pope . . . had been much more uſeful to the Roman Catholic Party.*] They who do not love this Pope aſſert that he was ſufficiently acquainted with the general condition of Europe to know, that conſidering the ſituation affairs were in, when the Cardinal of Furſtenberg claimed the Electorate of Cologne, it was in his power to ſave the King of England, and to furniſh France with the neceſſary means to execute whatever ſhe would think fit to undertake; for with the aſſiſtance of ſuch a Cardinal, who would have inherited the whole eſtate of his predeceſſor, the French King would have tied up the hands of all the German Princes, who were ill-affected to him. They had experienced this in the year 1684, when France deſired a truce. Now it is certain that the victories which France might have gained would have extended the Roman Catholic Religion farther, and ſtrangely weakened the Proteſtant intereſt. Why then was the Pope ſo much againſt that Cardinal? It is, ſay ſome, becauſe he hated the King of France, and choſe to ſacrifice the intereſt of the Roman Religion rather than deprive himſelf of the pleaſure he took in vexing his enemy, and renounce the ſweets of revenge. The ſame perſons ſay that he knew very well there was an alliance upon the carpet, of which the Proteſtants were to have the chief direction, and which might become capable of oppreſſing the Roman Catholic Religion throughout all Europe: and that the moſt effectual method that could be imagined to prevent that alliance, was to confer the whole eſtate of the late Elector of Cologne on a Cardinal, who would never enter into a confederacy with heretical Princes. Why then did Innocent XI oppoſe this Cardinal's intereſt ſo ſtrongly? It is, ſay they, becauſe he was overjoyed to have an opportunity to expoſe the French Monarchy to the greateſt dangers; and if he could but revenge himſelf of the Court of France, he was very little concerned for the detriment which Popery might receive. This is what his enemies ſaid; we ought not to lay too much ſtreſs upon it; their anger muſt make us miſtruſt their conjectures. It is perhaps much more reaſonable to think that Innocent XI, applying himſelf very much to the reformation of manners, and to religious exerciſes, was not capable either of knowing what was really advantageous to his religion, or of preferring what is profitable to what is honeſt. Now he imagined it was but juſt to prefer the Elector of Bavaria's brother before the Cardinal who claimed the Electorate. Some apply to Innocent XI what was ſaid of Hadrian VI. He was an honeſt man, but unacquainted with the intrigues of politicians (21). It was a great happineſs for the Proteſtants, that the See of Rome in the year 1688 happened to be filled by a Pope, who was either unacquainted with his own true intereſt, or too obſtinate to improve the opportunities he met with, when they chanced to claſh with his own private paſſions.

(21) See the remark [Q] of the article of HADRIAN VI.

But after all, who could prove that Innocent XI did not in ſome reſpects follow the rules of a wiſe policy? Has the Court of Rome nothing to dread from the exceſſive power even of thoſe Princes, who are moſt bitterly exaſperated againſt the ſects that are ſeparated from the Catholic Church? Did not Sixtus V, whoſe knowlege and ſkill in politics were ſo great, chooſe rather to ſupport Henry IV, and Queen Elizabeth, than to ſuffer the King of Spain to enlarge his dominions too much (22)? Who can aſſure us that Innocent XI did not act from the ſame principles, when he took meaſures that were ſo much againſt the true intereſt of France, and ſo profitable to the Proteſtants? One thing however ſeems to be very certain; namely, that the anonymous author of a pamphlet (23) intitled, *Le Reproche extravagant, où l'on fait voir qu'on ne peut ſans*

(22) See the remark [F] of the article ELIZABETH.

(23) Printed at Cologne for Peter Marteau in the year 1689.

very angry with him, and it is ſaid, that this will be a great help to promote his canonization [*H*]. He had no learning [*I*]. He died Auguſt the 12th 1689. The French King's letter to the Conclave, though in a few words, ſignifies much againſt the deceaſed Pope's memory [*K*].

I have met with a paſſage in the Valeſiana, which I think deſerves to be tranſcribed here at length [*L*]. I ſhall alſo quote ſome of Monſieur La Fontaine's verſes, which ſhew

ſans folie reprocher au Pape la ruïne de la Religion Catholique en Angleterre; i. e. "The Impertinent Charge, "in which it is proved that it is a folly to charge the "Pope with the ruin of the Catholic Religion in "England;" it is certain, I ſay, that this author is in the wrong to aſſert that ſuch a charge is impertinent.

[*H*] *The anger of the French againſt him ... will be a great help to promote his canonization.*] It is not long ſince (24) the news-writers in Holland have aſſerted in the pamphlets, which they publiſh monthly, that there are a great many miracles performed at this Pope's tomb, which is a great mortification to the court of France; and that the enemies of that Court on purpoſe to vex it, will probably endeavour to have this Pope canonized. Here then we ſhall have a Saint made ſo out of ſpite. Prudence requires, generally ſpeaking, that we ſhould adhere to the ſtrongeſt party; but this maxim proves ſometimes falſe. There are ſome Princes who owe their riſe only to the crafty policy with which they declared themſelves very early irreconcileable enemies to a powerful ſtate, which had made itſelf dreadful to all its neighbours; for all thoſe, who dread ſuch a ſtate, willingly promote the intereſt of this open enemy, and furniſh him, as much as lies in their power, with all that he deſires. It is not neceſſary to go back as far as the time of the antient heathens, in order to meet with inſtances of Princes, who ruined themſelves to all intents and purpoſes, by chooſing to enter into an alliance with their moſt powerful neighbour, rather than with any other ſtate (25). A private man, who from a proſperous condition comes to misfortunes, will no longer ſee about him that croud of friends which ſurrounded him before; they all forſake him and leave him alone.

(24) I wrote this in the beginning of Sept. 1695.

(25) Compare this with what is obſerved in the remark [*X*] of the article BELLARMIN.

Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos;
Tempora ſi fuerint nubila, ſolus eris (26).

(26) Ovid. *Triſt.* lib. 1. Eleg. ix. 5.

"In happy days a thouſand friends you'll find:
"If fortune turns, they'll turn all with the wind."

Sovereign Princes meet with a quite contrary fate; for if they become too powerful, all their neighbours forſake them, and confederate againſt them. It is certain that Innocent XI got an infinite number of friends and admirers, only becauſe he endeavoured to diſappoint the deſigns of France as much as lay in his power. This will raiſe his reputation, and make people believe his pretended miracles the eaſier.

[*I*] *He had no learning.*] It is ſaid, that his Secretaries were obliged to explain to him in Italian what they wrote for him in Latin. See hereupon the *Menagiana*, where you will meet with this paſſage (27). "Favoriti, the late Pope's Secretary, uſed to read to "him the briefs which he had drawn up, and to explain them to him in Italian, upon which the Pope "uſed to weep for joy, and to ſay, *coſa diranno di noi "nella poſterita, quando vederanno coſi bella latinita "noſtra*. i. e. What will poſterity ſay of us, when "they ſhall ſee our fine Latin ſtile?"

(27) In pag. 52. of the firſt Dutch edition. It ſeems as though the Printers had omitted a word or two in the Italian paſſage.

[*K*] *The French King's letter to the Conclave, though in a few words, ſignifies much againſt the deceaſed Pope's memory.*] It begins thus (28): *Your letter dated the 13th Inſtant has acquainted us with the death of our holy Father Innocent XI, and we have good reaſons to believe that it pleaſed God Almighty to take him at a time when all the forces of hereſy united together ſeem to contrive the ruin of our religion, to which the diviſion of the Catholic Princes does not contribute a little.* This is ſaying in a few words, which ſeem to favour of nothing but moderation, that the preſent circumſtances the Church was in requiring a Pope heartily concerned for her intereſt, God took Innocent XI out of this world, becauſe he was either ill-affected to the Church, or incapable to promote her intereſt.

(28) The *Letter* is dated from Verſailles Auguſt 24, 1689. It is inſerted entire in the *Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique*, for October 1689, pag. 1026.

[*L*] *I have met with a paſſage in the Valeſiana, which I think deſerves to be tranſcribed here at length.*] "It is pity, *ſaid the learned Hadrian Valeſius* (29), "that Innocent XI ſuffered himſelf to be continually "beſet by the enemies of France. How many ad"vantages would he not have procured to the Chriſtian "Religion, had he been ſupported by perſons as well "affected as himſelf? What would he not have "reſtored? What would he not have reformed? What "great expectations did he not raiſe in us, when he "ſuppreſſed the Office of the Conception, as Cle"ment IX had done that of Slavery? What would he "not have done, had he been told of the impertinent "devotion of that Monk, whom M.... mentioned "to us the other day? Would he not have ſeverely "cenſured and condemned thoſe ſuperiors, who ſuffer "one of their Fanatics to publiſh Collects or Prayers "directed ſeparately to every part of the Holy Vir"gin's body (30)? Is not ſuch an impertinence ſhock"ing, and repugnant to religion, modeſty, and good "ſenſe. Innocent XI would not have ſtopt there; "he would have reſtrained the luxury and extrava"gancy of the women. What obligations would he "not have laid upon a great many huſbands, had his "deſign ſucceeded? I have it alſo from very good "hands, that he would have ſuppreſſed the privileged "altars, which are a very great abuſe. And indeed, "can ſome indulgences granted to an altar make the "maſs that is ſaid at it more effectual? And does "Chriſt's blood, which is of an unvaluable price, "want ſome additional merit, to be more acceptable "to God, and more prevailing with him in favour of "thoſe, who are prayed for? They are only Men"dicant Friars that invented thoſe things, to entice "more cuſtomers to their Churches."

(29) Valeſiana, pag. 45, & *ſeq.* edit. de Hollande.

(30) Monſieur Baudelot aſſerts in page 183. of his *Ptolomée Auletes*, that he has ſeen the printed book which contains thoſe *Collects* or *Prayers*.

A DIGRESSION concerning the reformation of luxury.

What Valeſius obſerves here, concerning the deſign *of reſtraining the luxury and extravagancies of the women*, puts me in mind of the great zeal which Innocent XI expreſſed againſt the women who uſed to ſhew their breaſts. "This Pope not being able to per"ſuade the fair ſex not to ſhew their breaſts and arms, "notwithſtanding ſeveral powerful motives he urged "for that purpoſe; and being even told that the great "conſternation under which all Italy laboured, when the "Turks were beſieging Vienna, could not put a ſtop "to this exceſs, reſolved finally to try the laſt remedy, "namely excommunication. He publiſhed a decree "November the 30th 1683, by which *all maidens "and women* were commanded *to cover their ſhoulders "and breaſt to their neck, and their arms to the wriſt, "with ſome thick and untranſparent ſtuff*; they that "did not obey this order within ſix days after its pub"lication, were to be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, ſo "as that the Pope alone had power to abſolve them, "unleſs they were at the point of death; for it was "therein declared, that *thoſe Father Confeſſors, who "would pretend to abſolve them from this excommunica"tion, would fall under it themſelves, and ſuffer all "ſuch ſpiritual and temporal puniſhments as* his Holi"neſs *would think fit: the ſame ſpiritual puniſhments "were to be inflicted on the fathers, huſbands, maſters, "and other heads of families, by whoſe leave or con"nivance the daughters and wives ſhould offend againſt "this decree* (31)." I do not know what ſucceſs theſe terrible threatenings had; but I imagine, that as they had been revived from time to time, under Innocent XI's predeceſſors (32), there was occaſion to revive them alſo ſome time after. This is the fate of all ſumptuary laws; luxury, with a deſire of letting off one's beauty, will ſoon break through the moſt wiſe regulations. This is a diſorder to which we may apply what a grave hiſtorian obſerved with regard to Aſtrologers: they were continually commanded to leave Rome, and they never left it (33). King Lewis XIV has lately (34) publiſhed very good edicts againſt luxury. If he can force his ſubjects to obey him in this reſpect, it will be a more wonderful thing than the

(31) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for May 1686, article 2. pag. 495.

(32) Ibid. pag. 497.

(33) *Genus hominum ... quod in Civitate noſtra & vetabitur ſemper & retinebitur.* Tacit. *Hiſt.* lib. 1. cap. 22.

(34) I write this in May 1700.

(b) Concerning the Orations of this Orator, see *Act. Erud. Lipſiæ* in the 3d vol. of the *Supplements*, pag. 43, &c.

ſhew that people wrote very freely at Paris againſt Innocent XI [*M*]. You will meet with a beautiful elogium of this Pope in Signor Malagonelli's ſeventh Oration (*b*). It is written in an admirable Latin ſtyle, and worthy of ancient Rome.

power he had to leſſen conſiderably the madneſs of fighting duels throughout his whole Kingdom. The news-writers have told us lately, that the Lawyers belonging to the Parliament of Paris have promiſed they would take care to have luxury ſuppreſſed in their families. We ſhall know in time whether theſe two united powers, that of the ſovereign, and that of the huſband, will be able to compleat a laſting reformation. It was notified to theſe Gentlemen (the Lawyers) that *as ſome* (25) *of thoſe women* (36) *who chiefly ſet up for Ladies of Quality, would perhaps be unwilling to retrench ſomething both of their rich garments, furniture, coaches, &c. and of the uſeleſs number of their chamber-maids, imbroiderers, tapeſtry-makers, and footmen, that wait upon them; it had been reſolved to put a ſtop to this licentiouſneſs, which does ſo little become the condition and quality of thoſe Ladies* .... (37); *it being the King's intention that they obey and reform immediately, without any diſtinction of deſcent or quality, and firſt of all ceaſe to have the trains of their gowns carried behind them. It is added* that two celebrated Lawyers (38) were commanded to acquaint their brethren with this reſolution; who *being overjoyed at it expreſſed their gratitude, and reſolved unanimouſly to give thanks to the firſt Preſident for procuring them an order which was ſo juſt, ſo neceſſary, and ſo worthy of the King's wiſdom; and to aſſure him at the ſame time, that they would take care to have it obeyed, each of them in their own families, with the utmoſt exactneſs; for they looked upon it as the moſt effectual method to ſpare him a thouſand vexations, and to prevent the fruits they might reap from their painful labours, from being made a ſacrifice to the boundleſs ambition of their wives.* It is very probable that they ſpoke ſincerely; for after all their weighty, noble, and profitable employments are attended with a great deal of trouble. They envy ſometimes the happineſs of a country-man, who is at liberty to ſleep all the night long.

(35) See the *Lettres Hiſtoriques*, for May 1700, pag. 574.

(36) That is to ſay the Lawyers wives.

(37) *Lettres Hiſtoriques*, for May 1700, pag. 575.

(38) Meſſieurs *Iſalin* and *Chardon*.

Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus,
Sub galli cantum conſultor ubi oſtia pulſat (32).

(39) Horat. Sat. 1. lib. 1. ver. 9.

" The Lawyer waked, and riſing with the ſun,
" Cries, happy Farmers that can ſleep till noon."
Creech.

Are they not in the right to wiſh, that a profit, which coſt them ſo much pains, ſhould not be ſquandered away in ſuperfluous expences, and that the ſovereign power ſhould afford them a method to prevent it, ſince they have not the courage to do it themſelves without ſuch an authority?

[*M*] *I ſhall quote ſome verſes of Monſieur de la Fontaine, which ſhew that people wrote very freely at Paris againſt Innocent XI.*] There is amongſt his poſthumous works a Letter, ſome part of which I ſhall here tranſcribe.

Pour nouvelles de l'Italie,
Le Pape empire tous les jours,
Expliquez, Seigneur (40), *ce diſcours*
Du coſté de la maladie.
Car aucun Saint-Pere autrement
Ne doit empirer nullement.
Celui-cy veritablement
N'eſt envers nous ni Saint ni Pere.
Nos ſoins de l'erreur triomphans
Ne font qu'augmenter ſa colere
Contre l'Aîné de ſes Enfans.
Sa ſanté toûjours diminuë,
L'avenir m'eſt choſe inconnuë,
Et je n'en parle qu'à tâtons;
Mais les gens de delà les Monts
Auront bien-tôt pleuré cet homme;
Car il deffend les Jannetons,
Choſe très-neceſſaire à Rome (41).

(40) He ſpeaks to the *Prince of Conti*.

(41) *See* Fontaine, *Oeuvres Poſtumes* p. 182. of the edition printed in Holland.

" If you deſire to hear ſome news from Italy, I ſhall " tell you that the Pope grows worſe and worſe every " day: Your Highneſs muſt underſtand this of his " health; for otherwiſe an holy Father ought never " to grow worſe. Indeed this Pope is neither holy " nor a father with reſpect to us: the care we take " to triumph over Hereſy, does only exaſperate him " more againſt the eldeſt of his children (*). He de- " cays daily in his health. I am perfectly ignorant " of future events, and ſpeak of them only by gueſs: " but I dare ſay, that the people beyond the Alps " will ſoon have done lamenting this man, for he will " not ſuffer them to keep company with Ladies of " pleaſure, which yet is a very neceſſary thing at " Rome."

(*) The King of France, who is ſtiled *the eldeſt ſon of the Church*.

Here follow ſome lines which are more free ſtill, they are tranſcribed from the ſame work.

Je vois ces Heros retournez
Chez eux avec un pied de nez.
- - - - - -
Et tout le parti Proteſtant
Du Saint Pere en vain très-content.
J'ay là deſſus un conte à faire.
L'autre jour touchant cette affaire
Le Chevalier de Sillery,
En parlant de ce Pape-cy,
Souhaitoit pour la paix publique,
Qu'il ſe fuſt rendu Catholique,
Et le Roy JAQUES *Huguenot.*
Je trouve aſſez bon ce bon mot (42).

(42) Ibid. pag. 171.

" I ſee theſe heroes now returned home very much " diſappointed .... and the whole Proteſtant party " very well pleaſed with the Holy Father, though to " no purpoſe: whereupon I have a little ſtory to tell " you. The Knight de Sillery ſpeaking of this af- " fair the other day, and mentioning this Pope, ſaid " he wiſhed, for the ſake of the public tranquillity, " that the Pope had turned Catholic, and King James " Proteſtant. I think this a pretty good jeſt."

Monſieur Racine (43) took off the edge of this jeſt, and wrapped it up much better. But ſtill it was a ſmart jeſt.

(45) See the Prologue to his tragedy of *Eſther*. It is mentioned in the *Avis important aux Refugiez* pag. 343.

Monſieur de Vizé ſays a great many things to the diſgrace of Innocent XI, both in his *Mercure Galant*, and in his volumes upon the tranſactions of thoſe times.

JOACHIM, St. Ann's huſband [*A*], and father of the Virgin Mary. He continued a long while with his ſpouſe without having any children, and for that reaſon his oblations were rejected by the High-Prieſt Iſſachar, who alſo reproached him ſeverely with his infecundity. Joachim was ſo aſhamed to be treated after this manner by the High-Prieſt, that he had not the courage to return home. He went and hid himſelf in the country amongſt the ſhepherds. He was comforted there by an Angel, who told him that he would have a daughter named Mary by his wife Ann. This Angel went immediately to acquaint Ann with the ſame news, who was crying bitterly, not knowing what was become of her huſband. This piece of news, which the Angel told her, was doubtleſs

(1) Joan. Damaſ. *de Fide Orthod.* l. 4. cap. 15. *apud* Baron. *in Apparatu*, num. 42.

[*A*] *Joachim St. Ann's huſband.*] His genealogy was as follows. Levi of the tribe of David was Panther's father, who was Barpanther's father, and Joachim was the ſon of this laſt (1). Some have aſſerted that he was not deſcended from David, but from the tribe of Levi, and that he was a Prieſt; upon which the Manichees grounded an objection, which St. Auguſtin has examined (2).

(2) *Contra Fauſtum Manicb.* lib. 23. cap. 9. See the remark [*D*] quotation (11).

doubtleſs very acceptable to her, for ſhe was very ſorry that ſhe had no children [*B*]. Several perſons imagine, that only a kiſs from her huſband made her pregnant; but others aſſert it was neceſſary to go the common way to work [*C*]; otherwiſe, ſay they, the birth of Jeſus Chriſt would not be ſo wonderful as we hold it to be. But what is really ſurpriſing is, that though we know nothing with certainty either of the names, or of the qualities, or of the hiſtory of the Virgin Mary's father and mother [*D*], yet all that

[*B*] *She was very ſorry that ſhe had no children.*] She was upon that account deprived of a certain honour, which, according to the laws, was paid to mothers. She had therefore her recourſe to God, and applied to him in extraordinary prayers, that ſhe might enjoy that honour. She entered into the moſt holy place, and made fervent application to God, repreſenting to him that ſhe had committed nothing againſt the law, and that therefore ſhe ought not to be deprived of the privileges which the law allowed to the women who had had children. Her prayer was heard. God gave her to underſtand that ſhe ſhould have children (3). St. Gregory of Nyſſa relates this ſtory, which he had read in an apocryphal work. They who know that none but the high-prieſt could enter into the moſt holy place, and that he was not to enter it but once a year, want no other proofs of the falſity of this ſtory. If St. Ann was taking meaſures on her ſide, her huſband was not behind hand with her: for he faſted forty days upon a mountain, in order to obtain from God the poſterity he wiſhed for (4). See St. Epiphanius's words in the following remark.

(3) Gregorius Nyſſenus, *Orat. in Natal. Domini, apud* Baron. *Apparat.* num. 44.

(4) Sophron. *apud* Rivet. *Apolog. pro ſanctiſſ. Maria*, cap. 3. *Oper.* tom. 3. pag. 606. col. 2.

[*C*] *Others aſſert it was neceſſary to go the common way to work.*] St. Bernard aſſerts that this is the opinion of the church. *Si licet*, ſays he (5), *loqui quod Eccleſia ſentit.* (*& verum ipſa ſentit*) *dico glorioſam de Spiritu Sancto concepiſſe, non autem conceptam fuiſſe: dico peperiſſe virginem, non tamen partam à virgine. Alioquin ubi erit prærogativa matris Domini qua ſingulariter dicitur exultare & munere prolis & integritate carnis, ſi tantundem dederis & matri ipſius? non eſt hoc Virginem honorare, ſed honori detrahere.* i. e. "If I may "ſpeak the opinion of the church (and the church "believes nothing but what is true) I maintain, that "the bleſſed Virgin conceived indeed from the Holy "Ghoſt, but was not begotten by him: I maintain "that ſhe was delivered being a virgin, but not brought "into the world by a virgin. Otherwiſe what would "be the prerogative of the Lord's Mother, who is "ſaid to rejoice in a moſt particular manner, both "on account of the favour ſhe received of bringing a "child into the world, and on account of her keeping her body undefiled, if you aſcribe the ſame privileges to her mother? This is leſſening the Virgin's glory, inſtead of doing her honour." Pelbart of Temeſwaer, though he was ſuperſtitiouſly credulous, admitted however St. Bernard's opinion. *Simplicibus quibuſdam tribuit hanc opinionem quod* Anna conceperit per ſolum oſculum Joacim. *Agnoſcit tamen eam de* viro concepiſſe concubitu matrimoniali (6). i. e. "He "aſcribes to ſome fooliſh perſons this opinion, that "*St. Ann conceived only by a kiſs from Joachim.* But "he acknowledges that ſhe conceived *from her huſ-*"*band in the common way.*" The error of St. Ann's pretended virginity is very antient; for St. Epiphanius was obliged to refute it. Εἰ γὰρ Ἀγγέλους προσκυνεῖσθαι οὐ θέλει, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπὸ Ἄννας γεννηθεῖσαν, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωακεὶμ τῇ Ἄννᾳ δεδωρημένην, τὴν οὐκ εὐχῆς, καὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας καὶ ἐπαγγελίαν παιρὶ, καὶ μήτρι δοθεῖσαν, οὐ μὲν ἑτέρως γεγεννημένην παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καθὼς πάντες ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς, καὶ μήτρας γυναικὸς; εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ τῆς Μαρίας ἱστορία, καὶ παραδόσεις ἔχουσιν, ὅτι ἐρρέθη τῷ παιρὶ αὐτῆς Ἰωακεὶμ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. ὅτι ἡ γυνή σου συνειληφυῖα, οὐχ ὅτι ἄνευ συζυγίας τοῦτο ἐγένετο, οὐδὲ ὅτι ἄνευ σπέρματος ἀνδρός. i. e. "If God does not ſuffer us "to worſhip even the angels, how much leſs ought "we to worſhip Ann's daughter, whom ſhe got by "her huſband Joachim, thro' God's bleſſing; whom "both her father and her mother obtained by their "prayers, and by all kind of pious endeavours: yet "not otherwiſe than all other men came into the "world; but by the ſeed of a man, and out of a woman's womb. For though according to the hiſtory "of Mary, and to tradition, it was ſaid to Joachim, "Mary's father, in the wilderneſs, *thy wife has con-*"*ceived*; yet it muſt not be underſtood as though this "happened without a copulation, or without the ſeed "of a man." The Cavalier Borri had a ſtrange notion about the Virgin's conception. He imagined that St. Joachim was impotent, and that the Holy Ghoſt took fleſh in the womb of the Virgin Mary's mother, ſo that by this means St. Ann continued a virgin after ſhe was delivered. *Cadde in propoſizioni più ridicole, inſegnando che la Vergine non era ſtata concetta con ſeme umano, mà per opra divina, avendo lo Spirito Santo pigliato carne nel ventre di S. Anna, e partorita dalla medeſima, che aſſeriva che nel parto era rimaſta Vergine, e tale eſſere ſtata avanti il parto, e aſſicurando che S. Gioachino foſſe ſtato impotente alla conſumazione del matrimonio* (8). i. e. "He had a more ridiculous opinion "ſtill; for he pretended that the Holy Virgin was "not conceived by the ſeed of a man, but by a di-"vine generation, the Holy Ghoſt having taken "fleſh in St. Ann's womb, and thus brought her into "the world, whence it happened that St. Ann con-"tinued a virgin after her delivery, as ſhe had been "before: for he maintained that St. Joachim was "impotent and could not conſummate his mar-"riage."

(5) Bernard. *Epiſt.* 174. *ad Can. Lugdun. apud* Rivetum, ibid. pag. 608.

(6) *Stellarii Coronæ*, lib. 4. Part 2. Artic. 1. *apud* Rivetum, *ibid.*

(7) Epiph. *adverſus Collyridianos*, pag. m. 1062.

(8) *Relazione della Vita del Cavagl. Borri*, pag. 351.

[*D*] *Though we know nothing with certainty, neither of the names, nor of the qualities, nor of the hiſtory of the Virgin Mary's father and mother. . . . .*] St. Epiphanius, who flouriſhed in the year 370, is the moſt antient author that mentions the names of the Holy Virgin's father and mother. He pretends indeed, that what he relates concerning Joachim and Mary's prayers, and concerning the angel's revelation (9), is borrowed from tradition and from the hiſtory of the Virgin Mary. But does he not confeſs himſelf that there were very abſurd traditions ſpread abroad concerning Mary's birth? Does he not quote a book upon this ſubject, which contained abominable things (10)? Does he not obſerve, it was reported that Zacharias was ſtruck dumb in the temple, becauſe he had ſeen there a man in the ſhape of an aſs? He was going to leave the place, and to cry out, *Wo to you, what Deity do you worſhip?* But this Deity prevented him by ſtriking him dumb. When he had recovered his ſpeech again, he declared what he had ſeen, upon which they killed him. St. Epiphanius adds, that it was related in the ſame book, that the reaſon why the law-giver had ordered the High-Prieſt to wear little bells, was to give this Deity time to hide himſelf, that its aſs-like figure might not be ſeen: and that it might not be ſurprized unawares, it was ordered that the ſound of the little bells ſhould give it notice of the High-Prieſt's arrival. I know very well that all ſorts of traditions ought not to be exploded like theſe: but after all, there is not one good reaſon to perſuade us, that thoſe, which St. Epiphanius admitted, were well grounded. This is ſo true, that St. Auguſtin makes no ſcruple to take for an uncertain and apocryphal tradition, the opinion that was ſpread abroad concerning the Virgin Mary's father, that he was called Joachim, and that he was a Prieſt. *Quod de generatione Mariæ Fauſtus poſuit quod patrem habuerit ex tribu Levi ſacerdotem quendam nomine Joachim, quia Canonicum non eſt, non me conſtringit* (11). i. e. "What Fauſ-"tus has aſſerted concerning Mary's birth, namely, "that her father was a Prieſt, of the tribe of Levi, "and named Joachim, is no argument againſt me, "becauſe it is not canonical." He adds that it is impoſſible for the ſame perſon to be deſcended from two tribes, and concludes, that he would thus ſolve the objection of the Manichean, if he were obliged to have any regard for apocryphal writings. *Hoc ego potius vel tale aliquid crederem ſi illius apocryphæ ſcripturæ, ubi Joachim pater Mariæ legitur, authoritate detinerer, quam mentiri Evangelium in quo ſcriptum eſt, &c.* i. e. "I would rather believe this, or ſomething like it, if I "was to lay any ſtreſs on theſe apocryphal books, "which mention Joachim as Mary's father, than "that there is a lye in the Goſpel, where it is writ-"ten, &c."

(9) See his words in the preceding remark.

(10) Γέννην μὲν γὰρ Μαρίας βιβλίον τί φασιν εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ δεινά τε καὶ ὀλέθρια ὑποβάλλοντές τινα ἐκεῖσε λέγουσιν. Epiph. *adv. Hæreſ.* pag. 94. i. e. "There is a "book which "treats of Ma-"ry's birth, and "which con-"tains horrible "and abomina-"ble ſayings of "them."

(11) Auguſtin. *contra Fauſtum Manich* lib. 23. cap. 9. *apud* Rivetum, *Operum* tom. 3. pag. 604, 605.

that I have been obſerving, has been aſſerted, and feſtivals have been appointed to St. Joachim, and to his wife [E]. Some (a) have imagined that he had three daughters by her; but others think that St. Ann was married three times, and had one daughter by each of her huſbands.

(a) *See* Baronius, *in Apparatu*, num. 41.

If you want other proofs of the uncertainty of theſe traditions, do but conſider Baronius's conduct. He has exploded part of theſe things which are reported concerning the bleſſed Virgin's father and mother: he has expreſſly obſerved that the book aſcribed to St. Jerom, is the work of ſome unknown and ignorant author, who was not capable to avoid the moſt palpable falſities. *Non tantum eam Hieronymi non eſſe dixerimus, ſed auctoris plane ut ignoti, ſic prorſus imperiti, qui in ea condenda & conſcribenda non novit aperta vitare mendacia, dum ait illis temporibus quibus ea acciderunt fuiſſe Iſachar ſummum pontificem* (12). He has declared that though this book contains ſeveral true facts, yet he will not lay any ſtreſs upon it. *Nec innitimur ſcriptioni illi, quæ hactenus Hieronymi nomine ad Cromatium & Heliodorum ſcripta vulgata eſt, nam licet in ea complura veritate conſtantia conſcripta reperiantur, quæ à dictis auctoribus ſibi vindicent auctoritatem & fidem, tamen, &c.* (13). i. e. "Nor do we lay any ſtreſs upon that writing, which has hitherto been publiſhed under St. Jerom's name, addreſſed to Cromatius and Heliodorus; for though it contains ſeveral true particulars, grounded on the teſtimony of the ſaid authors, yet, &c." Thus he ruins one part of the foundation. You will ſee now how Caſaubon overthrows the other. He ſhews that the book *De Nativitate S. Mariæ* (Of Mary's Birth) falſely aſcribed to St. Jerom, is the work of a Manichee, and abounds with impertinences, and blaſphemies. *A peſtilentiſſimo hæretico profectum, poſtremo nugarum & impietatum eſſe plenum* (14). He wonders that the Jeſuit Chriſtopher de Caſtro ſhould have dared to maintain that ſuch a book was genuine, the ſuppoſition of which appeared ſo plainly to Eraſmus, to Melchior Canus, to Sixtus Senenſis, and to Baronius. Caſaubon quotes a paſſage from it, which affords me a ſtrong proof. *Illud libere dico quod fidelium neminem negaturum puto; ſive hæc vera ſunt, ſive ab aliquo conficta ſacro-ſancta S. Mariæ miracula præceſſiſſe; maxima conſecuta fuiſſe; & idcirco ſalva fide, ab iis, qui Deum facere iſta poſſe credunt, ſine periculo animæ ſuæ credi & legi poſſe* (15). i. e. "This I can ſay freely, which I imagine none of the faithful will deny; whether theſe things be true, or invented by ſome perſon, there were holy miracles performed before the bleſſed Virgin's birth, and greater ſtill after it; ſo that they, who believe that God can do ſuch things, may ſafely believe and read them without any danger to their ſoul." Theſe are not the words of the Manichee Seleucus (16) the author of the work, but of the perſon who tranſlated it into Latin; and it is proper to obſerve that this tranſlator owns, there are a great many falſities in the book he tranſlates. *Impietas iſtius Pſeudohieronymi, excuſari ſalvo pudore non poteſt: nam quum fateatur, Seleucum, ſive Lucium de doctrina Apoſtolorum multa eſſe mentitum; ea tamen defendit, quæ ſunt ab eodem hæretico ſcripta de virtutibus & miraculis eorum. Poterat-ne hic planus apertiùs oſtendere, nullam ſibi eſſe curam veritatis, neque ullum ſe inter falſum & verum ſtatuere diſcrimen? Addit de eo ipſo libro quem vertebat:* ita & his multa non vera de corde ſuo confingit (17). i. e. "This falſe Jerom's impiety cannot without ſhame be excuſed: for though he confeſſes himſelf that Seleucus or Leucius told a great many falſities concerning the doctrine of the Apoſtles, yet he vindicates what the ſame Heretic wrote concerning their power and miracles. Could this impoſtor ſhew more plainly that he had no regard for the truth, and made no diſtinction between truth and falſehood? He ſaid of the very book he was tranſlating, *that the author of it invented a great number of falſities from his own head.*" Is not this ſufficient to ſatisfy any reaſonable perſon of the uncertainty of all theſe traditions? That which St. Gregory of Nyſſa relates is evidently falſe (18). As for Nicephorus Calliſtus, Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople, John of Damaſcus, &c. they do not deſerve the leaſt credit, becauſe they lived ſo long after the time when theſe things happened, that the traditions concerning them could not be handed down to theſe authors, but with a great many alterations. And beſides it is well known that Nicephorus is a fabulous and injudicious writer (19). So that we have no reaſon to believe that he quoted Hippolytus, Biſhop of Porto, accurately; and after all, what he quotes from him contains ſome falſities, as Caſaubon ſhews. See the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle* (20). Rivetus was in the right to think it ſtrange that Richard Montague ſhould have believed moſt of the ſtories, which ſuch people as Bernardine of Buſti, Pelbarts of Temeſwar, Coſterus, and other writers of the ſame rank admit concerning our Joachim (21).

(12) Baronius, in *Apparatu*, num. 44.

(13) Idem, ibid.

(14) Caſaub. *Exercit. ad Baron. I.* num. 15. pag. m. 90.

(15) Caſaub. ibid. pag. 91.

(16) Others call him *Leucius*, or *Leontius*. Caſaub. *Exercit. ad Baron. I*, num. 15. pag. 91.

(17) Idem, ibid.

(18) See above, the remark [B].

(19) *Nicephorum hunc fabuloſiſſimum eſſe ſcriptorem & judicii in literis nullius, ſatis notum eſt eruditis.* Caſaub. *Exercit. ad Baron.* num. 15. pag. 91.

(20) Pag. 143, &c. of the 11th volume.

(21) Rivet. *Apolog. pro SS. Virg. Maria*, cap. 3. *Oper.* tom. 3. pag. 607.

I wonder that the Abbot de Marolles had ſo much regard for the traditions I have mentioned. See page 235 of his Memoirs.

[E] *Yet feſtivals have been appointed to St. Joachim, and to his wife.*] The huſband obtained that honour much later than the wife, for he enjoys it only ſince the 2d day of December 1622. The day appointed for his feſtival is March the 20th (22). But St. Ann's feſtival was inſtituted in the year 1584. It was not at firſt abſolutely neceſſary to keep that holy-day upon pain of Damnation; it is but ſince the year 1622 that St. Ann was promoted to that honour (23). In every other reſpect the worſhip that is paid to St. Joachim is much inferior to that which is paid to his wife. She is the Patroneſs of an order of Nuns, called the Maidens of St. Joſeph (24), and her miracles are very much celebrated. The village of Ker-Ann in the dioceſe of Vannes in Britany is wonderfully famous on that account, and particularly ſince they have dug up there an old image of this Saint, which had been buried very deep under ground. In the year 1625 it was revealed from heaven to a ploughman where this image was to be found. The moment it was dug out of the ground it performed ſeveral great miracles. The alms of a vaſt number of devout perſons, who flocked there from all parts, amounted ſoon to a ſum of money large enough to build a beautiful church to that image. The Biſhop of Vannes obtained from Rome the neceſſary indulgences for thoſe who out of devotion would viſit it: he charged the reformed Carmelites with the doctrine of this new church, and gave brother Hugo of St. Francis leave to publiſh an account of the miracles, which had been lately performed in thoſe parts (25).

(22) Spond. *Annal. ad ann.* 1622, num. 1.

(23) Idem, ibid.

(24) See the book intitled, *Les Grandeurs de Sainte Anne.* It is mentioned in the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, tom. 11. pag. 141.

(25) *Taken from* Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1625, num. 3.

JOAN Queen of Naples. See NAPLES.

JOB, whoſe patience has been deſcribed in one of the Canonical Books of the Old Teſtament. That I may not repeat here what the reader may find in Moreri, I ſhall only take notice of ſome errors. They are miſtaken who aſſert that the Turks have a great veneration for this holy man's tomb [A], the chief Judge at Solomon's Court.

[A] *They are miſtaken who aſſert that the Turks have a great veneration for this holy man's tomb.*] Let us quote a paſſage from Sir Paul Ricaut (1). "Whenever there is a new Emperor of the Turks, it is their cuſtom to conduct him with all the pomp imaginable to a certain place in the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, which is called Job. There is to be ſeen at that place an antient tomb of a certain Prophet or holy man, whom the Turks, who are not in the leaſt acquainted with Antiquity, nor with Hiſtory, pretend to be Job, who for ſo many ages paſt has been a pattern of patience and conſtancy." Sir Paul Ricaut's tranſlator makes an obſervation upon theſe words, which deſerves to be tranſcribed. "I believe indeed, *ſays he* (2), that ſome ignorant Turks, unacquainted with Hiſtory and Chronology, may take the tomb of

(1) Ricaut, *Etat preſent de l'Empire Ottoman*, tranſlated into French by Beſpier, B. 1, p. 16.

(2) Beſpier. *Remarques Curieuſes ſur l'Etat preſent de l'Empire Ottoman*, pag. 4.

Court [*B*]. It is a ſcandalous piece of impudence to aſſert, that Job's diſtemper was the foul diſeaſe [*C*]. I confeſs that in the Church of Rome he is the Patron of them that labour under that diſeaſe [*D*]; but nothing can be inferred from thence to ſupport the other aſſertion. He was worſhipped in that Church before the pox was known in Europe [*E*]. Tertullian was in the wrong to aſſert that Job left no children behind him. Upon which ſee Spanhemius's (*a*) *Hiſtory of Job*, which is a very good work.

(*a*) Frederic. Spanheim. F. *Hiſt. Job*, cap. 15. pag. 481.

" of Job, which is at Conſtantinople, at the foot of " the walls of the city, for the tomb of that holy man, " whoſe hiſtory is related in the Old Teſtament. But " the Turkiſh Hiſtorians tell us themſelves, that this " tomb was built for another *Job*, who was a Maho- " metan, and had been one of *Mahomet*'s followers. " He was killed at the ſiege of Conſtantinople, which " was attacked by *Jezid*, the ſon of the *Kaliff Moa-* " *vias*, in the 52d year of the *Hegira*, or 672 ſince " the birth of Chriſt. This is what *Elmacin* obſerves " in his Hiſtory of the Sarracens, Book 1, Chap. 7. " and though Elmacin was a Chriſtian, yet he relates " what he met with in the Mahometan Hiſtorians, " whoſe accounts he only abridges, as he confeſſes " himſelf." One of the moſt learned Rabbies in the XVIIth Century held the ſame error with thoſe ignorant Turks; for he aſſerted (3) " that the Mahome- " tans have ſtill at this time a great veneration for " *Job*'s tomb which is at Conſtantinople . . . . . (4). " He did not know, to be ſure, that this is the tomb " of another Job, different from the perſon mentioned " in the Old Teſtament, and he imagined erroneouſly, " that all the Mahometans take it to be the tomb of " that holy man."

(3) Menaſſeh-Ben Iſrael, *de Reſurrect. mortuor.* lib. 1. cap. 16. quoted by Beſpier, ibid. pag. 5.

(4) Beſpier. *Remarques Curieuſes ſur l'Etat de l'Emp. Ottoman*, pag. 5.

[*B*] . . . *the chief Judge of Solomon's Court.*] Let us again quote Sir Paul Ricaut. " The Turks, *ſays* " *he* (5), do ſo much blend together all Hiſtories, for " want of knowing Chronology, that they aſſert Job " was the chief Judge at Solomon's Court, and Alex- " ander the Great was General of his armies." Here follows a pretty good critical obſervation upon theſe words (6). " The Engliſh author borrowed this from " *Buſbequius*, but he miſtook his meaning. For *Buſ-* " *bequius* does not ſay, the Turks believe that Job was " the chief Judge at Solomon's Court, nor that Alex- " ander was General of his armies. He only ob- " ſerves, that the Turks are ſo unacquainted with " Chronology and Hiſtory, that if they took it into " their heads, they would not in the leaſt ſcruple to " aſſert, that that *Job* was the chief Judge at *Solomon*'s " Court, and *Alexander* General of his armies. Theſe " two aſſertions differ widely. See *Buſbequius, Epiſt.* 1." Sir Paul Ricaut's miſtake has already been tranſcribed in ſome books (7).

(5) Ricaut. *Etat preſent de l'Empire Ottoman*, pag. 16.

(6) Beſpier, *Remarques ſur l'Etat de l'Emp. Ottoman*, pag. 6.

(7) Borremannus has tranſcribed it in his *Variæ Lectiones*, pag. 260.

[*C*] *It is . . . . impudence to aſſert that Job's diſtemper was the foul diſeaſe.*] Guy Patin quotes two celebrated authors, who have aſſerted it. His words are as follow (8). " In anſwer to what you wrote " to me, I muſt tell you that Bolduc, a Capuchin, and " Pineda, a Spaniſh Jeſuit, have both written that " Job had the Pox. I am inclined to believe that " David and Solomon laboured alſo under that diſ- " temper." Obſerve that it can by no means be pretended that Job got that foul diſeaſe by an impure action.

(8) Patin, *Lettre* 388. pag. 102. of the 3d volume.

[*D*] *He is the patron of them that labour under that diſeaſe.*] Conſult Molanus's *Diarium Medicorum Eccleſiaſticum*; you will meet there, upon the 10th of May, which is Job's feſtival, with theſe words. *Volunt non-* *nulli Sanctum Job peculiarem patronum eſſe eorum qui lue venerea laborant aut eam curant* (9). i. e. " Some pre- " tend that Job is in a particular manner the patron " of thoſe who have the foul diſeaſe, or who make it " their buſineſs to cure it."

(9) Molan. in *Diario Medicor.* pag. 68.

[*E*] *He was worſhipped . . . . . before the pox was known in Europe.*] The ſame Molanus warns us not to admit Agrippa's error, who dares to aſſert that the pox was the occaſion of Job's canonization. Before that time, ſays Molanus, there was a church and a feſtival appointed at Venice to this holy man; who was alſo inſerted into the Martyrology as early as the reign of Charles the Great. *Cavendus eſt H. Cornelius Agrippa, qui vane ſcripſit luem Veneream Job in divos retuliſſe. Quaſi non multo ante Veneti memoriam ejus & templo & feſto die celebrarint, conſtet quoque Uſuardum Caroli Magni ætate, & Wandelbertum non multo poſt, Martyrologiis ſuis eum inſeruiſſe. Et à Græcis ad jextum diem Maii notatur ſanctus & juſtus Job qui multa contra Satanam certamina ſuſtinuit* (10). i. e. " Beware of H. " Cornelius Agrippa, who wrote without reaſon, that " the venereal diſeaſe placed Job amongſt the ſaints; " as though his memory had not been celebrated at " Venice a long while before, a church and a feſtival " being appointed there to him: it is alſo certain that " Vſward in Charles the Great's time, and Wandel- " bert ſoon after, have inſerted his name in their Mar- " tyrology. And the Greek Martyrologies, under the " ſixth of May, mention the holy and juſt Job, who " ſtruggled a long while with Satan." A celebrated Proteſtant Divine, who in ſome meaſure took Agrippa's part on this occaſion, obſerves that there is at Utrecht an Hoſpital, in which thoſe that have the foul diſeaſe are taken care of, and which is called *Job's Hoſpital. Dici poteſt ad defenſionem* Agrippæ, *Jobum inter divos tutelares & quidem fœdi iſtius morbi, poſt ejuſdem morbi exortum, demum fuiſſe relatum. Quidquid ſit, tanquam divus alexicacus ab hujus morbi myſtis, annuente Romana Eccleſia, ſalutatur. Hinc in hac urbe Xenodochium S. Jobi olim dominante papatu conſtitutum, ubi illo morbo laborantes curari ſolent* (11). i. e. " It may be obſer- " ved, in Agrippa's defence, that Job was choſen, " amongſt all the Saints, for the particular patron of " thoſe that have the foul diſeaſe, after it had began " to rage. However it be, he is worſhipped by them, " with the church of Rome's conſent, as a Saint that " is particularly proper to cure them. Hence it is " that we have in this city (of Utrecht) an Hoſpital " of St. Job, which was built formerly in the time " of Popery, and in which thoſe that have the vene- " rial diſeaſe are taken care of." It is not long ſince they examined at Rome this queſtion, whether Job, and the other Saints of the Old Teſtament, deſerve the ſame worſhip which is paid to thoſe that are canonized, and whether it be proper to build altars to them. Upon which ſee the *Acta Sanctorum Maii* (12).

(10) Ibid. pag. 69.

(11) Giſb. Voetius, *Diſputat.*

(12) There is in the *Appendix* to the 6th and 7th volumes a *Diſſertation* upon this ſubject. See alſo the *Journal des Savans* for March 5, 1703, in the account of a book written by Monſ. Baillet.

JODELLE (STEPHEN) a French and Latin Poet in the ſixteenth Century, was born at Paris (*a*). He was one of the Pleiades invented by Ronſard (*b*). Some aſcribe to him the invention of thoſe French verſes compoſed after the manner of the Latin verſes, that is to ſay according to the quantity of the ſyllables; but others pretend that Baïf was the firſt who publiſhed that kind of verſes in French (*c*). It does but little concern their reputation, whether or not the truth of this fact be clearly ſtated, for this invention fell ſoon into contempt. Men have much more reaſons to pretend, that Jodelle *was the firſt of all the French who publiſhed Comedies and Tragedies in his own tongue in the ancient form* (*d*). He wrote verſes with an incredible readineſs [*A*]; and he had alſo ſeveral other

(*a*) La Croix du Maine, *and* Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Françoiſe.*

(*b*) Baillet, *Jugemens ſur les Poetes*, Art. 1342, Menage, chap. 110. of the *Anti-Baillet.*

(*c*) See the *Anti-Baillet*, ch. 111.

(*d*) Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, p. 285. *See alſo* Paſquier, *Recherch.* liv. 7. chap. 7.

[*A*] *He wrote verſes with an incredible readineſs.*] Du Verdier Vau-Privas (1) acquaints us with this in the following words. " He was admirable in one " thing, which is almoſt incredible; it is, that all " that Jodelle ever compoſed was done readily, with- " out any ſtudy, and without any labour: and we " can witneſs, with ſeveral perſons of this time, that " he never ſpent above ten mornings in compoſing " and writing his longeſt and moſt difficult Comedy or " Tragedy; and even his Comedy of *Eugene* was " compleated

(1) *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 286.

other accompliſhments. He was an Orator; he was ſkilled in Architecture, in Sculpture, in the art of Painting, and he could fence very well (*e*). He uſed to wear a ſword (*f*), and by his birth he had a right to it [*B*]. He died in July 1573, at the age of forty one. See the margin (*g*). The next year his friends publiſhed a Collection of his Works (*b*). They are in the wrong, who aſſert that he died for want, and that it was a judgment of God upon him for his prophaneneſs [*C*], and who cry out, Heatheniſm! on account of a certain carnival-entertainment, in which his friends conſecrated a goat to him [*D*] (α). I dare

(e) Du Verdier, ibid.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Mr. Varilles is miſtaken, who ſuppoſes in his *Hiſtoire de Henry III.* B. 12. pag. m. 267. *that Jodelle was ſtill living under the reign of Henry III. He aſſerts that the ſeven French Poets*, who were called Pleiades having been entertained a whole month at that Prince's expence in a Tavern near the gate of Neſle, went out ſinging, *Long live Tyranny, we have juſt now ſpent thirty ſix thouſand livres.* (*b*) Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 284, 285.

" compleated in four mornings. When he was but a " youth he has been ſeen to compoſe and write down " for a wager in one night only, five hundred good " Latin verſes, upon a ſubject that was propoſed to " him *ex tempore*. All his Sonnets, even thoſe that " were made upon given rhymes, were compoſed by " him in his walks, whilſt now and then his thoughts " run upon other things, and he finiſhed them ſo " quickly, that when he recited them, it was thought " he could hardly have begun them." We ought not therefore to wonder that he compoſed ſuch a vaſt number of them. It is reported that he wrote about ten thouſand verſes on Cæſar's paſſing the Rubicon (2). If his friends had publiſhed all his works, to how many thouſand of verſes would they not have amounted? He attempted all ſorts of Poems, as Elogies, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, Inſcriptions, Canticles (3). He wrote *a Poem againſt prepoſterous Venery, or the ſin of Sodomy* (4).

(2) La Croix du Maine, *Biblioth.* pag. 78.

(3) Du Verdier, *Biblioth.* p. 286.

(4) La Croix du Maine, *Biblioth.* pag. 78.

[*B*] *By his birth he had a right to it.*] He was a Gentleman poſſeſſed of a Lordſhip; for he uſed to take the title of *Lord of Limodin* (5). I believe it was a patrimonial eſtate.

(5) Du Verdier, *Biblioth.* p. 285. *See alſo* La Croix du Maine, *Biblioth.* pag. 78.

[*C*] *They are in the wrong, who aſſert that he died for want, and that it was a judgment of God upon him for his prophaneneſs.*] Voëtius relates (6), that having read in *Honſdorf's Theatre*, that Stephen Jodelle, a French Poet, an Epicurean, and an Atheiſt, ſpent his whole eſtate and died for want (7), he made diligent enquiries to know whether the fact was true or not. But as his library did not afford him ſufficient means to clear up this matter, he reſolved to conſult Rivetus, who told him, that one could not meet with the leaſt ſign of Atheiſm in Jodelle's works, and that on the contrary they contained ſeveral proofs of his orthodoxy; and that the charge of prophaneneſs, laid to Jodelle, had perhaps no other foundation than the ſacrifice of a goat (8), which was offered to him as to the chief amongſt the Tragic Poets; which was done only out of a frolick, if we may believe the author of Ronſard's Life. And yet Rivetus did not dare to determine whether for this ſingle action Jodelle deſerved to paſs for an Atheiſt or not. Voetius ſubmits to his opinion. Like his friend, he would nor have us declare Jodelle guilty of Atheiſm, if we have no ſtronger proofs of it; but at the ſame time he is far from acquitting him, and ſuffers the queſtion to continue problematical. *In medio relinquit* (Rivetus) *an ob idem factum Atheus ſit dicendus, niſi aliunde alia authentica teſtimonia ſuppetant. In cujus ſententia & nos acquieſcimus* (9). It is not at all probable that the compiler Honſdorf grounded his aſſertion on the pretended ſacrifice. He gives Jodelle the character of a diſſolute man, who ſquandred away his whole eſtate; and therefore he argues from a continual courſe of ſin, and not from the farce of a pretended ſacrifice, an action which was committed but once, and in which ſeveral other wits, of whom Honſdorf does not ſay a word, were concerned as well as Jodelle. Let us ſay therefore that that honeſt compiler of inſtances of God's judgment has been groſly miſtaken; and yet here we have two famous Divines, who do him the honour to lay as much ſtreſs upon his accuſation void of all kind of proofs, as upon the teſtimonies of orthodoxy which the very books of the accuſed afford. They imagine, they are ſufficiently equitable and juſt, if they do but determine nothing either for or againſt the accuſed. Is this acting according to theſe maxims, *Quilibet præſumitur bonus, donec probetur malus*; i. e. " All " men muſt be eſteemed to be good, till it be proved " they are bad." *Actore non probante abſolvitur reus*: i. e. " When the proſecutor does not prove his charge, " the accuſed is acquitted." It muſt be obſerved, that thoſe who tranſcribed from Honſdorf, or thoſe from whom he tranſcribed himſelf, do not come up altogether to the authority of one ſingle witneſs, whilſt they quote no vouchers, or whilſt they only quote each other (10). Upon the whole, I do not pretend to deny that Jodelle died poor (11). I do not know whether Gentilet was not the original author, that was followed by all the compilers, who mention Jodelle as a particular inſtance of God's judgments on the prophane. " One might quote, *ſays he* (12), an " infinite number of inſtances of God's judgments and " puniſhments on the Atheiſts, deſpiſers of God " and of religion, even in our days; as that of the " tragic Poet Jodelle, whoſe end was really tragical: " for having ſpent and ſquandred away his whole " eſtate, like an Epicurean, he died miſerably for " want." I have met with part of theſe words in a book printed at Morges in the year 1581, and intitled *Punitions & Jugumens de Dieu, &c.* i. e. " God's " judgments and puniſhments, &c." and in a book printed in the year 1586, and written by John Chaſſanion of Moniſtrol, in the country of Vellay, with this title, *Hiſtoires memorables des grands & merveilleux Jugemens & Punitions de Dieu, &c.* (13). i. e. " Remarkable Hiſtories of the great and wonderful " Judgments and Puniſhments, inflicted by God, " &c."

(9) Voetius, *Diſputat.* tom. 1. pag. 137.

(10) You will meet in Konig's *Bibliotheque*, under the word *Jodellius*, with this paſſage, Geo. Richterus Gorlicenſis in Axiom. Eccleſ. numero 108. ſeqq. habet: *Memoria noſtra Jodellius, tragœdiarum ſcriptor, tragicum exitum invenit: nam luxu, ganea, ſtupris, ex Epicureorum diſciplina, patrimonium cum conſumpſiſſet, miſerrimo genere mortis fame periit.*

(11) See the article FINE, remark [*D*], towards the end.

[*D*] *His friends conſecrated a goat to him.*] Claudius Binet (14) will tell you how this farce was acted. " They (15) blame him amongſt other things for " having ſacrificed a goat to Jodelle in the village of " Hercueil (16); but he anſwers this charge ſufficient- " ly himſelf, and the matter of fact was thus: Jo- " delle had cauſed his tragedy of Cleopatra to be " acted before the King; it met with ſo general an " applauſe, that ſome days after the whole band of " Poets meeting in that village, to divert themſelves " and be merry during the holy-days of Shrove-tide, " there was none of them but made ſome verſes in " imitation of the antient Bacchanals: they chanced " to meet with a goat in the ſtreets, which gave them " an opportunity to make a frolick on this occaſion, " becauſe this animal uſed to be offered to Bacchus; " for they made a ſhew of preſenting it to Jodelle as a " reward for his tragedy, according to the cuſtom of " the antients, which even the Chriſtians, and eſpecially " the Poets imitate ſometimes, not that they believe " any of the Heathen ſtories, but by an alluſion, which " in itſelf is by no means unlawful: what made peo- " ple believe, there was ſomething more in this, were " the verſes and jokes of theſe Poets, which were pub- " liſhed, and eſpecially the Dithyrambi of Bertrand " Berger, a Dithyrambic Poet, amongſt which we " read theſe lines . . . All this was only a ſhew, and " a mere farce." The reader will not, perhaps, be diſpleaſed to meet here with the anſwer, which Ronſard himſelf made, and which Binet hints at, without tranſcribing it: it is as follows.

(12) Gentillet, *Diſcours ſur les moyens de bien gouverner contre Nicolas Machiavel*, Part 2. pag. 179. edit. 1576.

(13) In book 2. chap. 24. pag. 170.

(14) In the *Vie de Ronſard*, pag. m. 139.

(15) He means two Miniſters, who wrote againſt Ronſard.

(16) I think it ſhould be *Arcueil*.

Tu dis en vomiſſant deſſur moy ta malice,
Que j'ay fait d'un grand Bouc à Bacchus ſacrifice:
Tu ments impudemment: cinquante gens de bien
Qui eſtoient au banquet diront qu'il n'en eſt rien.
Muſes, qui habitez de Parnaſſe la crope,
Filles de Jupiter, qui allez neuf en trope,
Venez & repouſſez par vos belles chanſons,
L'injure faite à vous & à vos nourriſſons.
Jodelle ayant gaigné par une voix hardie
L'honneur que l'homme Grec donne à la Tragedie,
Pour avoir en hauſſant le bas ſtile François,
Contenté doctement les oreilles des Rois:

La brigade qui lors au ciel levoit la teſte
(Quand le temps permettoit une licence honneſte)
Honorant ſon eſprit gaillard & bien appris,
Luy fit preſent d'un Bouc, des Tragiques le prix.
J'à la nappe eſtoit miſe, & la table garnie
Se bordoit d'une ſaincte & docte compagnie;
Quand deux ou trois enſemble en riant ont pouſſé
Le pere du troupeau à long poil heriſſé:
Il venoit à grands pas ayant la barbe peinte,
D'un chapelet de fleurs la teſte il avoit ceinte,
Le bouquet ſur le oreille, & bien fier ſe ſentoit
Dequoy telle jeuneſſe ainſi le preſentoit:
Puis il fut rejetté pour choſe meſpriſée
Apres qu'il eut ſervy d'une longue riſée,
Et non ſacrifié, comme tu dis menteur,
De telle faulſe bourde impudent inventeur (17).

(17) Ronſard, in his *Réponſe à quelque Miniſtre*, pag. 92. of the 9th vol. of his *Works*, of the Paris edition, 1604, in 12mo.

i. e. " You belch out your wicked reproaches againſt " me, and ſay that I have ſacrificed a large goat to " Bacchus! You lie impudently: fifty honeſt men, " who were at the entertainment will declare, that " there was no ſuch thing as a ſacrifice. Muſes, who " dwell on the top of Parnaſſus, daughters of Jupiter, " ye that walk nine in company, come, and by your " beautiful ſons repel the injury that is offered to you, " and to your Bards. Jodelle by his noble poem de- " ſerved the honour which the Greeks uſed to confer " on Tragic Poets; for he exalted and raiſed the low " ſtile of the French, and pleaſed thus the ears of " Kings; whereupon the band of the Poets, who then " lifted up their heads to the ſky, at a time when " they could lawfully indulge themſelves in ſome ho- " neſt freedom, to do honour to his lively genius, and " to his learning, preſented him with a goat, the " uſual prize of Tragedy. The cloth was already " laid, dinner was upon the table, a ſacred and learned " company ſurrounded it ready to ſit down, when two " or three of the band, out of a frolick, drove in the " fire of the rough-bearded flock. It walked in " gravely, with its beard painted, a garland on its " head, and a noſegay on its ear; it was very proud " that ſuch a company of young men ſhould thus pre- " ſent it. It was afterwards rejected as a pitiful " thing, when it had afforded the company a great " deal of mirth for ſome time; but it was not ſacri- " ficed, as you a liar ſay, who have impudently in- " vented this ſcandalous ſlander."

Of whatever party men be, they run upon extremes, and are but too often impoſed upon by popular rumours. The Miniſters did too raſhly and eaſily believe the report that was ſpread concerning Jodelle's goat: and as Ronſard had ſet up for a perſecutor both by his pen and by his ſword, for he wrote againſt the Proteſtants, and fell upon them at the head of the militia, the Miniſters reproached him with the ceremony of this goat, according to the worſt conſtruction that had been put upon it. They objected it to him as if it had been a heatheniſh ſacrifice, and aſſerted that the goat was offered up to a falſe Deity. This was a calumny, but they were not the authors of it. We ſhall now quote Scaliger, who charges a Prieſt with giving riſe to this impoſture; and obſerve particularly that he explodes this pretended ſacrifice as a mere fable. I do not know whether or not he remembered that ſome Miniſters had accuſed Ronſard of it. But I know very well, that he imagined Scioppius, his adverſary, pretended to involve him (Scaliger) in that affair. Here follow his own words.

" Aſt illud, quod adjiciemus, omnia portenta am- " phitheatrica ſuperat. *Pariſienſes illos amicos tuos imi-* " *taris, quos Dionyſia agitaſſe, & hircum immolaſſe* " *fama eſt.* Dionyſia agitare, dicit eſſe hircum im- " molare. Hujus enim inſimulati ſunt illi, de quibus " nunc agitur. Veſpillonis filius, qui nunquam Lute- " tiæ fuit, in media Suburra habitans Romæ, unde hoc " mendacium expiſcari potuit, niſi à quibus reliqua " portenta didicit? Quos putat Dionyſia agitaſſe, vel " hircum immolaſſe, ut illi perſuaſerunt qui verum " dicere, etiam ſi velint, non poſſint, ii ſunt, Petrus " Ronſardus, M. Anton. Muretus, Janus Baïfius, Re- " migius Bellaqueus, Stephanus Jodellus, Nicol. De- " niſottus, Joan. Auratus, alii, omnes Poetæ, præter " Patoletum, qui in hiſtoriis conſcribendis omne ſtu- " dium ſuum collocarat. Quos tam falſum eſt adeo " execrandum, nefandum, impium facinus feciſſe, " quam certum eſt, impune illis futurum non fuiſſe, " ſiquidem tam Chriſtianæ pietatis, quam exiſtimatio- " nis ſuæ obliti, tam deteſtabile ſcelus in ſe admiſiſſent. " Si illi docti viri viverent, fur non inultum tuliſſet. " Porro tam impudentis calumniæ auctor fuit ſacrificu- " lus Gentiliaci vici, in quo illi doctiſſimi viri de conſti " tuto coierant, ut de ſymbolis eſſent. Totum drama ex- " ponerem, ſi opus eſſet, ut Joſephus me docuit, qui " illud ad unguem tenet (18)." i. e. " But what I " have now to add, is more monſtrous than any thing " that can be imagined. *You follow the example,* " ſays Scioppius to Scaliger, *of your friends at Paris,* " *who celebrated, they ſay, the Bacchanals, and ſa-* " *crificed a goat.* To celebrate the Bacchanals is, *he* " *ſays,* to ſacrifice a goat. For the perſons here meant " were ſuſpected of this. This villain, who was ne- " ver at Paris, and lives at Rome, from whom could " he get that lie, but from thoſe who told him the " other monſtrous ſtories? The perſons, whom he " imagines to have celebrated the Bacchanals, or to " have ſacrificed a goat, as they made him believe, " who could not ſay the truth, even if they had a mind " to it, theſe perſons, I ſay, were Peter Ronſard, " M. Anthony Muret, T. Baif, Remi Belleau, Ste- " phen Jodelle, Nichol. Deniſot, John d'Aurat, and " others, all Poets, except Patolet, who applied him- " ſelf entirely to the writing of hiſtory. It is as falſe " that they committed ſuch execrable, abominable " and wicked actions, as it is certain that they would " not have continued long unpuniſhed, had they been " ſo deſtitute of all Chriſtian piety, and ſo little con- " cerned for their own reputation, as to commit this " horrid crime. Had theſe learned men been alive, " the villain would not have eſcaped unpuniſhed. Such " a ſhameful ſlander was invented by a certain Prieſt " of the village of Gentilli, where theſe moſt learned " men had agreed to meet and be merry together. " I would explain the whole farce to you, if it were " neceſſary, as Joſeph told it me, who was perfectly " well acquainted with it." All this is very right; I wiſh that what follows was as reaſonable as this. *Sed ponamus verum eſſe. Quid hæc ad Joſephum, qui tunc puer Burdigalæ primis rudimentis Latini ſermonis initiabatur? An quia ſexto poſt, ſeptimo, & octavo anno omnes, præter Jodellum, illos vidit, & familiariter novit, ideo ejuſdem criminis poſtulandus erit? Hoc modo oporteret omnes, qui Muretum norunt, Dionyſia agitaſſe, hoc eſt majorem partem eorum, qui hodie Romæ agunt. Quanta invidia Joſephum premerent, ſi verum crimen haberent, quod illi objicerent, quum aliorum facta, eaque falſa illi exprobrentur* (19). i. e. " But ſuppoſe it be " true; what was this to Joſeph Scaliger who was " then but a boy, ſtudying the firſt elements of the " Latin tongue at Bourdeaux? Muſt he be charged " with that crime, becauſe he ſaw them all, except " Jodelle, and was familiarly acquainted with them, " ſix, ſeven, or eight years after the fact was com- " mitted? At this rate, all they that have known " Muretus, that is to ſay, moſt part of thoſe, who are " now living at Rome, muſt alſo have celebrated the " Bacchanals. How odious would they not render " Scaliger, had they ſome true crime to charge him " with, ſince they even reproach him with other men's " actions, and ſuch actions as are abſolutely falſe?" The heat of the controverſy did a little diſturb Scaliger's mind: he clears himſelf of a crime with which he is not charged. He complains of being calumniated, when he is not, and thus he becomes a ſlanderer himſelf (20). To ſay that a man imitates the faults of his good friends, is not pretending to aſſert, that he was with them at ſuch or ſuch a place where they committed ſome crime: on the contrary, it is ſuppoſing that he was not there: for if he had been with them, one would ſtile him an accomplice, and not an imitator. It is not true therefore that Scioppius involved Scaliger in Jodelle's affair (21). Scaliger therefore ought not to have complained of it, nor had he any occaſion to prove that he was at another place, when the fact was committed.

(18) Scaliger, *in Conſutat. Fabulæ Burdonum*, pag. m. 338, & *ſeq.*

(19) Scaliger, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 340.

(20) See the 4th vol. of the *Morale Pratique des Jeſuites*, chap. xviii.

(21) *Pariſienſes illos amicos tuos imitaris.* i. e. " You follow the " example of " your friends at " Paris."

* (*a*) *Conſecrated a goat to him.*] It was, ſay they, becauſe Jodelle had carried the prize of Tragedy by his Cleopatra. But how does this agree with what we read in the *Perroniana*, under the word *Belleau*, where we find, that Cardinal du Perron placed none beneath Jodelle, in matters of Poetry, except becauſe Remi Belleau, who in that Cardinal's opinion, was a very wretched Poet? CRIT. REM.]

I dare not give any credit to what I read in Beza's Life [*E*]. You will meet with a great many particulars concerning this Poet, in the paſſage which I have quoted from Stephen Paſquier.

[*E*] *I dare not give any credit to what I read in Beza's life.*] I have read there that Stephen Jodelle, one of the Poets of the French Pleiades, wrote a ſtanza of four lines upon Beza's (β) falling ſick of the plague, whilſt he was tranſlating the Pſalms into French verſe. The ſtanza is as follows.

Beze fut lors de la peſte accueilli,
Qu'il retouchoit cette harpe immortelle.
Mais pourquoi fut Beze d'elle aſſailli?
Beze aſſailloit la peſte à tous mortelle.

i. e. "Whilſt Beza was touching again the immortal "harp, he was affected with the plague. But why "did the plague aſſault Beza then? Why, Beza was "aſſaulting that plague which proves mortal to all."

Anthony la Faie, who wrote that Miniſter's life (22), gave Jodelle the firname of Modilin. *Stephanus Jodellus Modilinus*, ſays he, *non poſtremus inter poetas Pleiadis Gallicæ, &c.* i. e. "Stephen Jodelle Modi- "lin, who was none of the leaſt amongſt the Poets "of the French Pleiades, &c." One may eaſily think, that *Modilinus* was put inſtead of *Limodinus*, which title became Jodelle very well on account of his Lordſhip (23). But as this ſtanza is aſcribed to one Stephin de Modelin in ſeveral editions of the Pſalms, in which it is printed with Clement Marot's epitaph, compoſed by the ſame Modelin, I queſtion whether it be Jodelle's. It is not on ſuch an occaſion that an author is called only by an anagrammatical name. I have another reaſon to queſtion it, which is ſtronger ſtill. Beza was at Lauſanne when he fell ſick of the plague. He was therefore looked upon in France as an apoſtate. The perſecution raged terribly againſt the Proteſtants at that time. And can we imagine, that a Poet, who profeſſed the Catholic Religion publicly, would have written an obliging ſtanza to Beza's honour, which is ſo agreeable to the taſte and ſtile of the reformers? However it is certain that Anthony la Faie's opinion has been followed by Andrew Rivetus (24), and by Jeremy de Pours (25).

(22) Melchior Adam has inſerted it almoſt intirely in the volume of the *Divines, who were not Germans.*

(23) He was Lord of Lymodin.

§ (β) *A ſtanza... upon Beza.*] This ſtanza may very well have been compoſed by Jodelle in his younger days. He was then of the reformed religion, and at Geneva. And as to the wonderful readineſs, even in verſes *extempore*, which is aſcribed to him in the remark [*A*] by Du Verdier, we may obſerve that one night he wrote at Geneva *ex tempore* an hundred Latin verſes, *in which he deſcribed the Maſs with proper Sarcaſms*, as an Huguenot writer of thoſe times relates. In all likelihood Jodelle was but indifferently paid for his Poems at Geneva; for all on a ſudden he returned to Paris, and to that Maſs, which he had ſo much cried down in his Latin verſes (26). As the Roman Religion was not in the leaſt become better, ſince Jodelle had thought fit to return to it, this may be the reaſon why the Huguenots called him an *impious man*, and even an *atheiſt*: which may alſo be owing in a great meaſure to thirty ſonnets, which he made immediately after the maſſacre committed on St. Bartholomew's day, in order to charge the Miniſters with being the cauſe of the executions, murthers and wars, which had raged in France ſince the beginning of the reformation, and were occaſioned by it. *It is reported*, continues the ſame author, *that for theſe ſonnets Jodelle received a large ſum of money*, which he muſt then have ſpent in leſs than a year, if it be true, as it is pretended, that in July following he died for want. As for the name of *Modelen* or *Modilin*, Jodelle himſelf did perhaps turn thus, by way of Anagram, the name of his Lordſhip, that he might not plainly appear to be the author of a ſtanza, in which the Roman Catholic Religion was aſperſed, and Beza commended. CRIT. REM.]

(24) He wrote to Voetius, that Stephen Jodelle had commended his Verſion of the Pſalms, and had even communicated to him the ſtanza.

(25) In Book 2. of the *Divine Melodie*, p. 586. he cites the ſtanza, and aſcribes it to *Stephen Jodelle Modelin.*

(26) *Memoires de l'Eſtat de France*, tom. 1. fol. 178, *verſo.*

(a) *Mémoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſtique*, tom. 1. pag. 910. &c. of the Bruſſels edition in 12mo.

ST. JOHN the Evangeliſt. That I may not tranſcribe what may be found in Moreri or in Monſieur de Tillemont (*a*), I ſhall only make the following obſervations, I. There was in St. Auguſtin's time a ridiculous tradition concerning the ſtate St. John was in [*A*]. II. Nothing is more abſurd than the objection that was made againſt the author of the tranſlation printed at Mons [*B*], with this falſe pretence; that it was not decent

[*A*] *There was in St. Auguſtin's time a ridiculous tradition concerning the ſtate St. John was in*] "There "never were any nations more credulous with re- "gard to traditions than thoſe of Aſia; and particu- "larly the Epheſians. St. Auguſtin relates, concern- "ing the ſubject we ſpeak of, a very remarkable ſtory, "which ſhews very plainly the exceſſive credulity of "that people, and the fillineſs of their traditions. He "obſerves that the Epheſians (*), or perſons who "came to Epheſus, and who had a great deal of wit "and merit, and who were not eaſy of belief, *non "levibus hominibus*, had aſſured him that St. John was "not dead: that he was indeed buried at Epheſus, "but that he lay in his grave like a man who is "aſleep in his bed; and that as one may obſerve the "ſheet and coverlets move up and down, as a man "that ſleeps in breathing; ſo one might perceive the "earth of the grave, in which St. John was buried, "move up and down by intervals. Can there be any "thing more impertinent than ſuch a tale (1)?" I have juſt now read (2), that Monſieur de Tillemont's critic blames him for relating this ſtory and ſeveral others of the ſame kind. He would deſerve to be blamed if he related it as a matter of fact; but he does not give it for ſuch (3); and therefore he is unjuſtly cenſured; for the compilation of errors is a very uſeful part of hiſtory. I confeſs that he ſeems to believe what is related concerning the Manna of our Apoſtle's tomb (4).

(*) Auguſtin. *Comment. in Joan. in hæc verba*, Diſcipulus hic non moritur.

(1) The Abbé Faidit, *Extrait d'un Sermon prêche le jour de St. Polycarpe*, p. 30.

(2) *Hiſt. des Ouvrages des Savans*, for May 1695, pag. 427.

(3) *See* Tillemont, *Memoir. pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. pag. 947.

(4) Ibid. p. 943.

[*B*] *Nothing is more abſurd than the objection that was made againſt the author of the tranſlation printed at Mons.*] Let us firſt tranſcribe the Greek words of the text. Καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ὁ μαθητὴς εἰς τὰ ἴδια (5). That is to ſay, according to the tranſlation printed at Mons. *And from that hour the Diſciple took her into his houſe.* This tranſlation was criticized upon after the following manner. "It is certain "that St. John, who lived in a ſtate of poverty re- "commended in the Goſpel, had no houſe of his own, "where he could receive the mother of God; and "tho' he had had one, yet there are ſeveral reaſons "of decency and modeſty, which eaſily perſuade us, "that the Virgin would not have thought it proper "to retire thither. Such a conduct might even have "been attended with dangerous conſequences with re- "gard to future ages. For Miniſters, who lead a ſcan- "dalous life, would be very glad if they could juſtify "their own conduct by ſo illuſtrious an inſtance of the "youngeſt and chaſteſt of all the Apoſtles dwelling un- "der the ſame roof with the moſt prudent and moſt "innocent of all the Virgins. Such a fear is not "groundleſs; for St. Epiphanius, who ſeems to ap- "prove the opinion of the tranſlators of Mons, had "the ſame apprehenſion; and he tells us, that ſome "diſſolute perſons had already attempted to juſtify "their ſcandalous way of living, by the example of "the holy Virgin's living at St. John's houſe. *Vereor*, "ſays he under the ſeventy eighth hereſy, where he "mentions the holy Virgin's dwelling with St. John, "*ne hoc ipſum, quod dicimus, fraudi ſit aliquibus, ut ad "contubernales & dilectas, quas vocant fæminas, reti- "nendas, quod genus peſſimo ſibi errore animi, machi- "nati ſunt, fucum indè aliquem, & colorem arceſſiſſe "videantur* (6)." i. e. "I fear leſt what I obſerve "here, be dangerous for ſome, who will take from "thence ſome handle and excuſe, to keep their com- "panions and elect women, as they call them, which "is a ſort of cohabitation they have invented by a "moſt dangerous error."

(5) St. John's Goſpel, ch. xix. ver. 27.

(6) Mallet, *Examen de quelques Paſſages*, p. 121. of the 3d edition.

decent this holy Apoſtle and the Virgin Mary ſhould live together. III. The anſwer that has been made upon this ſubject deſerves to be tranſcribed [*C*]. IV. There is a great deal of ingenuity in the anſwer, which St. John is ſaid to have made, to juſtify his ſtroaking a Partridge [*D*]. V. Some perſons pretend that the marriage in Cana, at which the water was turned to wine, was his marriage [*E*], and that the ſight of

[*C*] ... *The anſwer that has been made ... deſerves to be tranſcribed.*] For it contains ſome generous principles, very inſtructive to thoſe who have a mind to judge of things according to their true differences. I ſhall not dwell upon the anſwer which relates to St. John's ſtate of poverty; I ſhall only tranſcribe the refutation of the other part of the objection. *It is very ſtrange*, ſays Monſieur Arnauld (7), that Monſieur Mallet *ſhould not have read what the commentators on the holy Scripture have obſerved upon a ſubject which ought to have appeared much more ſcandalous ſtill. It is, that the Apoſtles always carried a Chriſtian woman with them to take care of their maintenance. And yet St. Paul ſays, 1 Cor. xv. 5.* (8) *they had a power to do it, and that they did it. Upon which Eſtius makes this very judicious reflection, which ſhews us the true principles, according to which we ought to judge of ſuch things, and which Monſieur Mallet ſhould have been acquainted with before he undertook to ſubject the Virgin to his falſe tales of decency.* "*If you aſk*, ſays that learned Divine, "*how the Apoſtles could without giving offence, lead* "*about women, who were not their wives, I anſwer,* "*that this was a cuſtom ſo common among the Jews,* "*that our Saviour himſelf did not take it ill that it* "*ſhould be practiſed even with regard to him. Nor* "*was it practiſed but by ſuch women, whoſe chaſtity and* "*piety were ſo well known, and tryed, that there was no* "*room to ſuſpect them in the leaſt. To which may be* "*added, that the Apoſtles led ſuch an edifying life, and* "*had gained ſuch a reputation of holineſs, that though* "*theſe women followed them, no man would have* "*dared to judge ill of them, as the Jews never ſuſ-* "*pected any thing of that kind with regard to Jeſus* "*Chriſt, how inclined ſoever they were to ſpeak ill* "*of him, and to ſlander him.*" *Nothing is more reaſonable than this; and it is indeed by ſuch principles we ought to judge, that an action, which otherwiſe might give offence, if it were not attended with ſuch favourable circumſtances as leave not the leaſt room for bad ſuſpicions, has nothing in it but what is really edifying, when it is attended with ſuch circumſtances. Now when ſhall the conſideration of a tryed holineſs be capable to ſilence calumny, and to prevent all ſuſpicions, even in the moſt inconſiderate perſons, who ſuffer themſelves to be eaſily ſwayed to the moſt trifling appearances, if the veneration which the faithful always had for the mother of Jeſus Chriſt, and for his moſt beloved diſciple was not ſufficient to make them judge that theſe two perſons behaved in the moſt holy and innocent manner, when they lived together, according to the expreſs command they had received from the Saviour dying on the croſs ... Monſieur Mallet* (9) *is the firſt and only perſon, who entertained ſuch a mean notion of the Virgin's holineſs, and of the eſteem the Church had for her, as to imagine that at the age of above fifty years ſhe could not live with an Apoſtle without expoſing her reputation, and that it was an inſtance attended with dangerous conſequences, becauſe it was proper to juſtify the ſuſpicious cohabitation of Miniſters with women, which was prohibited by the Canons. For thus far he carries his hyperbolical fancies againſt the reputation of the Virgin. But if the authors of thoſe Canons had carried their ſuſpicions as far as this man does, who pretends to blame the bleſſed Virgin and St. John, why did they except ſome perſons in their prohibitions, as for inſtance, a mother, ſiſters, and nieces? Did they imagine that inceſts were abſolutely impoſſible? By no means, but being directed by the Holy Ghoſt, and knowing that with regard to general laws, we ought to avoid all extremes, and keep within the bounds of a prudent moderation, which makes us have no regard for ſuch caſes as will hardly ever happen, they judged on the one hand, that the leaſt virtue in the world was ſufficient to prevent a man from being tempted at the ſight of ſuch perſons, becauſe natural modeſty is generally ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs all the motions of luſt with regard to theſe perſons. And on the other hand they conſidered, that men's diſpoſition to judge ill of their neighbours, does ſeldom make them charge others with ſuch odious crimes without very ſtrong proofs; ſo that the authors of the Canons did not think on theſe occaſions there was any room either to dread ſome real evils from them, or to apprehend ill ſuſpicions.*

(7) *Nouvelle Défenſe de la Traduction*, pag. 430.

(8) It is in the 5th verſe of the 9th chapter of the 1ſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, and not of the 15th chapter, as Mr. Arnauld quotes it.

(9) See the Abbé Faidit, *Extrait d'un Sermon prêché le jour de S. Polycarpe*, p. 37. that the bleſſed Virgin did not go to Epheſus with St. John; he proves it, I ſay, by obſerving, that Celſus who has ſlandered her very much, would certainly have bantered her on account of that journey, upon which however he does not paſs one joke.

[*D*] *There is a great deal of ingenuity in the anſwer St. John ... made to juſtify his ſtroaking a partridge.*] A certain hunter ſeemed ſurprized to ſee, that this great Apoſtle, who was ſo venerable by his age and virtue, ſhould ſtoop to ſo mean an amuſement. The Apoſtle aſked him, whether he always kept his bow bent. The hunter replied, that this would ſoon render the bow abſolutely uſeleſs. *If to avoid this you unbend it*, ſaid St. John, *I do the ſame with regard to my mind, and for the like reaſon.* I do not believe that this ſtory is very certain, but I imagine, that they who never heard it mentioned, will not be diſpleaſed to know that it is reported. The author of the treatiſe *De ludicra Dictione*, i. e. "Of writing in a burleſque "ſtile," has inſerted it in his work. His expreſſions being very ſtrong will not be diſagreeable to the learned; I ſhall therefore preſent them with the whole paſſage. *Nec malus, ut opinor, interpres Chriſti conſiliorum & voluntatum Joannes diſcipulus, qui ad leves luſus atque oblectamenta puerorum deſcendit ipſe jam ſenior, atque exemplo præivit, quatenus interjungere, & ex quotidianis occupationibus reficere ac recreare mentem liceret. Hunc, manſuefactæ perdici blande & ſuaviter alludentem, quidam cum arcu & ſagittis venator offendit. Quod eum facere cum vehementer miraretur, hominem id ætatis, ſpectatum & cognitum diuturna virtute; ſenſit Joannes, & interrogavit, an illum ipſum, quem gereret, arcum haberet ſemper intentum. Cui ille, nequaquam vero, inquit: flacceſcat & enim arcus, & molliatur intentione perpetua, inutiliſq; fiat. Tum Joannes, Tu, mi homo, arcum remittis ac relaxas, ne inutilis ſit: ego animum, ne ſit inutilis* (10). i. e. "St. John, I think, was not a "bad interpreter of Chriſt's advices and commands: "who, when he was very old did not ſcruple to "divert himſelf with the little plays and amuſements "of children, and ſhewed us by his own example, "how we may intermix ſome diverſions with our "daily occupations, in order to unbend and refreſh "the mind. A hunter meeting St. John one day, "whilſt he was playing gently with a tame partridge, "and coaxing of it, &c.

(10) Vavaſſor, *de Ludicra Dictione*, pag. 285.

[*E*] *Some perſons pretend that the marriage in Cana... was his marriage.*] The curious and learned Thomaſius will afford me all the materials of this remark. I wiſh I had the theſis which he cauſed to be maintained publicly (11) concerning St. John's glaſs: but I have only the preface of it (12), which acquaints me with a cuſtom, that was unknown to me; namely, that in great entertainments the gueſts are obliged to drink a glaſs, which is called St. John's glaſs, or cup. This is not done without ſome mixture of ſuperſtition, which came originally from a legend, in which we find that St. John having ſwallowed poiſon, received not the leaſt hurt from it. This is undoubtedly the reaſon why the painters drew him with a cup in his hand. But let us come to the marriage in Cana. The authors of the legends ſuppoſe, I. That St. John the Evangeliſt was the bridegroom, and Mary Magdalen the bride (13). II. That they both agreed not to conſummate their marriage, but to oblige themſelves to live in a perpetual virginity. III. That as ſoon as St. John had ſeen the miracle of the water turned into wine, he devoted himſelf entirely to Jeſus Chriſt's ſervice, and left his bride (14). IV. That Jeſus Chriſt went on purpoſe to that wedding with a deſign to prevent the conſummation of the marriage (15) One thing perplexes them, which is that St. John's virginity did not come up to the higheſt degree of perfection, if he once deſigned to marry. For it is requiſite to a perfect virginity that a perſon ſhould always have been determined to live in a ſtate of continency. *Videbatur ejus* (virginitatis) *laudem hæc fabula non tollere quidem, labefactare tamen, aut in gradum inferiorem detrudere, cùm ea demùm numeris omnibus abſoluta perhibeatur virginitas, quam perpetua incorruptionis nunquam corrupta meditatio pareat* (16). To ſolve this objection, they

(11) Jan. 30, 1675.

(12) Printed with ſeveral others at Leipſic in the year 1681. See the *Acta Eruditor. Lipſienſ.* for the year 1682, pag. 51.

(13) Molanus, lib. 4. *de Hiſt. Sacrar. Imaginum*, cap. 20. pag. 228. *apud* Thomaſium, *Præf. LXXVIII* pag. 511.

(14) Haymo, *Part. hiemal.* Homel. pag. 207. Baronius, tom. I. *Annal. ad ann.* 31. num. 30. *apud* Thomaſ. ibid. pag. 512.

(15) Meffret. *de Sanctis*, Serm. 30. folio 53. *apud eundem*, ibid.

(16) Thomaſius, ibid. he quotes Pelbertus de Temeſwar, *de Sanctis*, Serm. 30.

of this miracle made him renounce the uſe of marriage, and live in celibacy all his life time.

they obſerve amongſt other things, that Divine Providence ordered things thus, with an intention to extol the merit of St. John's virginity, ſince by that means it is become entirely like that of the bleſſed Virgin, and has been conſecrated, having been united with marriage, which is one of the ſeven ſacraments. *Quin ergo potiùs ita cogitemus, decuiſſe, ut eodem virginitatis gradu collocaretur Apoſtolus, quo Virgo mater, quæ ipſi erat à Chriſto monituro commendanda? Quid, quod ita demùm conſecrari virginitas cenſenda eſt, ſi cum ceremoniâ matrimoniali conjungatur? Neque enim virginitas, ſed conjugium eſt in numero ſacramentorum* (17). i. e. "Why then ſhould we think, that this was intended to "place the Apoſtle's virginity in the ſame rank with "that of the Mother Virgin, whom Chriſt dying recommended to him? Why, Is not virginity then only to "be eſteemed ſacred, when it is united with the matrimonial ceremony? For virginity is not of the number of ſacraments, but matrimony." Let us not forget to obſerve that Baronius and Molanus explode theſe traditions of the writers of legends. Thomaſius quotes their words (18), and he obſerves with ſome probability, that Abdias's book was the firſt ſpring of all theſe fine ſtories. This fictitious Abdias aſſerts, that Jeſus Chriſt diſſuaded St. John three times from marrying. The authors of two prefaces prefixed to St. John's Goſpel, do only aſſert in general that Jeſus Chriſt made him alter the reſolution he had taken to marry. Theſe two prefaces (19) are falſely aſcribed, the one to St. Jerom, and the other to St. Auguſtin. As there never were any authors more bold than they who compiled the lives of the ſaints, they would be more poſitive than the authors of thoſe prefaces; and for that purpoſe they have ſuppoſed a time and place, that is to ſay, the marriage in Cana, wherein Jeſus Chriſt freed his diſciple from the marriage engagement. Thomaſius does not in the leaſt queſtion this Apoſtle's virginity; it is grounded on a pretty good tradition, ſupported by the authority of St. Jerome, St. Auguſtin, St. Epiphanius, &c. But Baronius is in the wrong to quote alſo St. Ignatius, who ſpeaks only of St. John the Baptiſt (20).

(17) Thomaſius, ibid. pag. 515. *He quotes* Pelbart. ibid. *and* Franc. Maro, *Serm. de Sanctis*, pag. 30.

(18) Tranſcribed from the places quoted above.

(19) *Quas conjunctas exhibet quarta pars Gloſſæ in Biblia ordinariæ.* Thomaſ. ibid. pag. 516.

(20) See the proof of this in Thomaſius, ibid. pag. 518.

☞JOHNSON or JONSON (*) BENJAMIN) one of the greateſt Engliſh Dramatic Poets in the 17th Century, was ſon of a Clergyman (*a*), and born at Weſtminſter (*b*) about the year 1575 [*A*]. He was firſt educated in a private ſchool in the Church of St. Martin's in the Fields (*c*); and then removed to Weſtminſter-ſchool, where Camden was his maſter [*B*]. Thence his mother, who had married to her ſecond huſband a Bricklayer, took him home, and obliged him to work at his father's trade. At laſt being pitied by ſome generous Gentlemen, he received aſſiſtance from them; and by Camden's intereſt was recommended to Sir Walter Ralegh, whoſe ſon he attended in his adventures [*C*]; by which means gaining a knowledge of the world, his converſation was greatly deſired. Upon their return home, Mr. Johnſon and his pupil parted, not in cold blood; and thereupon our author went to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he was ſtatutably elected into St. John's College; but what continuance he made there, is uncertain [*D*]. This is Mr. Wood's account. But Fuller tells us (*d*), that he ſtaid there but a few weeks for want of farther maintenance, being forced to return to the trade of his father-in-law; and worked at the new ſtructure of Lincoln's-Inn, with a trowel in his hand, and a book in his pocket. Here he was taken notice of by ſome Gentlemen, who enabled him to proſecute his ſtudies, which he did with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that he ſoon became eminent for his admirable dramatic writings. Wood affirms (*e*), that upon his leaving Cambridge, he entered himſelf in an obſcure Play-houſe, called, *The Green Curtain*, about Shoreditch or Clerkenwell, but that his firſt action and writing there were both ill. Shakeſpear is ſaid

(*) Thus he writes his name.

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 608. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Ibid. and *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 273. *and* Fuller's *Worthies*, in *Weſtminſter.*

(*c*) Sir Thomas Pope Blount's *Characters and Cenſures of the moſt conſiderable Poets, whether antient or modern*, pag. 105. edit. London 1694 in 4to.

(*d*) *Worthies*, in *London.*

(*e*) *Ath. Oxon.* col. 608.

[*A*] *Born in the year* 1575.] Mr. Wood (1), Sir Thomas Pope Blount (2), and Mr. Gerard Langbaine (3) aſſert, that he was in his ſixty third year, when he died Auguſt the 16th 1637.

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 609.

(2) *Characters and Cenſures of the moſt conſiderable Poets; whether antient or modern*, pag. 105.

(3) *Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets*, pag. 305. edit. Oxford 1691.

[*B*] *Removed to Weſtminſter School, where Camden was his Maſter.*] He dedicated his Comedy, intitled *Every man in his Humour*, acted in 1598, to Mr. Camden; and in the dedication he writes thus. "There "are no doubt a ſupercilious race in the world, who "will eſteem all offices done you in this kind, an "injurie, ſo ſolemne a vice it is with them to uſe "the authoritie of their ignorance to the crying downe "of poetry, or the profeſſors. But my gratitude muſt "not leave to correct their errour, ſince I am "none of thoſe, that can ſuffer the benefits conferred "upon my *youth*, to periſh with my age... I pray "you, accept this, ſuch wherein neither the confeſſion "of my manners ſhall make you bluſh, nor of my "*ſtudies* repent you to have been the *inſtructer*." And our author's fourteenth epigram begins thus;

"*Camden*, moſt reverend head, to whom I owe
"All that I am in arts, all that I know;
"(How nothing's that!) to whom my countrey owes
"The great renowne and name wherewith ſhe
"goes."

[*C*] *By Camden's intereſt was recommended to Sir Walter Ralegh, whoſe ſon he attended in his Adventures.*] This is the account of Mr. Wood (4); but there is ſome difficulty in it. For if this happened before Ben. Johnſon applied himſelf to acting or writing of plays, as Mr. Wood aſſerts, then Sir Walter's eldeſt ſon, *Walter*, who was born in 1594, was ſcarce old enough to go to ſchool, much leſs upon adventures. Beſides this ſon never made, that we can hear of, more than one adventure abroad, which was with his father to Guiana in 1617, in which he was killed; and therefore he could not part with his attendant or companion Ben. Johnſon, in the manner Mr. Wood intimates he did after his return. If we ſuppoſe it the other brother, *Carew*, who was born in 1604, he never made any adventures at all, nor went out of England till ſix years after his father's death, and then only upon a ſhort tour for about a twelvemonth; which was near thirty years after Ben. Johnſon became a Dramatic Poet, and when he had written himſelf into a penſion from the crown, or otherwiſe into eaſy circumſtances, as render it unlikely, that he ſhould attend even on Carew Ralegh in thoſe ſorrows and difficulties he was then under (5).

(4) *Ubi ſupra*, col. 608.

[*D*] *Statutably elected into St. John's College.*] This we are informed of by Mr. Wood (6). The reverend and learned Mr. Thomas Baker, author of the *Reflections on Learning*, has conſulted the Regiſter of the Univerſity of Cambridge, to ſee whether our Ben. Johnſon's name appears in the liſt of thoſe, who have been matriculated; but finds a neglect in the book for about ten or twelve years together, in which time he ſuppoſes him to have been admitted. In the books of St. John's College no account was kept for a long time of thoſe who were admitted, but only of thoſe who took ſcholarſhips; ſo that Ben. Johnſon is not to be met with either in the public or private regiſters. Mr. Baker ſays, that there has been always a tradition handed down, that he was of St. John's College; that he was probably entered a Sizar; and that he made but a ſhort ſtay. There are ſeveral books in the Library of that College with his name in them, and given by him to the College.

(5) See Mr. Oldys's *Life of Sir Walter Ralegh*, pag. 172.

(6) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 608.

ſaid to have firſt introduced him into the world; for Mr. Johnſon, who was at that time altogether unknown to the public, having offered one of his plays to the Players, in order to have it acted, the perſons, into whoſe hands it was put, after having turned it careleſly and ſuperciliouſly over, were juſt upon returning it to him with an ill-natured anſwer, that it would be of no ſervice to their company; when Shakeſpear luckily caſt his eye upon it, and found ſomething ſo well in it as to engage him firſt to read it through, and afterwards to recommend Mr. Johnſon and his writings to the public (*f*). His firſt printed dramatic performance was a Comedy, intitled, *Every Man in his Humour*, acted in 1598 by the Lord Chamberlain's ſervants. The year following his *Every Man out of his Humour* was acted [*E*]; as were his *Cynthia's Revels*, or, *The Fountain of Self-Love* [*F*], in 1600; his *Poetaſter* [*G*] in 1601; his *Sejanus's Fall* [*H*] in 1602; his *Volpone*, or *the Fox* in 1605; his *Silent Woman* [*K*] in 1609 and his

(*f*) Mr. Rowe's *Account* of the *Life of Mr. William Shakeſpear*, prefixed to Shakeſpear's *Works* in 8vo.

[*E*] *The year following his* Every Man out of his Humour *was acted.*] It was acted by the Lord-Chamberlain's ſervants, with allowance of the Maſter of the Revels; and dedicated to *the nobleſt Nurſeries of Humanity and Liberty in the Kingdom, The Inns of Court.*

[*F*] Cynthia's Revels: or the Fountain of Self-Love.] He ſtiles it a *Comical Satyre.* It was acted by the children of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel with the allowance of the Maſter of the Revels, and dedicated to *The ſpecial Fountain of Manners, the Court.*

[*G*] *His* Poetaſter.] This *Comical Satyr* was acted by the children of her Majeſty's Chapel, and dedicated to *The virtuous and his worthy friend Mr.* Richard Martin. Our author having under the character of *Criſpinus* ſatyrized Mr. Thomas Decker, the latter wrote his *Satyromaſtix: or the untruſſing the humorous Poet, a Comical Satyr, preſented publickly by the Right Honourable the Lord-Chamberlaine's Servants, and privately by the Children of St. Paul's:* printed at London, 1602 in 4to, and dedicated to the world. Mr. Johnſon is repreſented in it under the character of *Horace Junior.* In the Epiſtle Dedicatory Mr. Decker ſays: "Horace trailed his *Poetaſters* to the bar; the *Poetaſters* untruſſed Horace; how worthily either, or wrongfully leave it to the jury. Horace queſtionleſs made himſelf believe, that his Burgonian wit might deſperately challenge all comers, and that none durſt take up the foils againſt him. It is likely, if he had not ſo believed, he had not been ſo deceived, for he was anſwered at his own weapons; and if before Apollo himſelf, who is *Coronator Poetarum*, an inquiſition ſhould be taken touching this lamentable merry murdering of innocent Poetry, all mount Helicon to Bun-hill, would find it on the *Poetaſter*'s ſide, *ſe defendendo.*"

[*H*] *His* Sejanus's Fall.] It was acted by the King's ſervants, with the allowance of the Maſter of the Revels, and printed at London in 1605 in 4to, under this title, *Sejanus his Fall. Written by Ben. Jonſon.* In this edition there is a Preface to the Readers, omitted in the other editions, in which he writes thus. "If it be objected, that what I publiſh is no true Poem, in the ſtrict laws of time, I confeſs it; as alſo in the want of a proper chorus, whoſe habite and moodes are ſuch and ſo difficult, as not any, whome I have ſeene ſince the auntients, no not they who have moſt preſently affected lawes, have yet come in the way of. Nor is it needful or almoſt poſſible in theſe our times, and to ſuch auditors, as commonly things are preſented, to obſerve the ould ſtate and ſplendour of *Dramatick Poemes*, with preſervation of any popular delight. But of this I ſhall take more ſeaſonable cauſe to ſpeak in my obſervations upon *Horace his Art of Poetry*, which, with the text tranſlated, I intend ſhortly to publiſh. In the meane time, if in truth of argument, dignity of perſons, gravity and height of elocution, fulneſſe and frequencie of ſentence, I have diſcharged the other offices of a tragic writer; let not the abſence of theſe formes be imputed to me, wherein I ſhall give you occaſion hereafter (and without my boaſt) to thinke I could better preſcribe than omit the due uſe, for want of a convenient knowledge. The next is, leaſt in ſome nice noſtril the *quotations* (7) might ſavour affected, I doe let you know, that I abhor nothing more, and have only done it to ſhew my integrity in the ſtory, and ſave my ſelfe in theſe common torturers, that bring all wit to the rack, whoſe noſes are ever like ſwine, ſpoyling and rooting up the Muſes gardens, and their whole bodies, like moles, as blindly working under earth to caſt any the leaſt hilles upon vertue .... Laſtly I would informe you, that this booke in all numbers is not the ſame with that which was acted on the publike ſtage, wherein a ſecond pen had a good ſhare, in place of which I have rather choſen to put weaker (and no doubt leſſe pleaſing) of mine own, then to defraud ſo happy a genius of his right by my lothed uſurpation. Fare you well: and if you read farder of me, and like, I ſhall not be afraid of it, though you praiſe me out:

—— *Neque enim mihi cornea Fibra eſt.*

"But that I ſhould plant my felicity in your generall ſaying good or well, &c. were a weakneſſe, which the better ſort of you might worthily contemn, if not abſolutely hate me for.

"BEN. JOHNSON, and no ſuch,

"*Quem Palma negata macrum; donata reducit opimum.*"

(7) Theſe are omitted in the ſubſequent editions.

To this edition are prefixed commendatory poems by George Chapman, Hugh Holland, Th. R. (8), John Marſton, William Strachey, ΦΙΛΟΕ, Ev. B.

(8) Probably Sir Thomas Roe.

[*I*] *His* Volpone, *or* the Fox.] It was acted by the King's ſervants, and dedicated to the two Univerſities in this form: *To the moſt noble and moſt equal Siſters, the two famous Univerſities, for their love and acceptance ſhewn to his Poem in the preſentation,* Ben. Jonſon, *the grateful acknowledger, dedicates both it and himſelf.* It is written in imitation of the Comedy of the antients, and the argument is formed into an acroſtich, like thoſe of Plautus, which are ſaid to be made by Priſcian, or ſome other antient Grammarian.

[*K*] *His* Silent woman.] It was acted by the children of her Majeſty's Revels, with the allowance of the Maſter of the Revels, and dedicated to *The truly noble by all titles,* Sir Francis Stuart. Mr. Dryden (9) has given us an *examen* of this Play, which he ſtiles the *Pattern of a perfect Play* (10). He obſerves with regard to the length of the action, that it is ſo far from exceeding the compaſs of a natural day, that it takes not up an artificial one. "It is all included in the limits of three hours and an half, which is no more than is required for the preſentment on the ſtage. A beauty perhaps not much obſerved; if it had, we ſhould not have looked on the Spaniſh tranſlation of *five hours* with ſo much wonder. The ſcene of it is laid in London; the latitude of place is almoſt as little as you can imagine; for it lies all within the compaſs of two houſes, and after the firſt act, in one. The continuity of ſcenes is obſerved more than in any of our Plays, except his own *Fox* and *Alchymiſt*. They are not broken above twice or thrice at moſt, in the whole Comedy; and in the two beſt of *Corneille*'s Plays, the *Cid* and *Cinna*, they are interrupted once. The action of the Play is intirely one, the end or aim of which is the ſettling *Moroſe*'s eſtate on *Dauphine*. The intrigue of it is the greateſt and moſt noble of any pure unmixed Comedy in any language: you ſee in it many perſons of various characters and humours, and all delightful. As firſt *Moroſe*, or an old man, to whom all noiſe but his own talking is offenſive. Some, who would be thought Critics, ſay this humour

(9) *Eſſay of Dramatick Poeſy*, pag. 33, & *ſeqq.* edit. London 1693 in 4to.

(10) Ibid. p. 31.

" mour of his is forced: but to remove that objection, " we may conſider him, firſt, to be naturally of a delicate hearing, as many are to whom all ſharp ſounds " are unpleaſant; and ſecondly, we may attribute " much of it to the peeviſhneſs of his age, or the wayward authority of an old man in his own houſe, " where he may make himſelf obeyed; and to this " the Poet ſeems to allude in his name *Moroſe*. Beſides this, I am aſſured from divers perſons, that " Ben. Johnſon was actually acquainted with ſuch a " man, one altogether as ridiculous as he is here repreſented. Others ſay it is not enough to find one " man of ſuch an humour; it muſt be common to " more; and the more common the more natural. " To prove this, they inſtance in the beſt of comical " characters, *Falſtaff*. There are many men reſembling him; old, fat, merry, cowardly, drunken, " amorous, vain, and lying. But to convince theſe " people, I need but tell them, that humour is the ridiculous extravagance of converſation, wherein one " man differs from all others. If then it be common, " or communicated to many, how differs it from " other men's? Or what indeed cauſes it to be ridiculous ſo much as the ſingularity of it? As for *Falſtaff*, he is not properly one humour, but a miſcellany of humours, images drawn from ſo many ſeveral men; that wherein he is ſingular is his wit, or " thoſe things he ſays *præter expectatum*, unexpected " by the audience; his quick evaſions, when you " imagine him ſurprized, which as they are extremely " diverting of themſelves, ſo receive a great addition " from his perſon; for the very ſight of ſuch an unweildy, old, debauched fellow is a Comedy alone."

(11) Pag. 35. Mr. Dryden obſerves (11), that beſides *Moroſe*, " there " are at leaſt nine or ten different characters and humours in the *Silent Woman*, all which perſons have " ſeveral concernments of their own, yet all uſed by " the Poet to the conducting of the main deſign to " perfection. I will not waſte time in commending the writing of this Play, but I will give my opinion, that there is more wit and acuteneſs of fancy " in it, than in any of Ben. Johnſon's. Beſides, that " he has here deſcribed the converſation of Gentlemen " in the Perſons of *True-Wit* and his friends, with " more gaiety, air, and freedom, than in the reſt of " his Comedies. For the contrivance of the plot, it " is extreme elaborate, and yet withall eaſy; for the " λύσις or untying of it, it is ſo admirable, that when " it is done, no one of the audience would think the " Poet could have miſſed it; and yet it was concealed ſo much before the laſt ſcene, that any other way would ſooner have entered into your " thoughts. But I dare not take upon me to commend the fabric of it, becauſe it is altogether ſo full " of art, that I muſt unravel every ſcene in it to " commend it as I ought. And this excellent contrivance is ſtill the more to be admired, becauſe it is " Comedy, where the perſons are only of common " rank, and their buſineſs private, not elevated by " paſſions or high concernments, as in ſerious plays. " Here every one is a proper judge of all he ſees; " nothing is repreſented but that with which he daily converſes: ſo that by conſequence all faults lie open " to diſcovery, and few are pardonable. It is this " which Horace has judiciouſly obſerved:

" *Creditur ex medio quia res arceſſit habere*
" *Sudoris minimum, ſed habet Comœdia tanto*
" *Plus oneris, quanto veniæ minus.*

" But our Poet, who was not ignorant of theſe difficulties, has made uſe of all advantages; as he who deſigns a large leap, takes his riſe from the higheſt " ground. One of thoſe advantages is that, which " *Corneille* has laid down as the greateſt, which can " arrive to any Poem, and which he himſelf could " never compaſs above thrice in all his plays, viz. the " making choice of ſome ſignal and long-expected " day, whereon the action of the Play is to depend. " This day was that deſigned by the *Dauphine* for the " ſettling of his uncle's eſtate upon him, which to compaſs he contrives to marry him. That the marriage had been plotted by him long beforehand, is " made evident by what he tells *True-Wit* in the ſecond act, that in one moment he had deſtroyed " what he had been raiſing many months. There is " another artifice of the Poet, which I cannot here " omit, becauſe by the frequent practice of it in his " Comedies, he has left it to us almoſt as a rule; that " is, when he has any character or humour, wherein " he would ſhew a *Coup de Maitre*, or his higheſt ſkill, " he recommends it to your obſervation by a pleaſant " deſcription of it before the perſon firſt appears. Thus " in *Bartholomew-Fair* he gives you the pictures of " *Numps* and *Cokes*, and in this thoſe of *Daw*, *Lafoole*, " *Moroſe*, and the *Collegiate Ladies*; all which you " hear deſcribed before you ſee them, ſo that before " they come upon the ſtage you have a longing expectation of them, which prepares you to receive them " favourably; and when they are there, even from " their firſt appearance, you are ſo far acquainted with " them, that nothing of their humour is loſt to you. " I will obſerve yet one thing further of this admirable plot; the buſineſs of it riſes in every act: the " ſecond is greater than the firſt; the third than the " ſecond, and ſo forward to the fifth. There too you " ſee, till the very laſt ſcene, new difficulties ariſing " to obſtruct the action of the play; and when the " audience is brought into deſpair, that the buſineſs " can naturally be effected, then, and not before, the " diſcovery is made. But that the Poet might entertain you with more variety all this while, he reſerves " ſome new characters to ſhew you, which he opens " not till the ſecond and third act; in the ſecond, " *Moroſe*, *Daw*, the *Barber*, and *Otter*; in the third " the *Collegiate Ladies*; all which he moves afterwards in by-walks or under plots, as diverſions to " the main deſign, leſt it ſhould grow tedious, though " they are ſtill naturally joined with it, and ſomewhere or other ſubſervient to it. Thus, like a " ſkillful Cheſs-player, by little and little he draws " out his men, and makes his pawns of uſe to his " greater perſons. If this Comedy, and ſome others " of his were tranſlated into French proſe, (which " would now be no wonder to them, ſince Moliere has " lately given them plays out of verſe, which have " not diſpleaſed them) I believe, the controverſy would " ſoon be decided between the two nations, even " making them the judges." Mr. Gildon having obſerved (12), that " a comic character can never be va- (12) *Laws of Poetry explained and illuſtrated*, pag. 246. edit. London 1721, in 8vo.
" luable, that is not general, and that thoſe that are " only particular yield no inſtruction; tells us, that " it was a very odd defence, that he heard a great " Poet once give for the *Moroſe* of Ben. Johnſon, " which was that Ben. knew a certain perſon of that " extravagant humour. But Ben. was too judicious " a Poet to take the ſingle extravagance of any one " perſon to be a juſt character for comic repreſentation." Mr. Congreve in his Letter to Mr. Dennis about humour gives a much better defence of our author upon this head, and ſhews, that *Moroſe* is not a particular, but general character. " The character " of *Moroſe*, ſays he, in the *Silent Woman*, I take to " be a character of humour, and I choſe to inſtance " this character to you from many others of the ſame " author, becauſe I know it has been condemned by " many as unnatural and farce; and you have yourſelf hinted ſome diſlike of it for the ſame reaſon, " in a letter to me concerning ſome of Johnſon's Plays. " Let us ſuppoſe *Moroſe* to be a man naturally ſplenetic and melancholy; is there any thing more offenſive to one of ſuch a diſpoſition than noiſe and clamour? Let any man that has the ſpleen (and " there are enough in England) be judge. We " ſee common examples of this humour in little " every day. It is ten to one but three parts in " four of the company that you dine with, are diſcompoſed and ſtartled at the cutting of a cork, or ſcratching a plate with a knife. It is a proportion of the " ſame humour that makes ſuch or any other noiſe " offenſive to the perſons that hear it; for there are " others, who will not be diſturbed at all by it. " Well! but *Moroſe*, you will ſay, is ſo extravagant, " he cannot bear any diſcourſe or converſation above " a whiſper. Why, it is his exceſs of this humour, " that makes him become ridiculous, and qualifies his " character, for Comedy. If the Poet had given him " but a moderate proportion of that humour, it is " odds but half the audience would have ſided with " the character and condemned the author for expoſing " a humour, which was neither remarkable nor ridiculous. Beſides the diſtance of the ſtage requires the " figure

his *Alchymiſt* [*L*] in 1610; and his *Catiline's Conſpiracy* [*M*] in 1611. The reſt of his writings we ſhall give an account of in the note [*N*]. By the invitation of Dr. Richard Corbet, afterwards Dean of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, and Biſhop of that See, and others of his friends, he reſided for ſome time in that College, where he wrote ſeveral of his Plays (*g*); and on the 19th of July 1619 was created Maſter of Arts (*). Upon the death of Mr. Samuel Daniel in October that year, he ſucceeded him in the place of Poet

(*g*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 609.

(*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 215.

" figure repreſented to be ſomething larger than the " life; and ſure a picture may have features larger in " proportion, and yet be very like the original. If " this exactneſs of quantity were to be obſerved in " wit, as ſome would have it in humour, what would " become of thoſe characters, that are deſigned for " men of wit? I believe, if a Poet ſhould ſteal a " dialogue of any length from the *ex tempore* diſ- " courſe of the two wittieſt men upon earth, he would " find the ſcene but coldly received by the town.

[*L*] *His* Alchymiſt.] It was acted by the King's ſervants, and dedicated to *The Lady moſt deſerving her Name and Blood, the Lady* Mary Wroth. It is an excellent Comedy. Mr. Dryden ſuppoſes, that this Play was copied from the Comedy of *Albumazer*, as far as concerns the character of the Alchymiſt, as appears from his Prologue to *Albumazer* reviv'd at the King's Houſe, where he ſays,

Subtle *was got by our* Albumazer,
That Alchymiſt *by this* Aſtrologer:
Here he was faſhion'd, and we may ſuppoſe
He lik'd the faſhion well, who wore the cloaths.

[*M*] *His* Catiline's Conſpiracy.] It was acted by the King's ſervants, and dedicated to *The great Example of Honour and Virtue, the moſt noble* William *Earl of* Pembroke. He has borrowed very much from the antients in this Tragedy; as for inſtance, the part of *Sylla's Ghoſt*, in the very entrance of the Play, is copied from the Ghoſt of Tantalus in the beginning of Seneca's *Thyeſtes*. And he has tranſlated a great deal of Saluſt's Hiſtory, and inſerted it into his Play.

[*N*] *The reſt of his dramatic writings we ſhall give an account of in the note.*] I. *Caſe is alter'd; a pleaſant Comedy, ſundry times acted by the Children of Black-Fryars.* London, 1609, in 4to. II. *Bartholomew Fair, a Comedy acted at the Hope on the Bank-ſide, October* 31, *in the year* 1614, *by the Lady Elizabeth's ſervants.* Dedicated to King James I. III. *Devil is an Aſs, a Comedy acted in the year* 1616, *by his Majeſty's ſervants.* IV. *Staple of News, a Comedy acted in the year* 1625, *by his Majeſty's ſervants.* V. *The Magnetick Lady, or Humours reconciled, a Comedy, acted at Black-Fryars.* Dr. Alexander Gill, who ſucceeded his father, in 1635, in the Maſterſhip of St. Paul's School, wrote a Satyr againſt this Play, in which are the following lines.

" But to adviſe thee, *Ben*, in this ſtrict age
" A Brick-kiln's better for thee than a ſtage:
" Thou better know'ſt a groundſil for to lay,
" Than lay the plot or ground-work of a Play;
" And better canſt direct to cap a chimney,
" Than to converſe with *Clio* or *Polyhymny*.
" Fall then to work in thy old age again;
" Take up thy trug and trowell, gentle *Ben*;
" Let Plays alone; or if thou needs wilt write,
" And thruſt thy feeble Muſe into the light;
" Let *Lowen* ceaſe, and *Taylor* ſcorn to touch
" The loathed ſtage, for thou haſt made it ſuch."

Our author anſwered him thus:

" Shall the proſperity of a pardon ſtill
" Secure thy railing rhymes, infamous *Gill*,
" At libelling? ſhall no Star-Chamber Peers,
" Pillory, nor whip, nor want of ears,
" All which thou haſt incurr'd deſervedly;
" Nor derogation from the Miniſtry,
" To be the *Denis* of thy father's ſchool,
" Keep in thy bawling wit, thou bawling fool?
" Thinking to ſtir me, thou haſt loſt thy end;
" I'll laugh at thee, poor wretched tike; go, ſend
" Thy blotant Muſe abroad, and teach it rather
" A tune to drown the balads of thy father.
" For thou haſt nought to cure his fame,
" But tune and noiſe, the eccho of his ſhame:
" A rogue by ſtatute, cenſur'd to be whipt,
" Cropt, branded, ſlit, neck-ſtock'd; go, you are
" ſtript."

VI. *A Tale of a Tub*, a Comedy. VII. *The Widow, a Comedy, acted at the Private Houſe in Black-Fryars with great applauſe, by his late Majeſty's ſervants.* This was written by our author, in conjunction with Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Middleton, and firſt publiſhed by Mr. Alexander Gough at London, 1652, in 4to. VIII. *Mortimer's Fall*, a fragment of a Tragedy, left imperfect at his death. IX. *The New Inn, or the Light Heart; a Comedy, as it was never acted, but moſt negligently played by ſome, the King's ſervants, and more ſqueamiſhly beheld and cenſured by others, the King's ſubjects*, 1629. *Now at laſt ſet at liberty to the Readers, his Majeſty's ſervants and ſubjects, to be judged of.* London, 1631, in 8vo. To the edition of this Play he ſubjoined the following Ode.

The juſt indignation the author took at the vulgar cenſure of his play by ſome malicious ſpectators, begat the following Ode to himſelf.

Come, leave the loathed ſtage,
And the more loathſome age;
Where pride and impudence, in faſhion knit,
Uſurp the chair of wit:
Indicting and arraigning every day
Something they call a Play.
Let their faſtidious, vain
Commiſſion of the brain,
Run on, and rage, ſweat, cenſure, and condemn:
They were not made for thee, leſs thou for them.

Say that thou pour'ſt them wheat,
And they will acorns eat:
'Twere ſimple fury ſtill thy ſelf to waſte
On ſuch as have no taſte.
To offer them a ſurfeit of pure bread,
Whoſe appetites are dead!
No, give them grains their fill,
Huſks, draff, to drink and ſwill.
If they love lees, and leave the luſty wine,
Envy them not their palates with the ſwine.

No doubt ſome muſty tale
Like Pericles (13), *and ſtale*
As the Shrieve's cruſt, and naſty as his fiſh-
Scraps out of every diſh,
Thrown forth, and rack'd into the common tub,
May keep up the Play-Club.
There ſweepings do as well
As the beſt order'd meal.
For who the reliſh of theſe gueſts will fit,
Needs ſet them but the alms-baſket of wit.

And much good do't you then;
Brave pluſh and velvet men
Can feed on orts; and ſafe in your ſtage cloths
Dare quit upon your oaths
The ſtagers and the ſtage-wrights too (your Peers)
Of larding your large ears
With their foul comic ſtocks,
Wrought upon twenty blocks;
Which if they're torn, and turn'd, and patch'd enough,
The gameſters ſhare your guilt, and you their ſtuff.

Leave things ſo proſtitute,
And take the Alcaic lute;
Or thine own Horace, or Anacreon's lyre:
Warm thee by Pindar's fire;
And tho' thy nerves be ſtruck, and blood be cold,
E'er years have made thee old,
Strike that diſdainful heat
Throughout, to their defeat,

(13) A Play publiſhed under Shakeſpeare's name, tho' unworthy of it.

As

Poet Laureat to his Majeſty (*b*). Sir Thomas Pope Blount tells us (*i*), that "he was ge-
"nerally eſteemed a man of a very free temper, and withall blunt, and ſomewhat
"haughty to thoſe, that were either rivals in fame, or enemies to his writings; other-
"wiſe of a good ſociable humour, when amongſt his friends in the *Apollo* (*k*) [*O*]."
We ſhall give the reſt of his character from ſeveral authors in the note [*P*]. He aſſiſted Dr.

(*b*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 447.

(*i*) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 106.

(*k*) A room in the old Devil Tavern near Temple Bar.

As curious fools, and envious of thy ſtrain
May bluſhing ſwear no palſy's in thy brain.

But when they hear thee ſing
The glories of thy King
His zeal to God, and his juſt awe o'er men;
They may blood-ſhaken then,
Feel ſuch a fleſh quake to poſſeſs their powers,
As they ſhall cry like ours,
In ſounds of peace and wars
No harp e'er hit the ſtars,
In tuning forth the acts of his ſweet reign,
And raiſing Charles's Chariot 'bove his wain.

Mr. Feltham wrote a ſevere reply to this Ode; the ſecond ſtanza of which is as follows:

"'Tis known you can do well,
"And that you do excell
"As a tranſlator. But when things require
"A genius and a fire,
"Not kindled heretofore by others pains;
"As oft y'ave wanted brains
"And art to ſtrike the white,
"As you have levell'd right.
"Yet if men vouch not things apocryphal,
"You bellow, rave, and ſpatter round your gall."

Mr. Thomas Randolph wrote an anſwer to Mr. Johnſon's Ode *to perſuade him not to leave the ſtage*; and Mr. Carew has another copy of verſes to him on the ſame occaſion. X. *Entertainment of King James in paſſing to his Coronation*; in proſe and verſe. XI. *Entertainment of the Queen and Prince at Althrope at the Lord Spencer's on Saturday being the twenty fifth of June* 1603 *as they came firſt into the Kingdom.* XII. *Entertainment in private of the King and Queen on May Day in the Morning at Sir William Cornwallis's Houſe at Highgate*, 1604: in proſe and verſe. XIII. *Entertainment of the two Kings of Great Britain and Denmark at Theobalds, July the 24th* 1606: in Latin and Engliſh verſe. XIV. *Entertainment of King James and Queen at Theobalds, when the houſe was delivered up with the poſſeſſion to the Queen by the Earl of Saliſbury, May the 22d* 1607. XV. *Entertainment of the King at Welbeck in Nottinghamſhire, a Houſe of the Right Honourable William Earl of Newcaſtle at his going into Scotland* 1633. Beſides theſe he wrote ſeveral *Maſques*; and a *Paſtoral* intitled, *The ſad Shepherd*, or *A Tale of Robin Hood*, which he left imperfect, there being but two Acts, and part of the third finiſhed; and he aſſiſted Mr. George Chapman, and Mr. John Marſton in a Play called *Eaſtward-Hoe*. His other writings are, *Epigrams*, *Under-Woods*; *a Tranſlation of Horace's Art of Poetry into Engliſh Verſe*; *an Engliſh Grammar made for the Benefit of Strangers out of his obſervation of the Engliſh Language now ſpoken and in uſe*; and *Timber, or Diſcoveries made upon Men and Matter, as they have flowed out of his daily Readings, or had their Reflux to his peculiar notion of the times.* After his death there was printed *Ben Jonſon's execration againſt Vulcan: with divers Epigrams by the ſame Author to ſeverall noble Perſonages in this Kingdome. Never publiſhed before.* London 1640 in 4to. The *Imprimatur* is dated December the 14th 1639. *The Execration againſt Vulcan* appears to have been written upon the occaſion of ſome of his writings having been accidentally burnt. It begins thus.

"And why to me this, thou lame God of fire?
"What have I done, that might call on thine ire?
"Or urge thy greedy flames, thus to devour
"So many my years labours in one hour!"

He afterwards writes thus.

"But in my deſk what was there to excite
"So ravenous and vaſt an appetite?
"I dare not ſay a body, but ſome parts
"There were of ſearch and myſtery in the arts:
"And the old *Venuſine* in Poetry,
"And lighted by the Stagyrite could ſpy,
"Was there made Engliſh, with a *Grammar* too,
"To teach ſome that their nurſes could not do,
"The purity of language; and, among
"The reſt, my journey into Scotland ſung,
"With all the adventures: three books not afraid
"To ſpeak the fate of the Sicilian maid
"For our own Ladies; and in ſtory there
"Of our fifth Henry, eight of his ninth year.
"In which was oil, beſides the ſuccours ſpent,
"Which noble Cotton, Carew, Selden ſent:
"And humble gleanings in Divinity
"After the Fathers, and thoſe wiſer guides,
"Whom faction had not drawn to ſtudy ſides."

He publiſhed an edition of his works at London 1616 in folio, reprinted there in 1640 in folio, with the addition of another volume in folio. His works were likewiſe reprinted at London 1716 in ſix volumes in 8vo. But in all theſe additions his Comedy intitled, *The Caſe is altered*, is omitted.

[*O*] *Of a good ſociable humour, when amongſt his friends in the* Apollo.] In the marble over the chimney in that room, where he kept his club, there are the following laws engraven.

Leges Convivales.
Quod felix fauſtumque Convivis in Apolline ſit.

I. *Nemo aſymbolus, niſi umbra, huc venito.*
II. *Idiota, inſulſus, triſtis, turpis abeſto.*
III. *Eruditi, urbani, hilares, honeſti, adſciſcuntor.*
IV. *Nec lectæ fœminæ repudiantor.*
V. *In apparatu quod convivis corruget nares, nil eſto.*
VI. *Epulæ delectu potius quam ſumptu parentur.*
VII. *Obſonator & Coquus convivarum gulæ periti ſunto.*
VIII. *De diſcubitu non contenditor.*
IX. *Miniſtri à dapibus oculati & muti, à poculis auriti & celeres ſunto.*
X. *Vina puris fontibus miniſtrentur, aut vapulet hoſpes.*
XI. *Moderatis poculis provocare ſodales fas eſto.*
XII. *At Fabulis magis quam vino velitatio fiat.*
XIII. *Convivæ nec muti nec loquaces ſunto.*
XIV. *De ſeriis ac ſacris poti & ſaturi ne diſſerunto.*
XV. *Fidicen, niſi accerſitus, non venito.*
XVI. *Admiſſo riſu, tripudiis, choreis, cantu, ſalibus, omni gratiarum feſtivitate ſacra celebrentor.*
XVII. *Joci ſine felle ſunto.*
XVIII. *Inſipida poemata nulla recitantor.*
XIX. *Verſus ſcribere nullus cogitor.*
XX. *Argumentationis totus ſtrepitus abeſto.*
XXI. *Amatoriis querelis ac ſuſpiriis liber angulus eſto.*
XXII. *Lapitharum more Scyphis pugnare, Vitrea collidere, feneſtras excutere ſupellectilem dilacerare, nefas eſto.*
XXIII. *Qui foras vel dicta vel facta eliminat, eliminator.*
XXIV. *Neminem reum pocula facinnto.*
Focus perennis eſto.

[*P*] *We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note.*] Sir John Suckling in his *Seſſions of the Poets* (14) writes thus.

(14) *Fragmenta aurea.* A Collection of the incomparable pieces written by Sir John Suckling, pag. 7. edit. 1648 in 8vo.

"The firſt, that broke ſilence was good old *Ben*,
"Prepared before with Canary Wine;
"And he told them plainly he deſerved the bays,
"For his were call'd *Works*, where others were but
"*Plays*,
"And
"Bid them remember how he had purg'd the ſtage
"Of errors, that had laſted many an age;
"And he hop'd, they did not think the *Silent Woman*,
"The *Fox*, and the *Alchymiſt* outdone by no man.

Dr. John Hacket, afterwards Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry in tranſlating the Lord Bacon's *Eſſays* into Latin. He died on the 16th of Auguſt 1637 in the ſixty third year of his age, and was interred three days after in Weſtminſter-Abbey, at the weſt-end near the Bellfrey, under the Eſcutcheon of Robert de Ros or Roos, with theſe words, *O rare Ben Johnſon*, engraven on a common pavement ſtone over his grave, at the expence of Mr. John Young of Great Milton in Oxfordſhire, afterwards knighted by King Charles II. There was a conſiderable ſum of money collected among the men of wit and learning for the

" Apollo ſtopt him there, and bade him not go on;
" 'Twas merit, he ſaid, and not preſumption
" Muſt carry't. At which *Ben* turn'd about,
" And in great choler offer'd to go out.
" But

" Thoſe that were there thought it not fit
" To diſcontent ſo antient a wit;
" And therefore Apollo call'd him back again,
" And made him mine Hoſt of his own *New Inn*."

(15) *Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets*, pag. 125. edit. 1687.

Mr. Winſtanley (15) ſays, " that he was paramount in " the Dramatic Poetry, and taught the ſtage an exact " conformity to the laws of the Comedians, being ac- " counted the moſt learned, judicious, and correct of " them all, and the more to be admired for being " ſo, for that neither the height of natural parts, (for " he was no Shakeſpeare) nor the coſt of extraordinary " education, but his own proper induſtry and addiction " to books advanced him to this perfection."He obſerves

(16) Ibid. pag. 126.

afterwards (16), " that his Plays were above the vul- " gar capacity, (which are only tickled with down- " right obſcenity,) and took not ſo well at the firſt " ſtroke as at the rebound, when beheld the ſecond " time; yea, they will endure reading, and that with " due commendation, ſo long as either ingenuity or " learning are faſhionable in our nation. And al- " tho' all his Plays may endure the teſt, yet in three of " his Comedies, namely, the *Fox*, *Alchymiſt*, and *Silent* " *Woman*, he may be compared, in the judgment of " the learned men, for decorum, language, and well " humouring parts, as well with the chief of the an- " tient Greek and Latin Comedians, as the prime of " modern Italians, who have been judged the beſt of " Europe for a happy vein in Comedies; nor is his " *Bartholomew-Fair* much ſhort of them. As for his " other Comedies, *Staple of News*, *Devil's an Aſs*, " and the reſt, if they be not ſo ſprightful and vigorous " as his firſt pieces, all that are old will, and all that " deſire to be old, ſhould excuſe him therein, and " therefore let the name of *Ben Johnſon* ſhield them " againſt whoever ſhall think fit to be ſevere in cen- " ſure againſt them. Truth is, his Tragedies, *Seja-* " *nus* and *Catiline*, ſeem to have in them more of arti- " ficial and inflate, than of a pathetical and natu- " rally tragic height; yet do they each of them far " excel any of the Engliſh ones that were writ before " him; ſo that he may be truly ſaid to be the firſt re- " former of the Engliſh ſtage, as he himſelf more " truly and modeſtly writes in his commendatory ver- " ſes of his ſervant Richard Broome's Comedy of the " *Northern Laſs*;

" *Which you have juſtly gained from the ſtage,*
" *By obſervation of thoſe Comic Laws,*
" *Which I, your maſter, firſt did teach the age.*

" In the reſt of his Poetry, (for he is not wholly " Dramatic) as his *Underwoods*, *Epigrams*, &c he is " ſometimes bold and ſtrenuous, ſometimes magiſte- " rial, ſometimes lepid and full enough of conceit, " and ſometimes a man as other men are." Mr. Dry-

(17) *Eſſay of Dramatic Poeſy*, pag. 9.

den (17) ſtiles him *the greateſt man of the laſt age*; and tells us, " that he was not only a profeſſed imita- " tor of *Horace*, but a learned plagiary of all the " others: you track him every where in their ſnow. " If *Horace*, *Lucan*, *Petronius Arbiter*, *Seneca*, and " *Juvenal*, had their own from him, there are few ſe- " rious thoughts which are new in him." He after-

(18) Ibid. pag. 32.

wards thinks (18), " that if we look upon him, " while he was himſelf, (for his laſt Plays were but " his dotages) he was the moſt learned and judicious " writer, which any theatre ever had. He was a moſt " ſevere judge of himſelf as well as others. One " cannot ſay he wanted wit, but rather that he was " frugal of it. In his works you find little to retrench " or alter. Wit, and language, and humour alſo in " ſome meaſure we had before him; but ſomething of " art was wanting to the *Drama* till he came. He " managed his ſtrength to more advantage than any " who preceded him. You ſeldom find him making " love in any of his ſcenes, or endeavouring to move " the paſſions: his genius was too ſullen and ſatur- " nine to do it gracefully, eſpecially when he knew " he came after thoſe, who had performed both to " ſuch an height. Humour was his proper ſphere, " and in that he delighted moſt to repreſent mecha- " nic people. He was deeply converſant in the an- " tients both Greek and Latin, and he borrowed bold- " ly from them. There is ſcarce a Poet or Hiſtorian " among the Roman authors of thoſe times, whom he " has not tranſlated in *Sejanus* and *Catiline*. But he " has done his robberies ſo openly that one may ſee, " he fears not to be taxed by any law. He invades " authors like a monarch, and what would be theft " in other Poets, is only victory in him. With the " ſpoils of theſe writers he ſo repreſents old Rome to us " in its rites, ceremonies, and cuſtoms, that if one of " their Poets had written either of his Tragedies, we " had ſeen leſs of it than in him. If there was any " fault in his language, it was, that he weaved it too " cloſely and laborioufly, in his Comedies eſpecially; " perhaps too he did a little too much Romanize our " tongue, leaving the words tranſlated almoſt as much " Latin as he found them; wherein tho' he learnedly " followed their language, he did not enough comply " with the Idiom of ours. If I would compare him " with Shakeſpeare, I muſt acknowledge him the more " correct Poet, but Shakeſpeare the greater Wit. " Shakeſpeare was the Homer or Father of our Dra- " matic Poets; Johnſon was the Virgil, the pattern " of elaborate writing; I admire him, but I love " Shakeſpeare. To conclude of him, as he has given " us the moſt correct Plays, ſo in the precepts, which " he has laid down in his *Diſcoveries*, we have as ma- " ny and profitable rules for perfecting the ſtage, as " any wherewith the French can furniſh us." The ſame author in another place (19) tells us, that " Ben

(19) Poſtſcript to *the Conqueſt of* Granada.

" Johnſon is a moſt judicious writer, and that he al- " ways wrote properly, and as the character required; " and I will not, *ſays he*, conteſt farther with my " friends, who call that wit; it being very certain, " that even folly itſelf well repreſented is wit in a " larger ſignification, and that there is fancy as well " as judgment in it, though not ſo much or noble; " becauſe Poetry being imitation, that of folly is a " lower exerciſe of fancy, though perhaps as difficult " as the other: for it is a kind of looking downward " in the Poet, and repreſenting that part of mankind, " which is below him. In theſe low characters of " vice and folly lay the excellency of that inimitable " writer, who when at any time he aimed at wit in " the ſtricter ſenſe, that is, ſharpneſs of conceit, was " forced either to borrow from the ancients, as to my " knowledge he did very much from Plautus; or " when he truſted himſelf alone, often fell into mean- " neſs of expreſſion. Nay he was not free from the " loweſt and moſt groveling kind of wit, which we " call *Clenches*, of which *Every man in his humour* is " infinitely full, and which is worſe, the wittieſt per- " ſons in the Drama ſpeak them." Mr. Dryden in another place (20) writes thus: " Ben Johnſon is to " be admired for many excellencies, and can be taxed " with fewer failings than any Engliſh Poet. I know, " I have been accuſed as an enemy of his writings; " but without any other reaſon than that I do not ad- " mire him blindly, and without looking into his im- " perfections. For why ſhould he only be excepted " from thoſe frailties from which Homer and Virgil " are not free? Or why ſhould there be any *ipſe dixit* " in our Poetry, any more than there is in our Phi- " loſophy? ... To make men appear pleaſantly ridi-

(20) Preface to the *Mock Aſtrologer*.

the erection of a ſtatue and monument to him; but this deſign was broken off by the civil wars, and the money was refunded (*l*). Mr. Wood was informed by Dr. George Morley, Biſhop of Wincheſter, that our Poet had a penſion of a hundred pounds *per ann.* from the King, a penſion from the City of London, and the like from ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry, and particularly Mr. Sutton, the Founder of the Chartreux Hoſpital in London. Among his *Underwoods* there is a piece intitled, *The humble Petition of poore Ben, To the beſt of Monarchs, Maſters, Men, King Charles*; in which he requeſts his Majeſty, that as his Royal Father had allowed him an annual penſion of an hundred *Marks*, he would make them *Pounds*. In 1629 he wrote an epigram to the King upon his ſending him a hundred pounds in his ſickneſs; and 1631 he wrote an *Epiſtle Mendicant* to the Lord Treaſurer to ſollicit him for ſome money, complaining, that he had laboured under ſickneſs, and want for five years. When he was in his laſt ſickneſs the Prelate abovementioned, who was then Maſter of Arts, frequently viſited him among others of his acquaintance, and as often heard him repent of his profaning the Scripture in his Plays (*m*). It appears from a letter of Mr. James Howell (*n*) to Dr. Brian Duppa Biſhop of Chicheſter, and tutor to King Charles II, then Prince of Wales, that the Biſhop was preparing to publiſh a piece intitled, *Jonſonus Virbius*; to which Mr. Howell contributed a *Decaſtich*. This piece was publiſhed in 1638 under the title of *Jonſonus Virbius; or the Memorie of Ben Johnſon revived by the Friends of the Muſes* [2], London in 4to. He

(*l*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 610.

(*m*) Idem, ibid.

(*n*) Howell's *Familiar Letters*, vol. 1. Sect. 6. Let. 31. There is ſome miſtake in the date of that Letter, for it is dated May 1, 1636, whereas Ben. Johnſon did not die till Aug. 16, 1637.

" culous on the ſtage, was, as I have ſaid, his talent, " and in this he needed not the *acumen* of wit, but " that of judgment. For the characters and repre- " ſentations of folly are only the effects of obſervation, " and obſervation is an effect of judgment. Some in- " genious men, for whom I have a particular eſteem, " have thought I have much injured Ben Johnſon, " when I have not allowed his wit to be extraordinary. " But they confound the notion of what is witty with " what is pleaſant. That Ben Johnſon's Plays were " pleaſant, he muſt want reaſon who denies. But that " pleaſantneſs was not properly wit, or the ſharpneſs " of conceit, but the natural imitation of folly; which " I confeſs to be excellent in its kind, but not to be " of that kind, which they pretend. Yet if we will " believe Quintilian in his chapter *de movendo riſu*, he " gives his opinion of both in theſe following words: " *Stulta reprehendere facillimum eſt, nam per ſe ſunt* " *ridicula; & à deriſu non procul abeſt riſus. Sed* " *rem urbanam facit aliqua ex nobis adjectio.* And " ſome perhaps would be apt to ſay of Johnſon, as it " was ſaid of Demoſthenes, *non diſplicuiſſe illi jocos,* " *ſed non contigiſſe.*" Mr. Shadwell ſays (21) that our author was *incomparably the beſt Dramatic Poet that ever was, or he believes, ever will be*; and that he had rather be the author of one ſcene in his beſt Comedies, than of any Play the age had produced. Mr. Thomas Rymer (22) having obſerved, that *in a Play one ſhould ſpeak like a man of buſineſs, his ſpeech muſt be* πολιτικὸς, *which the French render* agiſſante, *the Italians* negotioſa *and* operativa; tells us, that *it was then a ſtrange imagination in Ben Johnſon to go ſtuff out a Play with Tully's Orations.* He afterwards obſerves (23), that our author *knew how to diſtinguiſh men and manners*; and that in his *Catiline, the ſcene is Rome, and firſt on the ſtage appears Sylla's Ghoſt.*

(21) *Dedication* to his *Virtuoſo.*

(22) *A ſhort View of Tragedy*, cap. 1. pag. 5, 6. edit. London 1693.

(23) Ibid. cap. 8. pag. 159.

Doſt thou not feel me, Rome? Not yet?

One would in reaſon imagine the Ghoſt is in ſome public open place, upon ſome eminence, where Rome is all within his view. But it is a ſurprizing thing to find, that this rattling rodomontado ſpeech is a dark, cloſe, private ſleeping-hole of Catiline's. *Yet the* Chorus *is of all wonders the ſtrangeſt. The* Chorus *is always preſent on the ſtage, privy to, and intereſted in all that paſſes, and thereupon make their reflections to conclude the ſeveral Acts. Sylla's Ghoſt, though never ſo big, might ſlide in at the key-hole; but how comes the* Chorus *into Catiline's chamber? Aurelia is ſoon after with him too; but the Poet had perhaps provided her ſome truckle-bed in a dark cloſet by him. In ſhort, it is ſtrange that Ben who underſtood the turn of Comedy ſo well, and had found the ſucceſs, ſhould thus grope in the dark, and jumble things together without head or tail, without any rule or proportion, without any reaſon or deſign. Might not the* Acts of the Apoſtles, *or a* Life *in* Plutarch, *be as well acted, and as properly called a Tragedy, as any Hiſtory of a Conſpiracy?... What is there material in this* Catiline, *either in the manners, in the thoughts, or in the expreſſion, (three parts of Tragedy) which is not word for word tranſlated?* Mr. Lewis Theobald (24) obſerves, that Shakeſpeare and our author " are profeſſedly the " greateſt writers our nation could ever boaſt of in " the Drama. The firſt, we ſay, owed all to his " prodigious natural genius; and the other a great " deal to his art and learning. This, if attended to, " will explain a very remarkable appearance in their " writings. Beſides thoſe wonderful maſterpieces of " art and genius, which each has given us, they are " the authors of other works very unworthy of them; " but with this difference, that in Johnſon's bad pieces " we do not diſcover one ſingle trace of the author of " the *Fox* and *Alchymiſt*; but in the wild extravagant " notes of Shakeſpeare, you every now and then en- " counter ſtrains, that recognize the divine compoſer. " This difference may be thus accounted for. John- " ſon, as we have ſaid before, owing all his excellence " to his art, by which he ſometimes ſtrained himſelf " to an uncommon pitch, when at other times he un- " bent and played with his ſubject; having nothing " then to ſupport him, it is no wonder he wrote ſo " far beneath himſelf. But Shakeſpeare indebted " more largely to nature, than the other to acquired " talents, in his moſt negligent hours could never ſo " totally diveſt himſelf of his genius, but that it " would frequently break out with aſtoniſhing force " and ſplendor."

(24) *Preface* to the *Works of Shakeſpeare*, pag. 33, 34. ed. London 1733, in 8vo.

[2] *Publiſhed under the title of* Jonſonus Verbius: or the Memorie of Ben Johnſon revived by the Friends of the Muſes.] The *Imprimatur* is dated January the 23d 1637. It contains 74 pages. The Printer in his advertiſement to the reader writes thus. " It is now " about ſix months ſince the moſt learned and judicious " Poet Ben Johnſon became a ſubject for theſe *Elegies*. " The time interjected between his death and the pub- " liſhing of theſe, ſhews that ſo great an argument " ought to be conſidered before handled; not that the " Gentlemen's affections were leſs ready to grieve, but " their judgments to write. At length the looſe pa- " pers were conſigned to the hands of a Gentleman, " who truly honoured him (for he knew why he did " ſo). To his care you are beholden that they are " now made yours. And he was willing to let you " know the value of what you have loſt, that " you might the better recommend what you have " left of him to your poſterity." It contains a collection of Poems written upon our author's death by the Lord Falkland, Lord Buckhurſt, Sir John Beaumont Bart. Sir Thomas Hawkins, Mr. Henry King, Mr. Henry Coventry, Mr. Thomas May, Mr. Dudley Diggs, Mr. George Forteſcue, Mr. William Abington or Habington, Mr. Edmund Waller, Mr. James Howel, Mr. John Vernon, Mr. J. Cl. (25), Mr. Jaſpar Mayne, Mr. William Cartwright, Mr. Jo. Rutter, Mr. Owen Feltham, Mr George Donne, Mr. Shakerly Marmion, *M. A.* Mr. John Ford, Mr. R. Brideoak. *M. A.* Mr. Richard Weſt, Mr. R. Meade, Mr. H. Ramſay, Sir Francis Wortley, Bart. Mr. T. Terrent, Mr. Rob. Waring, Mr. William Bew, and Mr.

(25) Probably *John Cleveland.*

He had ſeveral children, but none ſurvived him (*o*) [*R*]. He had a very ſtrong memory [*S*]. His conſtant humour was to ſit ſilent in learned company, and "ſuck "in, ſays Fuller (*p*), their ſeveral humours into his obſervation. What was Ore in "others, he was able to refine unto himſelf." In his *Diſcoveries* he obſerves, that his innocence had often reſcued him from the dangers, to which the malice of his enemies had expoſed him [*T*]. Mr. Wotton (*q*) remarks, that our Author was the firſt, that he knew of, who did any thing conſiderable with regard to the grammar of the Engliſh language; but that "Lilly's grammar was his pattern, and for want of reflecting upon "the grounds of a language, which he underſtood as well as any man of his age, he "drew it by violence to a dead language that was of a quite different make, and ſo "left his work imperfect." Our author had a very intimate friendſhip with Mr. Selden, who wrote a Latin Poem in praiſe of him, intitled, *Ad Virum Cl. Ben Johnſonum Carmen Protrepticon*, and wrote a letter to him, dated from the Inner-Temple, February the 28th 1615 (*r*), concerning "the literal ſenſe and hiſtorical of the holy text uſually "brought

(*o*) Winſtanley, *Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets*, pag. 127. edit. London 1687.

(*p*) *Ubi ſupra.*

(*q*) *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, cap. 5. pag. 58. edit. London 1694.

(*r*) It is publiſhed in Dr *David Wilkins*'s edition of Mr. *Selden's Works*, vol. 2. pag. 1691, edit. London 1726 in fol.

Mr. Samuel Evans L L. B. The Lord Falkland in his *Eclogue* upon Johnſon's death hath theſe lines.

"His learning ſuch, no author old nor new
"Eſcap'd his reading that deſerv'd his view;
"And ſuch his judgment, ſo exact his teſt,
"Of what was beſt in books, as what books beſt,
"That had he join'd thoſe notes his labours took,
"From each moſt prais'd and praiſe-deſerving book,
"And could the world of that choice treaſure boaſt,
"It need not care, though all the reſt were loſt;
"And ſuch his wit, he wrote paſt what he quotes,
"And his productions far exceed his notes.
"So in his works where ought inſerted grows.
"The nobleſt of the plants engrafted ſhews,
"That his adopted children equal not
"The generous iſſue his own brain begot.
"So great his art, that much which he did write
"Gave the wiſe wonder, and the croud delight.
- - - - - - - - -
"How in an ignorant and learn'd age he ſway'd
"(Of which the firſt he found, the ſecond made)
"How he, when he could know it, reap'd his fame,
"And long outliv'd the envy of his name:
"To him how daily flock'd, what rev'rence gave
"All that had wit, or would be thought to have,
"Or hope to gain, and in ſo large a ſtore,
"That to his aſhes they can pay no more,
"Except thoſe few, who cenſuring thought not ſo,
"But aim'd at glory from ſo great a foe."

Mr. Jaſpar Mayne in his Poem writes thus.

Scorn then their cenſures, who gav't out, thy wit
As long upon a Comedy did ſit,
As elephants bring forth; and that thy blots
And mendings took more time than fortune plots;
That ſuch thy drought was, and ſo great thy thirſt,
That all thy Plays were drawn at th' Mermaid * *firſt:*
That the King's yearly Butt wrote, and his wine
Hath more right than thou to thy Catiline.
Let ſuch men keep a diet, let their wit
Be rack'd, and while they write, ſuffer a fit;
When th' have felt tortures, which out-pain the gout;
Such as with leſs the ſtate draws treaſon out;
Though they ſhould the length of conſumptions lie
Sick of their verſe, and of their Poem die,
'Twould not be thy worſt ſcene.

* A famous Tavern in Bread-Street.

[*R*] *He had ſeveral children, but none ſurvived him.*] His 22d *Epigram* is upon his firſt daughter, *Mary*, who died at ſix months; and his 45th on his firſt ſon, who died at ſeven years of age.

[*S*] *He had a very ſtrong memory.*] "I myſelf, "ſays he (24), could in my youth have repeated all "that ever I had made, and ſo continued till I was "paſt forty. Since it is much decayed in me. Yet "I can repeat whole books that I have read, and "poems of ſome ſelected friends, which I have liked "to charge my memory with. It was wont to be "faithful to me; but ſhaken with age now and ſloth "(which weakens the ſtrongeſt abilities) it may per-"form ſomewhat, but cannot promiſe much. By ex-"ercile it is made to be better and ſerviceable. What-"ſoever I pawned with it, while I was young and a "boy, it offers me readily, and without ſtops: but "what I truſt to it now, or have done of later years, "it lays up more negligently, and oftentimes loſes; "ſo that I receive mine own (though frequently cal-"led for) as if it were new and borrowed. Nor do I "always find preſently from it what I do ſeek; but "while I am doing another thing, that I laboured "for will come, and what I ſought with trouble, "will offer itſelf when I am quiet. Now in ſome "men I have found it as happy as nature, who, "whatſoever they read or pen, they can ſay without "book preſently, as if they did then write in their "mind. And it is more a wonder in ſuch as have "a ſwift ſtile, for their memories are commonly "ſloweſt. Such as torture their writings, and go in-"to council for every word, muſt needs fix ſome-"what, and make it their own at laſt, though but "through their own vexation."

(24) In his *Diſcoveries.*

[*T*] *In his* Diſcoveries *he obſerves, that his innocence often reſcued him from thoſe dangers, to which the malice of his enemies had expoſed him.*] "An innocent, "man, *ſays he* (25), needs no eloquence: his innocence is "inſtead of it. Elſe I had never come off ſo many "times from thoſe precipices, whither men's malice "hath purſued me. It is true, I have been accuſed "to the Lords, to the King, and by great ones. But "it happened my accuſers had not thought of the ac-"cuſation with themſelves, and ſo were driven for "want of crimes to uſe invention, which was found "ſlander; or too late, (being entered ſo far) to ſeek "ſtarting holes for their raſhneſs, which were not "given them. And then they may think, what ac-"cuſation that was like to prove, when they that "were the engineers feared to be the authors. Nor "were they content to feign things againſt me, but "to urge things feigned by the ignorant againſt my "profeſſion; which though from their hired and mer-"cenary impudence I might have paſſed by, as grant-"ed to a nation of barkers, that let out their tongues "to lick others ſores, yet I durſt not leave myſelf "undefended, having a pair of ears unſkillful to hear "lies, or have thoſe things ſaid of me, which I could "truly prove of them. They objected making of "verſes to me, when I could object to moſt of them "their not being able to read them, but as worthy of "ſcorn. Nay, they would offer to urge my own "writings againſt me, but by pieces, (which was an "excellent way of malice, as if any man's context "might not ſeem dangerous and offenſive, if that, "which was knit to what went before, were defrauded "of his beginning, or that things by themſelves ut-"tered might not ſeem ſubject to calumny, which "read entire would appear moſt free. At laſt they "upbraided my poverty: I confeſs, ſhe is my do-"meſtic; ſober of diet, ſimple of habit, frugal, "painful, a good counſellor to me, that keeps me "from cruelty, pride, or other more delicate imper-"tinences, which are the nurſe-children of riches. "but let them look over all the great and monſtrous "wickedneſſes, they ſhall never find thoſe in poor fa-"milies. They are the iſſue of the wealthy giants, "and the mighty hunters; whereas no great work, "or worthy of praiſe or memory, but comes out of "poor cradles. It was the antient poverty that "founded commonweals, built cities, invented arts, "made wholeſome laws, armed men againſt vices, "rewarded them with their own virtues, and preſerv-"ed the honour and ſtate of nations, till they betray-"ed themſelves to riches." T.

(25) In his *Diſcoveries.*

" brought againſt the counterfeiting of ſexes by apparel." He ſtiles Mr. Johnſon likewiſe (*s*) his *beloved friend, and ſingular Poet, whoſe ſpecial worth,* ſays he, *in Literature, accurate judgment, and performance, known only to that few, which are truly able to know him, hath had from me, ever ſince I begun to learn, an increaſing admiration.* And in another place (*t*) he calls him his *beloved Ben Johnſon*, and ſpeaks of his *curious learning and judgment.* About the year 1615 our author lived in Black Fryars, as appears from a letter of Tom. Coryat (*u*); tho' it is ſaid, that he had afterwards an houſe in Alderſgate Street at the corner of Jewin Street, where it is reported he died. Mr. Pope obſerves (*x*), " that " he getting poſſeſſion of the ſtage, brought critical learning into vogue; and that this was " not done without difficulty, may appear from thoſe frequent leſſons (and indeed almoſt " declamations) which he was forced to prefix to his firſt plays, and put into the mouth " of his actors, the *Grex*, *Chorus*, &c. to remove the prejudices, and inform the judg- " ment of his hearers. Till then our authors had no thoughts of writing on the model " of the ancients; their Tragedies were only hiſtories in dialogue; and their Comedies " followed the thread of any novel as they found it, no leſs implicitly than if it had been " true hiſtory."

(*s*) *Preface* to the firſt edition of his *Titles of Honour*, London 1614 in 4to.

(*t*) *Titles of Honour*, Part 2. See his *Works*, vol. 3. pag. 466.

(*u*) Dated at the Great Mogol's Court, Wedneſday Nov. the 8th 1615, printed in *Purchas's Pilgrims*, Part 1. pag. 597. edit. London 1625, in fol.

(*x*) *Preface* to his edition of *Shakeſpeare's Works*, pag. 6. 2d edit. London 1728.

☞ JOHNSON (SAMUEL) was born in the year 1649 in Warwickſhire, and educated at St. Paul's School in London, where he made ſuch an extraordinary proficiency, that when he was fitted for the Univerſity, he was made Library-Keeper of that ſchool; during which time he ſtudied the Oriental Languages with ſuch ſucceſs, that they were afterwards of great uſe to him in his ſtudy of Divinity. He had his Univerſity education at Cambridge; and having entered into holy Orders (*a*), he was preſented March the 1ſt 1669 (*b*) by Mr. Bidolph to the Living of Curingham in the hundreds of Eſſex, worth eighty pounds a year; which was the only Church-preferment he ever had (*c*). But the air of that place not agreeing with him, he was obliged to leave it for his health, and placed a Curate there, to whom he gave forty pounds a year; but viſited his pariſhioners himſelf as often as his health would allow. His patron obſerving his inclination to the ſtudy of politics, adviſed him to read *Bracton* and *Forteſcue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, &c. that he might be acquainted with the old Engliſh Conſtitution; but by no means to make politics the ſubject of his ſermons. Mr. Johnſon religiouſly obſerved this advice. He ſoon became acquainted with thoſe perſons who oppoſed the meaſures of the Court in the reign of Charles II, and particularly the Lord Ruſſel, who made him his domeſtic Chaplain; and when that Lord, in conjunction with others, carried on the Bill of Excluſion againſt the Duke of York, Mr. Johnſon, to promote that deſign, wrote a book, intitled, *Julian the Apoſtate* [*A*]; againſt which Dr. Hickes having publiſhed by way of anſwer a book called *Jovian*, Mr. Johnſon replied to him in a treatiſe intitled, *Julian's Arts to undermine and extirpate Chriſtianity, together with Anſwers to* Conſtantius *the Apoſtate and* Jovian; which was printed in 1683, and entered at Stationers Hall; but before he publiſhed it, the Lord Ruſſel being impriſoned, and Mr. Johnſon being told by ſome of his friends that it would not be ſafe for him at that time to publiſh his book,

(*a*) *Some Memorials of the Reverend Mr.* Samuel Johnſon, *communicated in a Letter to a Friend by one of his intimate Acquaintance*, pag. 3. prefixed to *The Works of the late Reverend Mr. Samuel Johnſon*, 2d edit. London 1713 in fol.

(*b*) Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. 2. pag. 194.

(*c*) *Some Memorials*, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Wrote a book, intitled,* Julian the Apoſtate.] It was printed in 1682 under the following title: Julian *the Apoſtate: being a ſhort Account of his Life; the ſenſe of the Primitive Chriſtians about his Succeſſion; and their Behaviour towards him. Together with a Compariſon of Popery and Paganiſm.* In this book our author endeavours to ſhew, that there was a remarkable difference betwixt the caſe of the primitive Chriſtians, who had the laws againſt them, and ours, who had laws on our ſide. That when Chriſtianity came to be eſtabliſhed in the Empire, and Julian the Apoſtate's defection ſuſpected, the Chriſtians in thoſe days did all they could to hinder his ſucceſſion; and were ſo far from paying him a blind ſubmiſſion, when he came to the throne, that they oppoſed his proceedings to overturn their religion, upbraided him with his apoſtacy, and carried it towards him in ſuch a manner, as diſcovered that they knew nothing of the doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance. This book of our author was anſwer'd by ſeveral writers, viz. I. Mr. John Bennet of Chriſt Church Oxford, in his treatiſe intitled, Conſtantius *the Apoſtate; being a ſhort Account of his Life, and the Senſe of the Primitive Chriſtians about Succeſſion. Wherein is ſhewn the Unlawfulneſs of excluding the next Heir upon the account of Religion, and the Neceſſity of Paſſive Obedience, as well to the unlawful Oppreſſor as legal Perſecutor. Being a full Anſwer to a late Pamphlet intitled* Julian the Apoſtate, *&c.* London, 1683, in 8vo. Dr. Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln, wrote the following note upon this book: " Many miſtakes are " in this book, but no medium or material argu- " ment at all to prove it unlawful for the King and " Parliament to ſeclude a Popiſh ſucceſſor." II. Mr. Thomas Long, B. D. Prebendary of Exeter, in his *Vindication of the Primitive Chriſtians in point of Obedience to their Princes, againſt the Calumnies of a Book entitled,* The Life of Julian the Apoſtate, *written by* Ecebolius *the Sophiſt.* London, 1683, in 8vo. III. An anonymous author, by ſome ſuppoſed to be Mr. Edward Meredith, who turned Papiſt, in *Some Remarks upon a late popular piece of Nonſenſe, called* Julian the Apoſtate, *&c. Together with a Vindication of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York againſt many impudent Calumnies, fooliſh Arguments, falſe Reaſoning, and Suppoſitions impoſed upon the Public from ſeveral ſcandalous and ſeditious Pamphlets, eſpecially from one more notorious and generally virulent than the reſt, entitled,* A Tory Plot, *&c.* London, 1682, in a thin folio. IV. The author of *The Triumph of Chriſtianity: or, the Life of Cl.* F. Julian the Apoſtate: *With Remarks contained in the Reſolution of ſeveral Queries. To which are added Reflections upon a Pamphlet called,* Seaſonable Remarks on the Fall of the Emperor Julian; *and on part of a late pernicious Book, entitled,* A ſhort Account of the Life of Julian, *&c.* London, 1683, in 8vo. This is ſaid to have been written by Mr. John Dowell, M. A. of Chriſt's College in Cambridge. V. Dr. George Hickes, in his *Jovian: or an Anſwer to* Julian the Apoſtate. London, 1683, in 8vo. The author is highly applauded for this book by Mr. John Dryden, the Poet, in his *Vindication: or, the Parallel of the French League and Engliſh*, &c. p. 39. Edit. London, 1683, in 4to. But there was publiſhed againſt it a pamphlet entitled, *A Letter of Remarks upon* Jovian. *By a Perſon of Quality*, London, 1683, in 4to. pagg. 15. in which the author undertakes to prove, that Dr. Hickes in his *Jovian* hath ſhewn himſelf neither a *Logician*, nor *good Hiſtorian, nor a fair and equal Writer*; but that *he undermines the force of all that he would ſeem to ſay, by his conceſſions and contradictions.*

book, he complied with their advice. However about two months after that Lord was beheaded, our author was ſummoned to appear before the King and Council, where he was examined by the Lord Keeper North [*B*], and on the 3d of Auguſt 1683 committed priſoner to the Gatehouſe; whence he was bailed out by two of his friends. The Court having uſed all poſſible endeavours to diſcover and ſeize the copies of his book, but in vain [*C*]; they were obliged to drop the proſecution upon it, and lodged an information againſt him in the King's-Bench for writing *Julian the Apoſtate* [*D*], for which he was fined five hundred marks, and to be committed priſoner to the King's-Bench till he ſhould pay it, which the Court knew was the ſame with perpetual impriſonment, ſince he was not able to raiſe that ſum. Here he lay in very neceſſitous circumſtances [*E*], and during his confinement publiſhed ſeveral pieces, which after the Revolution he collected into a volume, and intitled, *A Second Five Years Struggle againſt Popery and Tyranny* [*F*]. Among theſe one of the moſt remarkable was, *An humble and hearty Addreſs to all the Proteſtants in King James's Army*, at that time encamped on Hounſlow-Heath. The Court was ſo much incenſed at this, that he was condemned at the King's-Bench to ſtand three times in the pillory, and to be whipt from Newgate to Tyburn, and ordered to be degraded from the Prieſthood [*G*]. December the 1ſt 1686 his ſentence was put in execution,

[*B*] *Summoned to appear before the King and Council, where he was examined by the Lord-Keeper North.*] His examination turned upon theſe two points: 1. Whether he was the author of a book called, *Julian's Arts to undermine and extirpate Chriſtianity?* To which he anſwered in the affirmative. 2. Why after that book had been ſo long entered at Stationers-Hall, it was not publiſhed? To which he replied, *That the nation was in too great a ferment to have the matter further debated at that time.* Upon this he was commanded to produce one of thoſe books to the Council, and was told, that if they approved it, it ſhould be publiſhed; but he anſwered, that *he had ſuppreſſed them himſelf, ſo that they were now his own private thoughts, for which he was not accountable to any Power upon Earth.* The Council diſmiſſed him at that time, but ſent for him twice afterwards, preſſed the ſame thing upon him, and received the ſame anſwers, for which they ſent him priſoner to the Gate-houſe (1).

(1) *Some Memorials of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Johnſon*, pag. 5.

[*C*] *The court having uſed all poſſible endeavours to diſcover and ſeize the copies of his book, but in vain.*] Mr. Johnſon had committed them to the care of a friend. A Meſſenger was ſent to ſearch the houſe, where the Court had information they were, but miſſed them; which was the more remarkable, becauſe after the firſt ſearch, his friends apprehending a further inquiry, and not thinking them ſecure enough, removed them; and when the meſſenger ſearched again, he found the firſt place, but miſſed the ſecond; after which they were removed to a third place in the ſame houſe, and upon a freſh ſearch, the Meſſenger found the ſecond place, but miſſed the third (2).

(2) Ibid. pag. 6.

[*D*] *Lodged an information againſt him in the King's Bench for writing* Julian the Apoſtate.] The proſecution was begun and carried on by the intereſt of the Duke of York. "The Papiſts about that Prince "knowing there was no ſuch effectual way to ruin Pro-"teſtants, as to ſow diviſions among them, reſolved to "ſplit them with a wedge of their own timber. To "this end they run down the old Queen Elizabeth-"Proteſtants, who began to grow out of faſhion, and "thoſe of the *Laudean* ſtamp were the only men in "vogue. One of that ſort, who wore the Church's "livery, was pitched upon to cull thoſe paſſages out "of Mr. Johnſon's book, upon which the information "againſt him was founded, and that Gentleman then "made his boaſts of it (3)." When Mr. Johnſon was brought to trial, he employed Mr. Wallop as his Council, who urged for his client, that he had offended againſt no law of the land. That the book taken together was innocent; but any treatiſe might be made criminal, if dealt with as thoſe, who drew up the information, had dealt with this. The Judges had orders to proceed in the cauſe; and the Lord Chief-Juſtice Jefferies upbraided Mr. Johnſon for meddling with what did not belong to him, and ſcoffingly told him, that he would give him a text, which was, *Let every man ſtudy to be quiet, and mind his own buſineſs*; to which Mr. Johnſon replied, that he did mind his buſineſs as an Engliſhman, when he wrote that book (4).

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. pag. 7.

[*E*] *Here he lay in very neceſſitous circumſtances.*] When the Duke of Monmouth landed in England, all the halls in London, as well as jails in the country were filled with perſons, whom the court ſuſpected to be averſe to their meaſures. This proved ſome relief to Mr. Johnſon, by affording him good company; for in thoſe days it was reckoned criminal to viſit or ſhew him any kindneſs, ſo that few had courage to come near him, or give him any relief; by which means he was reduced very low. About this time his mother, whom he had maintained for many years, ſent to him for ſubſiſtence; and ſuch was his filial affection, that though he knew not how to ſupply his own wants, and thoſe of his wife and children, and was told on this occaſion, that charity begins at home, he ſent her forty ſhillings, though he had but fifty in the world; ſaying, that he would do his duty, and truſt providence for his own ſupply. The event ſhewed that his hopes were not in vain; for the next morning he had ten pounds ſent by an unknown hand, which he afterwards knew to have come from the reverend Dr. Edward Fowler, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter (5).

(5) Ibid. pag. 7, 8.

[*F*] *Collected into a volume, and intitled,* A ſecond Five Years Struggle againſt Popery and Tyranny.] This collection contains, I. *A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Guildhall-Chapel, on Palm-Sunday,* 1679, *on Matth.* xv. *latter part of the* 14*th verſe.* II. *The Church of England as by Law eſtabliſhed: Being the very Doctrine and expreſs Words of the Homilies againſt Popery.* III. *A ſhort Diſſuaſive from Popery, and from countenancing and encouraging of Papiſts:* Publiſhed immediately after the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth. IV. *A Parcel of wry Reaſons and wrong Inferences, but right Obſervator.* V. *An Oration of* John Hales *to the Queen's Majeſty, and delivered to her by a certain Nobleman at her firſt entrance to her Reign.* VI. *Several Reaſons for the Eſtabliſhment of a Standing Army, and the diſſolving the Militia.* VII. A piece containing the following Chapters. Chap. 1. *Of Magiſtracy.* 2. *Of Prerogatives by Divine Right.* 3. *Of Obedience.* 4. *Of Laws.* VIII. *The Grounds and Reaſons of the Laws againſt Popery.* IX. *An humble and hearty Addreſs to all the Engliſh Proteſtants in this preſent Army.* X. *That Reſiſtance may be uſed, in caſe our Religion and Rights ſhould be invaded.* XI. *The Trial and Examination of a late Libel, intitled,* A new Teſt of the Church of England's Loyalty. *With ſome Reflections upon the Additional Libel intitled,* An Inſtance of the Church of England's Loyalty. XII. *The abſolute Impoſſibility of Tranſubſtantiation demonſtrated.* XIII. *The Way to Peace amongſt all Proteſtants: Being a Letter of Reconciliation ſent by Biſhop* Ridley *to Biſhop* Hooper. *With ſome Obſervations upon it.* Publiſhed in April 1688; and licenſed in July following; but ſeized ſoon after by order from the Lord Sunderland. XIV. *A Letter from a Freeholder to the reſt of the Freeholders of England and all others, who have Votes in the Choice of Parliament-Men.* Publiſhed in September 1688. XV. *Religion founded upon a Rock: Or, the Eternal Obligations of being Religious. In a Diſcourſe on* 1 Tim. i. 17. XVI. *The true Mother-Church: Or, a ſhort Practical Diſcourſe upon Acts* ii. *concerning the firſt Church at Jeruſalem.*

[*G*] *Ordered to be degraded from the Prieſthood.*] This

cution, which he bore with great firmneſs [*H*] ; and the King immediately gave away his Living [*I*]. He continued in priſon till a quarter of a year after the Revolution ; for though he might have been diſcharged upon the Prince of Orange's arrival, he was ſo juſt to his ſecurity, that he would not go out till he could get up a bond of a thouſand pounds, ſigned by two of his friends for his true impriſonment, upon his being allowed the benefit of the rules. The Parliament taking his caſe into conſideration [*K*] reſolved, June the 11th 1689, "that the judgment againſt him in the King's-Bench, upon an in-"formation for a miſdemeanor, was cruel and illegal." And a Committee was at the ſame time appointed to bring in a bill for reverſing that judgment [*L*]. The Houſe preſented

ought to have been done, according to the Canons, by his own Dioceſan the Biſhop of London ; but that Prelate was then under ſuſpenſion himſelf, becauſe he would not obey the King's orders to ſuſpend Dr. Sharp, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, for preaching againſt Popery in his own pariſh church of St. Giles in the Fields. Dr. Crew, Biſhop of Durham, Dr. Sprat, Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Dr. White, Biſhop of Peterborough, being then Commiſſioners for the Dioceſe of London, in the place of the ſuſpended Biſhop, were appointed to degrade Mr. Johnſon ; which they performed in the Chapter-Houſe of St. Paul's, where Dr. Sherlock, and other Clergymen attended ; but Dr. Stillingfleet, then Dean of St. Paul's, refuſed to have any hand in it. Mr. Johnſon's behaviour on this occaſion was obſerved to be ſo becoming that very character, which his enemies would have him deprived of, that it melted ſome of their hearts, and forced them to acknowledge, that there was ſomething very valuable in him. Among other things, which he ſaid to the Divines then preſent, he told them in the moſt pathetic manner, *It could not but grieve him to think, that ſince all he had wrote was deſigned to keep their gowns on their backs, they ſhould be made the unhappy inſtruments to pull off his.* And he begged them to conſider, *whether they were not making rods for themſelves.* When they came to the formality of putting a Bible in his hand, and taking it from him again, he was much affected, and parted with it with difficulty, kiſſing it, and ſaying with tears, *that they could not however deprive him of the uſe and benefit of that ſacred Depoſitum.* It happened, that they were guilty of an omiſſion in not ſtripping him of his caſſock ; which, as ſlight a particular as it may ſeem, rendered his degradation imperfect, and afterwards ſaved him his benefice (6).

(6) Ibid. pag. 8, 9.

[*H*] *December* 1, 1686, *his ſentence was put in execution, which he bore with great firmneſs.*] A Popiſh prieſt had made an offer for 200 *l.* to get the whipping part of the ſentence remitted. The money was lodged by one of Mr. Johnſon's friends in a third hand for the Prieſt, if he performed what he undertook. The man uſed his endeavours, but to no purpoſe ; for the King was deaf to all intreaties. The anſwer was, *That ſince Mr.* Johnſon *had the Spirit of Martyrdom, it was fit he ſhould ſuffer.* He obſerved afterwards to one of his moſt intimate friends, that this text of Scripture which came ſuddenly into his mind, *He endured the croſs, and deſpiſed the ſhame*, ſo much animated and ſupported him in his bitter journey, that had he not thought it would have looked like vain-glory, he could have ſung a pſalm, while the Executioner was doing his office, with as much compoſure and chearfulneſs, as ever he had done in the church ; though at the ſame time he had a quick ſenſe of every ſtripe, which was given him, with a whip of nine cords knotted, to the number of 317. This was the more remarkable in him, becauſe he had not the leaſt tincture of Enthuſiaſm (7).

(7) Ibid. pag. 9.

[*I*] *The King immediately gave away his living.*] The Clergyman (*), who had the grant of it, made application to the three Biſhops abovementioned for inſtitution ; but they being ſenſible of the omiſſion in his degradation, told him, that he ſhould have it, if he could get two common Lawyers and two Civilians to give it under their hands that Mr. Johnſon was legally degraded, and thereby deprived. The Clergyman brought them the hand of one inconſiderable common Lawyer, that the degradation and deprivation were both good ; but the Civilian, to whom he applied, was more modeſt, and only ſigned a paper with his opinion, that if Mr. Johnſon was legally degraded, he was *ipſo facto* deprived. But this not proving ſatisfactory to the three Biſhops, the Clergyman was obliged to give them a bond of five hundred pounds to indemnify them, before they would grant him inſtitution. Having received it, he went to Curingham for induction ; but Mr. Johnſon's pariſhioners oppoſed him ; ſo that he could never get entrance, but was obliged to return *re infecta*. This was extraordinary in his pariſhioners, at a time when the court carried all by violence ; but it proceeded from their great reſpect to him, and experience of his goodneſs ; for no Miniſter was more obliging to his people than he, who was ſo far from exacting upon them, that he would rather quit his own right than be any ways troubleſome to them ; of which there is one remarkable inſtance among many others. One of his neighbours owing him twenty pounds upon bond, and falling afterwards into low circumſtances, Mr. Johnſon was adviſed to put the bond in execution, while ſomething was to be had ; but he abſolutely refuſed it, and choſe rather to loſe the money, ſaying, *that no man's ruin ſhould lie at his door* (8).

(*) Tho. Berrow, M. A. who was preſented to the Living, Feb. 4, 1686. *See* Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. 2. pag. 194.

(8) Ibid. pag. 9, 10.

[*K*] *The Parliament taking his caſe into conſideration.*] In the firſt Parliament after the Revolution, when the Houſe of Commons was preparing an Act of Indemnity, Mr. Johnſon was adviſed by his friends to get a clauſe put into it, that he might have his remedy at law againſt ſuch as had been his illegal oppreſſors. They ſeemed to be ſenſible, that they were obnoxious, and could not juſtify what they had done. About that time the Biſhop of Durham gave Mr. Johnſon and his Lawyer a meeting, and made his peace with him to their mutual ſatisfaction. Sir Francis Withens, who pronounced the ſentence againſt him, ſent a relation of Mrs. Johnſon's to tell him a feigned ſtory, that Sir Francis lay dangerouſly ill, and could not die in peace, unleſs Mr. Johnſon would forgive him. To which he replied, that he heartily forgave him what injury he had done to him. Some few days after the ſame perſon brought Sir Francis to Mr. Johnſon as he was walking in Weſtminſter-Hall, where Sir Francis ſaluted him, and told him, *that his Chriſtian and kind anſwer had proved a reviving cordial to him.* To which Mr. Johnſon replied, that he heartily forgave the injury done to himſelf ; but as he had been an enemy to his country, he hoped he would be made accountable for it ; it being a common ſaying with him, *That he was obliged to forgive his own enemies, but not the enemies of his country* (9).

(9) Ibid. pag. 10.

[*L*] *A Committee was at the ſame time appointed to bring in a Bill for reverſing that judgment.*] The Committee was likewiſe ordered to enquire how Mr. Johnſon came to be degraded, and by what authority it was done. Mr. Chriſty, the chairman, ſome days after, reported his caſe to this purpoſe : "That in "Trinity-Term 1686, an information was exhibited "againſt Mr. Johnſon in the name of Sir Robert "Sawyer, Attorney General, for writing and publiſh-"ing a ſcandalous and ſeditious libel, intitled, *An "humble and hearty Addreſs, &c.* That the ſame "Term they forced him to plead, got a jury to find "him guilty, and Sir Francis Withens pronounced the "following ſentence upon him : *To pay five hundred "marks to the King, and to lie in priſon till it was "paid. To ſtand twice in the Pillory, in the Palace-"Yard, at Charing-Croſs, and at the Old Exchange : "and to be whipped by the common Hangman from "Newgate to Tyburn.* That the Judges then in court "were the Lord Chief Juſtice Herbert, Sir Francis "Withens, Sir Robert Wright, and Sir Richard Hol-"loway. That apprehending it would be a ſcandal "to the Clergy to have ſo infamous a puniſhment inflicted

ſented two addreſſes to the King in behalf of Mr. Johnſon. But though his Majeſty was inclinable enough to have complied with their requeſt, our author could never obtain any Church preferment [*M*]. However he did not paſs altogether without a reward; for the King gave him three hundred pounds a year out of the Poſt-Office for his and his ſon's life, beſides a thouſand pounds in money; and likewiſe beſtowed a place of about an hundred pounds a year on his ſon. On Sunday November the 27th 1692, there was an attempt to murder him. To this end ſeven aſſaſſins broke into his houſe in Bond-ſtreet very early in the morning, and five of them with a lanthorn got into his chamber, where he with his wife and young ſon was in bed. He was faſt aſleep; but his wife being awaked by their opening the door, cried out *Thieves*, and endeavoured to wake her huſband. The ruffians in the mean time threw open the curtains; three of them placed themſelves on that ſide of the bed, where he lay, with drawn ſwords and clubs, and two ſtood at the bed's-feet with piſtols. Mr. Johnſon ſtarted up, and endeavouring to defend himſelf from their aſſaults received a blow on the head, which made him fall backward. His wife cried out with great earneſtneſs, and begged them not to treat a ſick man with ſuch barbarity; upon which they pauſed a little, and one of them called to Mr. Johnſon to hold up his face; which his wife begged him to do, thinking they only deſigned to gag him, and that they would rifle the houſe, and be gone. Upon this he ſate upright; when one of the aſſaſſins cried, *Piſtol him for the book he wrote*; which diſcovered their deſign, for it was juſt after the publiſhing of his book concerning the *Abrogation of King James II.* Whilſt he ſate upright in his bed, one of them

" flicted on a Miniſter, they deſired Mr. Johnſon " might be firſt degraded; in order to which, being " a priſoner in the King's Bench, in the Dioceſe of " the Biſhop of Wincheſter, he was ſummoned to ap- " pear the 20th of November in the Convocation- " Houſe of St. Paul's in the Dioceſe of London, his " living being within that Dioceſe, and brought thither " by *Habeas Corpus*; where he found the Biſhops of " Durham, Rocheſter, and Peterborough, Commiſ- " ſioners to exerciſe the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of " London during his ſuſpenſion, with ſome Clergy- " men and many ſpectators. A libel was exhibited " againſt him, charging him with great miſbehaviours, " though none were ſpecified nor proved. That Mr. " Johnſon demanded a copy of the Libel, and an Ad- " vocate; both which the Biſhops denied, and imme- " diately proceeded to ſentence; *That he ſhould be de- " clared an infamous perſon: That he ſhould be deprived " of his Rectory: That he ſhould be a mere Layman, " and no Clerk; and be deprived of all right and pri- " vilege of Prieſthood: That he ſhould be degraded there- " of, and of all Veſtments and Habits of Prieſthood.* " Againſt which proceedings Mr. Johnſon proteſted, " as being againſt Law, and the 132d Canon, not " being done by his own Dioceſan; but his proteſta- " tion was refuſed, as was alſo his appeal to the King " in Chancery. After which they proceeded to de- " grade him, by putting a ſquare cap on his head, " and then taking it off; by pulling off his gown and " girdle, which he demanded as his proper goods " bought with his money; which they promiſed to " ſend him, but he could not get them till he paid " twenty ſhillings. Then they put a bible into his " hands, which he not parting with readily, they " took it from him by force. That on the 22d of " November the judgment in the King's-Bench be- " gan to be executed with great rigour and cruelty; " that Mr. Rouſe, the Under-Sheriff, tore off his " caſſock on the pillory, and put a frize-coat upon " him. That he was whipped with a whip of nine " cords knotted, which was ſhewed to the Committee. " That Mrs. Johnſon had alſo an information exhibit- " ed againſt her for the like matter as that againſt " her huſband. On all which the Committee came " to the following reſolutions, which, on the report " were all agreed to by the Houſe: *That the judgment " againſt Mr. Johnſon was illegal and cruel: That " the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion was illegal, and conſe- " quently the ſuſpenſion of the Biſhop of London, and the " authority committed to the three Biſhops, null and ille- " gal: That Mr. Johnſon's not being degraded by his " own Dioceſan, if he had deſerved it, was illegal. " That a bill be brought in to reverſe the judgment, " and to declare all the proceedings before the three Bi- " ſhops null and illegal: And that an addreſs be made " to his Majeſty to recommend Mr. Johnſon to ſome Ec- " cleſiaſtical Preferment ſuitable to his ſervices and ſuf- " ferings.*" The Houſe likewiſe ordered, that in the ſaid bill the proceedings upon the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion ſhould be declared void (10).

(10) Ibid. pag. 10, 11.

[*M*] *Our author could never obtain any Church preferment.*] This may appear ſtrange, when it is conſidered how well he deſerved it; but Mr. Hamden, who was his Fellow-Priſoner, and great friend, may help to furniſh us with ſome reaſons for it in the account, which he gave of Mr. Johnſon's book about the *Abrogation of King James*, to the Ducheſs of Mazarine. " The " Biſhops, *ſays he*, and Clergy of the Church of " England, having abandoned King James, and owned " King William and Queen Mary; ſuch of them as " had formerly maintained the doctrine of Paſſive Obe- " dience and Non-Reſiſtance in an unlimited ſenſe, " were upbraided with it, as having acted contrary to " thoſe principles, which they had impoſed upon " others to believe on pain of damnation. The mat- " ter of fact being undeniable, ſeveral of them, rather " than own their miſtake, had recourſe to ſubterfuges " to juſtify their practice, and at the ſame time to " maintain their doctrine. To this end they publiſhed " ſeveral books, one of which advanced, that King " William had conquered the nation by his army and " fleet, and therefore they were obliged to ſubmit to " him as a conqueror, but not as to a King ſet up by " Parliamentary authority, it not being in the power " of the nation to change or dethrone their Kings. " Others not liking this way of arguing had recourſe to " another topic, viz. that God, for the fulfilling of Pro- " phecies, and of his own Eternal Decrees, had, by an " extraordinary Providence, and by virtue of his abſolute " power to diſpoſe of Princes and people as he pleaſed, " ſet up King William upon the throne by his own " hand: Therefore they were obliged to ſubmit to his " will. Some again liking neither of theſe arguments, " but ſtill being willing to ſave their doctrine of " Paſſive Obedience, ſaid, that it was not the nation, " either by themſelves, or repreſentatives, who had " dethroned King James, but that he depoſed himſelf, " by deſerting and abdicating the Kingdom. There- " fore they were obliged to ſet up another in " his place, leſt the nation ſhould fall into a republic, " which would have been the greateſt of all calami- " ties. Others again endeavoured to juſtify themſelves " from the authority of St. Paul, who commands all " Chriſtians to ſubmit to the powers that be; from " whence they inferred, that it did not belong to " ſubjects to enquire into the rights of Princes, but to " ſubmit to thoſe who are in poſſeſſion, without " troubling themſelves to examine whether their titles " were good or not." *Theſe ſeveral propoſitions*, ſays the writer of *Some memorials of our author* (11), *being maintained by Divines of note, it is the leſs to be wondered that Mr. Johnſon, who oppoſed thoſe principles, and particularly in his book about the* Abrogation of King James, *could get no Church Preferment, ſince he had ſuch numerous and powerful enemies among the Clergy, who repreſented him as a republican, for maintaining that King William and Queen Mary were ſet up in his ſtead by authority of Parliament.*

(11) Ibid. pag. 12.

them cut him with a ſword over the eye-brow, and thoſe at the bed's-feet preſented their piſtols at him; but upon Mr. Johnſon's paſſionate entreaties they went off, without doing him further miſchief, or rifling the houſe. A Surgeon was immediately ſent for, who found two wounds on his head, and his body much bruiſed. However with due care he recovered, and afterwards died in peace, though in what year we have no certain account. His works were reprinted together at London in one volume in fol. (*) [*N*].

(*) The ſecond edition was printed in 1713.

[*N*] *His works were reprinted together at London in one volume in folio.*] Beſides his writings already mentioned, this collection contains the following tracts. I. *Remarks upon Dr. Sherlock's Book intitled,* The Caſe of Reſiſtance of the ſupreme powers ſtated and reſolved, according to the doctrine of the Holy Scripture. This book of Mr. Johnſon's was written in the year 1683, and publiſhed in 1689. II. *Reflections on the Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience*; firſt printed in the year 1689. III. *An Argument proving, that the Abrogation of King James by the People of England from the regal throne, and the promotion of the Prince of Orange, one of the royal family, to the throne of the Kingdom in his ſtead, was according to the conſtitution of the Engliſh Government, and preſcribed by it. In oppoſition to all the falſe and treacherous Hypotheſes of Uſurpation, Conqueſt, Deſertion, and of taking the Powers that are upon Content.* Firſt printed at London 1692 in 4to. Dedicated to the Commons of England in Parliament aſſembled. This book occaſioned *A Letter from Oxford concerning Mr. Samuel Johnſon's late book,* Oxford 1693 in 4to, pagg. 31. The author of this Pamphlet obſerves (12), that it was reported at Oxford, "that Mr. Johnſon's "book is not well received at Court, where, of all "other places, in our poor opinions, it ought to meet "with the kindeſt entertainment, becauſe it juſtifies "his Majeſty's proceedings, which were previous to "the Revolution; and repreſents him, as the truth "is, to be a King, who has a juſt and a legal right to "the Crown by the laws of the land. By what logic "it can be made ill doctrine to aſſert the lawfulneſs "of removing bad Princes under the government of "good ones, and thoſe ſuch, as upon a ſuppoſition of "the unlawfulneſs of removing bad ones, can have no "good title to the Crown themſelves, is what we can-"not eaſily comprehend. But I have ever thought, that "Courtiers ſee farther into a mill-ſtone than other men, "and that their way of reaſoning differs from that of "the reſt of mankind, ſince I ſaw King Charles II "heal. I took notice, that when the King put the "gold about their necks that came to be touched, the "Biſhop repeated over and over theſe words out of "St. John's Goſpel, viz. *This is the true light, which "enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.* I "aſked a Courtier what relation the meaning of thoſe "words could have to ſuch an occaſion? And he told "me, that I interpreted Scripture like a Peaſant, and "that I did not underſtand the Court-Interpretation of "Scripture." He concludes with theſe words (13). "We could wiſh that Mr. *Johnſon* had inlarged his "book with what he does but hint at and barely "mention: I mean the doctrine of the *Mirrour*, the "*Confeſſor's Laws*, the Curtana *ſword*, and the power "of the *Lord High Steward*, and other great officers of "the Kingdom; but particularly that he had given us "an account of the authority of the Lord *High Steward*, "concerning which great officer, we find but ſome few "ſcraps here and there in any printed book; but they are "ſuch as give us good cauſe to believe that he was farther "intruſted and impowered to redreſs miſgovernment in "the ſtate, than our Clergy are generally aware of. And "tho' there be no ſuch ſtanding officer at this day; yet "there having been ſuch an one, it would do well, "if we were informed both wherein his office did par-"ticularly conſiſt, and how it came to be diſuſed." IV. *An Eſſay concerning Parliaments at a certainty; or, the Kalends of May.* V. *Notes upon the Phenix Edition of the* Paſtoral Letter. Firſt printed in 1694 in 4to. VI. *A Confutation of a late Pamphlet, intitled,* A Letter ballancing the Neceſſity of keeping a Land-Force in time of Peace, with the dangers that may follow on it. Firſt printed in 1697. VII. *The ſecond Part of the Confutation of the* Ballancing Letter; *being an occaſional Diſcourſe in Vindication of* Magna Charta. In this tract he endeavours to ſhew, "firſt that *Magna Charta* "is much older than King John's time, and conſe-"quently that its birth cannot be blemiſhed with any "thing that was done in his time, though his confir-"mation of it had been really extorted by rebellion. "Secondly, that the confirmations, which were had "and procured to it in King John's and Henry III's "time, were far from being gained by rebellion," He concludes with obſerving, "that the plain notion "of *Magna Charta* is this. It is a ſummary of the "native and inherent rights of Engliſhmen, which "the Norman Kings by granting afterwards by Char-"ter, bound themſelves not to break in upon and in-"vade; ſo that it was only a Norman-faſhioned ſecu-"rity, that theſe rights ſhould not be violated. But "we do not hold theſe rights by Charter, no, not by "the old dear-bought Parchment and Wax, for they "are the birthright of Engliſhmen, which no Kings "could ever give or take away. They are, as they "are called 25 *Edward III. the Franchiſes of the "Land*; and every Engliſhman by being born in the "land is born to them." VIII. *Several Diſcourſes upon Practical Subjects*; containing eleven Sermons.

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(12) Pag. 19.

(13) Pag. 30, 31.

☞JOHNSON (JOHN) was the only ſon of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Johnſon Vicar of Frindſbury near Rocheſter in the county of Kent, and of Mary his wife, the daughter of the Reverend Mr. Francis Drayton Rector of Little Chart in the ſame county, but within the Dioceſe of Canterbury [*A*]. He was born December the 30th in the year of our Lord 1662, and was educated in the King's School at Canterbury, where he made ſuch a progreſs in the three learned languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew under Mr. Lovejoy then maſter of that ſchool, that when he was very little more than fifteen years of age he was ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he was admitted in the College of St. Mary Magdalen, under the tuition of Mr. Turner Fellow of that Houſe March the 4th $167\frac{7}{8}$. And in Lent Term $168\frac{1}{2}$ he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts as a Member of that College. Soon after he was nominated by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury to a Scholarſhip in Corpus Chriſti (commonly called Bennet) College in that Univerſity, being of the Foundation of Matthew Parker, the firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury after the Reformation was ſettled under Queen Elizabeth, to which he was admitted April the 29th 1682 under the tuition of Mr. Beck Fellow of that Houſe. He took the degree of Maſter of Arts as a Member of Bennet College at the commencement

[*A*] *Within the Dioceſe of Canterbury.*] His father, having been married about four years, died, leaving his ſon and one daughter to the care of his wife, with a ſmall eſtate; which lying at Barham near Canterbury, ſhe ſettled in that city for the conveniency of her children's education; where ſhe continued near ſixty years, dying about the ninetieth year of her age, about two years after the death of her ſon, which was prudently concealed from her by her daughter, that ſhe might not in her very old age be diſquieted with the knowledge of ſuch a loſs, and thereby the little remainder of her life be made more uneaſy to her.

commencement 1685. Soon after he entred into Deacons Orders, and became Curate to the Reverend Mr. Thomas Hardres Rector of both Upper and Lower Hardres near Canterbury. He was ordained Prieſt in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, by the Right Reverend Dr. Thomas Sprat Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter and Dean of Weſtminſter, December the 19th 1686. And July the 9th 1687, he was collated to the Vicarage of Boughton under the Blean, by the moſt Reverend Father in God Dr. William Sancroft Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and at the ſame time he was allowed by the ſame Archbiſhop to hold the adjoining Vicarage of Hern-Hill by ſequeſtration: both which Churches he ſupplied himſelf, officiating one part of the day at one Church and the other at the other Church [*B*]. In the year 1689 October the 24th, he married Margaret the daughter of Thomas Jenkin of the Iſle of Thanet Gent. ſiſter to the Reverend Mr. Robert Jenkin late Maſter of St. John's College in Cambridge, and to the Reverend Mr. Henry Jenkin Rector of Tilney in Norfolk. About the ſame time there was one Sale, a vile fellow (who had counterfeited holy Orders, having forged Letters of Ordination both for himſelf and his father) that came into this Dioceſe, and taking occaſion from the confuſion occaſioned by the Revolution, during the time Archbiſhop Sancroft was under ſuſpenſion, and before Dr. Tillotſon was conſecrated to the Archbiſhopric, he made it his buſineſs to find out what Livings were held by ſequeſtration only, and procured the Broad Seal for one of theſe for himſelf, and another for his father [*C*]. Mr. Johnſon hereupon thought it neceſſary to ſecure his Vicarage of Hern-Hill, that he might prevent Sale, or any ſuch like fellow, from depriving him of that benefice: and Archbiſhop Sancroft being then deprived *ab Officio* only, but not *a Beneficio*, preſented him to Hern-Hill, to which he was inſtituted October the 16th 1689, by Dr. George Oxenden Vicar General to the Archbiſhop, but at that time to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, Guardians of the Spiritualities during the ſuſpenſion of the Archbiſhop. But as the Living had been ſo long held by ſequeſtration, that it was lapſed to the Crown, he found it neceſſary to corroborate his title with the Broad Seal, which was given him April the 12th 1690. In the year 1697 the Vicarage of St. John in the Iſle of Thanet, to which the town of Margate belongs, becoming void, Archbiſhop Teniſon the Patron conſidering the largeneſs of the Cure, was deſirous to place there a perſon better qualified than ordinary to ſupply it, and could think of no man in his Dioceſe ſo well qualified for ſuch a town as Mr. Johnſon, and therefore entreated him to undertake the paſtoral care of that large and populous pariſh. And becauſe the Benefice was but ſmall and the Cure very great, the Archbiſhop, to induce him to accept of it, collated him to the Vicarage of Appledore (a good benefice) on the borders of Romney Marſh, on the firſt day of May 1697; but Mr. Johnſon choſe to hold Margate by ſequeſtration only. And having now two ſons ready to be inſtructed in learning, he would not ſend them abroad to ſchool, but taught them himſelf; ſaying that he thought it as much the duty of a father to teach his own children, if he was capable of doing it, as it was of the mother to ſuckle and nurſe them in their infancy, if ſhe was able; and becauſe he believed they would learn better in company than alone, he took two or three boarders to teach with them, being the ſons of ſome particular friends, He was much importuned by ſeveral others of his acquaintance to take their ſons, but he refuſed: for he was well known throughout the Dioceſe to which he belonged, and his ability in all parts of learning ſo much eſteemed, that though he lived in the remoteſt corner of the country, he might have had a large houſe full of boarders if he had pleaſed. But finding he could not attend his little ſchool, his great Cure, and his ſtudies in ſuch manner as he was deſirous to do, he humbly entreated his Patron, the Archbiſhop, to give him leave entirely to quit Margate, and to retire to his Cure of Appledore, which, with ſome difficulty was at laſt granted him; but not till his Grace had made enquiry throughout his Dioceſe and the Univerſity of Cambridge for one

[*B*] *And the other at the other Church.*] Although he entered ſo young on the cure of ſouls, yet by his firſt ſermon he convinced his pariſhioners and all others who heard him (which were not a few) that he was well qualified for that charge. His text was *Heb.* xiii. 17. *Obey them that have the rule over you and ſubmit your ſelves, for they watch for your ſouls, as they that muſt give an account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief, for that is unprofitable for you.* From which words he took occaſion to inform them what was his own duty to them, and that he purpoſed faithfully to diſcharge it: and likewiſe what he might reaſonably expect from them, that his labour and care might not be vain. This he did in ſuch a manner, as to convince all that heard him, that young as he was, he very well underſtood his office, and how he ought to execute it, and that he was a perſon whoſe youth they might not deſpiſe. And he proceeded anſwerable to this beginning: ſo that he was very much beloved and reſpected in both his pariſhes; and was alſo ſoon taken notice of by the neighbouring Clergy of the city of Canterbury, and the adjacent parts, as one no ways inferior, except in age, to any Pariſh-Prieſt in the Dioceſe.

[*C*] *One for himſelf and another for his father.*] Dr. Tillotſon, during the three years he held the Archbiſhopric, never viſited the Dioceſe: but Dr. Teniſon in the firſt year of his tranſlation to it, in the year 1695, made his viſitation, at which time all perſons that had cures were required to ſhew their letters of ordination. Theſe letters of ordination being put into the hands of Dr. John Batteley, then Archdeacon of Canterbury, upon the peruſal of thoſe exhibited by the two Sales, he ſoon diſcovered them to be forged; and charged them with it. The ſon obſtinately maintained that the letters were not forged, but the father ſoon confeſſed that he was never ordained; only that his ſon had brought him theſe two pieces of parchment, and told him that one of theſe made him a Deacon and the other a Prieſt. However they ſtaid not to be proſecuted, but both fled immediately. What became of them afterwards I know not; only have heard that the ſon ſet up ſomewhere for a Preacher among the Diſſenters.

one might be thought qualified to ſucceed him [*D*]. He ſettled at Appledore in the year 1703, and as ſoon as his eldeſt ſon was fit for the Univerſity (which he was, before he attained to be full fifteen years of age, in the year 1705) he ſent him to Cambridge, and his other ſon to ſchool till he was of age to be put out apprentice, and diſmiſſed all the reſt of his ſcholars. He ſeemed much pleaſed with Appledore at his firſt retirement thither, as a place where he could follow his ſtudies without interruption. But this ſatisfaction was not of long continuance; for that marſhy air, in a year or two, brought a ſevere ſickneſs on himſelf and all his family, ſo that they were every one like to die; but it pleaſed God they all eſcaped at that time. Nevertheleſs, his conſtitution (which till then had been very good) was ſo broken, that he never afterwards recovered it in a degree like what he had before enjoyed. This made him deſirous to remove from thence as ſoon as he could; and the Vicarage of Cranbrook becoming void, he aſked the Archbiſhop to beſtow it on him, which his Grace readily did, and accordingly collated him to it April the 13th 1707, where he continued till his death, holding Appledore with it [*E*]. In the year 1710, and again in the year 1713, he was choſen by the Clergy of the Dioceſe of Canterbury to be one of their Proctors for the Convocation ſummoned to meet with the Parliament in thoſe years. And as the firſt of theſe Convocations was permitted to ſit and act, and to treat of matters of Religion (though they brought no buſineſs to any perfection, by reaſon of the difference had been raiſed between the two Houſes) he conſtantly attended the Houſe of which he was a member whilſt any matter was there under debate; whereby his parts and learning came to be known and eſteemed by the moſt eminent Clergy of the Province, as they had been before by thoſe of the Dioceſe where he lived; ſo that from this time he was frequently ſought to for his opinion in particular caſes, and had letters ſent to him from the remoteſt parts of the Province of Canterbury, and ſometimes from the other Province alſo, to conſult him for his opinion in matters of learning, eſpecially as to what concerned our Religion and our Eccleſiaſtical Laws. He continued at Cranbrook about eighteen years; and as he had been highly valued, eſteemed and beloved at all other places where he had reſided, ſo was he here alſo by all that were true friends to the *pure Catholic Religion of* JESUS CHRIST, as profeſſed and eſtabliſhed in the Church of England. But as there were many Diſſenters of all denominations in that place, and ſome others, who (though they frequented the Church yet) ſeemed to like the Diſſenters better, and to ſide with them upon all occaſions, except going to their meetings for religious worſhip, I cannot ſay how they loved and eſteemed him. However, he was ſo remarkably upright in his life and converſation, that even they could accuſe him of no other fault, except his known hearty zeal for the Church of England, which all impartial perſons would have judged a virtue. For certainly thoſe that have not an hearty affection for a Church ought not to be made Prieſts of it. Some of thoſe favourers of the Diſſenters ſtudied to make him uneaſy, by endeavouring to raiſe a party in his pariſh againſt them, merely becauſe they could not make him like themſelves, a Latitudinarian in matters of Religion; but they failed in their deſign, and his friends were too many for them [*F*]. A little before he left Appledore, he began to diſcover that learning to the world, which till this time was little known beyond the Dioceſe where he lived, except to ſome particular acquaintance, by printing ſeveral Tracts; though his modeſty was ſuch, that he would not put his name to them, till they had, at leaſt, a ſecond edition. The firſt of theſe was a *Paraphraſe with Notes on the Book of Pſalms according to the Tranſlation retained in our Common-Prayer Book* [*G*]. This he publiſhed in the year 1706. The next book he wrote and

[*D*] *One might be thought qualified to ſucceed him.*] Mr. John Warren, then Fellow of Queen's College in Cambridge, was with ſome intreaty prevailed with to accept the cure, and gave very good ſatisfaction to the pariſhioners, being a very good Preacher, and of a friendly diſpoſition: but not voting for Parliament and Convocation men ſo as to pleaſe the Archbiſhop, and holding this living by ſequeſtration only, his Grace required him to quit it after he had held it two years. But he ſoon after became Chaplain to Dr. Blackhall Biſhop of Exon, by whom he was preferred to a living and a Prebend in that Church. He died in the year 1736.

[*E*] *Holding Appledore with it.*] He maintained a conſtant Reſident-Curate at Appledore: and as Cranbrook was a very large cure, though but a ſmall benefice, he for many years kept a Curate there alſo to aſſiſt him. Neither did he leave Appledore ſo intirely to his Curate, as not to make his pariſhioners there frequent viſits, and to preach and adminiſter the Holy Euchariſt to them.

[*F*] *His friends were too many for them.*] Cranbrook and other pariſhes in the Weald of Kent have a great number of Diſſenters of all ſorts, Preſbyterians, Anabaptiſts, Quakers, &c. A certain Squire in the pariſh, being a Juſtice of the Peace, and a profeſſed admirer of Dr. Tindal's book falſely intitled *The Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, endeavoured to make himſelf Church-Warden, that he might be as troubleſome to Mr. Johnſon as he could. But notwithſtanding he brought in all the Diſſenters, and likewiſe the poor, blind and lame to vote for him, he could not carry his point. However he commenced a ſuit in the ſpiritual court on that occaſion, wherein he was caſt; and not paying his fees, and ſtanding in contempt of the court, he was excommunicated. Upon which he firſt turned Preſbyterian, then Anabaptiſt and Sabbatarian, amongſt whom he is now a Preacher. This Gentleman was the only one, who endeavoured to give Mr. Johnſon any diſturbance in his pariſh, but according to the proverb, *Though he often ſhewed his teeth he could never bite.*

[*G*] *Tranſlation retained in our Common-Prayer-Book.*] The book bears this title. *Holy David and his Old Engliſh Tranſlators cleared and vindicated. Containing* 1. *Directions for the more devout uſing the* Pſalms, *and a Short Hiſtorical Account of the Tranſlation and Tranſlators.* 2. *The* Pſalter or Pſalms of David *after the Tranſlation of the great Bible, printed as they are to be ſung or ſaid in Churches. With large Explanatory Notes.* 3. *A*

and publiſhed was the *Clergyman's Vade Mecum* in the year 1708 [*H*]. And in the year 1709 the *Clergyman's Vade Mecum*, Part 2. [*I*]. In the year 1710 the *Propitiatory Oblation in the Euchariſt* [*K*]. In the year 1714 *The Unbloody Sacrifice* [*L*]. In the year 1717

3. *A general Defence of this Old Tranſlation in Anſwer to all the Objections and Cavils that have been raiſed againſt it.* He choſe to vindicate this tranſlation, becauſe the Clergy are obliged to give their aſſent and conſent to it, as well as to the other parts of the book of Common-Prayer. And in this work he ſhewed himſelf a great maſter both of the Greek and Hebrew languages, eſpecially with regard to the Holy Scriptures, and an excellent critic to judge when it might be more proper to follow the tranſlation of the Septuagint than our preſent Hebrew copies as pointed by the Maſorites.

[*H*] *Clergyman's* Vade Mecum *in the year* 1708.] This book (as we learn from the title-page) contains *An Account of the Antient and Preſent Church of England, the Duties and Rights of the Clergy, and of their Privileges and Hardſhips. Containing full Directions relating to Ordination, Inſtitution, and Induction, and moſt of the Difficulties which they commonly meet with in the Diſcharge of their Office.* Here he ſhews himſelf to be well ſkilled in all the laws of this Church civil or eccleſiaſtical. And this book was ſo well received by the public, eſpecially by the Clergy, that about every third year there was a call for a new impreſſion: for in about fifteen years there were no fewer than five editions of it; the firſt edition being in the year 1708, and the fifth in the year 1723.

[*I*] *Clergyman's* Vade Mecum, *Part* 2.] This Part contains the Canonical Codes of the Primitive, Univerſal, Eaſtern and Weſtern Church down to the year of our Lord 787. done from the Original Greek and Latin, omitting no canon, decree, or any part of them that is curious or inſtructive. With explanatory Notes, a large Index, or a Preface ſhewing the uſefulneſs of the work, with ſome reflections on two books called *Moderate Conformity*, and the *Rights of the Church*. In this ſecond Part he ſhewed himſelf to be no leſs ſkilled in the eccleſiaſtical laws and diſcipline of the antient Catholic Church, than in the former he had ſhewed it in the laws and diſcipline of his own particular Church. And of this book he lived to ſee three editions.

[*K*] *The propitiatory oblation in the Holy Euchariſt.*] This little piece, as likewiſe all that he had hitherto publiſhed, came out without a name. This, as to the former books proceeded from his modeſty, he being willing to continue in the ſame obſcurity he had done unto this time. But the books, when they had been read, gave ſo general a ſatisfaction, that people could not help enquiring who was the author of them: neither could his particular friends, to whom he had been ſo kind as to give them, forbear to let the world know to whom they were obliged for thoſe valuable and uſeful treatiſes. But as to this *Propitiatory Oblation*, he has himſelf given us the reaſon, why he conceals his name, at the very beginning of that book: where he ſays, "The impartial reader will not entertain any "prejudice againſt this treatiſe for coming abroad "without a name, if he do but conſider how dange-"rous it is for a man openly to plead on that ſide of "the cauſe, for which I have declared in my title-"page. A very learned Divine has been ſometimes, "in words at length, reproached for being inclined "to Popery, becauſe he had freely declared his mind "to this purpoſe. His adverſary is not content to "hint his ſuſpicion once or twice, but repeats it al-"moſt twenty times in a book conſiſting of little more "than two hundred pages: and I do not think it ne-"ceſſary to give opportunity to ſuch men to mark "me out for deſtruction by loading me with that in-"famous character." And the then Biſhop of Norwich (afterwards of Wincheſter) Dr. Charles Trimnel, having in a Charge to his Clergy (printed a little before the publication of this tract) made ſome reflections on a paſſage or two in the ſecond Part of the *Vade Mecum* relating to this ſubject, Mr. Johnſon added a Poſtſcript to vindicate that paſſage from his Lordſhip's objections. But notwithanding his endeavours to conceal himſelf, he was quickly known to be the author of this book, and he was ſoon after reflected on upon that account, and his book anſwered (I mean pretended to be anſwered) by Dr. Thomas Wiſe, a Clergyman then beneficed at Canterbury, and ſome others, who thereby endeavoured to pleaſe the then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Thomas Teniſon, who did not approve the doctrine of the EUCHARISTICK SACRIFICE; and this put Mr. Johnſon quite out of favour at Lambeth during the remaining part of that Archbiſhop's life, who till this time ſeemed at leaſt to have a particular eſteem for him. However this did not diſcourage him from going on to maintain what he believed to be the truth; which he judged he was obliged to adhere to, whomſoever he might diſpleaſe by it, eſpecially if it was what he believed this to be, an *Important Truth*. Therefore he reſolved to examine and to handle the argument more thoroughly, and to ſet the *Chriſtian Sacrifice* in its full light, and to prove the Holy Euchariſt to be a Sacrifice truly and properly ſo called from the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and the teſtimony of the Antient Fathers and Liturgies of the firſt four or five centuries after Chriſt. This was a work, which required time and labour to collect materials, and judgment to make a proper uſe of them. However in about three years he finiſhed the firſt and moſt laborious part of this very uſeful work.

[*L*] *The Unbloody Sacrifice.*] The whole title is, *The Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar unveiled and ſupported. In which the Nature of the Euchariſt is explained according to the Sentiments of the Chriſtian Church in the four firſt Centuries. Proving that the Euchariſt is a proper material Sacrifice. That it is both Euchariſtick and Propitiatory. That it is to be offered by proper Officers. That the Oblation is to be made on a proper Altar. That it is to be conſumed by Manducation. To which is added a Proof that what our Saviour ſpeaks concerning eating his Fleſh and drinking his Blood in the ſixth chapter of St.* John's *Goſpel is principally meant of the Euchariſt. With a Prefatory Epiſtle to the Lord Biſhop of Norwich. Animadverſions on the Reverend Dr. Wiſe's Book, which he calls the* Chriſtian Euchariſt ſtated. *And ſome Reflections on a ſtitched Book intituled,* An Anſwer to the Exceptions made againſt the Lord Biſhop of Oxford's (Dr. William Talbot's, afterwards Lord Biſhop of Durham's) Charge. At the end is a collection of the Teſtimonies of the Antient Fathers, Councils and Liturgies in the Original Greek or Latin, wherein they were written, which are referred to in ſeveral parts of the book, beginning with St. Clement of Rome, who was contemporary with the Apoſtles, and ending with Theodorit who flouriſhed *A. D.* 423. With the Council of Toledo *A. D.* 400. The Sacramentary of St. Gregory *A. D.* 590. In the Prefatory Epiſtle to this book, addreſſed to the Right Reverend the then Biſhop of Norwich, he uſes a true Engliſh freedom with that Prelate, yet is in no wiſe wanting in the reſpect due to his character. At the beginning of this addreſs he ſays, "My Lord, you are one of that Reverend Order, "which has always been eſteemed, till now, of very "late, to have had the guardianſhip of the Altar in "an eſpecial manner committed to it by Chriſt him-"ſelf. One Biſhop and one Altar, has been the diſ-"tinguiſhing motto of the Apoſtolical Church ever "ſince the time of St. Ignatius, and to contend *pro* "*Aris* (for the Altars) has ever been thought ho-"nourable in all men, but eſpecially in thoſe whoſe "buſineſs is continually to attend them." And p. 10. he ſays, "I have reaſon to expect that all impartial "men ſhould believe what I now ſay, till our oppo-"nents can produce a proof of a Biſhop without an "Altar, or a Liturgy without a proper Sacrifice from "the remains of genuine antiquity.." And pag. 25. he ſays, "I doubt not but in the primitive Church, "whatever Biſhop had oppoſed or depraved the Sa-"crifice, he would have been immediately obliged "to give place to an Orthodox Succeſſor. For I "have reaſon to believe, that the antient Biſhops, "Clergy and people were not more uniform in any "point of doctrine or worſhip, than in the notions and "practice concerning the Euchariſtical Oblation." And at the concluſion of this Prefatory Epiſtle, pag. 59. he ſays, "I ſhall think it much more honourable in

"the

1717 *The Unbloody Sacrifice*, Part 2. [*M*]. In the year 1720 *A Collection of Eccleſiaſtical*

" the ſight of God and my ever bleſſed Redeemer, " and of all truly judicious Chriſtians, to be conſi- " dered as the laſt Prieſt of this Church that ever " wrote in defence of the Sacrifice, than to have been " the firſt Biſhop that ever oppoſed it." In the ſame Prefatory Epiſtle he alſo takes notice of the then Biſhop of Oxford, Dr. William Talbot, and one or two more who had written againſt the ſacrifice, and expoſes the weakneſs of their arguments both with judgment and ſmartneſs. And the book itſelf gives full and ſatisfactory proofs of what is promiſed in the title page; in which he ſhewed himſelf ſo much an overmatch for all his adverſaries in learning as well as reaſoning, that none of them afterwards attacked him openly in a manner worthy of his notice. Indeed he had one great advantage over them, for he contended for the truth: and as he ſhews in his Prefatory Epiſtle pag. 22, GREAT IS THE TRUTH, AND WILL PREVAIL AGAINST THE MOST POWERFUL OPPONENTS. In a word, he ſhewed himſelf a compleat maſter of his ſubject, while his adverſaries appeared to have but a very ſuperficial knowledge of it. However one Mr. Pfaffy a German Divine of the Lutheran perſuaſion, and tutor to the young Prince of Wirtenburg, took upon him to be a kind of moderator in this controverſy, and was pleaſed to expreſs his diſlike of ſome things in this firſt part of the *Unbloody Sacrifice*; and Dr. John Turner at that time Vicar of Greenwich, and afterwards Prebendary of Canterbury, made ſome reflections upon it in a pamphlet which he called *The Chriſtian Euchariſt no proper Sacrifice*, wherein he charges Mr. Johnſon with aſſertions, that are not to be found in his book or any thing like them. The ſame was alſo done by another, who although he had been much obliged to Mr. Johnſon, and had pretended great friendſhip, yet when he found he was out of favour at Lambeth, thought it proper to publiſh to the world that he was no longer his friend; for although we ought not to join with a friend in what we believe to be erroneous, yet common honeſty will not allow us to charge even an enemy with what he has not aſſerted. Alſo his old antagoniſt Dr. Wiſe, in *a Letter of Advice to Dr. Brett* (as he called it, though he never ſent it to him) under the borrowed name of *Ezekiel Standfaſt*, made ſome ſcurrilous reflections on Mr. Johnſon and this book of his. But not one of theſe ſaid any thing that deſerved a reply, ſince they did not invalidate one argument or authority in the whole book.

[*M*] *The* Unbloody Sacrifice, *Part* II.] The Printer by miſtake has dated it 1718, but it was really printed and publiſhed in February 171⅞, the whole title is, *The Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar unveiled and ſupported. In which the nature of the Euchariſt is explained according to the Sentiments of the Chriſtian Church in the four firſt Centuries. Part the Second: Shewing the Agreement and Diſagreement of the Euchariſt with the Sacrifices of the Antients, and the Excellency of the former. The great moment of the Euchariſt, both as a Feaſt and Sacrifice. The Neceſſity of frequent Communion. The Unity of the Euchariſt. The Nature of Excommunication. And the primitive Method of Preparation. With Devotions for the Altar.* In the Preface to this book he takes notice of the forementioned perſons who had written againſt his former book. Mr. Pfaffy he treats like a Gentleman and a Scholar, becauſe he had ſhewed himſelf to be ſo, though his objections were eaſily anſwered, eſpecially by one who was ſo great a maſter of the ſubject as Mr. Johnſon. The other he juſt mentions, and treats them with contempt, as they deſerved. Theſe two books of the *Unbloody Sacrifice* deſerve to be well read and conſidered by every Divine, and to have a place in every Clergyman's ſtudy: and the ſecond part is very proper to be in the hands of every pious Chriſtian. This was his deſign in writing theſe two books, as he informs us in his Preface to his Second Part, where he ſays, " The firſt part of this work was compoſed for " the uſe of them who had leiſure and inclination to " enter into the more abſtruſe parts of this controverſy. " Since my publication of it, I have been deſired by " perſons of great worth and judgment to draw up " a ſcheme of this doctrine, and in as narrow a com- " paſs and as plain a ſtyle as poſſible; for the infor- " mation of ſuch readers as do not care to concern " themſelves with books which require long and " earneſt application. I have accordingly ſo con- " trived this ſecond part, that though it be much leſs " than the former, and be chiefly intended to com- " pleat my whole deſign on this ſubject, yet the firſt " view of the Sacrament of the Euchariſt may be ta- " ken from this volume. To this end I have been " obliged to repeat ſome things in the Introduction, " which have been ſaid in the firſt part; and yet I " may call them improvements rather than repetitions: " And that a middling reader might be capable of un- " derſtanding the book, I have always endeavoured " to expreſs myſelf in the moſt known common words " our language affords, or at leaſt that I could find. " The ſubject is ſeemingly new: For whatever is ſo " old as to be out of uſe has no appearance of novelty " in the eyes of the preſent generation. But in truth, " the *Sacrifice of the EUCHARIST* is as old as " Chriſtianity itſelf, and ſacrifice in general as old as " mankind. Now to receive notions which have been " long ſince out of date, and to expreſs the opinions " and practice of the antients in the language of the " preſent age, and to do it in ſuch a manner as to ren- " der their thoughts agreeable to the reliſh of com- " mon Engliſh readers, is no eaſy matter. However " my end was to be underſtood by all. If I miſs of my " aim, the reader is to impute it to my want of " words." After the publication of this ſecond part, Mr. Johnſon had the ſatisfaction to find, that though this truly primitive doctrine of the Chriſtian Church, which he endeavoured to revive in theſe two books, was not ſo heartily and generally embraced as he could have wiſhed, yet it was leſs ſpoken againſt. His adverſaries were ſo far ſilenced as to ſuppreſs their railing accuſations of Popery, and durſt no longer directly deny the doctrine to be true, though they would not acknowledge it to be ſo, only intimating as if they thought it a doctrine, which, though it might be true, yet was not neceſſary to be taught or known. This appears from the Preface of the next book of which I am to give an account; wherein, at pag. liii. he ſays, " Our Right Reverend Fathers do, upon all occaſions, " hint to us their opinion of the neceſſity of reviewing " the Liturgy of the Church of England. And I can- " not but declare my opinion that there is no one of- " fice in that book more needs a review, than the " Communion Service. And I cannot but conceive " ſome hopes this will be done, whenever our Con- " vocation ſhall be permitted to enter on that great " work. For I cannot but with ſatisfaction obſerve " that Divines, of greateſt note in our Church, do " not ſpeak ſuch abhorrence, or expreſs ſo zealous an in- " dignation againſt the ſacrifice, as they have formerly " done. One of the moſt eminent of them, whom I " ſhould leaſt of all hope to favour my ſentiments, in " a Sermon preached at the anniverſary meeting of " the Charity Schools, 1716, is content to ſay, *whe- " ther the Lord's Supper be a real Sacrifice, or only a " commemoration of a real Sacrifice, Divines are agreed " that the real effects are the very ſame.* And it is " true, that Divines, who do not believe the Euchariſt " to be a Sacrifice, may, and probably do, propoſe to " themſelves the ſame ends in adminiſtring and re- " ceiving this Sacrament, with thoſe who believe it " to be a Sacrifice; but the true ſtate of the queſtion " is, whether they, who do not believe it to be a Sa- " crifice, nor adminiſter it as ſuch, do really obtain " theſe ends? Or whether it can be that Sacrament " which was inſtituted by Chriſt, if it be not conſe- " crated in the manner Chriſt directed? Or whether " it can be truly conſecrated without being offered to " God? Further, this great man thinks it much to " be lamented, *That Divines ſhould raiſe a diſpute " concerning that point* (the Sacrifice of the Euchariſt) " *at a time when it is openly denied that the Sacrifice of " Chriſt was real and propitiatory.* Now, with ſub- " miſſion, I know no time more ſeaſonable for the " confutation of this falſe doctrine, than that in which " it was publiſhed and advanced. And by proving " the Euchariſt to be a Sacrifice, we do, by neceſſary " conſequence, prove Chriſt's natural body and blood " to have been a Sacrifice. And if it was a Sacrifice, " it muſt unavoidably have been propitiatory, becauſe

ſiaſtical Laws &c. [*N*]. In the year 1728, Mary his daughter, and only ſurviving child being his Executrix, publiſhed ſome poſthumous Diſcourſes of his which he had deſigned for the preſs, if it had pleaſed God to have continued him longer here [*O*]. And as no Prieſt was more careful and diligent to inſtruct thoſe committed to his care in the knowledge of their duty by his Sermons and Diſcourſes, ſo was he no leſs careful to inſtruct them by his example in a regular Chriſtian life: and therefore none was better beloved

" there never was a ſacrifice offered to God in a due " manner, but what was propitiatory. Propitiation " is eſſential to Sacrifice duly offered. And I muſt " humbly declare my opinion, that it is impoſſible " to eſtabliſh the doctrine of Chriſt's body and blood " being a real Sacrifice, by any other arguments but " thoſe by which we prove the Euchariſt to have " been inſtituted as a Sacrifice by our bleſſed Saviour. " It would be a very great hardſhip upon the aſſertors " of the Sacrifice, if they muſt be reſtrained from " publiſhing their notions till after the Socinians are " dead. And it would much better have become this " Great Man, to have injoined ſilence to the Socini- " ans, than to the defenders of the Apoſtolical Faith. " And if we muſt be ſilenced till we have proved the " reality of the Sacrifice of Chriſt, without proving at " the ſame time the Sacrifice of the Euchariſt, I am " pretty ſure we may ſtay till dooms-day, and yet neither " be able to do it ourſelves, nor to ſee it done by " others."

[*N*] *A Collection of Eccleſiaſtical Laws.*] This book, as we are told in the title-page, contains, " A col- " lection of all Eccleſiaſtical Laws, Canons, Anſwers, " Reſcripts, with other memorials concerning the go- " vernment, diſcipline, and worſhip, of the Church " of England, from its firſt foundation to the Con- " queſt, that have been publiſhed in the Latin or Saxo- " nick tongues. And all the canons and conſtitutions " eccleſiaſtical made ſince the Conqueſt and before the " Reformation, in any National Council, or in the Pro- " vincial Synods of Canterbury and York, that have " hitherto been publiſhed in the Latin tongue. Now " firſt tranſlated into Engliſh with explanatory notes, " and ſuch gloſſes from Lyndwood and Athon as were " thought moſt uſeful." But I muſt obſerve that he was miſtaken in ſaying *now firſt publiſhed in Engliſh*, becauſe Mr. Collier had ſome years before publiſhed the moſt of them in that language in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain*. But this was more than Mr. Johnſon knew. Beſides Mr. Collier did not pub- liſh them entire as Mr. Johnſon has done, but omit- ted many, and abridged ſome others. There are two volumes of this in 8vo. The firſt contains the Eccleſi- aſtical Laws to the Conqueſt: The ſecond from the Conqueſt to the Reformation. And if it had pleaſed God to have ſpared his life a little longer, he would have publiſhed a like collection from the Reforma- tion to this time, much more full and compleat than what we have in Biſhop Sparrow's Collection. But he had ſcarce begun the rough ſketches of this work, when it pleaſed God to deprive us of him, and to take him un- to himſelf. To the books, which he printed after his *Propitiatory Oblation*, he prefixed his name, and like- wiſe to that later edition of his *Vade Mecum*. But ſome other little things he publiſhed without his name; as *Paſtoral Advices to a perſon that intends to be confirmed by the Biſhop:* and *Paſtoral Advice to a perſon lately confirmed by the Biſhop*: and ſome other little ſtitched books, which he printed at his own charge for the uſe of his pariſhioners, and diſtributed amongſt them *gratis*.

[*O*] *Some poſthumous Diſcourſes of his &c.*] The firſt of thoſe treatiſes he had deſigned for the preſs is intitled, *The Primitive Communicant*, which conſiſts of three Sermons or Diſcourſes, together with *Devoti- ons for the Altar*. The firſt Diſcourſe is on *Heb.* x. 8, 9. *Above, when he ſaid, ſacrifice, and offering, and offering for ſin thou wouldeſt not, neither hadſt pleaſure therein, (which are offered by the law). Then ſaid he, lo, I come to do thy will, O God. He taketh away the firſt, that he may eſtabliſh the ſecond.* The ſecond Diſ- courſe is on *Luke* xxii. 19, 20. *And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, ſaying, This is my body which is given for you; this do in re- membrance of me. Likewiſe the cup after ſupper, ſaying, This cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood, which is ſhed for you.* The third Diſcourſe is on *John* vi. 27. *Labour not for the meat which periſheth, but for the meat which endureth to everlaſting life, which the Son of man ſhall give you.* Theſe we may call an *Appen- dix to the Unbloody Sacrifice*.

The next treatiſe he deſigned for the preſs, is *An Explanation of that Prophecy of Seventy Weeks, as re- lated in the ninth Chapter of Daniel.* This prophecy has very much puzzled interpreters to make it agree with the Chronology of that time, from the beginning of it unto the coming of Chriſt: and different expoſi- tors have aſſigned different beginnings to theſe Seventy Weeks, although the expreſs words of the prophecy appear, one would think, to fix the beginning of theſe weeks to the very time that it was delivered to Daniel, and ſo Mr. Johnſon, as well as others, conceive they do. Now ſeventy weeks of years, that is ſeven times ſeventy years make but 490 years, and it is very cer- tain that there were more than that number of years from the firſt year of Darius or Cyrus to the coming of Chriſt and completion of the prophecy, which has given the occaſion for ſo many diſtinct methods taken to fix the time when to begin the computation of theſe weeks. Mr. Johnſon therefore ſhews, that all theſe difficulties and various expoſitions ariſe only from following the Hebrew Text, as pointed by the Maſo- rites: whereas it has been proved, and all the learn- ed, or at leaſt the greateſt part, are agreed that the points are modern, and therefore not to be regarded. Mr. Johnſon therefore rejecting theſe points, and read- ing the text according to the unpointed Hebrew letters, and comparing it with the old Italian verſion, as pre- ſerved in this place by Tertullian, and with the tranſ- lators of Aquila and Theodotion, proves that the firſt ſeven weeks, (which the prophecy very plainly diſtinguiſhes from the 62 weeks following) are to be repeated; conſequently thoſe ſeven weeks being count- ed twice, make not 49 but 98 years: which being added to that 62 weeks or 434 years, make 532 years. Then he proves by Ptolemy's canon (which contains the moſt certain indiſputable Chronology of thoſe times) that from the firſt year of Darius, (which was alſo the firſt of Cyrus) at which time Daniel expreſly teaches that the decree went forth to build Jeruſalem, to the birth of Chriſt, was juſt that number of 532 years. Then he ſhews that the laſt week was not, like the reſt, to conſiſt of 49 years only, but the length was to be diſcovered by the events, and that it continued from the birth of Chriſt to the deſtruction of Jeruſa- lem, which, according to his account, contains 77 years. And the reaſon he gives why this week ſhould be different from the reſt as to its time of continu- ance, is becauſe it is ſtiled the one ſingle or eminent week.

The next Diſcourſe contains two Diſſertations or Ser- mons on *the Nature of God and his true Worſhip*. The text is *John* iv. 24. *God is a Spirit, and they that worſhip him, muſt worſhip him in ſpirit and in truth.* In the firſt of theſe Sermons he ſhews what a ſpirit is, and then that God is ſuch a ſpirit. " A ſpirit, " *ſays he*, ſignifies ſuch a being as has the power " of thinking, and God, angels, and the ſouls of " men, are ſuch beings. Therefore the only way to " come at the knowledge of God as a ſpirit is, to con- " template our own ſouls, and obſerve what are the " principal qualities belonging to them." 1. Our ſouls, that being or ſubſtance within us, by which we think, that is apprehend, conceive, deliberate, judge, agree, conclude, remember, is what we call a ſpirit. 2. Another property of the ſoul is, that it feels what- ever affects the body; for the body, without the ſoul can feel nothing. 3. Another property of the ſoul is, that it can move the body. There is nothing, per- haps, in nature more ſtrange, than that bodies of ſuch a bulk as ours ſhould be moved by a thought. We need but will or reſolve, and our hands will work, our feet walk, and our whole body be put into motion, and it bends and turns itſelf into as many poſtures as

beloved by his pariſhioners in general in the ſeveral Cures he was placed in, and by all who had the happineſs of his acquaintance; and what enemies he had were only ſuch as were enemies to thoſe Chriſtian Doctrines which he taught and practiſed. And indeed, when we conſider his Learning, and his Critical Skill in the Languages proper, not to ſay neceſſary for a Divine, his great and extenſive Knowledge in the Canons, Conſtitutions, and Cuſtoms of the Catholic Church of Chriſt, as well as thoſe of this particular Church of England, its Uſages and Diſcipline in the ſeveral ages from the firſt planting of the Goſpel downward, even to the preſent times, joined to his clear underſtanding in all Chriſtian Doctrines, and his capacity to teach them, and likewiſe his exemplary life and converſation,

the buſineſs requires, except when the limbs are impeded by ſickneſs, lameneſs, and the like, 4. It acts freely, has the power of chooſing or refuſing: and in this it differs from all things that conſiſt of body or matter only. This property of ſouls makes us capable of virtuous actions, and of being rewarded for them. Then he ſhews that God is ſuch a ſpirit as he has deſcribed our ſouls to be; but then he poſſeſſes all theſe properties in an infinite manner. 1. He thinks not in that defective manner we do, who can conſider but one little object at once; for he, at one ſingle view, diſcerns all things that are, were, or ſhall be. We are certainly ignorant of the inward eſſence of all things; and there is reaſon to believe there are more things hid from us entirely, than there are of thoſe which come under our notice in any meaſure: But nothing is or can be hid from the knowledge of God. And whereas our memories contain only the imperfect footſteps of ſome few things done ſome years or ſome ages paſt, God's knowledge extends to all the greateſt and moſt minute particulars; nothing is or can be hid from him. 2. God is a perceiving ſpirit. Our ſouls have a ſenſe or perception of what is done to the body, and we can ſee and hear what is done at ſome diſtance from us. But the perception we have is liable to be taken from us, and often is by diſeaſes. And while we enjoy it in the moſt perfect manner our natures will allow, it often gives us pain and diſquiet. But God is an infinite ſpirit, conſcious, and equally conſcious to any thing done in any part of the univerſe. He feels without pain, he perceives without uneaſineſs; and this moſt perfect perception is not liable to be impaired by any infirmities. 3. God is a ſpirit that can move matter or body. We can, after a ſort, move our bodies to do ſuch things as are neceſſary for our ſubſiſtence. Our ſouls can at pleaſure move our limbs, or command them to reſt, while the body is in health and vigour; diſeaſes or age, ſooner or later diſable our limbs from obeying the command of our ſouls. And while we are in our beſt ſtate of health, youth and ſtrength, our ſouls have no power over our ſtomach or other vitals. But God is that moſt perfect ſpirit, who is the firſt mover of all things, and in whom we ourſelves live, move, and have our being. By his power of moving matter, and impreſſing what laws of motion he pleaſes upon it, he made this beautiful frame of things, which we now behold: and by continuing ſuch laws of motion as are proper for every part of the world, he is its preſerver; and by his power of ſuſpending, varying, and revoking thoſe laws at his pleaſure, he is its governor: for every part of nature cannot but obey his almighty will, and move or ſtep at his irreſiſtible ſovereign command. 4. God is a ſpirit that acts with moſt perfect freedom. The ſoul of man is ſo far free that it cannot be forced to ſin without its own conſent; and the body cannot do any thing good or bad without its direction. And the ſoul, by uſing this freedom with diſcretion, is capable, by God's grace, of rendering itſelf eternally happy. But thro' our perverſeneſs this freedom of will often becomes a ſnare to us. But the freedom of God's will, which is directed by the moſt perfect wiſdom and purity, is indeed the perfection of the divine nature; becauſe by this he is always determined to chooſe the beſt. And thus we ſee God to be an infinite, perfect ſpirit, who thinks moſt clearly, who perceives all things, who is the creator and firſt mover of matter, who acts freely, and always for the beſt. It muſt however be confeſſed that our idea of God is imperfect, and ſo is our knowledge of any thing elſe.

The ſecond diſſertation on the ſame text conſiſts of the following heads: 1. To ſhew what is meant by worſhipping God in ſpirit and in truth. 2. To ſet aſide a wrong meaning given by ſome to the phraſe of *worſhipping God in ſpirit*, as if it meant uttering of prayers or praiſes without premeditation. 3. To ſhew, how far ſpiritual worſhip excludes outward expreſſions of it, and the uſe of bodily things in the worſhip and ſervice of God. 4. That in order to worſhip God in ſpirit, one very proper means is to worſhip him by ſtated forms of prayer. 5. The great excellency and acceptableneſs of ſpiritual worſhip.

The next diſcourſe, which is the firſt in the ſecond volume of Mr. Johnſon's poſthumous works, is his Sermon preached at Canterbury-School Feaſt: to which is prefixed a Preface to prove there were no alphabetical letters before Moſes. The writing with hieroglyphical figures, as the antient Egyptians did, or in ſuch characters as are ſtill uſed by the Chineſe, where every character marks a word, he grants may be older than Moſes, only maintains that to find out a means to expreſs all words that may be ſpoken by little more than twenty characters is beyond the reach of human invention: And therefore he ſays Moſes was taught this art by God, and that the firſt writing in alphabetical letters was the Ten Commandments written by God himſelf on two tables of ſtone. Neither was Mr. Johnſon ſingular in this opinion. For Gale in his *Court of the Gentiles, Part* 1, *Book* 1, *Chap.* 10, §. 4. obſerves that St. Auguſtin (*Lib.* 18, *cap.* 39, *de Civitate Dei*) ſays, "that the Hebrew letters (which he ſuppoſes to "be the moſt antient) began from Moſes." And Ludovicus Vives, in his notes on thoſe words of St. Auguſtin, ſays, "The vulgar opinion both of Chriſtians "and Hebrews is, that Hebrew letters had Moſes for "their author, which Eupolemus and other prophane "writers do aſſert, who delivered that Moſes was the "moſt wiſe of men, and the inventor of letters." Gale alſo brings ſeveral other teſtimonies both from Chriſtian and Heathen writers, to prove Moſes to have been the inventor of letters.

The Sermon, which follows this Preface, has for its text, *Numb.* xi. 29. *Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets.* Here he ſhews the meaning of this wiſh of Moſes, which depends upon the ſignification of the word *prophets*. All will agree, that whatſoever that exerciſe was, wherein the ſeventy, together with Eldad and Medad, were employed, it was propheſying. Then he ſhews there were Prophets in the higheſt ſenſe, who received revelations immediately from God, and Prophets in a ſecondary ſenſe, who received revelation from ſuperior Prophets, in order to teach and inſtruct others; and ſuch was the employ of theſe ſeventy Elders. But if this was their only buſineſs, what occaſion for the particular effuſion of God's ſpirit on them? For Moſes expreſly ſays, *when the ſpirit reſted upon them they propheſied.* And indeed, if theſe Elders had before known to read, there had been no occaſion for an extraordinary aſſiſtance of the divine ſpirit. But as Moſes had but newly learned this excellent art, theſe Elders were ignorant of it as well as others. Therefore it is ſaid, *God took of the ſpirit that was upon Moſes, and communicated to the ſeventy Elders.* Thus this knowledge of letters, which by the ſpirit was conferred on Moſes, was communicated to ſeveral others, that ſo they might read and write with uniform harmony: And it is not conceiveable how this ſhould be done by men wholly illiterate by mere human means in ſo ſhort a time as the occaſion required. And it moſt deſerves our notice, that by taking prophecy in this ſenſe, that is for reading exactly *ex ſcriptis*, what had been firſt written by a ſuperior Prophet, there will be no occaſion to diſguiſe the laſt words of the 25th verſe (as our Engliſh tranſlation does) we may tranſlate

converſation, we may juſtly ſay of him, what was ſaid of the late learned Mr. Bingham, viz. *Qui Patriarchatum in Eccleſiâ meruit, obiit Parochus.* But I need ſay no more of his learning, the extenſiveneſs of which is ſo viſible in his works. His converſation was eaſy, and chearful, and very improving. If any one departed out of his company without learning ſomething uſeful from him, it was his own fault. He was very diligent in the performance of all parochial duties. He read prayers every morning in his Pariſh Church, when he was at home. He preached twice every Sunday till within a few years before he died, that he kept a Curate to aſſiſt him, and then he ſeldom failed to preach once himſelf. He frequently inſtructed children in the Catechiſm, and adminiſtred the Holy Euchariſt once a month. He was diligent in viſiting the ſick, or any other that needed his ghoſtly advice or prayers; and, in a word, uſed all that faithful diligence which he promiſed when he was admitted into the Order of Prieſthood: ſo that conſidering how diligently and faithfully he diſcharged the parochial duties of a large and populous pariſh, for both Margate and Cranbrook were ſuch, it is wonderful to think how he found time to write ſuch learned and elaborate treatiſes as he has done. He was a very dutiful ſon, a loving huſband, a careful and tender father, and obliging kind friend, who ſtudied to do good to every one as he was able, and had opportunity, and to do injury to no man, always endeavouring conſcientiouſly to diſcharge his duty in every relation. He had five children, of which only two were ſons; but they all died in his lifetime, except his daughter Mary. The death of his eldeſt ſon was the moſt ſenſible affliction he met with in the whole courſe of his life. He outlived that ſon but two years, and died December the 15th 1725, having nearly compleated the ſixty third year of his age [*P*].

tranſlate them as the Greeks do, and as the Hebrew clearly ſignifies, viz. *They prophefied and added not.* They read ſuch leſſons as Moſes had aſſigned them without making any addition of their own. And Moſes's wiſh is, that all the Lord's people were ſuch Prophets, that is, able to read the Divine Law.

The next diſcourſe is of the *Nature and Office of Angels*, for *Pſal.* ciii. 20. *O praiſe the Lord, ye Angels, ye that excell in ſtrength, and hearken to the voice of his word.* In this Sermon he proves that angels were before the Moſaical creation, from *Job* xxxviii. 6, 7. *When the foundations of the earth were faſtned, and the corner-ſtone thereof laid, the morning ſtars ſang together, and all the ſons of God ſhouted for joy.* By the *ſons of God* we can underſtand no other than his *holy angels*, and they who expreſſed their joy at the creation of the earth, muſt have been created before that time. And that angels are not naked ſpirits, but are clothed with bodies or vehicles, he proves from *Luke* xx. 35, 36. when he tells us that *they who ſhall obtain the reſurrection*, that is clearly a happy reſurrection, *ſhall be equal to the angels.* If angels were naked ſpirits, good men would be more like them, or equal to them, during their ſtate of ſeparation, while they are abſent from the body, than they ſhall be after the body and ſoul are again united. It ſeems therefore that good Chriſtians ſhall be made more like the angels at the reſurrection than before, by being reunited to their bodies. The ſpiritual ſubſtance of angels can no more be ſeen by bodily eyes, or be felt by hands, than our ſouls can be ſo; yet angels have appeared evidently to the ſight of men, as we learn from many places of ſcripture. But though angels have bodies, yet it is not neceſſary to ſuppoſe they are of any determinate bulk or dimenſion, as ours are now, but that they can enlarge or contract, extend or draw cloſe, as is moſt for their preſent convenience. And that their bodies are ſuch as they can render themſelves viſible or inviſible at diſcretion.

The laſt diſcourſes among his poſthumous works are four Sermons. 1. On the death and reſurrection of Chriſt, from *Acts* ii. 31, 32. 2. Of God's extraordinary grace to St. Paul, on 1 *Tim.* i. 14. 3. Of the neceſſity, hardſhip, and miſſion of Chriſtian Paſtors, on *Matth.* ix. 35. And 4. the holineſs of times and places, on *Lev.* xix. 30. We have been the more particular in the account of his poſthumous works, becauſe as no more were printed than were ſubſcribed for, they are not eaſy to be met with.

[*P*] *He . . . . died December the 15th 1725, having nearly compleated the ſixty third year of his age*] He was buried in the Church-yard of the pariſh of Cranbrook, cloſe to the wall of the Veſtry. Over his grave is erected a handſome Altar-monument of grey Marble, with only this inſcription, *John Johnſon, Vicar.* But on the other ſide of the wall, within the Veſtry, there is erected a Monument of white Marble affixed to the wall, with the following inſcription.

Extrâ hunc parietem ſub tumulo lapideo requieſcit Joannes Johnſon, A. M. per Annos octodecim hujus Eccleſiæ paſtor; Morum Caſtitate, Ingenii Acumine, interioribus et reconditis Literis ornatiſſimus. Filius Reverendi Thomæ Johnſon de Frindſbury in Diœceſi Roffenſi Vicarii, et Mariæ Filiæ Reverendi Franciſci Drayton Chart parvæ hujus Diœceſeos Rectoris. Uxorem habuit Margaretam Filiam Thomæ Jenkin in Inſulâ de Thanet Generoſi. De qua quinq; ſuſcepit liberos, quorum quatuor ſuperſtitit; Viz. Margaretæ in Cunabulis mortuæ, Thomæ Londini ſepulto, alteri Margaretæ ſiniſtrâ patris dormienti: Joanni S. T. B. de Standiſh in Comitatu Lancaſtrienſi Rectori, Paternæ Virtutis, Ingenii et Eruditionis exemplari. Cujus poſt Mortem, cum ferè per Biennium ægre ſuſpiria duxiſſet, Animam Spei beatæ Immortalitatis plenam Deo reſtituit 15° die Decembris, A. D. 1725. Ætatis 63°. Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Pugil, Schiſmatis debellator occidit. Si plura quæris, ſcripta Mortui verſato. Pientiſſima Filia Maria Johnſon poſuit.

JOLY (CLAUDIUS) Chanter and Canon of the Church of our Lady at Paris, and Official to the Archbiſhop, was a man of great merit and learning. He obtained a Canonſhip in the year 1631, on the reſignation of Monſieur Loiſel, his uncle by the mother's ſide, and Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris. The Duke of Longueville, Plenipotentiary from the French King for negotiating a general peace through all Europe, took him with him to Munſter, and Joly aſſiſted the Duke faithfully with his advices and counſels. He took a journey to Rome during the commotions at Paris. He was appointed Official, firſt by Cardinal de Retz after the death of John Francis de Gondi Archbiſhop of Paris; ſecondly by the Chapter whilſt the See was vacant; and thirdly by the preſent (*a*) Archbiſhop. He died at Paris January the 15th 1700, at the age of fourſcore and thirteen (*b*). He enjoyed a very good health in his old age, and had the uſe of all the faculties of his mind.

(*a*) I write this in the year 1700.

(*b*) Taken from the *Mercure Hiſt.* for Feb. 1700, pag. 205.

JONAH one of the Prophets of the Jewiſh Nation. As there are two Dictionaries (*a*) which may acquaint the reader with moſt of the particulars relating to him, I ſhall confine myſelf only to a few. There are ſome Rabbies (*b*) who are ſilly enough to aſſert, that Jonah being firſt ſwallowed up by a male fiſh, was afterwards vomited into the body of a female fiſh. As he did not find himſelf much ſtrained in his firſt priſon, ſay they, he did not think of praying to God; who therefore ordered the male fiſh to caſt him up into the ſtomach of a female fiſh, which was with young. *Ut ex imprægnatione & alvi tumore in angustias virum Dei redigeret* (*c*). i. e. "That the Man of God might be "ſtraitened by the ſwelling of the animal's womb, occaſioned by its being big with "young." There he found himſelf very much ſtraitened, whereupon he pronounced that beautiful Canticle, which is ſtill extant (*d*), and by which he appeaſed God's wrath. They who pretend to refute this ſtory by obſerving that Jonah would not have been ſqueezed in a whale big with young, unleſs he had been placed in its womb, do not make a good objection [*A*]. We have ſeen in another place (*e*) that the heathen Poets related a particular concerning their Hercules, which is ſomewhat like this. They had borrowed it from the Sacred Hiſtory, and had falſified and dreſſed it up after their own fancy. This at leaſt is the common opinion of our authors (*f*). The antient Fathers thought it ſtrange, that the Heathens ſhould explode this hiſtory of Jonah [*B*], though they

(*a*) That of Moreri, and the Dictionary of the Bible written by Monſieur Simon a Prieſt.

(*b*) Solomon Jarchi, *apud* Martinum Lipenium, *in Jonæ Periplo thalaſſio*, folio B *verſo* edit. 1678, in 4to.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

(*d*) It is in the 2d chap. of the book of Jonah.

(*e*) In the remark [*O*] of the article HERCULES.

(*f*) *See* Voſſius, *de Origin. le Progreſ. Idololatriæ*, lib. 2. cap. 15. pag. 381, 382. edit. Francof. 1675, in 4to.

[*A*] *They who . . . obſerve that Jonah would not have been ſqueezed in a whale big with young, unleſs he had been placed in its womb, do not make a good objection.*] We ſhall here quote a man, who imagines he holds the Rabbi Jarchi very faſt, by aſking him, *Numquid* arbitraris in uterum quoque imprægnatæ Balænæ immiſſum eſſe *Prophetam, ut ex fœtus piſcini multitudine coanguſtaretur? In* ſtomachum *ceti credo* deſcendiſſe Jonam, non in matricem ejuſdem. *Quomodo itaque Jonæ in ventriculo latenti plus anguſtiarum ex uteri intumeſcentia poterat ſurgere* (1)? i. e. "Do you think "then, that the Prophet was taken into the womb of "a whale big with young, ſo that the number of the "young ones ſtraitened him? For my part, I think "that Jonah deſcended into the ſtomach and not into "the womb of the whale. How then could Jonah, "who was hid in the ſtomach, be more preſſed by the "ſwelling of the womb?" Theſe queſtions ſpoil the good cauſe which Lipenius had to maintain, and give the Rabbies an opportunity to recover themſelves from the ridicule which he deſigned to caſt on them: they might in their turn ridicule him, if they ſhould aſk him how he came to be ignorant of a thing, which all the world knows: namely that the uterus by its dilatation preſſes upon the bowels and ventricle, and often conſiderably hinders the reſpiration.

(1) Martinus Lipenius, *in Jonæ Periplo thalaſſio*, folio B 2.

[*B*] *The ancient Fathers thought it ſtrange, that the Heathens ſhould explode this Hiſtory of Jonah, though they admitted the Fable of Hercules.*] Here follows a noble paſſage from Theophylact. *Devoratur ergo a ceto Jonas, treſque dies ac totidem noctes in eo permanet vates: quæ res omnem excedere fidem audientibus videtur, maxime iis qui ex Græcorum ſcholis ſapienteque doctrina, ad hanc hiſtoriam accedunt. Quos equidem non ſatis demirari poſſum, qui fiat quod hæc non intelligant, cum ſuis ipſorum aliis capiantur. Apud ipſos enim nonnihil tale de Hercule narratur: nempe quod & ipſe a balæna devoratus, incolumis remanſerit, niſi quod tantummodo depilatus redierit, idque ob ingenitum & internum belluæ calorem. Aut igitur noſtra ſuſcipiant, aut ſua rejiciant* (2). i. e. "Jonah then was ſwallowed up by a whale, and "continued three days and three nights in its belly: "a ſtory, which ſeems incredible to them that hear it, "particularly to them that come from the ſchools of "the Greecs, and have ſtudied their Philoſophy. But "I wonder, why they ſhould pretend that they cannot "comprehend this, ſince they very well underſtand "other ſtories of their own, which are of the ſame "kind. For they relate ſomething like this of their "Hercules, namely that he was alſo ſwallowed up by "a whale, from which he received no hurt, having "only loſt a little hair, which was occaſioned by the "natural heat of the animal's bowels. Let them there-"fore admit our Hiſtories or explode their own." I do not doubt but Theophylact might have met with ſeveral perſons amongſt the Greeks, who would have taken him at his word. We accept the conditions, would the Philoſophers and learned men of Greece have anſwered; you will have us either explode the ſtory of Hercules, or admit that of Jonah: well, we explode them both. But as an infinite number of perſons amongſt the Heathens would have condemned theſe conditions; and maintained that though they continued to believe what the Poets had related concerning Hercules, yet they had a right to ridicule the Jewiſh ſtory about Jonah, it is certain that Theophylact's reflection is very well grounded, and ſhews admirably well how ridiculouſly the Heathens were prepoſſeſſed. Let us come now to St. Auguſtin. He had a great friendſhip for a certain Heathen (3), and had wrote ſeveral letters to him, ſome of which remained unanſwered. He inferred from his friend's ſilence that he would not continue that correſpondence any longer. *Non inconvenienter arbitror eum quem video mihi reſcribere noluiſſe, nihil ſibi a me ſcribi voluiſſe* (4). i. e. "I had reaſon to "think, that ſince he did not anſwer me, it was a "ſign he did not care that I ſhould write any more "to him." As he deſigned therefore to anſwer ſome objections, which that Heathen had made to the Prieſt Deogratias, he directed his anſwer to that Prieſt. It appears by his anſwer, that the Heathens very much ridiculed the Hiſtory of Jonah. *Poſtrema quæſtio propoſita eſt de Jona, nec ipſa quaſi ex Porphyrio* (5), *ſed tanquam ex irriſione Paganorum* (6). i. e. "The laſt "queſtion, which is propoſed relates to Jonah; nor is "it urged as though it were from Porphyry, but it is a "banter of the Heathens." The method St. Auguſtin pitched upon to anſwer this objection of his friend is very judicious. We ought, ſaid he, either to explode all God's miracles, or to acknowledge that there are no reaſons to explode this. Should we believe the reſurrection of Chriſt, if we were awed by the railleries of the Infidels? *Si fides Chriſtianorum cachinnum mereretur paganorum* (7). And ſince our friend made no objections againſt our believing the reſurrection of Lazarus and that of Jeſus Chriſt, I wonder very much that he ſhould think the ſtory of Jonah to be incredible. It is more difficult to raiſe a dead man from his grave, than to keep a man alive in the belly of ſuch a large fiſh (8)? Will they aſſert, that the digeſtive faculty of the ſtomach cannot be ſuſpended for a while? But they would make a more conſiderable objection, if they were to urge againſt us the inſtance of the three men, who received no hurt in the furnace at Babylon. If they will alſo reject that ſuſpenſion of the activity of the fire, and all the other miracles recorded in the Scripture, we ſhall be obliged to make uſe of another method to refute them: for the Infidels ought not to raiſe difficulties againſt one particular fact only; they muſt either wave ſuch difficulties, or reject abſolutely all other facts of the ſame kind, and which are even more incredible ſtill. They would not be ſo ſcrupulous with regard to ſuch men as Apuleius, or Apollonius of Tyana. They would not banter, they would on the contrary inſolently boaſt of their triumphs, if what we relate of Jonah were aſcribed to the power of one of theſe two Heathens. I have not tranſlated here St. Auguſtin's words exactly, I have only given a general notion of his argument. But that they, who underſtand Latin, may not be deprived of any part of his reaſoning, I ſhall tranſcribe here the moſt conſiderable paſſage of the original. *Sed habent revera, quod non credant in divino miraculo, vaporem ventris quo cibi madeſcunt, potuiſſe ita temperari, ut vitam hominis*

(3) *See* St. Auguſtin's 49th Letter, towards the beginning.

(4) Aug. Epiſt. 49. pag. m. 195.

(5) Lipenius is then miſtaken, when he aſſerts (*in Peripto thalaſſio Jonæ*, folio A 3 *verſo*) that St. Auguſtin argues there ſtrongly againſt Porphyry.

(6) Auguſt. Ep. 49. pag. 207.

(7) Auguſt. ibid. pag. 207, 208.

(8) *Niſi forte facilius putat mortuum de Sepulcro reſuſcitari, quam vivum in tam vaſto ventre belluæ potuiſſe ſervari.* Idem, ibid. pag. 208.

(2) Theophylact. *in Jonam*, cap. 11.

they admitted the fable of Hercules. They who have aſſerted that this Prophet was caſt up by the fiſh at the Port of Niniveh [*C*], had but little ſkill in Geography; and it is not at all probable that he came out of the fiſh's belly on the coaſt of the Euxin or Black Sea [*D*], or on that of the Red Sea [*E*]. It is much more probable that he was caſt on ſhore near the city of Joppa, where he had embarked. Some confirm this conjecture by

hominis conſervaret! Quanto incredibilius *ergo proponerent tres illos viros, ab impio Rege in caminum miſſos, deambulaſſe in medio ignis illæſos? Quapropter ſi nulla iſti divina miracula volunt credere, alia diſputatione refellendi ſunt. Neque enim debent unum aliquid tanquam* incredibile *proponere, & in quæſtionem vocare; ſed omnia, quæ vel talia, vel etiam mirabiliora narrantur. Et tamen ſi hoc quoa de Jona ſcriptum eſt, Apuleius Madaurenſis, vel Apollonius Tyaneus fuiſſe diceretur, quorum multa mira, nullo fideli auctore jactitant*; [*quamvis & Dæmones nonnulla faciant Angelis ſanctis ſimilia, non veritate, ſed ſpecie, non ſapientia, ſed plane fallacia*]: *tamen ſi de iſtis, ut dixi, quos Magos vel Philoſophos laudabiliter nominant, tale aliquid narretur, non jam in buccis creparet* riſus; *ſed typhus* (9). Several perſons will judge, that this method of refuting the Heathens is much more reaſonable than that which St. Auguſtin followed in another book, where after he had obſerved that the very ſame men who laughed at the hiſtory of Jonah, did not in the leaſt queſtion the ſtory of Arion, he propoſes this objection to himſelf, namely, that the ſtory of Jonah is more incredible. Certainly, replies he, but it is becauſe it is more miraculous; and it is more miraculous becauſe it ſhews a greater power. *Verum illud noſtrum de Jona incredibilius eſt; plane incredibilius, quia mirabilius, & mirabilius, quia potentius* (10). Theſe are witty conceits, ſome will ſay, and pretty fancies, but not good arguments: for it would follow from thence, that the more a thing ſeems to be impoſſible, the more it deſerves to be credited. The fable of Arion was this, it was reported that in order to ſave his life he had been obliged to throw himſelf over board out of the ſhip in which he was ſailing from Italy into Greece, and that he leapt on the back of a dolphin, which carried him to land. I do not obſerve this for the ſake of thoſe who never heard it mentioned, for there are but few ſuch perſons, but for the ſake of thouſands and thouſands of perſons, who do not remember it, and who would be ſorry if they could not ſee immediately the difference there is between the ſtory of Arion, and that of the Prophet Jonah.

(9) Aug. *Epiſt.* 49. pag. 208.

(10) Auguſt. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 1. cap. 14.

A Reflection upon one of the effects of prepoſſeſſion.

Let us reflect a little on the inconſiſtent conduct with which St. Auguſtin charges the Heathens. One cannot but obſerve here one of the moſt ridiculous effects of prepoſſeſſion. The managers of the Heathen Religion had fed the people's mind with a thouſand fables for ſeveral ages; they would not have ſuffered any perſon to examine whether they were poſſible or not, nor to ſtile them incredible. But when the miracles of the Chriſtians were propoſed to them, they ſet up for Philoſophers, they urged the impoſſibility of thoſe miracles, they alledged all the arguments that can be urged to prevent a fooliſh credulity, and pretended ſcornfully to ridicule thoſe that believed. What an impertinency is this! What an odd way of acting! What an inconſiſtency! What a fantaſtical humour! The ſeveral Chriſtian ſocieties ſhew almoſt the ſame diſpoſition againſt each other. If the Greek Church boaſts of ſome miracles, proper to ſhew that God is diſpleaſed with the ſchiſm of Neſtorius, the Neſtorians will make a thouſand ſhifts, and invent all poſſible arguments to evade that objection. But as for ſuch miracles as are proper to convict the Greek Church of injuſtice, they believe them blindly, without any examination, and think it ſtrange that their adverſaries ſhould ſcruple to admit them. All the world knows how eaſily the Roman Catholics ſuffer themſelves to be led into a perſuaſion of an infinite number of miracles. They make it a matter of conſcience to believe innumerable ſtories, that are daily ſpread abroad, and they look upon the moſt plauſible argument of thoſe who pretend to call them into queſtion, as mere cavils of obſtinate Heretics. But if they happen to hear that ſome miracle or another is pretended to be performed amongſt the Proteſtant Party, then they argue from quite different principles: they have recourſe to all the common topics which the unbelievers urge in their own defence. They deny the fact, they raiſe objections againſt the witneſſes, and charge them either with impoſture, or with being crack-brained. If the fact be ſuch as it cannot be denied, they explain it away by natural cauſes; they compile from the writings of the natural Philoſophers and from the accounts of travellers, a thouſand inſtances of the ſame kind. In a word, what they uſed to ſtile obſtinacy, cavilling, contradicting reaſon and good ſenſe, becomes a very ſolid and reaſonable refutation of a falſity; for they inſiſt upon the very ſame common topics, which the Proteſtants had urged againſt the Monks. There are every where perſons who believe very eaſily what pleaſes them, but who are the moſt difficult in the world to be perſuaded when they do not like a thing. When they alledge arguments to juſtify their unbelief, they cannot bear that you ſhould take them for bad arguments; but if at another time the ſame arguments are urged againſt them, they are angry, if you will not give them leave to ſlight and ridicule them. Thus men paſs away their life; this is an effect of prepoſſeſſion, which is almoſt unavoidable; divers weights and divers meaſures: if men could not avoid this but by diveſting themſelves of all prejudices, the remedy would perhaps prove worſe than the diſtemper.

[*C*] *It has been aſſerted that he was caſt up at the port of Niniveh.*] Sulpicius Severus fell into this geographical error. *Exceptus a ceto, marino monſtro, ac devoratus poſt triduum fere Ninivitarum littoribus ejectus, juſſa prædicat* (11). i. e. "Being ſwallowed "up by a whale, a ſea-monſter, he was about three "days after caſt up on the coaſt of Niniveh, where "he preached as he was commanded to do." The learned Druſius did not obſerve any blunder in theſe words, when he was commenting upon them; he only tells us, that it is not mentioned in the Holy Scripture on what coaſt the ſhip caſt Jonah up (12). The other commentators on Sulpicius, and amongſt them Hornius, have been very well apprized of this blunder. Lipenius did alſo obſerve it; but he has been ſtrangely miſtaken with regard to Chronology, for he imagined that Sulpicius Severus borrowed this from St. Gregory's Ethicks (13), who yet was a Pope that flouriſhed 150 years after Sulpicius. The blunder of this laſt writer has been tranſcribed by Monſieur Simon. *A whale*, ſays he (14), *received Jonah in its bowels . . . and ſerved him inſtead of a ſhip much ſafer than that on board of which he had been, and put him aſhore, or rather caſt him up the third day at the port of Niniveh.* Obſerve that Niniveh was built on the river Tigris, which has no immediate communication with the Mediterranean Sea. And beſides, that river is not deep enough to carry ſuch a large fiſh to the port of Niniveh. This reaſon, together with the ſurpriſing miracle, which we muſt ſuppoſe, if we aſſert that the whale went into the ocean, doubled the Cape of Good-hope, and entered the mouth of the Tigris, and performed that immenſe voyage in three days, all this, I ſay, cuts off all evaſions to thoſe, who would attempt to juſtify Sulpicius Severus. Never did ſuch a fancy come into his head: he imagined innocently that Niniveh was ſituated on the Mediterranean Sea. His blunder was owing to his ignorance in Geography.

(11) Sulpicius Severus, *Hiſt. Sacræ*, lib. 1. pag. m. 79. cap. 48.

(12) Druſius *in Sulpic. Severum*, pag. 179.

(13) *Sulpicius Severus . . . ex* S. Gregorio l. vi. Moral. cap. xii. *arbitratur Jonam eſſe expoſitum in littoribus Ninivitarum.* Lipen. *in Jonæ Periplo thalaſſio.* cap. 3.

(14) Simon, *Diction. de la Bible*, pag. 432, 433.

[*D*] . . . . *it is not at all probable that he came out of the fiſh's belly on the coaſt of the Euxine ſea.*] Joſephus (15) relates this tradition, which ſeveral modern authors (16) have followed, though it be againſt all probability, and ſuppoſes a multiplication of miracles: for ſuch a large fiſh could not, according to the laws of nature, paſs in ſo ſhort a time from the Phœnician Sea into the Black Sea. And beſides, Jonah would have had too long and too difficult a journey before him, either to return into Judea before he went to Niniveh, or to go directly to that city.

(15) Joſeph. *Antiquit. Judaic.* lib. 9. cap. 11. folio m. 355 *verſo.*

(16) *See* Lipenius, *in Jon. Periplo thalaſſio*, cap. 3.

[*E*] . . . . *or on that of the Red Sea.*] Lipenius (17) aſcribes this opinion to Pineda, and to the Rabbies; and it is not a difficult taſk for him to refute it. The whale muſt have entered into the ocean, and ſwam round Africa. See above, the remark [*C*], towards the end.

(17) Lipen. ibid. fol. C *verſo.* He quotes Pineda, lib. 4 *de Rebus Salomonis*, cap. 12.

by the fable of Andromeda; for they pretend (*g*) that the ſtory of Jonah was the groundwork of the poetical narrations concerning Andromeda's being expoſed to the rage of a ſea-monſter, and ſhe was expoſed to it near Joppa (*h*). See the margin (*i*). Here follows another fancy of the Rabbies, which is very whimſical. They aſſert (*k*), that the fiſh, which ſwallowed Jonah, had ſeven eyes, which were as ſo many windows, through which the Prophet could behold all that was in the Sea, and amongſt other things the road which the Iſraelites followed when they croſſed the Red-Sea. They who take him for the ſame young man, who was ſent by Eliſha to Jehu [*F*] to anoint him, do not deſerve any credit. Jonah's tomb was ſtill ſhewed at his native place in St. Jerom's time (*l*). Monſieur Simon (*m*) aſſerts, that the *Turks have built a very noble Moſque to the honour of Jonah, in which there is a miraculous lamp, which burns continually, though neither oil nor any other liquor be ever poured into it, if we may lay any ſtreſs upon their idle fancies.* He obſerves, that this Moſque is in *a little village* (*n*) *built to this Prophet's honour, and under his name.* Monſieur d'Herbelot (*o*) does not ſay a word of all this, though he tells us ſeveral things which the Mahometans relate concerning Jonah. I ſhall name the modern author, who, according to Moreri, has made a very ingenious Poem on this Prophet's hiſtory [*G*].

(*g*) *See* Lipenius, *in Jonæ Periplo thalaſſio*, folio A 3.

(*h*) Plinius, lib. 5. cap. 13. pag. m. 567. & 31. pag. 613; & lib. 9. cap. 5. pag. 283.

(*i*) Hadrian Scrieckius, *Origin. Indice* 3. folio pag. *verſo* imagines erroneouſly, that the 3d verſe of the 3d chap. of Jonah, proves that the fiſh caſt him up at a place three days journey diſtant from Nineveh, and that the Prophet performed that journey in one day.

(*k*) *Apud* Lipenium, *in Jonæ Periplo thalaſſio*, folio C 1 *verſo*.

(*l*) That is to ſay at *Gbath-Chepher*, near Mount Tabor. Lipenius, *in Jonæ Periplo thalaſſio*, folio præced. *He quotes* S. Jerom. *Proœm. in Jonam.*

(*m*) Simon. *Diction. de la Bible*, pag. 433.

(*n*) In the Tribe of Zebulun.

(*o*) D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* pag. 495.

[*F*] *They who take him for the ſame young man who was ſent by Eliſha to Jehu* (18).] This is what the Rabbies do, and after them Mariana and Tarnovius (19). *But if this were true, he muſt have been then above an hundred years old.* Theſe are Monſieur Simon's words in his Dictionary of the Bible; but they are very dark, for we do not know to what the word *then* muſt be referred. Is it to the time when Jehu was anointed? The Grammar requires it; but this ſenſe would be abſurd. Is it to the time of Jonah's journey to Nineveh? Is it to the time of Jeroboam the ſecond of that name? gueſs it if you can.

(18) 2 Kings ix. 1.

(19) *Hebræi in Seder Olam, & ex iis Jo. Mariana in Scholiis Bibl. & D. Job. Tarnovius, Comm. Jon.* p 2. Lipen. *in Jonæ Periplo thalaſſio*, folio B.

[*G*] *I ſhall name the modern author, who, according to Moreri, has made* a very ingenious Poem *on this Prophet's Hiſtory.*] He was a Gaſcon Miniſter, named Coras. He had been Chaplain to M. de Turenne in ſome campaigns; he was afterwards appointed Paſtor to a congregation in Lower Gaſcony; but he ſoon turned Papiſt, and obtained a conſiderable employment in the Preſidial Court at Montauban. Before he forſook his religion he publiſhed a book, in which, if I remember it well, he aſſerted that the Proteſtants could not unite themſelves with the church of Rome. After his abjuration he wrote another book to refute this. His four Poems (20) on ſome Hiſtories taken from the Bible, ſold pretty well, notwithſtanding what Monſieur Boileau Deſpreaux aſſerts in his IXth ſatire,

Le Jonas inconu ſeche dans la pouſſiere,
Le David imprimé n'a point veu la lumiere.

" Jonas, unknown, lies buried in the duſt;
" David, though printed, never ſaw the light.

Coras's enemies ſent him by the poſt to Montauban a letter ſuppoſed to come from his Bookſeller at Paris, who deſired him to defend himſelf againſt Boileau, becauſe none would buy his Poems, ſince that IXth ſatire had been publiſhed. This affront exaſperated him very much, and he publiſhed a very abuſive pamphlet againſt his Critic. In the year 1675 he wrote ſome verſes againſt Monſieur Racine. You will find in the *Menagiana* (21) a very pretty epigram written by Monſieur Racine againſt him. Obſerve that he was deſcended from the celebrated Civilian John Coras, Counſellor in the Parliament of Toulouſe, and one of the Proteſtant Martyrs: for he was hanged for his religion at Toulouſe, dreſſed in his Counſellor's robes, in the year 1572 (22).

(20) One upon Jonah, one upon David, one upon Joſhua, and one upon Samſon.

(21) In pag. 300. of the 1ſt edition printed in Holland. It is alſo to be found in Furetiere's 2d *Factum*, pag. 13. of the edition printed in Holland, where it is aſcribed to Monſ. de la Fontaine.

(22) *See* d'Aubigné, *Hiſt. Univ.* tom. 2. liv. 1. chap. 5. pag. m. 560.

JONAS (ARNGRIMUS), an Iſelander by nation, gained a reputation in the 16th and 17th Centuries, by the works which he publiſhed. He was ſtill living in the year 1644, and was then above fourſcore and ten years old (*a*). Four years before, he had married a young girl to his ſecond wife. He was a learned and honeſt man, and very much eſteemed by all the learned. He had been Coadjutor to Gundebrand of Torlac Biſhop of Hola in Iſeland (*b*). This Gundebrand was an Iſelander, and a man of great learning and probity (*c*). He had been a diſciple of Tycho-Brahe, and underſtood Aſtrology (*) very well. After the death of this man Arngrimus refuſed the Biſhopric of Hola, to which the King of Denmark deſigned to promote him (*d*). He deſired that Prince to excuſe him, both that he might not expoſe himſelf to envy, and that he might apply himſelf more quietly to his ſtudies. Moſt part of the books which he publiſhed [*A*] are either Hiſtories and Deſcriptions of Iſeland, or Apologies for his own

(*a*) La Peyrere, *Relation de l'Iſlande*, pag. 55, 56.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 55.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 5, and 15.

(*) I ſuppoſe Mr. Bayle means *Aſtronomy.*

(*d*) La Peyrere, ibid. pag. 55.

[*A*] *The books which he publiſhed.*] Here follow the titles of all that I met with in Albertus Bartholinus's Catalogues. *Idea veri Magiſtratus*, i. e. " The " Character of a true Magiſtrate," printed at Copenhagen in the year 1589, in 8vo. *Brevis Commentarius de Iſlandia*; i. e. " A ſhort Hiſtory of Iſeland," printed in the ſame city in the year 1593, in 8vo. *Anatome Blefkeniana*, i. e. " The Anatomy or Diſ- " ſection of Blefkenius;" at Hola in Iſeland, in the year 1612, in 8vo, and at Hamburg in the year 1618, in 4to. *Epiſtola pro patria defenſoria*; i. e. " A " Letter in Defence of his Native Country," printed alſo there in the year 1618. Ἀπολογία *Calumniæ*; i. e. " A refutation of Slander," printed at the ſame place in the year 1622, in 4to. *Chrymogæa* (1) *ſeu Rerum Iſlandicarum libri tres*; i. e. " Three Books of the " Hiſtory of Iſeland," printed alſo there, in the year 1630, in 4to. *Vita Gudbrandi Thorlacii*; i. e. " The " Life of Gundebrand Torlac," at the ſame place in the year 1630, in 4to. *Specimen Iſlandiæ Hiſtoricum, & magna ex parte Chorographicum*; i. e. " An Hiſ- " torical and chiefly Geographical Eſſay relating to " Iſeland," printed at Amſterdam in the year 1643, in 4to (2).

(1) It ſhould be *Crymogæa.*

A learned man, who has publiſhed Albertus Bartholinus's treatiſe with hiſtorical and critical additions, tells us, that the *Anatome Blefkeniana* is a refutation of a book printed at Leyden in the year 1607, and intitled *Iſlandia ſeu Deſcriptio populorum & memorabilium hujus Inſulæ*; i. e. " Iſeland, or an Account of the People " and remarkable things of that Iſland;" and that the *Crymogæa* was written in the year 1603, and printed at Hamburg in the year 1609, with a map of Denmark, and in the year 1610 without that map; that the *Specimen Iſlandiæ Hiſtoricum* is a vindication of the author's opinion againſt the arguments of John Iſaacius Pontanus. Our Arngrimus Jonas maintained that Iſeland was not peopled till about the year 874, ſo that it cannot be the antient *Thule* (3). Pontanus thought it ſomewhat ſtrange, that Arngrimus Jonas ſhould undertake

(2) *Taken from* Albert. Bartholin. *de Scriptis Danorum*, pag. 12.

(3) *Taken from* Mollerus, *Hypomn. ad Bartol. de Scriptis Danorum*, pag. 12.

own Nation. Blefkenius had publiſhed ſeveral diſhonourable particulars of it, both with regard to witchcraft [B], and with regard to diſſoluteneſs [C]. Arngrimus refuted him.

(e) *See* Mollerus, *Hypomnem. ad Albert. Bartholinum, de Scriptis Danorum*, p. 164.

He died in the year 1649 (e). He had been Paſtor of the Church of Melſtad, and Intendant of the neighbouring Churches of the Dioceſs of Hola (f).

(f) Idem, ibid.

dertake to vindicate an opinion which was leſs glorious to Iſeland than the contrary opinion; yet he ſpoke very civilly of this learned Iſelander, and with a great deal of regard. See the letter which he wrote to Stephanus July 1, 1638 (4). You will meet in Mollerus (5) with the titles of ſome other works of our Jonas, which had been omitted by Albertus Bartholinus, and ſome of which have been printed, and the other are only manuſcripts.

(4) It is the 122d of thoſe which Matthæus publiſhed at Leyden in the year 1695. See page 325. of that Collection of *Letters*, as alſo pag. 210.

[B] *Blefkenius had publiſhed ſeveral diſhonourable particulars of Iſeland, both with regard to witchcraft . . . .*] Blefkenius aſſerts, that the Iſelanders ſell the wind, and that he knew it by his own experience (6). Arngrimus laughs at this; for ſays he, "a ſeaman of Iſeland knew in the evening by the diſpoſition of the air, how the weather would be the next day, and from what corner the wind would blow: and when he ſuppoſes that the wind would be ſuch as a ſtranger waits for to ſail away, he goes and meets him, and engages to ſell him the wind he wants; which he does after this manner. He aſks the ſtranger for his handkerchief, and makes a ſhew to mutter a few words in it, and immediately ties up the handkerchief (7), as though he feared leſt the words he had pronounced ſhould fly away; he then returns it thus tied up to the ſtranger, and charges him to keep it very carefully juſt as he receives it, aſſuring him that he ſhall have a fair wind as long as he ſhall be on board. Now it happens ſometimes that the wind blows really from that corner the next day; but it changes generally after the ſtranger is ſailed, and has reached the main ſea. . . . If it happened once in an hundred times, that the wind continued fair till the ſtranger arrived at the place he intended to ſail to, this one ſucceſs alone will give credit to the common error more than a thouſand contrary experiences will invalidate it. It is diſperſed by the perſon, who publickly declares, that he bought the wind in Iſeland, becauſe he imagines it, and that with that wind he ſailed ſafe home." The ſame Blefkenius relates (8), "that there are Conjurers in Iſeland, who have it in their power to ſtop ſhips that are under ſail in the main ſea: he alſo aſſerts, that they who are thus ſtopt make uſe, for a countercharm, of certain ſtinking ſuffumigations (9), of which he gives us a deſcription; with theſe, ſays he, they who are ſtopped drive away the devils that ſtopped them, and the ſhips thus diſinchanted continue again to ſail."

(6) La Peyrere, *Relat. de l'Iſlande*, pag. 28.

(7) See the ſtory which Charles Ogier relates in pag. 433. of his *Iter Polonicum*.

(8) La Peyrere, *Relat d'Iſlande*, pag. 31.

(9) See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for Feb. 1685, pag. 135.

[C] . . . . *and with regard to diſſoluteneſs.*] "Blefkenius aſſerts, that the Germans who trade in Iſeland, ſet up tents near the Ports at which they land, and there they expoſe their wares to ſale, which conſiſt of cloaks, ſhoes, looking-glaſſes, and a great many trifles, which they change for what the Iſelanders bring them. Some girls, who are very handſome in that iſland, but very indifferently dreſſed, go and viſit theſe Germans, and offer to thoſe who have no wife, to lie with them for ſome bread or biſket, or for ſome other trifling reward. Even the fathers preſent their own daughters to the ſtrangers, and if their daughters become pregnant, it is a great honour to them, they being more eſteemed and more courted by the Iſelanders on that account, than the other maidens, and they have a great many ſuitors. When the Iſelanders have bought (that is to ſay exchanged ſomething for) wine or beer of the foreign Merchants, they invite their relations, their friends and their neighbours to come and drink it with them, nor do they part as long as there is one drop left. Whilſt they are drinking together, they ſing the heroic deeds of their Captains . . . . . It is a piece of rudeneſs amongſt them to riſe from the table in order to make water, whilſt they are a drinking. The girls, who are not unhandſome in that country, as I have already obſerved, preſent them with chamber-pots, which they convey to them under the table. Arngrimus Jonas calls this raillery an impoſture, and is in a very great paſſion againſt Blefkenius, for the injury which that author, ſays he, did to the reputation of the girls of Iſeland. This good man cannot bear to ſee his countrymen treated with contempt, and ſtiled barbarians (10)." If it was ever lawful for an apologiſt to fly into a paſſion, Arngrimus's anger cannot be blamed; for it is not at all probable, that the Goſpel, which has been known in Iſeland for ſo many ages, would have left that nation in a ſtate of ſuch a wicked brutality; nor is it likely that if the Chriſtian religion had been ſo ineffectual with regard to the reformation of their manners, the King of Denmark would ſuffer them to have ſo little regard for public decency. The cuſtom that prevails in their entertainments, is not, I think, faithfully related: the fact has been exaggerated to entertain the reader. Was there ever ſuch an office as that of theſe girls mentioned, or did any one ever hear of ſuch a ridiculous lazineſs? Here you have men, who not only will not take the trouble to riſe from table in order to make water, but who even will not be at the pains to make the leaſt motion with their hand: for this is the notion which this ſtory gives us: otherwiſe, why ſhould we be told, that *the girls convey the chamber-pots under the table?* They might give them to the gueſts after another manner, if the deſign were only to ſpare them the trouble of getting up. If all that Blefkenius has told us here were true, we ſhould be obliged to confeſs, that jealouſy is not uſeleſs in this world (11).

(10) La Peyrere, *Relat. d'Iſlande*, pag. 23, 24.

(11) See the *Nouvelles Lettres contre le Calviniſme de Maimbourg*, pag. 542, &c.

An objection concerning the imprudence of ſome Nations.

If it were lawful to tell lies for the ſake of religion, we ſhould deny all that is related concerning the imprudence of ſome nations. For it is ſaid, that the Free-thinkers pretend to draw an inference, which is very much in their favour, from the practice of ſome nations, amongſt whom, as it it reported, the proſtitution of women is not attended with any infamy. This would be the caſe of the Iſelanders, if we were to credit Blefkenius's account; nay they would go farther ſtill, for they would look upon it as a great honour for a girl to be got with child by a ſtranger, to whom ſhe had proſtituted herſelf; and the fathers would think themſelves happy, if the offer they made of their daughter's maidenhead were accepted by ſtrangers. Where then, would the Free-thinkers aſk, is that impreſſion of nature, which makes all men diſtinguiſh between good and evil? Here are Chriſtian nations, who not only have not the leaſt regard for chaſtity in their practice, but who have even loſt the theory of it: whence it follows that in this reſpect their conſcience is intirely void of all ſenſe of the law of nature. And does not this prove, that the notions of virtue depend on education and cuſtom, and not on an impreſſion of nature? How can theſe people be reclaimed, ſince their conſcience is entirely ſeared in this reſpect? For if it be poſſible for a man to live in a wretched ſecurity, though he has a notion of good and evil, this muſt infallibly happen when theſe notions are abſolutely rooted out. There is no occaſion to anſwer this objection, ſince Arngrimus Jonas denies the fact on which it is grounded. We muſt refer to him all thoſe, who pretend to make an advantage of his adverſary's account. And if they ſhould quote unqueſtionable facts, in ſuch a caſe, we ſhould not be at a loſs for an anſwer.

☞ JONES (INIGO), an eminent Engliſh Architect in the ſeventeenth Century, was ſon of Ignatius Jones [A], a Citizen and Cloth-worker of London. He was born about the

[A] *Inigo Jones . . . . ſon of Ignatius Jones.*] It is obſervable, that the ſon's name is in Spaniſh, and the father's in Latin; for which ſome have aſſigned this reaſon, that as his father was a conſiderable dealer in the Woolen Manufacture, ſome Spaniſh Merchant might probably have aſſiſted at his Baptiſm (1).

(1) *Life of Inigo Jones*, prefixed to the edition of his *Moſt notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Henge, reſtored*, printed at London 1725 in fol.

the year 1572 in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's in London (*a*). It is ſaid, that he was at firſt put apprentice to a Joiner (*b*); but he was early diſtinguiſhed by his inclination to drawing or deſigning, and was particularly taken notice of for his ſkill in the practice of Landſkip-painting. This afterwards recommended him to the favour of William Earl of Pembroke, at whoſe expence he travelled over Italy and the politer parts of Europe, and ſaw whatever was remarkable for its antiquity or merit; and from thoſe plans formed his own obſervations, which he perfected by ſtudy and application (*c*). He reſided many years in Italy, eſpecially at Venice; from whence he was ſent for to be Architect-General to Chriſtian IV King of Denmark, upon whoſe firſt coming into England, Mr. Jones attended him, and being deſirous that his own native country, rather than a foreign, ſhould enjoy the fruits of his ſtudies, Queen Anne, wife to King James I, appointed him her Architect, and ſoon after he was honoured with the ſame place by Prince Henry, under whom he diſcharged his truſt with ſuch fidelity and judgment, that King James made him Surveyor General in reverſion. Upon the Prince's death he travelled into Italy again, and returned to England when his place of Surveyor fell [*B*], which he enjoyed under King James I, Charles I, (unto whoſe conſort he was alſo Architect General) and King Charles II (*); "though death, *ſays Mr. Webb* (†), through grief, as is well "known, for the fatal calamity of his dread maſter, prevented him of doing his now "ſacred Majeſty [Charles II] any actual ſervice." By theſe degrees he roſe to ſuch eminence, that he was eſteemed the *Vitruvius* of his age and country. We have a fine intermixture of fancy and judgment in his Decorations of Dramatic Entertainments, and the pompous Machinery of Maſques and Interludes. Several repreſentations of this nature are ſtill extant by Ben. Johnſon, George Chapman, Sir Will. Davenant, and the moſt eminent Poets of the age. The ſubject was ſet down by the Poet, but the invention, ornaments, ſcenes, &c. were the contrivance of Mr. Jones; and for theſe he received very conſiderable encouragement from the Court. In 1620, at the command of King James I, he drew up a Diſcourſe concerning *Stone-Henge* on Saliſbury-Plain, which was not publiſhed till after his death [*C*]. He formed the Banqueting-Houſe at Whitehall, which was at firſt deſigned for the reception of foreign Embaſſadors. The ceiling was ſome years after adorned by the pencil of Sir Peter Paul Rubens; and draughts of theſe have been ſince publiſhed by Mr. Sim. Gribelin the Engraver. To Mr. Jones we owe the Church and Piazza of Covent-Garden. In this laſt performance he had in view the Piazza of Leghorn, but has vaſtly ſurpaſſed the original by the beauty and largeneſs of his pillars. In repairing of the Cathedral of St. Paul's [*D*], he having demoliſhed part of the Church of St. Gregory adjoining to it, was brought into trouble about it at the opening of the Long-Parliament. For December the 10th 1641, he was obliged to appear before the Houſe of Lords, according to their Order, to hear a Declaration read, which was brought up againſt him from the Houſe of Commons, upon the complaint and in behalf of the Pariſhioners

(a) *Life of Inigo Jones*, prefixed to the edition of his *Moſt notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-henge, reſtored, &c.* London 1725, in fol.

(b) This was frequently related by Sir Chriſtopher Wren.

(c) *Life of Inigo Jones*, ubi ſupra.

(*) Webb's Vindication of *Stone-Henge Reſtored*, pag. 119. 2d edit. London 1725 in fol.

(†) Ibid.

[*B*] *When his place of Surveyor fell.*] Mr. Webb tells us (2), that "the office of his Majeſty's works, "having through extraordinary occaſions in the time "of Mr. Jones's predeceſſor contracted a great debt, "amounting to ſeveral thouſands of pounds, he was "ſent for to the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt Ho"nourable Privy Council, to give them his opinion, "what courſe might be taken to eaſe his Majeſty of "it, the Exchequer being empty, and the workmen "clamorous: when he of his own accord voluntarily "offered not to receive one penny of his own enter"tainment in what kind ſoever due, untill the debt "was fully diſcharged. And this was not only per"formed by him himſelf, but upon his perſuaſion his fel"low-officers, the then Comptroller and Pay-maſter, "condeſcended to do the like alſo, whereby the whole "arrears were abſolutely cleared."

(2) Vindication of *Stone-Henge Reſtored*, pag. 119 2d edit. London 1725 in fol.

[*C*] *Drew up a Diſcourſe concerning* Stone-Henge *on Saliſbury-Plain, which was not publiſhed till after his death.*] It being left imperfect by him at his death came into the hands of Mr. John Webb of Burleigh in Somerſetſhire, who married the daughter of our author's couſin-german (3), at the deſire of Dr. William Harvey, Mr. Selden, and other learned men (*), perfected and publiſhed that *Diſcourſe* at London 1655 in folio under the following title, *The moſt notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-henge on Saliſbury-Plain, reſtored*; and prefixed to it the author's picture, etched by Hollar from a painting of Van Dyke. In this *Diſcourſe* Mr. Jones endeavours to ſhew, that *Stone-henge* was a temple built by the Romans, while they were in Britain, and dedicated by them to *Cælus* or *Cælum*, from whom the Antients imagined, that all things took their beginning. This book, of which but a few copies were printed, was generally approved of by the Antiquaries; but Dr. Walter Charlton being diſſatisfied with it, ſent it to Olaus Wormius, a learned man in Denmark, who returning his ſentiments in ſeveral letters to Dr. Charlton, the Doctor drew up a *Diſcourſe*, intitled, *Chorea Gigantum: or, the moſt famous Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-henge, ſtanding on Saliſbury Plain, reſtored to the Danes.* London 1663 in 4to. "This book, *ſays Mr. Wood* (4), "though exploded by moſt perſons, when it was pub"liſhed, yet ſome of the moſt noted Antiquaries of this "nation, particularly Sir William Dugdale, did applaud "it, and hath ſaid in my hearing more than once, that he "verily thought, that Dr. Charlton was in the right in "what he delivered in the ſaid *Chorea Gigantum*." But Mr. Webb abovementioned publiſhed in anſwer to the Doctor, *A Vindication of* Stone-henge reſtored, *in which the Orders and Rules of Architecture obſerved by the antient Romans are diſcuſſed, together with the Cuſtoms and Manners of ſeveral Nations of the World in matters of Building of the greateſt Antiquity; as alſo an Hiſtorical Narration of the moſt memorable Actions of the Danes in England.* London 1665 in folio. The three *Diſcourſes* of Mr. Jones, Dr. Charlton, and Mr. Webb, were reprinted together at London 1725 in folio.

(3) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 1113.

(*) *Vindication*, pag. 118.

(4) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*D*] *In repairing of the Cathedral of St. Paul's.*] In a royal commiſſion under the great ſeal of England dated November the 16th 1720 he was appointed with ſeveral others a Commiſſioner for repairing that cathedral (5); and in 1633 he, as Surveyor of that work, laid the fourth ſtone at the eaſt end (6). Mr. Webb tells us (7), that "for the magnificence of St. Paul's "all poſterity will be grateful to Mr. Jones, who was "ſole Architect, and ſolely, by that ever glorious Mo"narch K. Charles the Martyr, entruſted with the repair "thereof; and who in faithful diſcharge of that truſt, "reduced the body of it from the ſteeple to the weſt "end into that order and uniformity we now behold; "and by adding that magnificent portico there, hath "contracted the envy of all Chriſtendom upon our na"tion for a piece of Architecture not to be paralleled "in theſe laſt ages of the world."

(5) Dugdale's *Hiſtory of St. Paul's Cathedral London*, pag. 135, 136. edit. London 1658 in fol.

(6) Ibid. pag. 159.

(7) *Vindication*, &c. pag. 27.

Pariſhioners of St. Gregory's in London (*e*) [*E*]. The Declaration being read, he deſired, that he might have ſome time to anſwer by his Council (*f*); and December the 21ſt he appeared before the Lords in Parliament and anſwered, "that he was not guilty of the "offence charged in the ſaid Declaration in ſuch manner and form as therein was ex- "preſſed;" upon which Friday fortnight was ordered for the day of hearing the cauſe (*g*). But what was the iſſue of this affair, we do not find. His adherence to the King's intereſt during the civil wars expoſed him to conſiderable loſſes; and Mr. David Lloyd tells us (*h*), that he paid four hundred pounds by way of compoſition. He died about Midſummer Day 1652 (*i*), and was interred in the Chancel of the Church of Bennet near Paul's Wharf in London June the 26th, and his monument ſet on the North wall at ſome diſtance from his grave, was very much defaced by the Fire of London in September 1666 (*k*). Several of his deſigns have been publiſhed by Mr. Kent, Mr. Colin Campbell, and Mr. Iſaac Ware. A Copy of Verſes by him are publiſhed in the *Odcombian Banquet* prefixed to *Tom. Coryat's Crudities*, printed at London in 1611 in 4to. Ben. Johnſon, upon ſome quarrel with him, wrote a ſevere Satyr againſt him, in which he ſtiles him *Sir Lantern Leatherhead*; but this Satyr was forbid by the King to be printed at that time, and is ſtill extant in manuſcript. Mr. Webb tells us (*l*), that *the Art of Deſign* was ſcarcely known in England, till Mr. Jones, under the protection of King Charles I, and Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, brought it into uſe and eſteem among us here. Mr. Webb had in his poſſeſſion *the chiefeſt Antiquities of all Chriſtendom* deſigned by our author's own hand (*m*).

(*e*) Nalſon's *Impartial Collection*, vol. 2. pag. 728.

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 729.

(*g*) Ibid. pag. 771.

(*b*) *Memoires*, pag. 577. edit. London 1668, in fol.

(*i*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1113. But the ſame writer, vol. 1. col. 423. tells us, that he had been informed by letters of Mr. James Webb, ſon of Mr. John Webb, who married the daughter of the couſin-german of our author, that he died July 21ſt 1651, aged about 79 years.

(*k*) Idem, vol. 1. col. 1113.

(*l*) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 19.

(*m*) Ibid. pag. 119, 120.

[*E*] *Obliged to appear before the Houſe of Lords, according to their order, to hear a declaration read, which was brought up againſt him from the Houſe of Commons, upon the complaint and in behalf of the pariſhioners of St. Gregory's in London.*] The declaration was as follows.

"*The Declaration of the Commons upon the complaint, "and in the behalf of the Pariſhioners of St. Gregory's, "London, againſt Inigo Jones Eſq;*

"The Pariſh Church of St. Gregory's adjoining to "the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's in London afore- "ſaid, is, and, from the time whereof the memory "of man is not to the contrary, hath been the Pariſh- "Church for the Inhabitants of that Pariſh, lately "computed to be 3000 perſons, for the adminiſtration of "Divine Service and Sacraments. The ſaid Inigo Jones "being Surveyor of his Majeſty's Works, and parti- "cularly thoſe to be deſigned for the re-edifying of "the ſaid Church of St. Paul's, would not undertake "the work, unleſs he might be, as he termed it, the "*ſole Monarch*, or might have the principality thereof, "conceiving the work would not well be done with- "out pulling down the ſaid Church of St. Gregory's, "preſented a plot to his Majeſty accordingly. The "ſaid Inigo Jones having preſented the ſaid plot, his "Majeſty hereupon ſignified his pleaſure, and in pur- "ſuance thereof, ſeveral orders were alſo made at the "Council-Board, that the ſaid Church ſhould be taken "down by the Pariſhioners for the more convenient re- "pairing of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's; "which the Pariſhioners refuſing to obey, as was law- "ful for them to do, the ſaid Inigo Jones, in execu- "tion of the plot and deſign by him preſented as "aforeſaid, and of his Majeſty's ſignification, and the "orders at the Council-Board thereupon had, in or about "March 1639, did pull down and cauſed to be pul- "led down part of the ſaid Church, and did alſo "threaten, *That if the ſaid Pariſhioners would not take "down the reſt of it, then the galleries ſhould be ſawed "down, and with ſkrews the materials of the ſaid "Church ſhould be thrown down into the ſtreet.* And "the ſaid Inigo Jones did further threaten the ſaid "Pariſhioners, *That if they did not take down the ſaid "Church, they ſhould be laid by the heels.* Whereby "the Pariſhioners being thus affrighted, and to ſave "the materials, which not long before had caſt them "1500 *l.* were inforced to take down ſome part of "the ſaid Church, inſomuch as it thereby was made "altogether uſeleſs, and the ſaid Pariſhioners to that "great number have been wholly deſtitute of any "place within their own Pariſh for the public exer- "ciſing of Religion. The damages the Pariſhioners "have hereby ſuſtained is very great, and the charge "of re-edifying the ſaid Church and reſtoring it to as "good plight as it was in, before it was ſo wrong- "fully taken down, will amount at leaſt to 3000 *l.* "all which the ſaid Pariſhioners are ready to prove "and maintain. For remedy therefore and redreſs "herein, and chiefly to the end, that the ſaid Church "of St. Gregory's may be fully repaired and reſtored "to the plight and condition, wherein it formerly "was, by and at the charge of him and them, by "whoſe undue means it was in part taken down, or "cauſed to be taken down as aforeſaid, it is deſired, "that ſuch proceedings may be uſed and had againſt "the ſaid offenders herein, as to right and juſtice "doth appertain" T.

JORNANDES, a Goth by extraction, was Biſhop of Ravenna towards the middle of the ſixth Century. . . . . His Hiſtory of the Goths, tranſlated into French, was printed at Paris in the year 1703, and dedicated to the King of Sweden (*a*).

(*a*) See the *Mémoires de Trevoux*, for Jan. 1704, Art. 6. of the edition printed in France.

JOUBERT (LAURENCE) Counſellor and Phyſician in Ordinary to the King of France and to the King of Navarre, firſt Doctor Regent, and Chancellor and Judge of the Univerſity of Montpellier, was born at Valence in Dauphiné December the 6th 1529 (*a*). He ſtudied under Silvius at Paris, and under L'Argentier beyond the Alps (*b*). He gained a great reputation by the Lectures he read at Montpellier as a Profeſſor, and more ſtill by the books he publiſhed. People had ſo great an opinion of his knowledge, that Henry III, who paſſionately wiſhed to have children, ſent for him to Paris, being in hopes that this Phyſician's ſkill would remove the obſtacles which rendered his marriage fruitleſs (*c*); but he was diſappointed in his expectations. Joubert died at Lombez [*A*] October

(*a*) La Croix du Maine, pag. 285.

(*b*) Sammarthanus, *Elog.* pag. m. 75.

(*c*) *Eum in Aula vidimus à Rege Henrico III evocatum, cum pius ille Princeps prolis in publicam utilitatem ſuſcipiendæ cupidus, maximam voti ſui ſpem in ejus induſtria nequaquam collocaſſet.* Sammarth. *Elog.* pag. 76.

[*A*] *He died at Lombez.*] La Croix Du Maine acquaints me with this particular. He adds that Lombez is ſeven leagues diſtant from Toulouſe; and it is towards Languedoc and not towards Guienne, it follows certainly from this, that Sammarthanus is miſtaken (1), who aſſerts that Joubert died on his return from Toulouſe to Montpellier. The city of Lombez is very far from that road. Moreri is ſtill more to blame than Sammarthanus, for the following reaſon: he aſſerts, as he read it in La Croix du Maine, that this

(1) *In Elog.* pag. m. 76.

October the 29th 1582. He publiſhed a great many books [*B*], both in Latin and in French. That which he intitled *Vulgar Errors* raiſed great clamours againſt him, becauſe he ſpeaks in it too freely on ſeveral tickliſh ſubjects [*C*]. It was particularly thought ſtrange that he ſhould have dedicated ſuch a book to the Queen of Navarre, conſort to Henry IV. But all theſe clamours were ſo far from preventing the ſale of his book, that on the contrary, they contributed conſiderably to make it ſell the more [*D*].

This

this Phyſician died at Lombez; and he adds to this what he had found in Sammarthanus, that Joubert died *on his return from Toulouſe to Montpellier*. The blending together theſe two particulars, betrays in him an ignorance of Geography, with which Sammarthanus cannot be charged, ſince he did not mention Lombez. A writer is liable to commit a great many blunders, when he blends together the accounts of different authors, without altering and correcting ſuch particulars as render thoſe accounts inconſiſtent together. I do not mention the chronological blunder we meet with in Moreri. It is plainly an error of the preſs, or only an overſight. You will find in Moreri, that Joubert was born in the year 1629, that he became famous in the ſixteenth century, that he died in the year 1682, and that Du Verdier Vau-Privas and La Croix du Maine mention him in their works (2) which they publiſhed in the year 1584, and which have never been reprinted.

(2) Intitled, *Bibliotb. Françoiſe.*

[*B*] *He publiſhed a great many books.*] His Latin treatiſes make up two volumes in folio in the editions printed at Francfort in the years 1582, 1599, and 1645. One of the moſt conſiderable of theſe treatiſes is a collection of paradoxes, againſt which ſeveral Phyſicians (3) wrote, and to whom he replied.

(3) Thomas Jourdain, Francis Valleriola, Bruno Seidelius.

I obſerve that his treatiſe of the *Pancreas* was compoſed French, tho' when he publiſhed it, he put in the title-page that John Paul Zangmaiſter a native of Augſburg. and a pupil of Monſieur Laurence Joubert had tranſlated it into French *from the Latin of the ſaid Joubert*. (4).

(4) *See* La Croix du Maine, p. 255.

[*C*] *He ſpoke too freely on ſeveral tickliſh ſubjects in his* Vulgar Errors.] The ſubject relating to virginity, and to generation had perhaps never been handled in French in ſuch plain terms. He was even ſo free, that he produced three affidavits or certificates drawn up by ſworn matrons, who at the Magiſtrate's command had examined whether ſome maidens, who complained that they had been raviſhed, had reaſons to complain. The firſt of theſe affidavits was made in Bearn, the ſecond at Paris, and the third at Carcaſſonne. It is declared in the firſt that the maiden, who complained, was ſtill a virgin; in the two others it is aſſerted that the plaintiffs had been deflowered. Joubert compares together very exactly the expreſſions which theſe matrons made uſe of. In the year 1686 they printed in Holland a book intitled *Tableau de l'Amour conſideré dans l'état du Marriage* (5). i. e. "A Deſcription of "Love conſidered in the Marriage-State." The author takes there the name of Salocini a Venetian Phyſician; but it is well known that his true name is Nicholas Venette, and that he is a Phyſician of Rochelle (6). He quotes alſo affidavits, and it is from him that Furetiere borrowed what he ſays upon that ſubject in his Dictionary, under the word *Pucelage*. But to return to Joubert, he was charged with having forged himſelf thoſe affidavits. "He refutes this very "well in his epiſtle to his *friends and well-wiſhers*, "naming the perſon who communicated to him the "affidavits from Paris and from Bearn. As for that "from Carcaſſonne, I know very well that he had it "from a perſon, who was principal Secretary to the "Marſhal Dampville, who uſed to repeat it often for "his diverſion. And Monſieur Joubert can hardly "underſtand the words, which theſe midwives made "uſe of, ſo as to apply them properly to every part of "that member which diſtinguiſhes the ſex. Not but "that he can very well obſerve in it as many parts "as theſe matrons reckon up; for in our public lectures on Anatomy we demonſtrate ſixteen or ſeventeen of them, which I ſhall rehearſe here in their "proper order, &c. (7)." La Croix du Maine obſerves, that *ſome perſons objected to Joubert, that he ſpoke too freely, and quoted too obſcene paſſages in ſome of his works, and particularly in his learned books concerning* Vulgar Errors. But, continues he, if he made *uſe of ſome ſmutty expreſſions which give offence to ſcrupulous perſons, he was obliged to expreſs himſelf thus, if he deſigned to be underſtood, and for the ſake of thoſe readers who deſire to be improved by his books.* Scevola Sammarthanus is in the right to obſerve, that the author wronged his reputation by this work. *Futurus tamen cautior, ſi contentus iis, quæ in uſum eruditorum ſermone Latino componebat, à ſcriptionibus Gallicis abſtinere maluiſſet. Naturam enim pro conceſſa Medicis facultate liberius evolvens, temere ſe in plebis imperitæ cenſuram atque riſum objecit* (8). i. e. "He had been more pru- "dent, if forbearing to write in French, he had "been content to write in Latin for the uſe of the "learned. For as he explained nature freely, accord- "ing to the liberty which Phyſicians are allowed to "take, he expoſed himſelf to the cenſure and ridicule "of the unlearned multitude." Joubert himſelf was ſenſible of it, for he did not continue his work; and as to what had already been publiſhed, he endeavoured to anſwer ſome complaints againſt it. He was blamed for dedicating his book *to the Queen of Navarre, a very virtuous* (9) *and generous Princeſs, a true mirrour and pattern of honour, ſince in the beginning of his work he was to treat of ſmutty ſubjects, as they call them, and of the privy parts, for he was writing of generation, conception, pregnancy, and delivery* (10). He anſwered this objection in the ſecond edition of his book; for beſides the excuſes, which he and Louis Bertravan alledged, *he altered the dedication, and preſented the whole work to Monſeigneur de Pibrac that Princeſs's Chancellor, that he might chooſe and point out ſuch paſſages, as were proper to be preſented to her Majeſty, and of which ſhe might judge with a ſafe conſcience: the ſaid Lord keeping the reſt for himſelf as being more ſuitable to her condition* (11). There was another complaint againſt him. *All this*, it was ſaid (12), *would have been much better in Latin than in French; ſince ſuch diſcourſes do not ſound ſo ill in a foreign language as they do in a vulgar tongue; nor would the women and maidens, who are more modeſt and baſhful, have had any knowledge of them.* To which Cabrol makes the following reply (13). "Joubert has "already given a full anſwer to this in his epiſtle *to "his friends and well-wiſhers*, in which he obſerves "very judiciouſly that the moſt chaſte women in the "world may very well read his work, in which they "will meet with nothing but what leads to virtue, "and which will acquaint them, and their huſbands "alſo, with their duty in the marriage-ſtate. As to "the maidens, they will not underſtand any thing in "it relating to the works of the fleſh, if they be true "virgins both in body and ſoul, if I may ſay ſo. But "further, to ſatisfy every one in this as in all the reſt, "he has ſince ſuppreſſed all that could give any offence "to the moſt ſcrupulous perſons, knowing very well "that we ought to abſtain not only from evil, but alſo "from all appearance of evil." All theſe reaſons are not ſolid, and ſome of them are wretched arguments.

(8) Sammarth. *in Elogiis*, p. 76.

(9) She was very well skilled in theſe matters, if we may depend on d'Aubignés Satyrs.

(10) Cabrol, *Epitre Apologet.* prefixed to the 2d Part of the *Erreurs Populaires, &c.*

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Ibid.

[*D*] *The clamours . . . that were raiſed againſt this book . . . contributed conſiderably to make it ſell the more.*] Let us tranſcribe the words of Joubert's Apologiſt. The Treatiſe of Vulgar Errors, ſays he (14), "has been "printed at four different places within ſix months; "namely at Bourdeaux, at Paris, at Lyons, and at "Avignon: and they have not printed leſs than ſix- "teen hundred copies in every one of theſe cities. "This book has been ſo highly eſteemed, that where- "as it was ſold at firſt only for ten pence or twelve "pence, it was afterwards ſold for a crown, and even "for four livres, juſt as in a time of ſcarcity (which "is a kind of famine) the price of wheat riſes daily. "And beſides, the Bookſellers and Printers are conti- "nually aſked for the continuation of that work; and "even the author is daily preſſed to publiſh the re- "mainder of it, or at leaſt five books of it from time "to time (if he does not care to print it all at once) "according to the diviſion he made of it; beſides what "he promiſed over and above it. But as he is a man

(14) Cabrol, *Epitre Apologet.* prefixed to the 2d Part of the *Erreurs Populaires, &c.*

(5) See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for Oct. 1686, pag. 1221. It has been tranſlated into Dutch. See the *Boekzaal*, for Aug. 1695. It has alſo been tranſlated into Engliſh.

(6) He is mentioned in the *Journal des Savans*, for May 13, 1686, pag. m. 188.

(7) B. Cabrol, *Epitre Apologetique*, prefixed to the 2d Part of Laurence Joubert's *Erreurs Populaires.*

This work was to have contained ſix parts [*E*], each of them divided into five books; but the public never ſaw but the firſt, and part of the ſecond. I ſhall relate a particular which ſhews that Joubert was a modeſt man [*F*], and knew very well within what limits human learning is confined.

I have obſerved, from La Croix du Maine, that he was born December the 6th 1520; but I muſt add here, that we read in an inſcription which is round his picture, that in the year 1570 he was in his fiftieth year; whence it follows that he was born in the year 1530. Rondelet, whoſe favourite pupil he was, and whom he ſucceeded in the year 1567 in the poſt of Regius Profeſſor of Phyſic at Montpellier, truſted him, when he died, with his manuſcripts, and deſired him to reviſe, correct, and publiſh them (*d*). Joubert gained that poſt of Regius Profeſſor after he had held a public diſputation for four days upon ſeveral theſes, which have been printed, with divers other treatiſes, at Lyons, in the year 1571. There are amongſt theſe treatiſes ſome obſervations, which ſerve to clear up certain paſſages in his Paradoxes [*G*]. He was an

" of an high ſpirit, and very jealous of his reputation, " he has been ſo much vexed and exaſperated by all " thoſe complaints, that he had often a mind (I know " it very well) to burn all that he had written upon " thoſe ſubjects. Oh, what a pity it would have been (α)!"

§ (α) There is a Latin tranſlation of this book of the Vulgar Errors printed by Chr. Plantin with this title: *Laur. Jouberti de Vulgi erroribus Medicinæ & Medicorum dignitatem deformantibus, cum Notis Joan. Bourgeſii.* i. e. " Laurence Joubert's work of the Vulgar Errors which " tend to depreciate the dignity of Phyſic and of the " Phyſicians, with John Bourgeſius's notes." In 8vo, 1600 *. Let us obſerve here that Mr. Bayle ſhould have ſaid a word of the orthography, which Joubert affected to follow in this work. It is almoſt the ſame with that, which Lewis Maigret, and James Pelletier attempted to introduce; but it was ſo little approved of, that it was abſolutely altered in the edition printed at Roan, in the year 1601. CRIT. REM.]

* *Bibliot. Draudii*, tom. 1. pag. 939.

[*E*] *This work was to have contained ſix parts.*] When he publiſhed the firſt part he added to it a table exhibiting the diviſion of the whole work, and the titles of the chapters which every book was to contain. But as it was not he himſelf that ſent the ſecond part to the preſs, it did not anſwer the ſcheme which he had publiſhed. It was not divided into five books, and the twenty five which it contains do not anſwer thoſe of his ſcheme, neither with regard to the number, nor to the ſubjects of theſe chapters. The following paſſage from Cabrol will acquaint you with the reaſons of this. " He could not yet be prevailed upon " to conſent that the other parts might be publiſhed. He " keeps them ſo ſecret and hidden, that there is no " poſſibility of having a ſight nor the leaſt communi- " cation of them. Finding therefore that ſuch was his " reſolution (not to ſay obſtinacy) I was determined to " publiſh ſome chapters, which I received formerly " from him; for he had done me the favour to ex- " plain ſome propoſitions to me, which I deſired to " underſtand from him, and of which I aſked him his " opinion. There is not a great number of them, " but moſt of the chapters are very long, and contain " ſeveral heads. So that whoever would take the " pains to ſubdivide them, would find about thirty of " them. Monſieur JOUBERT had compoſed them " long before he publiſhed the firſt part of his Vulgar " Errors: they treat of certain ſubjects, which have " ſince been reduced to ſeveral heads in the general and " particular diviſion of the whole work, to be inſerted " ſome in the ſeventh book, others in the eleventh, " the ſeventeenth, the twentieth, the twenty third, " the twenty fifth, the twenty ſixth, and in the follow- " ing books to the thirtieth. I have not much mind- " ed in what order I placed them, ſince this is all we " can have at preſent from the author, notwithſtand- " ing his promiſe (15)." The ſame Cabrol aſſerts (16), that whilſt he was taking care to have this printed *as it were by ſtealth*, he was ſurpriſed at his Printer's by Monſ. JOUBERT, " who was very angry with me, " *ſays he*, becauſe of my undertaking. However when " he heard that I deſigned to make you a preſent of " it, ... he ſuffered ... the Printer to go on, and even " gave him two beautiful diſcourſes extracted from his " Latin paradoxes, and tranſlated by his eldeſt ſon Iſaac " Joubert." Let us obſerve here, that Gaſpar Bachot Counſellor and Phyſician to the King, publiſhed in the year 1626 a book which he had compoſed a great while before in order to compleat Laurence Joubert's deſign with regard to the third part of the *Vulgar Errors* (17). He followed the chapters of the books, according to the ſcheme of them, which he met with in the table annexed to the firſt part. *But he drew up the whole after his own manner, and according to his particular opinions, without obliging himſelf to follow his maſter's* (18). This book of Gaſpar Bachot is entitled, *Erreurs populaires touchant la Medicine & Regime de Santé.* i. e. " Vulgar Errors concerning Phy- " ſick, and the Diet neceſſary to keep us in health." This author is not mentioned in *Lindenius renovatus*.

(17) At Lyons, for Bartholomew Vincent, in 8vo.

(18) *See* Bachot's Preface.

[*F*] *I ſhall relate a particular, which ſhews that Joubert was a modeſt man.*] Gaſpar Bachot, whom I have mentioned in the preceding remark, was admitted Doctor of Phyſic in the year 1592 (19). He boaſted that he had maintained his theſis againſt all opponents, and he looked upon his *Doctorate as the trophy of his victory. But as ſoon as I had read your Anſwer*, ſays he in his letter to Monſieur de Lorme Phyſician in Ordinary to Lewis XIII, and firſt Phyſician to the Queen-Dowager (20), " in which you " write to me, that the late Monſieur Joubert, your " collegue and your friend, uſed to ſay of himſelf, " *Ter Doctor nunquam futurus doctus.* i. e. *I have been* " *three times admitted a Doctor, and ſhall never be a* " *learned man*; that he being a Doctor, and having " taken that degree in three different univerſities, could " not be ſatisfied with himſelf, though he was admired " by all the world; I began then to miſtruſt myſelf " ſo, that I looked upon all my former ſtudies as " uſeleſs, without any hopes of ever becoming learned, " ſince ſuch a man, like another Socrates, confeſſed " his own incapacity, or the fear he was in never to " enjoy the deſire of his heart." Take notice, that he obſerves, that " Joubert had learnt his profeſſion at " Montbriſon (21) and in the neighbouring houſes, " and that he lived there, when his *Decades were dedi-* " *cated* to that celebrated Civilian, Papon, the orna- " ment of that city (22)."

(19) See his *Letter to Mr. de Lorme*, prefixed to his book of *Vulgar Errors*.

(20) Ibid.

(21) A City in the County of Forez.

(22) That is to ſay of Montbriſon.

[*G*] .... *Some obſervations which ſerve to clear up certain paſſages in his paradoxes.*] He had aſſerted in his ſecond paradox, that it is poſſible for a man to live a long while without eating and drinking. This propoſition was exclaimed againſt, as though the author deſigned to hint thereby that Moſes, Elijah and Jeſus Chriſt faſted forty days without any miracle. He made a very good anſwer to this objection, for his anſwer was approved by John de la Place, Miniſter of Montpellier. This Miniſter's approbation is not printed in the French tranſlation of this work of Joubert, but it is to be met with in the Latin edition of his *Opuſcula* printed at Lyons in the year 1570 (23). This confirms what we have obſerved in another place (24), namely, that Joubert was of the reformed religion. It muſt be obſerved, that when he undertook to explain thoſe paſſages which were exclaimed againſt, it was only for the ſake of thoſe pious perſons, who either becauſe they have a tender conſcience, or becauſe they are not ſufficiently acquainted with Philoſophy, are eaſily offended. But as for thoſe, who out of malice pretended to find dangerous aſſertions in his works, he left them to the hardneſs of their heart. *Hujus enarrationis*, ſays he (25), *vel ſolo argumento vel demonſtrationibus commoveri poſſe hominum duo genera, facile præſentio. Unum eſt naturalis Philoſophiæ & Medicinæ imperitum, ſimplicitatis & impietatis nomine venerandum: qualis*

(23) In page 139 of the 2d Part.

(24) In the remark [*A*] of the article VIRET.

(25) Joubert, *Opuſcul.* Part 2. pag. 136.

(15) Cabrol, *Epitre Apologetique*, prefixed to the 2d Part of the *Erreurs Populaires*.

(16) Ibid. in the Dedication to Monſ. de Villeroi.

an innovator with regard to the orthography of the French tongue [*H*].

qualis plebecula, & quicunque in æſtimandis rerum cauſis ſtudium non adhibent. Alterum διαβολικὸν, *quod etiam quæ bene dicta eſſe novit, impudentiſſimis calumnis inſectatur. Hoc, quia explicationem non expectat, & quæcunque impura ſua mente excipiuntur depravat, ſuoque veneno inficit, me nihil moratur. Alteri verò benignè ſatisfaciendum puto.* i. e. "I am ſenſible that either "the very ſubject of this treatiſe, or the arguments "urged in it may give offence to two ſorts of perſons. "The one is of thoſe, who are unacquainted with Na"tural Philoſophy and with Phyſic, and who for their "honeſty and piety deſerve to be regarded: ſuch are "in general the common people, and all they who do "not apply themſelves to ſtudy the cauſes of things. "The others are a deviliſh ſort of men, who by their "impudeut ſlanders exclaim even againſt what they "know to be well grounded. As they do not expect "an explication from me, and are uſed to corrupt "and infect with their venom whatever they conceive "in their wicked mind, I ſhall have no regard for "them. But I am of opinion that I ought to anſwer "the others with kindneſs, and in a friendly manner." He muſt have been highly provoked by thoſe men's imputations, ſince he wiſhes that God would give him that patience and meekneſs, which are neceſſary when a man is expoſed to the rage of ſlanderers. His words, which ſhew that his heart was full of reſentment, are at the ſame time a terrible invective againſt his adverſaries. He concludes after this manner. *Hæc* διαβόλους καιροδαίμονας *ab iſtius enarrationis prophanatione avertant, quibus eſt peculiare etiam ſacram paginam corrumpere, & in alienum peſſimumque ſenſum detorquere, impudentiſſime mentiri, & maledicere, animorum concordiam diſſolvere, inimicitias colere, invidiam crepare, & nunquam non quibus nocere queant modos excogitare, piiſque omnibus eſſe infeſtiſſimos.* Deus *miſericors parcat hominibus quicunque ab ejuſmodi furiis agitati, earumque veneno afflati & infecti, ſimilem naturam induunt & referunt: quoſque ab iſtis nequiſſime tractari patitur, patientia (quæ omnia vincit) & manſuetudine bene muniat. Amen* (26). i. e. "Let this keep thoſe deviliſh ſlan- (26) Joubert, *Opuſcula*, pag. 156, 157.
"derers from prophaning this work, whoſe particular "character is to falſify even the Holy Scripture, and "to wreſt the words of it to a wrong and moſt dan"gerous ſenſe; to lye and ſlander moſt impudently, "to ſow diſſentions and to keep up diviſions amongſt "friends; to burſt with envy, to be continually in"venting ſome miſchief, and to be moſt bitterly exaſ"perated againſt all good men. I pray the moſt "merciful God to pardon all thoſe who, being perſe"cuted by thoſe furies, and acted upon and infected "by their venom, happen to aſſume the ſame charac"ter; and if he ſuffers any to be injured by them, "may he grant them the neceſſary patience (which "overcomes all things) and that meekneſs they want; "Amen."

[*H*] *He was an innovator with regard to the Orthography of the French Tongue.*] For he uſed to write *jantil, accion, parfet, æmer*, inſtead of *gentil* (gentile); *action* (action), *parfait* (perfect), *aimer* (to love). He alſo made a diſtinction between the *v* conſonant and the *u* which is a vowel; and he would *have the conſonant* (27) *written otherwiſe than the vowel* (28). (27) Compare this with the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for July 1704, Art. 8.

(28) *Taken from* Sorel, pag. 114. of his *Perfection de l'homme.*

JOVIAN, a Roman Emperor, obtained that dignity by the election of the army in the year 363, after the death of Julian the Apoſtate. He was more conſidered by the merit of his Father Count Varronian, than by his own (*a*), for he was ſtill very young, and ſerved in the troops of the Life-guards [*A*]. Moſt of the particulars that relate to him being ſet down in Moreri's Dictionary, I ſhall confine my ſelf to two facts only, which are not to be met with there. The firſt is, that Jovian concluded a peace, which was ſo diſhonourable and ſo prejudicial to the Roman Empire, that he expoſed himſelf to the complaints and railleries of the public [*B*]. The other is, that he

(*a*) Suidas *in* Ἰοβιανῷ. See alſo the words of Eutropius in the remark [*A*].

[*A*] *He ſerved in the troops of the Life-Guards.*] When I ſay this, it is chiefly with regard to theſe words of Eutropius. *Poſt hunc* (Julianum) *Jovianus, qui tunc* domesticus militabat, *ad obtinendum imperium conſenſu exercitus electus commendatione patris quàm ſua militibus notior* (1). i. e. "After Julian's death, Jo- (1) Eutrop. lib. 10. pag. m. 123.
"vian, who ſerved then in the troops of the Life"Guards, was choſen Emperor by the army, though "he was known to the ſoldiers by his father's merit "rather than by his own." But I muſt alſo obſerve that this author's expreſſions are not ſufficiently exact, and that we ought to correct them by thoſe of another Hiſtorian, who does more diſtinctly tell us to what poſt Jovian had been raiſed. *Jovianus eligitur Imperator Domeſticorum Ordinis primus, paternis meritis mediocriter commendabilis* (2). i. e. "Jovian being (2) Amm. Marcellin. lib. 25. cap. 5. p. m. 430.
"Captain in the Life-guards was choſen Emperor; "his father's merit was the only recommendation he "had." As the military poſts are not at preſent in the ſame order or diſpoſition as they were at that time, it is very difficult to find a word in the modern languages, that anſwers exactly to the meaning of theſe expreſſions, *Domeſticorum ordinis primus*, or *Primicerius Domeſticorum* (3). But we may with reaſon aſ- (3) Hieron. *in Chron.* makes uſe of this expreſſion.
ſert, that they do not ſignify that Jovian was the Chief or the Leader of thoſe guards, which were called *Domeſtici*: for the true name of their Leader or Colonel, was *Comes Domeſticorum* (4). It has been aſ- (4) *See* Valeſius, *in Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. 14. cap. 10.
ſerted in Moreri's Dictionary, that Jovian was *Captain of the Prætorian Guard*, when he refuſed to renounce the Chriſtian Religion under Julian the Apoſtate. This is borrowed from Socrates the Hiſtorian, who though he made uſe of the word χιλιαρχὸς (5), a (5) Socrat. *Hiſt.* lib. 3. cap. 22.
Captain of a thouſand men, does not however juſtify Moreri's expreſſion. Let us obſerve that Theodoret aſſerts (6), that Jovian had no employment in the army when he was made Emperor. Ammianus Marcellinus, who ſays the contrary, is more credited, ſince he was on the ſpot. (6) Theodor. *Hiſt.* lib. 4. cap. 1.

[*B*] *Jovian concluded a peace which was ſo diſhonourable and ſo prejudicial . . . that he expoſed himſelf to the . . . railleries of the public.*] He yielded five Provinces to the Perſians, with ſome places, which ſerved as ſtrong barriers to the Roman Empire. Amongſt other places he gave up to them the important City of Niſibis, and that of Singara (7), and it was with difficulty he obtained leave for the inhabitants to retire to the territories of the Romans (8). He promiſed that he would no longer ſend any aſſiſtance to the King of Armenia, who had been conſtantly a true and faithful friend to the Emperors. This was, ſay the Hiſtorians, a kind of impiety, and proved the ruin of that faithful friend, and ended in the loſs of Armenia. *Quibus exitiale aliud acceſſit & impium, ne poſt hæc ita compoſita, Arſaci poſcenti contra Perſas ferretur auxilium, amico nobis ſemper & fido . . . Unde poſtea contigit, ut vivus caperetur idem Arſaces, & Armeniæ maximum latus Medis conterminans, & Artaxata inter diſſenſiones & turbamenta raperent Parthi* (9). i. e. "To which (9) Idem, ibid. pag. 434.
"was added this pernicious and impious circumſtance, "that after the concluſion of this treaty of peace, no "aſſiſtance ſhould be given to Arſaces againſt the "Perſians, though he ſhould aſk for it; to Arſaces, "I ſay, who always was our faithful and conſtant "friend. Whence it happened afterwards that the "ſame Arſaces was taken priſoner, and during the "broils and troubles, the Parthians ſeized upon the "greateſt part of Armenia, which borders upon Media, "and made themſelves maſters of Artaxata." It is impoſſible to read any thing more moving than the deſcription of the condition, to which the inhabitants of Niſibis were reduced, when they were forced to remove to another place (10). Their humble ſupplications to Jo- (10) *See* Marcellinus, ibid. cap. 9.
vian, to deſire him not to oblige them to leave their native country, are enough to make our hearts bleed; and yet the Emperor had no regard for them: he inſiſted upon his having given his word, and upon his fearing to forſwear himſelf: but it was imagined, that he

(7) *Vide* Valeſium, *in* Ammian. Marcel. lib. 25. cap. 9. pag. 439.

(8) Amm. Marcell. lib. 25. cap. 7.

he did not approve of that violent means be made uſe of in order to ſuppreſs the Sects,

he did not mention the true cauſe of his fears. *Et hæc quidem ſuppliciter ordo & populus precabatur: ſed verbis loquebantur incaſſum, Imperatore, ut fingebat, alia metuens, perjurii piacula declinante* (11). i. e. "The "magiſtrates and the people did humbly entreat him; "but to no purpoſe, the Emperor fearing, as he ſaid, "to be guilty of perjury; though what he feared was "quite another thing." It was imagined that he kept his word only becauſe he feared leſt he ſhould meet with a competitor to the crown, if he ſhould continue longer in thoſe parts, and engage in a new quarrel with the Perſians. They who imagined this were perhaps in the right; but after all, the Roman Hiſtorians are very much to blame for finding fault with his performing punctually the conditions of the treaty of peace. Let us quote a paſſage from Eutropius, in which he is cenſured for this, and in which his whole fault is made to conſiſt in his obſerving that treaty; for it is acknowledged on the other hand, that he was under a kind of neceſſity to accept diſhonourable terms, which were ſuch as the Romans had never ſubmitted to before. *Jam turbatis rebus, exercitu quoque inopia laborante uno à Perſis atque altero prælio victus* (Jovianus) *pacem cum Sapore neceſſariam quidem, ſed ignobilem fecit, mulctatus finibus, ac nonnulla Imperii Romani parte tradita: quod ante eum annis mille centum & duobus-de-viginti fere, ex quo Romanum imperium conditum erat, nunquam accidit. Quinetiam legiones noſtræ ita & apud Caudium per Pontium Teleſinum, ita & in Hiſpania apud Numantiam, & in Numidia ſub jugum miſſæ ſunt, ut nihil tamen finium traderetur. Ea pacis conditio non penitus reprehendenda foret, ſi fœderis neceſſitatem, cum integrum fuit, mutare voluiſſet: ſicut a Romanis omnibus bis bellis, quæ commemoravi, factum eſt. Nam & Samnitibus, & Numantinis, & Numidis confeſtim bella illa ſunt: neque pax rata fuit* (12). i. e. "The affairs being reduced almoſt to a deſpe- "rate condition, and the army wanting proviſions, "Jovian, who had already been more than once van- "quiſhed by the Perſians, made a treaty of peace "with Sapor, which was indeed neceſſary, but very "diſhonourable; for the Emperor was obliged to give "up the frontiers of the Empire, with part of its "territories. This never happened before, ſince the "firſt foundation of the Roman Empire, about eleven "hundred and eighteen years ago. Nay, even when "our legions were forced to undergo the yoke at "Caudium by Pontius Teleſinus, and in Spain near "Numantia, and in Numidia, they never yielded "one inch of ground. The peace, though made "upon ſuch terms, would not be altogether to blame, "if, when it was in his power, he had endeavoured "to mend what the neceſſity he was under forced him "to accept, as the Romans did in thoſe wars, which I "have mentioned. For the Romans attacked im- "mediately the Samnites, the Numantines, and the Nu- "midians, nor would they keep to the treaty of peace."

(11) Marcellinus, ibid. See alſo the *Chronicle of Alexandria*.

(12) Eutropius, lib. 10. pag. 123.

You ſee here, that Jovian is blamed for not following the example of the antient Romans, who without any delay fell upon thoſe nations, which obliged them to ſubmit to a diſgraceful capitulation, but which had not made them loſe one inch of ground. And ſince he had been cenſured for not reſenting the ſhame and retrieving the loſs of this treaty of peace, though he reigned but ſeven or eight months, it is plain that they wiſhed he had broke through the articles of the treaty, a few days after they had been agred upon, and as ſoon as his army was furniſhed with proviſion and in a ſecure place. But is not this policy too viſibly unjuſt? Suppoſe it be lawful to retrieve the loſſes ſuſtained by a diſadvantageous peace made by an unavoidable neceſſity, does it follow from thence, that one muſt not let ſome time paſs, and wait for thoſe pretences and opportunities which ſeldom fail to offer in the courſe of a few years? Thus you ſee, that even according to the moſt looſe maxims of politics, Jovian would have been guilty of a moſt horrid perfidiouſneſs, had he done that which the Hiſtorians blame him for not doing. The three inſtances of the ancient Romans, which Eutropius quotes, are of a quite different nature. The Senate and the people might lawfully make void all the treaties which their Generals made. But Jovian, who had concluded the peace had no ſuperior: he was the ſovereign maſter, all the power being lodged with him. Obſerve that what vexed the true Romans moſt, was the giving up of a country, which had been a part of their Empire; for they pretended, that this had never been done; and it was ſo much againſt their maxims to ſuffer the leaſt diminution of their dominions, that they granted the honours of a triumph only to thoſe, who had removed the borders farther back; and refuſed them to great Generals, who had done very noble actions, but without any other advantage to the State, but that of recovering what had been loſt. Read the deſcription of this grandeur of the Romans in the following words from Marcellinus. *Illud tamen ad medullas uſque bonorum pervenit: quod dum extimeſcit æmulum poteſtatis, dumque in animo per Gallias & Illyricum verſat, quoſdam ſæpe ſublimiora cæptaſſe, famam adventus ſui prævenire feſtinans, indignum imperio facinus amictu perjurii fugiendi commiſit, Niſibi prodita: quæ jam inde à Mithridatici regni temporibus, ne Oriens à Perſis occuparetur, viribus reſtitit maximis. Numquam enim ab Urbis ortu inveniri poteſt annalibus replicatis, ut arbitror, terrarum pars ulla noſtrarum ab Imperatore vel Conſule hoſti conceſſa: ſed ne ob recepta quidem quæ direpta ſunt, verùm ob amplificata regna triumphalis gloria fuiſſe delata. Unde P. Scipioni ob recuperatas Hiſpanias, Fulvio Capuâ poſt diuturna certamina ſuperatâ, & Opimio poſt diverſos exitus præliorum, Fregellanis tunc internecivis hoſtibus ad deditionem compulſis, triumphi ſunt denegati. Id etiam memoriæ nos veteres docent, in extremis caſibus icta cum dedecore fœdera, poſtquàm partes verbis juravere conceptis, repetitione bellorum illico diſſoluta: ut temporibus priſcis apud Furcas Caudinas ſub jugum legionibus miſſis in Samnio, & per Albinum in Numidia ſceleſtè pacs cogitata, & auctore turpiter pactionis feſtinatæ Mancino dedito Numantinis* (13). i. e. "But what grieved all good Romans to the very "heart was, that whilſt Jovian was fearing a compe- "titor, and calling to his mind, that in Gaul and in "Illyricum ſeveral perſons had often uſurped the ſo- "vereign power, and deſigning to prevent the very "report of his coming, he committed the moſt un- "worthy action under a pretence not forſwearing him- "ſelf; he gave up Niſibis to the enemy, the inhabi- "tants of which had from the time of Mithri- "dates bravely reſiſted the Perſians, that they might "not make themſelves maſters of the Eaſt. I believe "it would be impoſſible to find in the whole ſeries "of our Annals and Records, that ſince the building "of Rome any General or Conſul ever yielded one "inch of ground to the enemy: nay, the honour of "a triumph was not granted to thoſe, who had only "retaken what had been loſt, but only to thoſe who "had enlarged the dominions of the Commonwealth. "And for this reaſon the triumph was refuſed to Scipio "who had recovered Spain, to Fulvius, who after a "long war had taken Capua, to Opimius, who after "ſeveral battles forced the Fregellani to ſurrender, "who were at that time our moſt bitter enemies. "We alſo find in ancient Records, that when, even "in the utmoſt neceſſity, a diſhonourable treaty had "been concluded, which both parties had ſworn in "form to keep, yet ſuch treaties have been annulled, "and the war was begun again; as when in former "days our legions were forced to paſs under the "yoke at Caudium in the country of the Samnites, "and when Albinus had wickedly formed the deſign "of making a peace in Numidia, and Mancinus, who "made too much haſte to conclude it, was delivered "up to the Numantines." Obſerve that the remark [*D*] muſt be conſidered as a part of this: for I examine there whether Eutropius and Ammianus Marcellinus were well grounded in their aſſertions or not.

(13) Amm. Marcellin. cap. 9. pag. 439, 440.

If we do but ever ſo little conſider the natural temper of the people in general, and the circumſtances, which the Chriſtians and the Heathens were in at that time, we ſhall eaſily believe, that Jovian became odious and contemptible, and was the ſubject of ſeveral ſatires. The people dread and hate war, and love and long for peace; and not without good reaſons; for it is the people that ſuffer the greateſt inconveniencies of war: but yet that ſome people will grieve and be vexed at a treaty which diſgraces the nation, and deprives her

Sects [C], that differ from the eſtabliſhed Religion. Some authors aſſert that before his time the Romans had never yielded one inch of ground by a treaty of peace [D]. Others maintain,

of a barrier, which was her ſecurity, and made her formidable to her neighbours. Victories and conqueſts fill the hearts of the very countrymen with joy and content, and makes them bear patiently the weight of the war. Men will much eaſier forget the heavy duties and numerous taxes they pay, when they behold the happy ſucceſs of the armies, and the advantageous terms of a treaty of peace: every one takes his ſhare in the glory the nation has acquired; but to think, that the enemies will become proud, ſcornful, and inſulting, when they have put an end to the war by ſuch a treaty of peace as they could wiſh, fills the heart even of the meaneſt amongſt the people, with grief and vexation. Muſt ſo many expences, ſay they, and ſuch heavy taxes be all to no purpoſe, &c.? See above (14) the complaints and murmurs of the French againſt the peace of Cateau. Never was the people more capable to ſhew ſuch a reſentment than under the Emperor Jovian. There was a great emulation between the Chriſtians and the Heathens. The latter had juſt loſt an Emperor whom they loved, and from whom they had great expectations; they had flattered themſelves with the hopes that his expedition againſt the Perſians would be attended with conſiderable advantages, and with great glory; and they found that when death had ſnatched from him thoſe noble triumphs, he had a ſucceſſor, under whom the affairs of the Empire were reduced to a miſerable condition. To murmur againſt ſuch an Emperor, to blame him, to ridicule him, was gratifying at once ſeveral paſſions; it was raiſing Julian's glory, it was loading the Chriſtians with confuſion, it was making a ſacrifice to the idol of political vanity, and to zeal for religion. Men were ſure to act from all theſe different principles: they made verſes and parodies to banter and ridicule Jovian (15). The wits at Antioch ſignalized themſelves particularly on this occaſion, they diſperſed libels againſt him about the ſtreets; they poſted others up; they turned him into ridicule by applying to him ſome paſſages in the Iliad, and amongſt others that in the third book (16), where Paris is ſo ſeverely reproved by his brother Hector, and that in the ſecond book (17), where Ulyſſes threatens Therſites that he will ſtrip him to the very ſkin, and drive him away with ſhame.

(14) In the remarks [C], [G], [H] of the article HENRY II. See alſo the remark [P] of the article HENRY IV.

(15) Suidas, *in* Ἰοβιανῷ.

(16) *Verſu* 39.

(17) *Verſu* 261.

Ἐι μὴ ἐγώ σε λαβὼν, ἀπὸ μὲν φίλα εἵματα δύσω
Χλαῖναντ', ἠδὲ χιτῶνα, τὰ τ' αἰδῶ ἀμφικαλύπτει
Αὐτὸν δὲ κλαίοντα θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας ἀφήσω (18).

(18) Idem, ibid.

"If I do not take you, and ſtrip you of all your "cloaths, even of thoſe that cover your ſecret parts, "and ſend you thus crying immediately to the Perſians."

An old woman ſeeing him tall and handſome, and hearing that he had neither genius nor good ſenſe (19), cried out, *his madneſs is as great as his perſon is tall* (20). Suidas, who acquaints us with all theſe particulars, had already obſerved, that this Emperor knew nothing, that he had had no education, and that by his baſe lazineſs he loſt thoſe talents which nature had beſtowed upon him. Ἀμελέτητος δὲ ὢν, καὶ ἄγευστος παιδεύσεως, καὶ ἣν εἶχε φύσιν δὲ ῥαθυμίαν ἠμαύρωσε καὶ ἠφάνιζεν (21). i. e. "He had no education, and not ſo much as the firſt "principles of learning: and even the natural genius "he had, he defaced and ſpoiled by his negligence." Neither Eutropius, nor Ammianus Marcellinus give him that character. *Vir alias neque iners neque imprudens* (22). i. e. "A man who otherwiſe wanted neither "diligence nor wiſdom." You will meet with Ammianus Marcellinus's words in the beginning of the remark [E].

(19) Idem, ibid.

(20) Ὅσον μῆκος, καὶ βάθος ἢ μωρία. *Quanta longitudo & profunditas eſt hujus ſtultitiæ.* Idem, ibid.

(21) Suidas, *ubi ſupra.*

(22) Eutrop. lib. 10. *ſub finem.*

[C] *He did not approve that violent means ſhould be made uſe of, in order to ſuppreſs the ſects.*] The Philoſopher Themiſtius commends him after ſuch a manner, as does not agree with the particulars we meet with in Church-Hiſtory: he extols him for giving to all men the liberty of worſhipping God according to their own fancy, by which means he had put a ſtop to the waverings of thoſe flatterers, who had changed their religion as the Imperial crown paſſed from one head to another; he compares ſuch men to the Euripus (23). Θαυμάζει τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς τὸ ἐφεῖναι θρησκεύειν ὡς ἕκαστοι βούλονται, νικήσαντα τῶν κολάκων τοὺς τρόπους· οὓς καὶ διασύρων πάνυ γελοίως ἔφη, ἐλέγχεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀλυργίδα, ἀ Θεὸν θεραπεύοντας· μηδὲν τε διαφέρειν αὐτοῦς εὑρίσκειν, νῦν μὲν ἐπὶ ταῦδε· νῦν δὲ εἰς τοὐναντίον τὰ ῥεύματα μεταβάλλοντας. i. e. "He commends the Emperor very much, becauſe he "had granted to every one the liberty of worſhipping "as he pleaſed, by which he put a ſtop to the cuſtom "of thoſe flatterers, of whom he ſays wittily, that "they did not worſhip God, but the people; and he "adds that they are like the Euripus, which ſome-"times runs this ſide, and then quite the contrary "way (24)." Themiſtius ſpoke thus in an oration which he delivered on Jovian's Conſulſhip. The ſenſe of his words is, that Jovian did not forbid the Heathens to worſhip their Gods, according to the antient cuſtom: and yet Socrates the Hiſtorian tells us (25), that all the temples of the Heathens were ſhut up, and that theſe idolaters hid themſelves ſome in one place, ſome in another. That the Philoſophers left off wearing the habit of their ſects, and that the ſacrifices, which uſed to be ſo frequently offered under Julian, ceaſed entirely. We muſt ſay therefore that Themiſtius ſpoke in an hyperbolical ſtile, which was grounded only on Jovian's moderation towards the Heretics, and which was perhaps an artful exhortation to uſe the ſame toleration with regard to all ſorts of religions. However it is certain, that this Emperor finding himſelf courted by all the Chriſtian ſects, for every one of them would gain him on their ſide, he declared himſelf for the orthodox party as to the conſubſtantiality of the word (26), but he would not conſent to drive from their churches thoſe that were of a contrary opinion (27), and he anſwered that he hated controverſies, and would love and eſteem the promoters of peace and concord. He deſigned to ſuppreſs by his meekneſs and indulgence all the ſchiſms that were in the church. He therefore gave the world to underſtand, that he would perſecute no man, but that he would chiefly love and honour thoſe, who ſhould be very zealous for reſtoring the public peace and tranquillity. Ὁ μέντοι βασιλεὺς προθεσιν εἶχε, κολακείᾳ καὶ πειθοῖ τῶν διεφθαρμένων τὴν φιλονεικίαν ἐκκόψαι, φήσας μηδενὶ ὀχληρὸς τῶν ὁπωσοῦν πιστευόντων ἔσεσθαι· ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἀγαπήσειν καὶ ὑπερεμνήσειν τοὺς ἀρχὴν τῇ ἑνώσει τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρεῖχον τας (28). i. e. "The Emperor was determined, to ſuppreſs by his meekneſs "and perſuaſions the quarrels of thoſe who differed in "their opinions, and he ſaid, that he would moleſt "none, of what perſuaſion ſoever they might be; but "that he would love and diſtinguiſh thoſe, who made "it their buſineſs to reſtore the peace of the church." Let us obſerve that he made ſevere laws againſt thoſe who ſhould court Nuns with a deſign to marry them, or who looked laſciviouſly upon them: for he would have them be capitally puniſhed (29). He reſolved upon this ſeverity, to refrain the audaciouſneſs men had uſed under the Emperor Julian, in marrying Nuns, and debauching them either by main force, or by perſuaſions (30).

(23) See *Penſées diverſes ſur les Comètes*, p. 244.

(24) Socrates, *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* lib. 3. cap. 15, pag. m. 205.

(25) Idem, ibid. cap. 24.

(26) Idem, ibid. & cap. 25.

(27) Idem, ibid. cap. 25.

(28) Idem, ibid. pag. 204, 205.

(29) Sozomen. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 6. cap. 3.

(30) Idem, ibid.

[D] *Some authors aſſert, that before his time the Romans had never yielded one inch of ground by a treaty of peace.*] The paſſages, which I have already quoted above (31) from Eutropius and Ammianus Marcellinus, are a plain argument that this was reported. Caſaubon (32) pretends, that they who ſpoke thus, aſſerted a falſity: the ground of his opinion is that Hadrian gave up three Provinces (33), and that Diocleſian reduced his empire within more narrow bounds. *Diocleſianus . . . . Auguſti præceptum, Hadrianique exemplum ſecutus, imperii fines à meridie ſupra Ægyptum arctavit: auctor Procopius in Perſicis. Idem Imperator reliquit & Daciam à Trajano conſtitutam, ſublato exercitu & provincialibus:* deſperans eam poſſe retineri, *Vopiſcus ait.* i. e. "Diocleſian . . . . according to Auguſtus's ad-"vice, and after the example of Hadrian, reduced the "Empire within narrow bounds towards the ſouth "above Egypt, as Procopius tells us in his account of "the affairs of Perſia. The ſame Emperor abandoned "alſo Dacia, of which Trajan had made a Province; "having

(31) In the remark [B].

(32) Caſaubon. *Not. ad Spartian. Vit. Adriani*, cap. 5. pag. m. 47.

(33) See above, the remark [G] of the article HADRIANUS (Publius Ælius).

tain, that they who ſpeak thus are miſtaken. I ſhall examine this in a note, and I ſhall alſo quote what the Fathers of the Church have ſaid of this peace concluded by Jovian (*b*). Let us add, that he was a very tall man, zealous for the Orthodox Doctrine, but very much given to drinking and to lewdneſs [*E*]. We ought rather to believe thoſe who

(*b*) See the remark [*F*].

" having removed his army out of it, and all the " Governors that were there, *not thinking that he could* " *keep that country*, ſays Vopiſcus." But Valeſius (34) ſhews, that there is a great difference between what theſe two Emperors did, and what Jovian conſented to. The latter gave up provinces by a treaty of peace, and as a kind of ranſom: whereas the other abandoned freely a country, the keeping of which coſt too much money: this was acting according to the rules of prudence, and not receiving the law from the conqueror, as Jovian did. There was not therefore any reaſon to blame Marcellinus for his aſſertion, as Caſaubon, Lindenbrog (35) and Le Cocq (36) have done; and it is certain that Jovian's action was unheard of. It is a general opinion that this action was diſgraceful (37). There was no diſpute upon this between the Chriſtians and the Heathens, they differed only with regard to this Emperor's juſtification: the Chriſtians endeavoured to clear him from the reproach of it, and the Heathens to load him with it. We have ſeen above (38) that an Heathen Hiſtorian blames him, not indeed for conſenting to the treaty of peace, but for keeping to the terms of it. This cenſure is ill-grounded, and even horrid. If neceſſity forced him to conclude a peace, as theſe authors confeſt, he muſt be excuſed, for neceſſity has no law.

(34) Valeſ. *in* Amm. Marcell. lib. 25. cap. 9. pag. m. 439, 440.

(35) Lindenbr. *in* Amm. Marcell. ibid.

(36) Leonardus Coqueus, *in Auguſt. de Civit. Dei*, lib. 4. cap. 29.

(37) *Poſt ... pudendæ pacis icta fœdera.* Amm. Marcell. lib. 27. cap. 12. *See alſo* Agathias, lib. 4. Socrates, lib. 3. cap. 22. Zonaras, &c.

(38) In the remark [*B*], citation (12).

Neceſſitas, cujus curſus tranſverſi impetum
Voluerunt multi effugere, pauci potuerant (39).

" Many have endeavoured to avoid the force of ne- " ceſſity, but few have been able to do it."

When Jovian is once cleared in this reſpect, all the reſt goes of courſe. The next obſervation of a treaty of peace confirmed by a ſolemn oath, does not deſerve to be condemned. Ammianus Marcellinus is a much more dreadful Critic than Eutropius; he was an eye-witneſs, and he gives us ſuch an account of thoſe events, as to hint to us (40) that Jovian put himſelf in that dangerous ſituation, without any neceſſity, and that the perplexity to which the Perſians had reduced him was not ſo great, but it had been much better for him to try the fortune of the war, rather than to ſubmit to the diſgraceful terms, which he accepted. He charges him poſitively with timorouſneſs, and with hearkening to the flatterers, who diſpirited him. *Et cum pugnari decies expediret, ne horum quidquam dederetur: adulatorum globus inſtabat timido Principi, Procopii metuendum ſubſerens nomen, eumque adfirmens, niſi rediret, cognito Juliani interitu, cum intacto milite quem regebat, novas res nullo renitente facilè moliturum. Hac pernicioſa verborum ille adſiduitate nimia ſuccenſus, ſine cunctatione tradidit omnia quæ petebantur* (41). i. e. " And though it was ten times better to engage in " battle, rather than to give all that up, yet the ti- " morous Prince was ſurrounded with a croud of flat- " terers, who repeated to him continually the dreadful " name of Procopius, and aſſerted, that unleſs Jovian " returned very ſoon, Procopius hearing that Julian " was dead, and being at the head of a freſh army, " would be in a condition to revolt, and to ſeize the " crown, having no man to reſiſt them. Jovian be- " ing too much affected by theſe pernicious diſcourſes, " yielded up without delay, all that was demanded " of him." Agathias (42) charges him plainly enough with the ſame weakneſs. The Chriſtians, in order to clear Jovian take care to obſerve that Julian the Apoſtate was the chief cauſe of all this misfortune, ſince he had been ſo raſh and inconſiderate, as to order all the boats to be burnt, which might have carried proviſions; for this occaſioned that terrible ſcarcity, which forced Jovian to accept a ſhameful capitulation (43), *Cujus vanis deditus oraculis erat* (Julianus), *quando fretus ſecuritate victoriæ naves quibus victus neceſſarius portabatur, incendit. Deinde fervidè inſtans immodicis auſibus & mox merito temeritatis occiſus, in locis hoſtilibus egenum reliquit exercitum, ut aliter inde non poſſet evadi, niſi contra illud auſpicium Dei Termini, de quo ſuperiore libro diximus, Romani imperii termini moverentur. Ceſſit enim Terminus Deus neceſſitati, qui non ceſſerat Jovi* (44). i. e. " Julian was addicted " to their idle oracles, when depending upon a ſure " victory, he burnt the ſhips which carried the ne- " ceſſary proviſions; and proſecuting earneſtly his bold " undertaking, he met ſoon after with death as a re- " ward for his temerity, leaving his army in the ene- " mies territories, whence it could not retire other- " wiſe, than by removing the boundaries of the Ro- " man Empire, againſt the auſpices of the God Ter- " minus, which we have mentioned in the foregoing " book. For the God Terminus, who would not give " way to Jupiter, was found to ſubmit to neceſſity." You ſee that in theſe words St. Auguſtin lays all the blame on Julian, and ridicules alſo the Heathen Religion on the immobility of the God Terminus, who on this occaſion had been obliged to contradict his former conduct (45). The Heathen might have anſwered, that it was no wonder this Deity would not exert himſelf in Jovian's favour, who had revolted from the Gods. But this evaſion might eaſily be refuted, ſince after all it had been true, that the promiſe, which the Romans pretended the God Terminus had made them, proved deceitful, namely, that the boundaries of their empire would never move back. Now this is what St. Auguſtin deſigned to prove againſt the Heathens.

(39) Laberius, *apud Macrobium Saturn.* lib. 2. cap. 7. See alſo Horace's words quoted above, citation (11), of the article of the 3d Duke of GUISE.

(40) Amm. Marcell. lib. 25. cap. 7. pag. 433.

(41) Idem, ibid. pag. 434.

(42) Agathias, lib. 4.

(43) *See* Gregorius Nazianzenus's 2d Oration againſt Julian the Apoſtate. *See alſo* Socrates, lib. 3. cap. 22. pag. 196.

(44) Auguſt. *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 5. cap. 21. pag. m. 554. *See alſo* lib. 4. cap. 29.

(45) *See* Dionyſius Halicarn. lib. 3. cap. 92.

Let us obſerve by the by, how prudently ancient Rome acted. She deſigned to conquer: and to compaſs ſuch a deſign, there is nothing more neceſſary than never to yield up by a treaty of peace, what has been taken during the war, for take as many cities and provinces as you pleaſe, this will never enlarge your dominions, if by the articles of a treaty you are obliged to reſtore them. The Romans in order to ſucceed in their deſign of forming a very large empire, made it a point of honour and a matter of conſcience for their Generals to conquer new countries, and never to ſuffer thoſe conqueſts to be loſt, that had been once made. They did not grant a triumph to thoſe, who only recovered what the enemy had taken (46), and they gave out that it would be a ſin againſt the God *Terminus*, and againſt his ſacred Auſpices (47), to move the limits of the empire backwards. The Turks, deſigning to make great conqueſts, and to lay the foundations of a very large empire, have made a more direct and immediate uſe of religion, for they aſſerted, that it was inconſiſtent with religion to reſtore to its former poſſeſſors a city, in which there had been a Moſque; and therefore they make haſte to build one in all their new conqueſts. This they did, that they might be under an obligation to keep them, when they come to conclude a peace, and to make the Governors of cities defend themſelves from a principle of conſcience with a wonderful obſtinacy (48). But they have found lately by experience, how ineffectual this artful policy proves. The treaty of Carlowitz, made in the year 1698, has expoſed them to the ſame railleries, which St. Auguſtin levelled at the God *Terminus*, who gave place to neceſſity under the Emperor Jovian. The Sultan has been forced to yield to the Chriſtian Princes, ſeveral places, in which there had been Moſques. It was to no purpoſe that they repreſented to him, that he ſinned againſt the principles of his religion: he was obliged to ſtoop to this, and of two evils to chooſe the leaſt.

(46) See the remark [*B*] quotation (13).

(47) *See* St. Auguſt. *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 4. cap. 29.

(48) Sir Paul Ricaut, *Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire*, B. 2. chap. 3. pag. m. 320.

[*E*] *He was a very tall man, zealous for the orthodox doctrine, but very much given to drinking and to lewdneſs.*] Here follows his character drawn up by an Heathen Hiſtorian (49). *Incedebat motu corporis gravi, vultu lætiſſimo, oculis cæſiis, vaſta proceritate & arcua, adeo ut diu nullum indumentum regium ad menſuram ejus aptum inveniretur. Et æmulari malebat Conſtantium, agens ſeria quædam aliquoties poſt meridiem: jocarique palàm cum proximis adſuetus. Chriſtianæ legis idem ſtudioſus, & nonnunquam honorificus, mediocriter eruditus, magiſque benevolus, & perpenſius, ut apparebat ex paucis quos promoverat, judices electurus: edax tamen, & vino Venerique indulgens: quæ vitia imperiali verecundia forſitan correxiſſet.* i. e. " He had a grave " gait, but a chearful countenance: he had grey eyes; " he

(49) Amm. Marcell. lib. 25. *ſub fin.* pag. m. 443.

who assert that he wanted neither activity, nor prudence, nor learning, than those who charge him with great faint-heartedness, great ignorance, and great stupidity (*c*); for he acted with a great deal of care and vigilance, in order to prevent the tumults and compositions, which he apprehended the news of his election would raise in the western Provinces of the Empire (*d*). The measures he took for that purpose proved very effectual; though he could not hinder the true news concerning the bad condition of the east from out-running the false news which he had ordered to be dispersed every where, with a design to conceal the advantages which the Persians had gained [*F*]. His father who had quitted the service that he might lead a quiet life in his own house (*e*), had not time to rise to that dignity which was designed him. He died before Jovian had executed the resolution he had taken to make him his collegue in the Consulship (*f*). This dignity was conferred on a child (*g*), namely on Varronianus, the son of Jovian and of Charis, Lucilian's daughter (*h*). Jovian's reign was very short, for it did not last full eight months.

(*c*) See the remark [*B*] towards the end.

(*d*) *See* Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 25. cap. 8.

(*e*) Amm. Marcel. lib. 25. cap. 5.

(*f*) *See* Valesius, *in* Marcell. lib. 25. cap. *ult.*

(*g*) Amm. Marcell. ibid. cap. 10.

(*h*) Idem, ibid. cap. 8. pag. m. 436.

JOVIUS

" he was very strait, and so tall, that it was long be-
" fore they could find amongst the Imperial garments,
" one that was long enough for him. He chose to
" imitate Constantius, applying himself to something
" of importance in the afternoon: he also used to be
" sometimes merry with his near relations; he was
" zealous for the Christian Religion, and also some-
" times an ornament to it: he was not very learned,
" but good-natured, and would have chosen Judges
" with deliberation, as appeared by a few he had ap-
" pointed. But he was a great eater, and given to
" drinking, and the pleasures of love. However,
" the Imperial dignity would perhaps have made
" him forsake those vices as being a disgrace to
" it." Zonaras, who was a Christian and a Monk, has copied the chief strokes in this picture in the character he gives us of this Emperor. Ὁ μὲν Ἰοβιανὸς, says he, εὐσεβὴς ἦν περὶ τὸ δόγμα καὶ ἀγαθοδοτελὴς. οἶνῳ δ' ἥττητο καὶ ἀφροδισίων. καὶ τῆν τοῦ σώματος ἀναδρομὴν εὐμήκης, καὶ γραμμάτων ἐκ ἄπειρος. i. e. " Jovian was a
" religious man with regard to the Christian doctrine,
" and good-natured, but given to drinking and to
" love-pleasures: he was very tall, and unacquainted
" with learning." Here then we have an Emperor who was very religious as to the doctrines of religion, but a great drunkard, and a great whore-master. He gave too strong proofs of his zeal for the Gospel before he was raised to the Imperial throne: for in the first place, he shewed that he was ready to resign his place rather than forsake his religion (50), when Julian commanded all the Officers of the army to embrace the Heathen religion, or to lay down their employments. Secondly, he would not accept the empire, till upon his declaring that he was a Christian, and that he would not command over Heathens, the soldiers had also declared that they were Christians (51). He had then courage enough to quit, for the love of God, not only an inconsiderable employment, but even the most eminent dignity, that was then upon earth: he was capable to prefer his religion before the whole Roman empire. But that conscience which filled his heart with courage, and which was so tender and so scrupulous in that respect, had no power to make him forsake drinking and whoring. He could make a sacrifice to religion of every other thing but these two. What an odd thing is this! What a mixture of good and evil in the same heart. All ages furnish us with numberless instances of persons, who go into banishment for the sake of their Religion, who leave their estate, their employments, friends and relations, and who cannot forsake Bacchus and Venus. Do not imagine, that Jovian's Orthodoxy was imperfect; you may be sure that he knew perfectly well that drunkenness and impudicity are forbidden of God, and that the same Religion which condemned the heathen idolatry, also condemned the inclination to drinking and to sensual pleasures. Observe, that he was as great an eater as he was a drinker; it has even been asserted that he died of excessive eating. *Multi examinatum opinantur nimia cruditate, inter cœnandum enim epulis indulserat* (52). i. e. " Several persons are of opinion
" that he died of an indigestion, having too much
" indulged his appetite at supper." There were other reasons given of his death (53); as for instance, the steam in a room too hot and too close, poison (54), &c. But the first reason was given even by the Christians. Ἐτελεύτησεν, ἢ ἀφυδίτησον, ὡς τινες λέγουσι, δυπνίσας, ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀδμῆς τοῦ οἰκήματος. i. e. " He
" died, either because he had eat too much at supper,
" as some say, or being smothered by the steam that
" was in his chamber (55). Have you taken notice of the Historian Marcellinus's conjecture? He observes that Jovian, out of regard for his Imperial dignity, would perhaps have forsaken his intemperance and his incontinency. This is speaking very sensibly: tho' if we consider things only in a general view, and according to some trials we have, the sovereign power does not seem to be a proper school of sobriety and continence with regard to those who are naturally fond of gross and sensual pleasure; it seems rather much more proper to encrease the evil than to suppress it, since the means of gratifying one's passions are both more numerous and more effectual. But if it be true that Jovian died of an excess in eating, and if what we read in Suidas be not a mere fable, Marcellinus's conjecture is very doubtful. Suidas relates (56), that Jovian, at his wife's instigation, caused a beautiful temple, which Hadrian had consecrated to Trajan, to be set on fire, together with the library, which Julian had lodged in that temple. He adds, that Jovian's concubines set fire to it themselves, and laughed heartily at it. Such an action is much like the debauchery of Alexander (57), and of the courtezan Thaïs.

(50) Socrat. lib. 3. cap. 22.

(51) Idem, ibid.

(52) Eutropius, lib. 10. *sub fin.* *See also* Amm. Marcell. lib. 25. pag. 443.

(53) *Alii odore cubiculi, quod ex recenti textorio calcis, grave quiescentibus erat; quidam nimietate pruinarum, quas gravi frigore adoleri multas jusserat.* Eutrop. lib. 10. *See also* Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 25. pag. 443.

(54) *See* Valesium, *in Amm. Marcellin.* ibid.

(55) Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. 6. cap. 6.

(56) Suidas *in* Ἰοβιάνος.

(57) When he set the city of Persepolis on fire. *See* Quintus Curtius, lib. 5. cap. 7.

[*F*] *He could not hinder the true news . . . from out-running the false news, which he had ordered to be dispersed every where, with a design to conceal the advantages which the Persians had gained.*] It is one of the most useful and necessary artifices of politics, to impose upon the people by false accounts, when there are no good news to tell them (58). It is indeed a difficult task to stop the progress of bad news, when it is but too true; but one does all that one can. Jovian was sure to make use of this stratagem. *Justum est autem ad implenda hæc perrecturis, extollere seriem gestorum in melius, & rumores quaquà irent verbis diffundere, concinentibus procinctum Parthicum exitu prospero terminatum. . . .* (59). *Hos tabellarios fama prægrediens, index tristiorum casuum velocissima, per provincias volitabat & gentes; maximoque omnium Nisibenos acerbo dolore perculsit, cùm urbem Sapori deditam comperissent* (60). i. e. " They who were to perform these commands,
" and were going to set out, had orders to put the
" best construction upon what was past, that lay in
" their power, to disperse reports in all the places
" they passed through, to this purpose, that the
" expedition against the Parthians had had good
" success. But fame outrun the messengers, and with
" the utmost dispatch spread the news of these unfor-
" tunate events through all the Provinces and amongst
" all Nations; but none were so much afflicted at
" these misfortunes, as the inhabitants of Nisibis,
" when they heard that their city was to be surrender-
" ed to Sapor." These words of Marcellinus, *Fama index tristiorum casuum velocissima*, are very remarkable; they hint to us, that fame never runs swifter than when it has some bad news to report. If it be so, it deserves still better the character that is given it.

(58) See at the end of this Dictionary, *the Dissertation upon Libels*, remark [*B*].

(59) Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 25. cap. 8. pag. m. 436.

(60) Idem, ibid. pag. 437.

Fama, malum quo non aliud velocius ullum,
Mobilitate viget, viresque adquirit eundo (61).

(61) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 4. ver. 174.

" Fame, the great ill, from small beginnings grows,
" Swift from the first; and every moment brings
" New vigour to her flights, new pinions to her
" wings." Dryden.

JOVIUS (PAUL) in Italian *Giovio*, was born at Como in Italy, and gained by his works a great reputation, and the Biſhopric of Nocera (*a*); but he paſſed for a mercenary writer, ſo that his Hiſtories are not much credited [*A*]. It is ſaid that he did not much labour to clear himſelf of that bad quality [*B*], and that he ingenuouſly confeſſed, that

(*a*) Pope Clement VII promoted him to it.

[*A*] *His hiſtories are not much credited.*] James Gohorri made no ſcruple to aſſert, that the adventures of Amadis would appear as probable as Paul Jovius's hiſtories. *Illud certe ad ſempiternam memoriam teſtatum reliquit Gorræus Pariſienſis, qui quas finxit* (1) *Amadiſi fabulas non minus veras ac probabiles quam Jovii ſcripta fore confidit* (2). i. e. "Gohorri of Paris has indeed "made in his writings this declaration for an everlaſting memorial, that he was certain the ſtories of Amadis, which he invented, would not appear leſs true "and probable, than the writings of Jovius (*α*)." Thuanus did not make uſe of this hyperbolical expreſſion, but yet what he ſays is ſufficient to let us know how little that writer is eſteemed. *Cum aliqui homo gratioſus ſe paſſim obnoxium prodat, eoque nomine ipſi in pleriſque rebus fides derogetur, quod ad gratiam & in odium ſcripſiſſe, & venalem calamum habuiſſe fere omnibus perſuaſum ſit* (3). i. e. "Jovius, though otherwiſe an "agreeable writer, ſhews his partiality, ſo that the "greateſt part of what he relates is diſcredited, becauſe moſt people are perſuaded that he wrote to "favour ſome, and out of hatred againſt others, and "that he was a mercenary writer." Add to this a paſſage from Voſſius, who acquaints us that Paul Jovius had, in a manner, ſet up a bank, and promiſed an antient genealogy and immortal glory to every villain, that would give him a good ſum of money for his pains; and that he uſed to ſlander and aſperſe all thoſe that would not pay him for his falſities. *Quam fluxæ etiam fidei patrum ævo fuit Paullus Jovius? quem conſtat in aula Henrici ſecundi quibuſque terræ filiis bene de ſe merentibus generis claritatem ac perpetuum nomen pollicitum: contraque maledice eos traduxiſſe, qui venali hiſtorico morem non gererent* (4). i. e. "How little "does Paul Jovius, who lived in our Fathers time, "deſerve to be credited? For it is certain that he uſed "to promiſe he would find noble anceſtors and give an "everlaſting reputation, to every obſcure fellow at the "court of Henry II, that deſerved well of him; and "on the other hand, this mercenary hiſtorian aſperſed "and ſlandered all thoſe who would not ſtoop to pay "their court to him." We ſhall ſee in the following remark whence this is extracted. He offered to write in favour of Don Juan III, King of Portugal, and becauſe his offer was not accepted, he would not mention a victory, which the Portugueze had gained. If he had been well paid for writing the Hiſtory of Portugal, he would have been ſo far from omitting true victories, that he would have forged imaginary ones: his credit has therefore been very juſtly brought into queſtion. Here follows the ſtroke which the writer of Emanuel's Life levels at him. *Victoria fuit præclara: quam tamen Paullus Jovius, cum de Sultani claſſe hac in Indiam contra Luſitanos delata narraret, ſilentio ſuppreſſit, iratus videlicet, quod cum Luſitanæ hiſtoriæ ſcribendæ munus Joanni, hujus nominis tertio, Luſitaniæ regi venale proponeret, rex optimus non illum muneribus Indicis ad res Luſitanorum virtute geſtas monimentis illuſtrandas invitavit* (5). i. e. "It was a very "great victory: and yet Paul Jovius did not ſay a "word of it, when he mentions the fleet which the "Sultan ſent into the Indies againſt the Portugueſe: "For he was exaſperated againſt Don Juan III, King "of Portugal, becauſe having offered him to write his "hiſtory for a ſum of money, that good Prince would "not give him the treaſures of the Indies to tranſmit "to poſterity an account of the noble actions of the "Portugueſe." He met with the fate of all lyars, I mean, that he was hardly believed, even when he tells the truth. The misfortune is, that he reaped more benefit from his falſities, than the faithful Hiſtorians do from their love of the truth. This complaint of Bodinus is very well grounded. *Non quod multa non ſint verè & eleganter ab eo ſcripta; ſed hunc mendacii fructum tulit, ut etiam cùm vera ſcribit, ſuſpectus habeatur. Hoc tamen acerbius eſt ac indignius, quod cum hiſtoriam venalem proſtituiſſet, uberiores tulit mendacii fructus, quàm quis alius vera ſcribendo* (6). That man was not proper to write a good hiſtory; for when it was in his power to tell the truth, he had no mind to tell it, and when he deſigned to be ſincere, he could not; for he had no authentic memoirs but ſuch as related to what happened in Italy. This is what Bodinus aſſerts (7), and he ſupports his aſſertion by obſerving, that Jovius never travelled abroad, that he was not a witneſs of the events he relates, but lived conſtantly at the court of the Popes during thirty ſeven years. But, in my opinion, he could, notwithſtanding all this, have collected authentic memoirs concerning the other countries. And beſides, Jovius boaſts that he had ſeen ſieges, battels, &c. (8). See in the remark [*F*] another paſſage of Bodinus, and the judgment which Juſtus Lipſius paſſes on our author, whom he charges with an exceſſive partiality.

(1) Bodin does not expreſs himſelf well, for Gohorri was only the Tranſlator of *Amadis*. But ſee the critical remark (*α*).

(2) Bodinus in *Methodo Hiſtoriarum*, cap. 4. pag. m. 71.

(3) Thuan. lib. 11. *ſub fin.* pag. m. 235.

(4) Voſſius, *de Art. Hiſt.* cap. 9. pag. 48.

(5) Oſorius, *de Rebus Emmanuelis*, lib. 6. folio m. 179.

(6) Bodin. *in Methodo Hiſtor.* cap. 4. pag. 73.

§ (*α*) James Gohorry is as much an author as a tranſlator with regard to the Xth, XIth, and XIIIth book of Amadis, which are the only books he has tranſlated (*), for he has inſerted into them a great many things of his own invention. And this is what Bodinus hints at in the words above. REM. CRIT.]

[*B*] *It is ſaid that he did not much labour to clear himſelf of that bad quality.*] Bodinus aſſerts, that Paul Jovius being aſked why he related falſities, and concealed the true events, anſwered, that he did it for the ſake of his friends; that he knew very well, that they who were then living, would not give any credit to his hiſtories, but that he was alſo ſenſible, that in future ages men would not in the leaſt queſtion what he related. *Cum autem rogaretur cur ſimularet falſa, vera diſſimularet, amicorum gratia id à ſe factum reſpondit: ac tametſi ſuperſtites intelligeret ſuis ſcriptis fidem derogaturos, attamen intelligebat infinitæ poſteritati credibilia fore quæ ſibi ſuiſque popularibus laudem eſſent allatura* (9). Some perſons ſuppoſe that he made this anſwer: *A hundred years hence there will not be one ſingle proof extant to convince me of impoſture; men will therefore be obliged to believe what I relate in my hiſtories. Anzi mi vien detto, che eſſendo biaſimato il Giovio della infedeltà della ſua hiſtoria, egli la confeſsò, ſoggiungendo però, che ſi riconfortava, ſapendo, che dopò lo ſpatio di centi anni, non vi ſarà più alcuna memoria in contrario; onde veranno i poſteri neceſſariamente à dare indubitata fede à ſuoi ſcritti* (10). Some aſſert (11) that he boaſted he had a golden pen, and an iron pen; the former for thoſe Princes, who beſtowed favours upon him, and the latter againſt the Princes from whom he received none. It is alſo pretended, that he owned he had ſuppreſſed the three books in which he mentioned Anthony de Leva, becauſe that famous warrior gave him nothing, and he would not ſuffer that the name of an ungrateful man ſhould appear in his works. *Quis neſcit quanta fuerit virtus Antonii Levæ Hiſpani ducis, ut ſolus dici, aut cum paucis Imperator appellari noſtri temporis poſſit: tamen nequiſſimus hiſtoricus* (12), *ſeu potius fabulator, quod pecunias non dediſſet, maluit totam corrumpere hiſtoriam, treſque libros qui illi debebantur intermittere, ne (ut ajebat) ingratum inſereret hiſtoriæ* (13). i. e. "Who is "there but knows what a great man Anthony de Le"va was, who alone deſerved the title of a General "in our time, or at leaſt, could ſhare that glory with "but a few: and yet that wicked Hiſtorian, or ra"ther fabulous Writer, omitted him in his work, "becauſe that great man gave him no money: and "he choſe rather to falſify the whole Hiſtory, and "to omit three books, in which he was to give an "account of him; becauſe, ſaid he, he would not "mention an ungrateful man in his Hiſtory." It is pretended, that he promiſed an illuſtrious genealogy to any perſon of Henry II's Court, who would pay him well, and threatned to traduce all thoſe that oppoſed him in his trade. *Paulus Jovius, me puero, in aula Henrici ſecundi obſcuriſſimo cuique claritatem generis mercede pollicebatur, maledicentia ulturus qui ejus nundinationi adverſaretur* (14). For my part, I can hardly believe that Jovius ever confeſſed ſuch things, as I have here obſerved. I find that he boldly aſſerts, that he publiſhed his work during the life of moſt of the perſons concerned in it, becauſe he did not fear leſt they ſhould convince him of falſity, as they might eaſily do, had he not been a faithful Hiſtorian. *Abſoluto tandem opere*

(7) *Cum rumoribus fidem habuerit, nec conciones, nec Epiſtolas, nec res geſtas, nec ulla publica monumenta viderit: ſic tamen ſcribit, quaſi rebus interfuiſſet, nec ullum dubitationi locum relinquit. Quæ igitur veriſſime ſcribere potuit, noluit; puta, res in Italia geſtas; quæ voluit, non potuit, ſcilicet externa.* Idem, ibid.

(8) See the *Dedication* of his *Hiſtory*.

(*) See the Dedication of his Tranſlation of the 13th book.

(9) Bodinus, *in Methodo Hiſtoriar.* cap. 4. pag. 73.

(10) Stephano Guazzo, *della civil Converſazione*, lib. 2. pag. m. 242.

(11) Teiſſier, *Addit. aux Eloges*, tom. 1. pag. 67.

(12) Paulus Jovius.

(13) Cardanus *in Apologia Neronis.*

(14) Joſeph Scaliger, *Epiſt. de Vetuſt. Gentis Scaligeræ.* pag. 3. This is, no doubt, the author from whom Voſſius borrowed what he relates above, quotation (4).

that he commended or blamed according as men took care or neglected to court his favour. No man ever aſked for preſents with leſs reſerve than he did [C]. You will find in Moreri what Thuanus relates concerning this author's reſentment againſt the Great Conſtable Anne de Montmorenci. Brantome gives a more full account of it [D]. It is pretended that the reaſon why Paul Jovius complained that he had loſt ſome books of his Hiſtory at the ſacking of Rome, was only that the publiſhing of them was inconſiſtent with his own private intereſt. He was not much eſteemed with regard to his morals [E]; and he was charged with being very careleſs in ſaying his Breviary. His ſtile is bright enough, but not ſufficiently hiſtorical nor exact [F]. His partiality is not the only defect they

opere id in publicum edere non dubitem, magno hercle incorruptæ veritatis argumento: quandoquidem plerique eorum, qui hæc bello paceque geſſerunt, adhuc vivant, ac idcirco gravi exiſtimationis meæ cum periculo mentientem refellere poſſint (15). i. e. "My work being now finiſhed, I do not ſcruple to publiſh it; which is a ſtrong proof that I relate the truth ſincerely. For moſt of thoſe, who have been concerned in theſe tranſactions both in peace and in war, are ſtill alive, and would eaſily refute me, if I had told falſities; ſo that I ſhould be in great danger of diſgracing myſelf, and loſing my reputation."

(15) Jovius, *Præfat. Hiſtoriæ ad Coſmum Medicen.*

[C] *No man ever aſked for preſents with leſs reſerve than he did.*] "His way of begging (16) calls to my mind that of Paul Jovius, who uſed to beg more openly and more baſely ſtill. I have read ſome of his letters, which are wonderful in that reſpect. In one of them he declares ſolemnly, that in caſe Cardinal de Lorraine does not take care to have his penſion paid him, he will ſay, that the Cardinal is no longer deſcended from Godfrey, who promoted a Pedant to the Archbiſhopric of Tyre. In others he aſks the Marquis of Peſcara for two horſes, and for that effect he deſires him to ſtrike the ground a little harder than Neptune did. In other letters he wiſhes that a certain Lady, who was his friend, would ſend him ſome ſweetmeats from Naples, becauſe he begins to be tired of new-laid eggs, &c (17)."

(16) That is to ſay, the begging of a man whom Balzac calls *Jean Jaques*. He means the perſon who made Peireſkius's *Funeral Oration* at Rome.

(17) Balzac. *Lettre* 9. to *Chapelain*, liv. 3. pag. m. 114.

[D] *Thuanus relates . . . this author's reſentment againſt . . . . Anne de Montmorenci. Brantome gives a more full account of it*] Though the paſſage from Brantome be pretty long, yet I ſhall tranſcribe it intire. "I have been told by a great man, *ſays he*, that he had read in the firſt Latin edition of Paulus Jovius (whether it be true or not I cannot tell) a paſſage, in which it is obſerved, that when the Grand Seignior Soliman turned his great favourite Ibrahim Baſhaw out of his favour, and put him to death, King Francis did at the ſame time turn his great favourite the Conſtable Anne de Montmorency out of his favour. But why, ſays Jovius, did he not alſo put him to death, as the other did Ibrahim or Hibraun Baſhaw? It was not, *adds he*, but that he had well deſerved it: and hereupon he mentions ſome impertinent ſtories, which it was not proper to relate, and which are falſe: but becauſe, *continues he*, this great King was good-natured and merciful, whereas the Grand-Seignior was a cruel tyrant. I do not know whether this be in the Latin edition, but that Gentleman told me ſo for certain. It is not in the French tranſlation; nor ought we to credit it in the leaſt, for if the ſaid Jovius aſſerted it, he did it as a paſſionate man, who was exaſperated againſt the Conſtable, who being again called to Court by King Henry, and ſettling the eſtabliſhment of the King's houſhold, which was part of his office, found that amongſt the penſions granted by the late King, there was one of five hundred crowns to the ſaid Paul Jovius, which he ſuppreſſed immediately, giving the King to underſtand that this money was ill beſtowed, ſince Jovius was more addicted to the Emperor's party than to the French, and was beſides a notorious lyar. Jovius therefore knowing that his penſion was ſuppreſſed, began to inveigh bitterly againſt the Conſtable, and to aſperſe him in the moſt outrageous manner. You ſee what it is to have to do with the venomous tongue and ſharp pen of a writer, who when he is exaſperated ſpares no body. Some ſay, that the Conſtable at the time he was out of favour had ſeen the ſtroke which that fellow had levelled againſt him, with a deſign to pleaſe the King, rather than for any other reaſon, ſuch writers being generally flatterers, becauſe they always get ſomething by it. And therefore when the Lord Conſtable came to King Henry's Court, he revenged himſelf on Jovius, and would have treated him more ſeverely ſtill had it been in his power; for a brave and generous man, as the Conſtable was, is deeply vexed, when he is thus ſlandered and traduced by a writer without any reaſon (18)." Some aſſert that Jovius was exaſperated againſt the Conſtable, becauſe he had not obtained from him ſomething, which he had aſked impudently. *Quod equidem expertus eſt Annas Mommorantius Comes Stabuli Franciæ traductus à venali hiſtorico, non aliam ob rem quam quod neſcio quod impudenter petens repulſam tuliſſe* (16). i. e. "This is what Anne de Montmorency Conſtable to Francis II found by experience, being traduced by a mercenary Hiſtorian for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had refuſed him I know not what, which he had impudently aſked." I ſhall obſerve by the by that Francis I had no reaſon to repent of the penſion, which he had granted to Paul Jovius; for he was repreſented by his penſioner under the character of a conqueror, rather than under that of a conquered Prince. And it is pretended that Charles V complained of this. *Cum aliquando Cæſar noſter legeret victoriam quam de Gallis habuerat, dixit, profectò non meam, ſed Gallorum Regis victoriam hic ſcripſit, indicans, ex pecuniis acceptis à Rege quanta mendacia inſeruiſſet Hiſtoriæ* (20). i. e. "Our Emperor reading once an account of the victory he had gained over the French, ſaid, this writer deſcribes indeed the victory of the French King, and mine; hinting thereby how many falſities he had inſerted in his Hiſtory, becauſe of the money he had received."

(18) Brantome, *Eloge de François*, in the 1ſt volume of his *Memoires*, pag. 228.

(19) Joſeph Scaliger, *Epiſt. de Vetuſtate gentis Scaligeræ*, pag. 3.

(20) Cardanus, *in Apologia Neronis.*

[E] *He was not much eſteemed with regard to his morals.*] Cardanus charges him with lewdneſs. *Hic noſter hiſtoricus*, ſays he (21), *admirandus profectò magis aliis* (22) *qui tametſi ſenex, parum abfuit, quin pepererit* (*). *Sed & id teſtabilius quod cum eſſet etiam Antiſtes, gaudebat numerari* (23) *procos adoleſcentulos.* i. e. "This Hiſtorian of ours was indeed more wonderful ſtill than the others; for though an old man, yet he was like to be brought to bed (ſee the margin *). But what is more ſtill, is, that though he were a Biſhop, yet he delighted to be reckoned amongſt the young men, that made love to the women." Cardan's marginal note contains a very ſtrange particular, namely, that Paul Jovius was an Hermaphrodite. Imperialis (24) confeſſes that this author was charged with leading a diſſolute life, and with great negligence in ſaying his prayers, and reciting his breviary.

(21) Idem, ibid.

(22) That is to ſay, than the Hiſtorians, whom Cardanus had juſt been mentioning, and whom he had charged with ſeveral vices.

(*) *Quippe Hermaphroditus.* i. e. "For he was an Hermaphrodite.

(23) Thus I read in my edition; I imagine that the word *inter* is omitted.

(24) *In Muſæo Hiſtorico*, pag. 7.

[F] *His ſtile is bright enough, but not ſufficiently hiſtorical nor exact.*] Scaliger ſaid of it what you will read in the following paſſage. *Paulus Jovius mendaciſſimus & Guicciardino inferior, nimis affectato & luxuriante ſtylo, potius quam caſtigato utens* (25). i. e. "Paul Jovius a great lyar, and inferior to Guicciardini, has an affected and pompous rather than an accurate ſtile." Roland des Marets ſpeaks of it with the utmoſt contempt, and even aſſerts that it abounds with barbariſms. *Quantum ſentio*, ſays he (26), *non bonus eſt hiſtoriæ ſcriptor* (Paulus Jovius) *nec judicio ſatis valet: qui ſi vernaculè ſcripſiſſet, nullo in numero haberetur. Latinus enim ſermo quaſi fucus quidam labes illius multas contegit: qui prima ſpecie elegans videtur, nam belle ſonat, & quibuſdam imponit, mihi non item. Vix enim Latinus eſt, certè minime purus, totuſque idiotiſmi ſcatet; nihil fere proprie effert, ſed plerumque περιφραστικῶς loquitur, nec pene ulla vox eſt ſine epitheto.* i. e. "Paul Jovius is not a good Hiſtorian, in my opinion, nor does he diſtinguiſh himſelf by his judgment;

(25) *Scaligerana prima*, pag. m. 95.

(26) Rolandus Mareſius, *Epiſt.* 41. lib. 1. pag. m. 218.

(b) See the remark [F].

they blame in his Hiſtory (b), which is the moſt elaborate of all his works [G]. However, it muſt be confeſſed that this writer had a great deal of wit, and that his books abound with a great many curious obſervations. He died December the 11th 1552 (c) at

(c) Raüſner, in *Diario Hiſtor.* pag. 185.

" ment; he would not have been eſteemed in the leaſt " had he written in the vulgar tongue. But the La- " tin language, like a veil, covered many of his " faults: his ſtile at the firſt ſight ſeems to be elegant, " for it ſounds well, ſo that it impoſes upon ſome " readers, but not upon me; and indeed it is hardly " Latin, and not at all exact; he ſeldom expreſſes any " thing in terms that are proper, but generally uſes " periphraſes; and there is ſcarce one word without an " epithet to it." We have here two ſkilful judges. Who then would not wonder to find Lipſius ſpeak ſo advantageouſly of our Paul Jovius's ſtile? Muſt we not infer from thence, that the moſt excellent critics differ in their taſte, even with regard to ſuch a ſubject on which they ſhould all paſs the ſame judgment. When men know the rules of eloquence, and thoſe of the art of writing Hiſtory, ought they not to agree in their commendation or cenſure of a writer's ſtile? But let us ſee what Lipſius obſerves concerning Paul Jovius (27). *Paulus Jovius multorum judicia magis acerba quam libera experitur. Acriter valde in virum eunt. Ego de eo ſic cenſeo, ſtilo bonum gravemque eſſe & plane ad hiſtoriam: judicio ac fide ambiguum. Ubi affectus non diſtrahunt, rectum, ubi illi adſunt, obnoxium. Ad gratiam ſcilicet ſe dat & auram. Laudationum nec cauſam ſæpe habet nec modum. Genti ſuæ, Vaſtio, Mediceis nimis ex profeſſo addictus. His quidem ita ut Laurentium Medicen parricidii reum velut apud judices agat. Orationibus quoque aut frigidus interdum, aut ineptus. Laudandus tamen legenduſque ob multiplicem & variam rerum ſeriem, quas redegit compoſite & dilucide in unum hiſtoriæ corpus* (28). i. e. " Several perſons " judge more ſeverely than freely of Paul Jovius; " and inveigh very bitterly againſt him. My opinion " of him is as follows. His ſtile is good and grave " and perfectly adapted to Hiſtory. His judgment " and impartiality are juſtly queſtioned: when no " paſſions ſway him he relates the truth; otherwiſe " he is ſuſpicious. For he ſuffers himſelf to be ſway'd " by partiality and favour. He praiſes often without " reaſon, and immoderately. He is too much devoted " to his own nation, to Vaſtius, and to the Houſe of " Medicis. And to the latter to ſuch a degree, that " he ſpeaks of Laurence de Medicis as though he was " pleading againſt him before the Judges. His ora- " tions are alſo ſometimes either dull or impertinent. " He deſerves however to be commended and read, " on account of the great number and variety of par- " ticulars, which he has collected into a body of " Hiſtory, in a proper order and in a clear light." Lipſius's obſervation concerning the dull and impertinent orations, which Paul Jovius has inſerted in his Hiſtory, calls to my mind what Bodinus ſays, who ridicules him for making the ſoldiers ſpeak like ſtudents of Rhetoric. *Præſertim in concionibus, epiſtolis, fœderibus, decretis, quæ Jovius pro arbitratu fingit, in quo tamen decorum ita confudit, ut imperiti milites, ipſius Alciati ſui Laudatoris judicio, declamatores ſcholaſtici eſſe videantur* (29). i. e. " Particularly in the orations, " letters, treaties and decrees, which Jovius invents af- " ter his own fancy, in which however he does ſo little " keep up to the characters of the perſons he mentions, " that, even in the opinion of Alciat his great admirer, " he makes the unlearned ſoldiers ſpeak like young " ſtudents of Rhetoric." I am perſuaded that the reader will not be diſpleaſed to meet here with Alciat's words, on which Bodinus grounded his aſſertion. *Id à te præcipue deſiderabam, ut ad illud quod Græci πρέπον vocant, non abſurdè reſponderes. Sicuti in ea oratione animadvertebam, quæ à Marconio gregario milite, ad legiones jam planè conſternatas & ad ſeditionem ſpectantes habebantur, quum Solymano Pannoniæ finibus exedente, Carolus Cæſar Vienna profectus in Italiam rediret. In ea ſiquidem concione omnes artis nervos numeroſque ita expreſſiſti, ut ille Marconius nequaquam ab aratro Volaterrani agri ad ſigna vocatus, ſed ex ſchola Ciceronis & Hermogenis ad ſuggeſtum raptus eſſe videatur, quum paſſim exactæ eloquentiæ ſchemata interniteant, quæ peroranti turbam parêre coëgerint* (30). i. e. " I wiſhed chiefly, that you had not acted abſurdly " againſt what the Greeks call πρέπον, *decorum, or* " *keeping up the true character of perſons*; as I obſerved " you had done in that oration, which a common ſol- " dier named Marconius made to the army, which was " already under a great conſternation and ready to re- " volt, when Soliman being paſſed the frontiers of " Pannonia (or Hungary) the Emperor Charles V went " from Vienna into Italy. For you have ſo well ex- " preſſed all the ſtrength and elegance of the art of " Rhetoric, that this Marconius does not ſeem to be " liſted into the army from the plough, and from the " fields of Volterra, but to be hurried from Tully's " and Hermogenes's lectures to the pulpit; ſo much " does his diſcourſe abound with eloquent ſtrokes, " which made the multitude follow his direction when " he had done ſpeaking."

(27) Lipſius, *Not. ad 1 lib. Politic.* cap. 9. pag. m. 218.

(28) La Popeliniere, *Hiſt. des Hiſtoire*, liv. 7. pag. 403. giving his opinion of Paul Jovius does only tranſlate this paſſage, without mentioning Lipſius. He did not even underſtand theſe words, *Laudationum nec cauſam ſæpe habet, nec modum*; which he tranſlates thus; *Il obſerve ni les cauſes ni moyens en ſes louanges*. i. e. " He obſerves " neither the " reaſons, nor " means in his " commendati- " ons."

(29) Bodin, *in Methodo Hiſtor.* pag. 72.

(30) Alciatus, *Epiſt. ad Paulum Jovium*, in limine *Hiſtoriarum Jovii.*

Obſerve that theſe words of Lipſius, *Laurentium Medicen parricidii reum velut apud judices agat*, have been thus tranſlated by Monſieur Teiſſier (31): *He clears Laurence de Medicis of the crime of parricide, as though he were pleading his cauſe before his Judges.* Paul Jovius does quite the contrary; he ſpeaks as the Counſellor of this Laurence's accuſer would have done (32). Monſieur Teiſſier imagined, no doubt, that the great Laurence de Medicis was meant here, who was a great patron of the men of letters in the fifteenth century, whereas Jovius means another Laurence, who aſſaſſinated Alexander de Medicis in the year 1537.

(31) *Addit. aux Eloges tirez de Monſ. de Thou*, tom. 1. pag. 65.

(32) See book the 38th of *Paul Jovius's Hiſtory.*

[G] *His Hiſtory . . . . . is the moſt elaborate of all his works.*] It is the firſt which he compoſed, and the laſt which he publiſhed. He formed the plan of it in the year 1515, and continued all his life-time to perform it. He choſe for the ſubject of his work the events that happened in his own time over all the world, beginning with the year 1494, which was that in which the French conquered the Kingdom of Naples under Charles VIII. This Hiſtory contains XLV books, and extends to the year 1544; but there is a conſiderable gap from the XIXth book to the XXIVth inclu- ſive (33). Theſe ſix books, which extended from the death of Pope Leo X, to the taking of Rome in the year 1527, contain only a ſhort ſummary of the events. He loſt, at the ſacking of Rome, what he had already compoſed relating to that part of his Hiſtory (34), and he would not compoſe it over again, nor compleat what was wanting in them. He had two reaſons not to do it: the firſt was, that he would have drawn upon him ſome people's indignation in a terrible manner; the other was, that he would not employ his pen upon a ſubject, which was ſo diſhonourable to Italy. *Peritos medicos imitatus, carcinomata deſperatæ curationis, quæ ſi attrectes, & acri medicamine laceſſas, in immenſum furere, & peſtifera edacique ſerpigine mortem afferre ſolent, naturæ relinquenda, neque his ullo pacto manum admovendam judicavi. Quamobrem exiſtimationi ſalutique meæ conſulens, diræ tempeſtatis materiam, tamquam abominabilis impiique operis, minimè attingendam arbitratus ſum, quando hæc adverſæ fortunæ accepta vulnera, inſaniæque noſtræ detrimenta, non modo non prodenda poſteris, ſed pro virili occultanda eſſe videantur: Ea ſiquidem, quæ Italicum nomen dedecorent, neque memoria recoli ſine dolore, neque ſine uberrimis lachrymis ſcribi, nec ſine flagitio pudoreque poſteris enarrari queunt* (35). i. e. " I have done like ſkillful Phyſicians: as for thoſe deſ- " perate cancers, which if you pretend to touch them, " and to apply ſharp remedies to them, rage more, " and ſpreading their venom farther and farther, oc- " caſion a certain death, I thought it proper to leave " them to nature, without offering to apply a healing " hand to them. Taking care therefore of my own " reputation and ſecurity, I judged that I muſt not " treat of the hiſtory of thoſe dreadful times, which was " an abominable and impious work; ſince the misfor- " tunes we underwent, and the wrong we ſuffered " by our own folly were not only improper to be tranſ- " mitted to poſterity, but were even to be kept ſecret " as much as it was poſſible; I mean thoſe events, " which are a diſgrace to Italy, which cannot be re- " membred without grief, nor written without a flood " of tears, nor related without ſhame nor without " crime."

(33) Obſerve, that there is alſo a gap, from the 4th book to the 10th inclusive. See his Adver- tiſement at the end of his fourth book.

(34) *Fatali illa ſub Clemente VII urbis æternæ clade nonnulli libri in ſchedis tantum deſcripti illi deperiere, haud ſine ſuo dolore maximo.* Baſilius Joannes Arnoldus, *Epiſt. Dedicatoria* Operum Jovii.

(35) Jovius, *Præfat. II Tom. Hiſtoriarum.*

at Florence, to which City he retired, being very much diſſatisfied with the Court of Rome, becauſe he had not been able to obtain the Biſhopric of Como [*H*]. He had a brother named BENEDICTUS JOVIUS, who wrote ſome books [*I*]. There was one PAUL JOVIUS, who in the Council of Trent voted in a very remarkable manner upon the queſtion concerning reſidence [*K*].

Let

(36) In the remark [*B*].

" crime." We have obſerved above (26) that this gap in Jovius's Hiſtory has been found fault with very much to his diſhonour. It is remarkable, that though he had urged theſe two arguments as a very good apology, yet in the very next page he promiſed the public, that he would ſoon publiſh that part of his Hiſtory which was wanting. *Quod ſi mihi quanquam pedibus capto, atque adeo graviter ſeneſcenti, Deus magnus fatalis horæ ſpatium extendat, perpetua procul dubio lucubratione enitar, ut totum id quod in clade urbis ereptum, vel à me poſtea contumaci quadam indignatione prætermiſſum fuit, non diu à bonis mortalibus deſideretur* (37). " i. e. Though I be lame, and grow very old, " yet if Almighty God ſuffer me to live any " longer, I ſhall certainly labour, by my continual " ſtudy, that what I loſt at the ſacking of Rome, or " what I afterwards omitted, through an obſtinate in- " dignation, be not long wanted by the honeſt part of " mankind." He tells us beſides, that he has ſupplied this gap by the particular lives he has publiſhed. The Preface from which I have extracted theſe particulars was written at Piſa May 1, 1552 : It is the Dedicatory Epiſtle of the ſecond volume of his Hiſtory. The author died in December following, and had not the ſatisfaction to ſee the third volume of his work, which is the laſt, come from the preſs. He had it printed at Florence. Let us obſerve, that the author who tells us that this is the firſt book which Jovius compoſed, has been wretchedly miſtaken in his calculations. He aſſerts, that Jovius firſt began this Hiſtory in the year 1515, being then about thirty years old, that he died whilſt he was ſtill ingaged in it, at the age of threeſcore and fifteen, and that he met with a very unſettled fortune during the thirty ſeven years he ſpent in compoſing that work. *Cum enim anno à nato* CHRISTO *qui numerabatur M. D. XV. ætatis autem ſuæ circa trigeſimum, ea quæ poſt annum M. CD. XC. IV. per totum orbem terrarum geſta eſſent, atque ſe vivo gererentur, animo complexus fuiſſet, illud Hiſtoriæ opus omnium ſuorum primum exorſus fuit, licet omnium poſtremum illud ediderit, eique quinque fermè annis ſeptuagenario major immortuus eſt. Triginta itaque illis ac ſeptem annis quibus hiſtoriam concinnavit, varia & ipſe fortuna (uti fieri ſolet) jactatus JOVIUS* (38). i. e. " In the " year 1515, when he was about thirty, he formed " the deſign to write a hiſtory of all that happened in " the whole world from the year 1494, and in his " own time ; this is the firſt work he ever begun, " though it be the laſt he publiſhed, and he died when " he was near threeſcore and fifteen, being ſtill em- " ployed in this hiſtory. He met with an inconſtant " fortune (as is uſual) during the thirty ſeven years he " ſpent upon that hiſtory." We may obſerve three blunders in this account. I. A man who applies himſelf to a work from his thirtieth year to his ſeventy fourth year, applies himſelf forty four years to it, and not thirty ſeven only. II. Since Paul Jovius died in the year 1552, he did not live above threeſcore and fourteen years, if it be true that he was but about thirty in the year 1515 : at that rate, he would have lived but about threeſcore and ſeven years. III. It is obſerved in Jovius's Epitaph (39) that he lived 69 years ; 7 months, and 22 days : it is not true therefore that he lived near threeſcore and fifteen years ; and to aſſert that he was about thirty in the year 1515, is ſpeaking without any accuracy.

(37) Jovius, *Præfat. tom. 2. Hiſtoriarum, ſub finem.*

(38) Baſil. Joh. Heroldus, *Epiſt. Dedic.* Operum Jovii.

(39) *Apud* Paulum Freherum, *Theatr.* p. 1454, *& apud* Pope Blount, *Cenſ. Author.* pag. 449. where inſtead of 22 days we read 22 ; Thuanus ſays 22.

I ſhall obſerve occaſionally, that the book *De Piſcibus Romanis* (*Of Roman Fiſhes*) is the firſt book which Paul Jovius publiſhed (40). He dedicated it to Cardinal Lewis of Bourbon. The dedication is dated from the Vatican March the 29th 1524. He had then a deſign, which he did not perform ; it was to publiſh very ſoon the firſt Decad of his Hiſtory. *Exibit in publicum propediem hujuſmodi laborioſiſſimi operis prima decas, non ſine aliqua ſpe immortalitatis* (41). i. e. " The firſt Decad of this laborious work will " ſoon be publiſhed, not without ſome hope of an " immortal reputation."

(40) Herold, *Epiſt. Dedic. Operum Jovii*, which acquaints us with the chronological order in which this author's works were publiſhed.

(41) Jovius, *Epiſt. Dedic. Libri* de Piſcibus.

Alcyonius commends this Decad in a work, which was publiſhed in the year 1522. But it does not follow from thence that it had already been printed. He might have ſeen it in manuſcript. Here follows what he ſays of it. *Quam etiam ſcribendi laudem feliciſſimè conſecutus eſt Paulus Jovius tuus, in ea Decade, qua res omnes complexus eſt, quæ toto terrarum orbe geſtæ ſunt ; poſtquàm Carolus VIII Rex Galliæ, cum maximis copiis tranſgreſſus Alpeis, tranquillum Italiæ ſtatum perturbavit, & prima funeſtiſſimorum in Italia bellorum jecit ſemina. Hiſtoria enim hujus clariſſimi ſcriptoris, omnes elegantiæ flores, omnia eloquentiæ lumina habet, & mira orationis claritate ſplendeſcit, (uſque eò omnia ornatè narrantur,) & regiones aut pugnæ admirabiliter deſcribuntur, & conciones hortationeſque prudenter, & graviſſimè interponuntur. Denique illius auctor, varietate, evagationibus, amplificationibus, digreſſionibus non minus præſtantis Hiſtorici, quam eximii Oratoris laude, ab omnibus decorari debet* (42). i. e. " Which glory of " writing your friend Paul Jovius has alſo moſt hap- " pily acquired in that Decad, in which he gives us " an account of all that paſſed in the world, ſince " Charles VIII King of France had paſſed the Alps " with a numerous army, diſturbing the peace of " Italy, and ſowing the firſt ſeeds of thoſe moſt fatal " wars. For the Hiſtory of this moſt eminent writer " abounds with all the flowers of Rhetoric, and with " all the ornaments of eloquence, and is written in a " moſt clear and perſpicuous ſtile (ſo elegantly is every " thing there related) : the countries and battles are " admirably well deſcribed, and the whole is wiſely " and gravely interſperſed with orations and exhorta- " tions. Laſtly, the author deſerves juſtly the repu- " tation both of an eminent Hiſtorian and of a diſ- " tinguiſhed orator, for the variety, applications, and " digreſſions with which he has adorned his work."

(42) Petrus Alcyonius, *in Medice Legato Poſteriore*, pag. 103. edit. Genev. 1624.

[*H*] *He had not been able to obtain the Biſhopric of Como.*] This appears from a letter which Andrew Alciat wrote to him (43). It is dated from Pavia October the 7th 1549, and is an anſwer to a letter, which Paul Jovius had written to him, to acquaint him with his diſcontent, and with his reſolution to leave Rome, and to retire to Florence. *Scribis te gravi injuria permotum, Urbe (quod nunquam fieri poſſe putaram) propediem exceſſurum, ne diutius acceptæ contumeliæ deformis teſtis in ea aula ſpecteris, in qua per multos annos (uti mihi videtur) cum aureæ mediocritatis bonis planè beatus, tum ſtudiorum tuorum authoritate clarus hactenus fuiſti. Mirum profectò videri poteſt, quòd tibi doctrinæ ac ætatis honore majora promerito, in petitione Pontificatus patriæ tuæ Paulus Pontifex quendam prætulerit. At quem hominem ? qui Comi neque natus, neque unquam viſus ſit, & qui (ſicut à multis audio) ex arcanis cubiculi ſordibus in lucem repente ſit productus.* i. e. " You wrote to me, that being highly " incenſed at the injury you have received, you de- " ſign very ſoon to leave the city (which I ſhould " never have thought) that you may no longer ap- " pear a ſad witneſs of the affront that has been of- " fered you, at that Court, where (in my opinion) " you lived many years happy in a golden media- " crity, and with reputation on account of your learn- " ing. It may indeed appear ſtrange, that though " you deſerved a greater reward by your age, and " by your reputation of learning, yet the Pope ſhould " have preferred another to you, in the Biſhopric of " your own native place. And what man ! A man " who was neither born at Como, nor ever ſeen there ; " and (as I have been told by ſeveral perſons) who " was from the low drudgery of a private ſervant all " on a ſudden raiſed to an high poſt." This is well enough ! it is making pretty free with the holy Father's character. He is not treated much better in the following words. *Quis in hoc Pontificem ἀμαυσότερον non judicet : non enim hoſtis bonarum literarum & plane ferreus eſſe non poteſt, qui te graviſſimarum rerum ſcriptorem intempeſtive contempſerit. . . . Dices te indigne deceptum ab inveterati aſtus ſene Principe, qui blandis promiſſis*

(43) It is prefixed to *Paul Jovius's Hiſtory.*

Let us not forget to obſerve, that our Paul Jovius was blamed for giving too much credit to Aſtrological Predictions, and to other ſuperſtitions of the ſame kind [*L*]. His Elogies

promiſſis vota tua honeſte concepta inique fefellerit. i. e. " Who will not judge from this that the Pope is an " enemy to the Muſes? For whoever does deſpiſe " you, who are a moſt grave Hiſtorian, muſt be an " enemy to all kind of literature, and abſolutely rude " and ignorant. . . You will ſay that you have been " unworthily impoſed upon by an old Prince of an " inveterate malice, who wickedly diſappointed the " hopes which you had conceived from his fair pro- " miſes." I am much miſtaken if Thuanus has not committed a blunder here; for he pretends that it was Clement VII, who refuſed to promote Paul Jovius to the Biſhopric of Como, and who for that reaſon was ill treated in the petitioner's works. *Cum ad Novocomenſem Epiſcopatum omnibus votis anhelaret, ſuæque erga Mediceam familiam, in cujus laudes profuſus fuerat, obſervantiæ deberi id meritorum fiducia putaret, tamen ab eo obtinere non potuit: quod in cauſa fuiſſe plerique credunt, cur Clementem in Hiſtoriis avaritiæ & tenacitatis inſimulet* (44). i. e. " He heartily wiſhed to ob- " tain the Biſhopric of Como, which he truſted he had " deſerved by his great regard and reſpect for the houſe " of Medices, on whoſe praiſes he had expatiated in " his works; but he could not obtain it; which moſt " people think was the reaſon why he charged Pope " Clement in his Hiſtory with avarice and niggard- " lineſs."

(44) Thuan. lib. 11. pag. 235.

[*I*] *He had a Brother named* BENEDICTUS JOVIUS, *who wrote ſome books.*] He was Paul's eldeſt brother, and was to him inſtead of a father: it was he that educated him; that inſtructed him, and encouraged him to become an author: for having ſhewed him two of his works, namely, the Hiſtory of Como, and a treatiſe of the actions and manners of the Swiſs nation, he raiſed in him a deſire to write a general Hiſtory. He led a very quiet and retired life in his native place, which he never left but to go to Milan to hear the lectures of a Greek Profeſſor. He had learned that tongue by himſelf, but he wanted to learn how to pronounce it, and this was the reaſon of his journey to Milan. He lived to be threeſcore and thirteen years old, and always continued ſtrong and ſound both in body and mind. He intended to preſent the public with about an hundred letters, which abounded with learned obſervations: his ſons were to take care to publiſh them, with ſome other pieces of his compoſing, with ſome tranſlations from Greek authors, and with ſome Poems. *Sed hæc & Græcæ traductionis non ignobilia opera cum lepidis poëmatibus eruditorum liberorum diligentia publicabit* (45). i. e. " But this, with his Greek tranſlations, " which are no inconſiderable work, and with his " agreeable Poems, will be publiſhed by the care of " his children." Their uncle expected this from their diligence (46); but I do not think there was any thing of this author's works printed, but his Latin Poems.

(45) P. Jovius, *Elog.* cap. 106.

(46) *Taken from* Paul Jovius, *Elog.* cap. 106.

We ought not to imagine, that PAULUS JOVIUS, *Junior*, of whom there are ſeveral Latin verſes in the Elogies written by our Paul Jovius, was the ſon of Benedictus Jovius. He was nephew to JULIUS JOVIUS, who was made Coadjutor to his uncle (47) in the Biſhopric of Nocera, Auguſt 21, 1551, and who enjoyed that Biſhopric after him. Paulus Jovius, junior, a good Poet, was made Coadjutor to his uncle Julius Jovius in the ſame Biſhopric, November 29, 1560, and was alſo his ſucceſſor in it. He kept that ſee twenty five years, and died in the year 1585 (48). I have obſerved in another place (49), that Paul Jovius was no Poet.

(47) That is to ſay to our Paul Jovius.

(48) *Taken from* Ughelli, *Ital. Sacra*, tom. 7. pag. 746.

[*K*] *One* PAUL JOVIUS, *who voted in a very remarkable manner upon the queſtion concerning Reſidence.*] A friend of mine, who had heard me relate all that I remembered concerning our Paul Jovius, repreſented to me, that I omitted the moſt remarkable particulars. He was, ſaid that friend to me, one of the Fathers of the Council of Trent; and as he was not in the leaſt acquained with Divinity, for he had been a Phyſician before he was promoted to be a Biſhop, and never diſcontinued the ſtudy of the *Belles Lettres*, I imagine that he did not diſtinguiſh himſelf much in that aſſembly, when he was to give his opinion upon ſome point of doctrine. It concerned him very much not to ſuffer the Council to determine that Biſhops are obliged to reſidence by the law of God. This doctrine, which was ſtrongly aſſerted by ſome of the members, could by no means be reliſhed by him; this was

(49) In the article HADRIAN VI, remark [*D*].

Aux Evêques de Cour prêcher la réſidence.

" To preach up reſidence to Court Prelates."

He refuted that doctrine by arguments borrowed from the common practice: he ſhewed that there was no leſs diſſoluteneſs in thoſe Dioceſſes in which the Biſhop reſided, than in the others (50), and named particularly the city of Rome. But it is better to hear him ſpeak himſelf. My friend referred me immediately to page 470 of Father Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, where I met with the following words. " If " theſe diſorders were really occaſioned by the abſence " of the Prelates, there would appear a leſs corrup- " tion of morals in thoſe churches where the Biſhops " have reſided in our time. The Popes have conſtant- " ly kept at Rome theſe hundred years paſt, and have " taken the utmoſt care to have the people inſtructed, " and yet we do not find, that this city is better regu- " lated for all that. The capital cities of kingdoms, " in which the Biſhops never failed to reſide, are " much more corrupted than thoſe ſmall and incon- " ſiderable towns, which have not ſeen their Biſhops " for a whole century. And none of the antient pre- " lates who are here, and have conſtantly reſided on " their Biſhoprics, (for there are ſome of them) will " be able to ſhew us that their dioceſs are better re- " gulated than thoſe of their neighbours, who never " reſided. They who aſſert that ſuch churches are " flocks without ſhepherds, ſhould conſider, that the " Curates have the cure of ſouls as well as the Biſhops, " and yet the latter only are mentioned, as though " there could be no faithful Chriſtians, where there " are no Biſhops. There are in the mountains ſome " nations, who never ſaw a Biſhop in their life, and " who yet may be a pattern to epiſcopal cities. We " ought to commend and imitate (*) the zeal and con- " duct of the Fathers of this Council under Paul, " who have decreed penalties againſt the prelates, to " oblige them to reſide; and who have began to re- " move thoſe obſtacles, which keep them from their " churches. And inſtead of flattering ourſelves with " the vain hopes, that their reſidence will occaſion a " reformation of manners in the church, we ought ra- " ther to fear, that whereas we now labour to find out " ſome means to oblige them to reſidence, the incon- " veniencies (51), that may attend it, will oblige our " ſucceſſors to provide againſt them by obliging the " prelates to be abſent from their Biſhoprics." I had not much trouble to undeceive my friend: I had only to make him obſerve, that the Hiſtorian of the Council ſpeaks of a Paul Jovius, who was Biſhop of Nocera in the year 1562, ten years after the death of Paul Jovius, who is the ſubject of this article.

(50) Compare this with what Brantome obſerves in the paſſage which I have quoted in the remark [*N*] of the article FRANCIS I, and add to it the following words from Mezerai's *Abrege Chronologique*, tom. 6. pag. 434. *The Parliament commanded the Biſhops to go and reſide in their Biſhoprics to do their duty there, otherwiſe they ſhould be forced to it, by the ſeizing of all their furniture and equipage. But conſidering the life moſt of them led, their abſence gave perhaps leſs offence to their flocks, than their reſidence would have done.*

(*) I ſuppoſe it ſhould be, *but not to imitate*, otherwiſe Jovius ſeems to contradict himſelf. ADD. REM.

(51) He pretends that if it were decreed, that reſidence is *Jure Divino*, the Biſhops would no longer be ſubject to the Popes, nor the Prieſts to the Biſhops.

[*K*] *He was blamed for giving too much credit to aſtrological predictions, and to other ſuperſtitions of the ſame kind.*] Martin del Rio having related ſome facts, which ſeem to prove that future events may be foretold by the means of aſtrology and chiromancy, adds, *Unus iſta omnia narrat Jovius* (*), *nec uſquequaque indubitatæ fidii hiſtoricus, nec ſatis à ſuperſtitioſis & gentilium ne dicam opinionibus, ſaltem locutionibus, alienus* (54). i. e. " Jovius alone relates all this; but he " is not an Hiſtorian on whom we may abſolutely de- " pend; he was a little too much addicted to ſuperſti- " tions, and to the expreſſions, not to ſay, the opinions " of the Heathens." He had already cenſured him for ſhewing too much regard for an obſervation of *Amniomancy*. Thus they call the art of divining by obſerving the membrane *amnios*, which was the fœtus in the mother's womb. *Sed & Jovius, ne quid ſuperſtitionis omitteret, nimis hujuſmodi vanitatibus pro Epiſcopo deditus, in Ferdinandi Davali nativitate* (lib. 1. Piſcarii) *hujuſmodi pelle involutum ex utero prodiiſſe conſideravit* (55). i. e. " But Jovius alſo, that he might " not omit any ſuperſtition, and who for a Biſhop " was

(52) Fra-Paolo, *Hiſt. du Concile de Trente*, liv. 6 pag. 470. under the year 1562, of Amelot's Tranſlation. See pag. 499. of the Italian edition in 4to.

(53) It is Paulus Jovius. I have mentioned him above in the remark [*I*] towards the end.

(*) In *Elogiis*.

(54) Mart. del Rio, *Diſquiſ. Magic.* lib. 4. cap. 3. Quæſt. 5. pag. m. 278.

(55) Idem, ibid. cap. 2. Quæſt. 7. Sect. 1. pag. 237.

Elogies of Illuſtrious Men are judged to be *too bitter and too ſlanderous* (*d*), but they are ſometimes alſo too flattering. See the judgment which a learned Critic (*e*) has paſſed upon them in his Dialogue *De bene inſtituendis Græcæ Linguæ Studiis*; i. e. "Concerning "the beſt Method of ſtudying the Greek Tongue." George Sabinus complains that Paul Jovius does not do juſtice in his Hiſtories to the Proteſtants of Germany, and particularly to Sigiſmund II Elector of Brandenburg. Conſult the Letter which George Sabinus wrote to John Sleidan September the 1ſt 1556 (*f*).

(*d*) Balzac, *Diſſertat. à Dom. André de Saint Denys*, at the end of his *Socrate Chrétien*, pag. m. 174.

(*e*) Henry Stephen. *See* Crenium, *Animadv.* Part 5. pag. 163.

(*f*) It is the laſt of them that have been printed with *George Sabinus's Poems*, pag. 419, *& ſeq.* edit. Lipſ. 1606. *See alſo* Crenii, *Animad.* Part 6. pag. 209.

It is neceſſary to make ſome additions to what I have obſerved concerning the firſt work he publiſhed [*M*].

" was a little too much addicted to theſe idle things, " obſerved at the nativity of Ferdinand Daval, that " he was born wrapt up in ſuch a membrane." This membrane breaks generally when the child comes into the world; but ſometimes it keeps whole, and in ſuch a caſe it is taken for a ſign of good luck; whence comes this proverb, *il eſt né coiffé* (56), properly, *he is born with a coif on*; that is, *he is born to good fortune*. Paul Jovius obſerved this circumſtance very accurately in the nativity of the Marqueſs of Peſcara, and you have ſeen juſt now, that he was blamed for it by Martin del Rio. Let us give here another proof of his credulity with regard to aſtrology. Having obſerved that there happened revolutions in religion over all the world in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, he aſcribes it to the influence of the ſtars. In the account of this particular I ſhall tranſcribe Florimond de Remond's words, becauſe they acquaint us with a little artifice of a tranſlator. " Very near the ſame time, " *ſays Jovius*, when Iſhmael became Emperor of Perſia, and changed the religion of that country, mixing " it with a new Mahometan ſuperſtition, there aroſe in " Germany under Luther's direction that monſtrous " hereſy, which was calculated to overthrow the Catholic Religion, and all that antiquity ever received, " as the people had already done in Perſia, being obſtinate and mad with their new follies and ſuperſtitions. So that I am eaſily perſuaded, *adds he*, that " by a ſecret power from heaven, and by a malignant " influence of the ſtars, all religions began at the " ſame time to be altered through the whole world, " ſince not only the Mahometans, but alſo the Chriſtians, and even the Idolatrous nations the moſt remote from us, which worſhip Idols, in the Eaſt-Indies, and the countries newly diſcovered towards " the Weſt, have admitted new religions and opinions. " This is what we meet with in Jovius's Latin words. " But in the French tranſlation of it you may obſerve " the ſincerity and honeſty of the tranſlator, who " omits all that Jovius relates of theſe changes of religions, and of the monſtrous Lutheran hereſy, which " ſprung up in Saxony. With what impartiality and " honeſty do they handle the holy and ſacred writings, " ſince they are not aſhamed thus to mutilate Hiſtories which have but lately been publiſhed, in order " to conceal from the reader a ſhort paſſage, which " relates to Luther, the father of all the hereſies that " have diſturbed the Chriſtian Church (57)? Florimond de Remond quotes the thirteenth book of Paul Jovius's Hiſtory, where I met with the following paſſage, in *folio* 239 *verſo* of the edition printed at Straſburg in the year 1556. *Nec multo poſt exarſit in Germania authore Luthero dira hæreſis, quæ populis, ut in Perſide acciderat, ad inſaniam verſis, Chriſtiani dogmatis placita, & veteres ſacrorum ritus vehementiſſimè conturbavit. Ita ut facilè crediderim ab occulta cœli poteſtate, malignoque ſyderum concurſu proveniſſe, ut religiones toto terrarum orbe enatis factionibus, uno tempore ſcinderentur, quando non Mahometani modo Chriſtianique, ſed & remotiſſimæ gentes idololatræ, aut ſydera aut portenta pro Diis venerantes, cum in India quæ ad Orientem vergit, tum in novo orbe ad Occiduam plagam reperto, novas ſacrorum opiniones induerint.* I know no other French tranſlator of Paul Jovius's General Hiſtory, than Denis Sauvage. Was he a Proteſtant? And was he guilty of the artifice with which Florimond de Remond charges the reformed?

(56) *See* Mr. Drelincourt's *Treatiſe*, an account of which is given in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for July 1685, Art. 11. pag. 815.

(57) Florimond de Remond, *Hiſt. de l'Hereſie*, liv. 1. chap. 4. pag. m. 24.

[*M*] *It is neceſſary to make ſome additions to what I have obſerved concerning the firſt work he publiſhed.*] I have obſerved (58) 1. That it was the treatiſe *De Piſcibus Romanis*. 2. That he dated the dedication of it, March the 26th 1524. In the 3d place, that he deſigned then to publiſh very ſoon the firſt Decad of his Hiſtory. With regard to the firſt of theſe three particulars I have quoted Heroldus, who ſays expreſly, *illud* (ſcriptum) *quod* OMNIUM PRIMUM *edidit de piſcibus Romanis*. The ſecond particular wants no proof; every one may ſee it at the bottom of the dedication; and I have proved the third by a paſſage from Paul Jovius. I have ſtarted an objection from Alcyonius's aſſerting in a work printed in the year 1522, that he had ſeen this Hiſtorian's firſt Decad, and I have anſwered that objection as well as I could: but here follows another difficulty. Calcagnini tells us in a letter written from Rome under the Pontificate of Leo X (59) that Paul Jovius's firſt Decad was printed. *Paulus Jovius... tam luculènter, tam doctè, tam eleganter ſcribit noſtri temporis hiſtoriam, cujus decem libros* JAM EDIDIT, *ut pudeat me de homine tam diſerto tam indiſertè ſcribere* (60). i. e. " Paul Jovius writes the hiſtory of " our time, of which he *has already publiſhed ten* " *books*, with ſo much clearneſs, learning, and elo- " quence, that I am aſhamed to ſpeak with ſo little " elegance of ſo elegant a writer." If Calcagnini means here that this firſt Decad was printed, and if it be really ſo, Paul Jovius is guilty himſelf of the miſtake which one would charge me with. It would be to no purpoſe to urge, that the date of the dedication of the treatiſe *De Piſcibus Romanis* has been altered by the Printers; for it is certain, after all, that this dedication was compoſed under Clement VII, who was choſen Pope in the month of November 1523.

(58) See the remark [*G*] towards the end.

(59) He died in the year 1521.

(60) Calcagninus *Epiſt. ad Jacobum Zieglerum*, in Collectione Colomeſiana *Clarorum Virorum Epiſtol.* pag. 234.

JOURS (in Engliſh, *the Day*). This article, which was printed in our propoſals, will be inſerted at the end of this Dictionary, in the form of a Diſſertation. See HIPPOMANES.

IPRES, or YPRES, an Epiſcopal City in the County of Flanders, borrows its name from a River which runs through it: it was at firſt but a Caſtle. The Normans having ruined it, Count Baudouin or Baldwin, the ſecond of that name, had it repaired in the year 880; Count Arnoul added fortifications to it in the year 901; and Count Baudouin III made ſeveral additions to it ſome years after. New additions were made to it from time to time, ſo that in the year 1473 the City of Ipres contained already within its walls 1173 *Verges of Land* (or *Perches*) of fourteen geometrical feet each. It was beſieged by thoſe of Ghent and by the Engliſh in the year 1373, during nine weeks. Its ſtone walls were built in the year 1388 by Philip the Bold's conſent (*a*). The woolen manufactures and the art of dying them were in a thriving condition there at the end of the twelfth Century, as it appears from William Brito's teſtimony (*b*). The French took that city in the year 1648, and loſt it again the next year. They took it a ſecond time in the year 1658, and reſtored it to the Spaniard by the treaty of the Pyrenees. They took it a third time in the year 1678, and it was yielded to them by the Spaniards in the

(*a*) *Taken from* Valerius Andreas, *in Topographia Belgica*, pag. 43, 44.

(*b*) *Ipra coloran-dis gens prudentiſſima lanis.* i. e. " The people of " Ipres are very " skilful in dy- " ing of wool." Wil. Brito, *Philippid.* lib. 2.

the treaty of peace, concluded at Nimeguen that ſame year. The Controverſies about Janſeniſm have made the name of the City of Ipres very famous; for Janſenius is ſeldom mentioned, but it is obſerved at the ſame time that he was Biſhop of that City. Thus the connection there is between that City and the Controverſies of the Janſeniſts has been known to all the world; and to this is owing, undoubtedly, the jeſt of a pretended letter which was handed about as though it had been written by the King of France to Monſieur Arnauld [*A*], dated from the camp before Ipres in the year 1679. There were a great many tranſcripts taken from this letter, and I remember, that ſeveral perſons, who were reckoned to have a very good taſte, found it ingenious; it is aſcribed to Monſieur Roze private Secretary to the King. I do not believe it was ever printed; which determines me to publiſh it here.

[*A*] *A pretended letter ... of the King of France to Monſieur Arnauld.*] Here it follows according to the copy I took of it, when it was handed about as a piece quite new.

" *Lettre du Roi à Mr. Arnaud ſur le Siege d'Ypre.*

" Monſieur Arnaud. Nous allons commencer un " ſiege où vous pourriez nous ſervir beaucoup de vôtre " credit. J'ay 5 Propoſitions à faire à Meſſieurs d'Ypre: " la 1, que je ſuis venu en Flandre pour faire du bien " à tout le monde. La 2, que le commandement que " je leur fais de rendre la ville n'eſt pas impoſſible. " La 3, qu'il eſt en leur pouvoir de meriter ou de de- " meriter mes bonnes graces. La 4, que j'ay des ſe- " cours avec moi plus que ſuffiſans pour les fair obéïr " à mes ordres: & la 5, que quelque neceſſitez qu'ils ſoi- " ent de ſe rendre, ils ne le feront qu'avec une entiere li- " berté. Il s'agit donc, Monſieur, de leur faire ſig- " ner ces 5 Propoſitions, qui renferment tout le Traitté " de la Grace que j'ay à leur faire. Je ne crois pas " qu'ils puiſſent éluder mes ordres par la diſtinction " du Droict & du Faict; car pour le Droict, il y a ſi " long-tems que je ſuis en poſſeſſion de prendre des " villes, que le tems ſeul pourroit me ſervir de preſcrip- " tion dans le Pays-Bas, quand je n'aurois pas d'ail- " leurs tant de droits inconteſtables. Ils ne peuvent donc " ſe retrancher que ſur le Fait, & c'eſt dequoy je les " veux convaincre par une trentaine de canons auſ- " quels de les defie de répondre efficacement, car ils " percent toutes les difficultez à jour. Par là vous ju- " gerez bien que je ne ſerai pas ſi long-tems à leur " faire ſigner mes 5 Propoſitions, que vous avez été à " ſigner celles du Pape. C'eſt pour quoy je vous donne " ordre de convoquer le ban & l'arriereban des Janſe- " niſtes, & de partir inceſſamment de Paris pour venir " à leur tête chanter le *Te Deum*, ſur le tombeau de " Janſenius, pour rendre graces à Dieu de l'heureux " ſuccez de mes 5 Propoſitions. Vous pourrez appor- " ter pour le feu de joye une centaine d'exemplaires " du Miroir de la Piété Chrétienne, pour jetter ces " bons Flamans dans un ſaint deſeſpoir d'être à jamais " à l'Eſpagne. Enſuite vous paſſerez en Angleterre pour " y diriger la Chambre baſſe qui a de grandes indiſpo- " ſitions d'eſprit & de cœur à la paix. Au reſte, je " goûte fort vôtre politique & plus encore vôtre ar- " gent, dont vous vous ſervez ſi avantageuſement " pour perſuader aux gens tout ce que vous voulez. " Avec cela je ſuis ſeur que nous aurons la paix avec " l'Angleterre & l'Eſpagne, avant que vous l'ayez " avec les Peres Jeſuites. Au Camp devant Ypre le " 17 Mars 1678."

The King of France's Letter to Monſieur Arnaud upon the Siege of Ipres.

" Monſ. Arnaud. We are going to begin a ſiege " in which you can be very ſerviceable to us by your " credit. I have five propoſitions to offer to the Gen- " tlemen at Ipres. The firſt, that I came into Flan- " ders with a deſign to do good to all the world. " The ſecond, that the command I give them " to ſurrender their city to me is not impoſſible. The " third, that it is in their power to deſerve or not de- " ſerve my favour. The fourth, that I have brought " ſuch aſſiſtance with me, as is more than ſufficient " to make them obey my orders. The fifth, that " though they be never ſo much neceſſitated to ſurren- " der, yet they will not do it but with a perfect liberty. " Now, Sir, the queſtion is, to make them ſubſcribe " to theſe five propoſitions, which contain the whole " treatiſe of the Grace (*α*) which they have to expect " from me. I do not think that they can evade my " commands by a diſtinction *de jure* and *de facto*: of " what is *right*, and of what is *fact*. For as to right, " it is ſo long ſince I have aſſumed to me a power of " taking cities, that time alone might be to me a " title by preſcription in the Low-Countries, if I had " not ſo many indiſputable claims beſides. They can " therefore confine themſelves only to the matter of " fact; but here I will convince them by about thirty " Guns, to which I defy them to make an effectual " anſwer, for they pierce all oppoſitions through and " through. You may eaſily judge by this, that I ſhall " not ſpend ſo much time to make them ſign my five " propoſitions, as you have ſpent, before you would " ſign thoſe of the Pope. I command you therefore " to ſummon together the *Ban* and *Arrierban* of the " Janſeniſts, and to ſet out immediately from Paris, to " come and ſing *Te Deum* at their head on Janſe- " nius's tomb, to give thanks to God for the good " ſucceſs of my five propoſitions. You may take with " you an hundred copies of the *Mirror of the Chriſtian* " *Piety*, to make a bonfire in order to ſtrike theſe ho- " neſt Flemings with a ſacred deſpair ever to be again " under the government of the Spaniards. Hence you " may go into England to direct the Members of the " Houſe of Commons, who both in their minds and in " their hearts are very ill-diſpoſed towards a peace. " To conclude, I muſt tell you that I like your po- " licy very well, and more ſtill your money, of which " you know ſo well how to make a good uſe, to per- " ſuade people whatever you pleaſe. By this means " I am certain that we ſhall have peace with England " and Spain, before you have it with the Jeſuits. " From our camp before Ypres, March the 17th, " 1678."

§ (*α*) *The whole Treatiſe of the Grace.*] The French words are *Tout le Traité de la Grace*, in which words there is a double alluſion, which it is impoſſible to preſerve in the tranſlation; it is grounded on the double ſenſe of the word *Traité*, which ſignifies both a *Treatiſe* and a *Treaty*; and of the word *Grace*, which ſignifies both the *Grace of God*, which aſſiſts us in the work of our ſalvation, and *Favour* or *Mercy*. ADD. REM.]

IRNERIUS (*a*), a German Civilian, lived in the twelfth Century. He is reckoned to be the firſt that revived the ſtudy of the Roman Law, which had been interrupted ſince the invaſion of the Barbarians. He had great credit in Italy with Princeſs Mathildis, and having perſuaded the Emperor to order that the Code and the Digeſts ſhould be read in the ſchools, he was the firſt Profeſſor that explained them in Italy. His method was to reconcile the determinations of the Civilians, and thoſe Laws, which ſeemed to be contrary to each other. He died about the year 1190 [*A*], and was buried at

(*a*) He is alſo called *Wernerus*, or *Guarnerius*.

[*A*] *He died about the year* 1190.] I can hardly believe that he lived till that time; for in the firſt place Lotharius II lived at moſt only till the year 1138; which is an evident proof that Forſterus was not very accurate;

at Bologna, where he had been Profeſſor (*b*). Some authors go farther ſtill; for they ſay, that Lotharius, repealing all other Laws, ordered that the Laws of Juſtinian ſhould have again their ancient authority at the bar [*B*]. The famous Calixtus, Divinity Profeſſor at Helmſtad, has maintained (*c*) that this is falſe, and has been followed herein by the learned Conringius, his collegue (*d*). But Bertold Nihuſius wrote in favour of the contrary opinion (*e*), and ſilenced Doctor Calixtus. It is certain that tradition is not for the latter, and that it gives Irnerius the title of firſt reſtorer of the Roman Law [*C*]. It is he alſo, ſay they, who perſuaded the Emperor Lotharius, whoſe Chancellor he was, to bring into the Univerſity the cuſtom of making Doctors, and who drew up the form of it; whence it came that even at that time Bulgarus, Hugolinus, Martinus, Pileus, and ſome others, who began to explain the Roman Laws, were promoted to the Doctor's degree in a ſolemn manner. Theſe noble ceremonies had their firſt beginning at Bologna; whence they ſpread into the other Univerſities, and paſſed from the Faculty of the Law to that of Divinity. It is pretended that the Univerſity of Paris having admitted theſe ceremonies, uſed them for the firſt time with regard to Peter Lombard, whom that Univerſity promoted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity (*f*).

(*b*) *Ex* Forſtero, *Hiſt. Juris Civil. Roman.* lib. 3. cap. 6.

(*c*) In Libello *de Morali Theologia.*

(*d*) Conſult the Preface of his *Origo Juris Germanici*, printed in the year 1643.

(*e*) See the work which he intitled *Irnerius*, and publiſhed in the year 1642.

(*f*) Mathias, *Theatr. Hiſt. in Vita Lotharii II.*

accurate; for he has aſſerted that this reſtoration of the Roman laws happened about the year 1150 (1). Why ſhould we think that he was more accurate in his calculation with regard to the death of Irnerius? Secondly, theſe tranſactions are placed under the year 1133 (2). Now who could believe that an affair ſo important as that was, had been reſolved upon, and put in execution by the advice of a young man. It is an hundred times more probable, that Irnerius's advice was followed, only becauſe he had already gained great credit by his learning and prudence; ſo that we cannot ſuppoſe him much leſs than forty years old at leaſt. If then he had lived till the year 1190, he would have been near an hundred years old, in which caſe Forſterus had been inexcuſable for taking no notice of ſuch an unuſual old age. Add to this that generally ſpeaking a Chancellor to an Emperor muſt be pretty old. But we ſhould make an unanſwerable objection againſt Forſterus, if we ſhould aſſert that the Princeſs Mathildis, with whom he ſuppoſes that Irnerius had ſo great credit, was that Counteſs, who was ſo liberal towards the Popes, and who died in the year 1115, or that Queen of Italy, who died in the year 1101 (3) and who was married with Conrad, the ſon of the Emperor Henry IV. She was Roger King of Sicily's daughter.

(1) *Incidit hæc revocatio & reſtitutio Juris Civilis in annum Chriſti* 1150. Forſterus, *Hiſt. Juris Civil.* lib. 3. cap. 6.

(2) See the following remark.

(3) Mathias, *Theatr. Hiſt.* pag. m. 902.

During the controverſy, which aroſe between Doctor Calixtus, and Bertoldus Nihuſius, upon this queſtion, whether our Irnerius revived the ſtudy of the Law by the Counteſs Mathildis's authority, or by that of the Emperor Lotharius II, the Univerſity of Bologna being conſulted, made ſuch an anſwer as agreed with Nihuſius's aſſertion. We find in that anſwer, that it is a conſtant tradition that Irnerius began to teach the Law at Bologna in the year 1128. This tradition is ſupported by an inſcription on Irnerius's picture, which is to be ſeen amongſt ſeveral others in the college of Bologna. *Irnerius omnium primus leges commentatus eſt* MCXXVIII. i. e. "Irnerius is the firſt that began to "explain the Law in the year 1128." Such is the inſcription. Nicholas Alidoſio, in the preface to his book intitled *Li Dottori Bologneſi di legge Canonica e Civile*, i. e. "The Doctors of the Civil and Canon Law "at Bologna," aſſerts, that whilſt this Doctor was teaching Philoſophy at Bologna, the Emperor Lotharius commanded him to teach the Law, and that he began to read lectures upon it about the year 1128. However there are reaſons to think that he did it of his own accord for ſome years, and that he was not impowered to it by the Emperor's command till the year 1137 (4). It is certain that he died before the year 1150, and not in the year 1190: for it is well known (5) that James de Porta Ravegnana was Irnerius's ſucceſſor in the chair of Profeſſor of Law, and that he taught the Law publicly at Bologna as ſoon as the year 1150. See the author I quote (6).

(4) *See* Nihuſius, *in Irnerio*, pag. 13.

(5) Otto Murena *in Chronologia Laudenſi, apud* Baronium, *ad ann.* 1158.

[*B*] *It is ſaid that Lotharius ... ordered that the laws of Juſtinian ſhould have again their ancient authority at the bar.*] Here follows what Monſieur Heiſs obſerves in his Hiſtory of the Empire, under the year 1133. *This ſolemnity being ended the Emperor returned into Germany, where by the advice of a certain man named Werner Urſperg, otherwiſe Irnerius* (7), *who was very learned in the ancient laws of Juſtinian, he ordered that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered for the future in the empire according to the* Digeſts *and the* Code, *which had been five or ſix years out of uſe. So that theſe laws were introduced into Italy, and Germany, and afterwards into France and Spain, which nations were governed before by ſuch laws as were peculiar to them, and by their own particular cuſtom. Antea homines Jure incerto utebantur, Jure nempe Romanorum corrupto, Jure item Longobardico & Lege Salica* (8). i. e. "Men had "but uncertain laws before, namely thoſe of the "Romans, but corrupted thoſe of the Lombards, and "the Salic Law." Calviſius, without mentioning our Werner, obſerves under the year 1137, that Lotharius found the Roman Laws in Apulia, that he gave them to the people of Piſa, and ordered that they ſhould be explained, and that all the Courts of Judicature in the empire ſhould judge according to thoſe laws. He adds that this book was afterwards lodged in the library of Florence. Another Hiſtorian (9) applies this to the time when that Emperor marched againſt Roger King of Sicily, about the year 1335, and obſerves that the manuſcript of the Roman laws wanting an interpreter, Irnerius was ordered to explain them.

(6) Nihuſius *in Irnerio*, where he has inſerted the whole anſwer of the Univerſity of Bologna.

(7) In the edition printed in Holland they have put *Irnevis*.

(8) Chriſt. Mathiæ, *Theatr. Hiſt.* pag. 921.

(9) Chriſt. Mathias, ibid. pag. 920. *He quotes* Chytræus *in Chronol.* pag. 309.

[*C*] *Tradition ... gives Irnerius the title of the Firſt Reſtorer of the Roman Law.*] An author whom I have already quoted, ſpeaks thus (10). *Irnerius primus legibus gloſſas appoſuit, & ſuo exemplo cæteris illuminandi juris exemplum dedit; unde* LUCERNA JURIS *dictus fuit: & inſtaurator legum Romanorum cognominatus*, i. e. "Irnerius is the firſt that wrote explanatory notes on "the Laws, and by his example encouraged others "to clear up the Laws; whence he was called, the "LIGHT OF THE LAW, and ſurnamed the Reſtorer "of the Roman Laws." An infinite number of writers make the ſame obſervation.

(10) Mathias, *in Theat. Hiſt.* pag. 920.

ISAACITES (*a*). Rabbi Solomon Jarchi is mentioned under that name in Bartolocci's Rabbinical Library. I may therefore place under this name what is wanting in the article JARCHI. Let us then obſerve here, that the ſurname of *Raſci*, which was given to this Rabbi is compoſed of the initial letters of his names (*b*). Father Bartolocci acquaints me with this (*c*). He adds that this Rabbi was born at Lunir, a City in the province of Aquitain [*A*], but that ſome perſons make him a native of Troies in France, and

(*a*) Conſtantin. L'Empereur, *Not. in Itinerar. Benjam. Tutel.* pag. 149. ſays, *that Solomon Jarchi was called Iſacides, becauſe he was the ſon of Rabbi Iſaac.*

(*b*) R. Salomon Iſaacites.

(*c*) Bartol. *Bibliotb. Rabbinica*, Part 4. pag. 378.

[*A*] *Bartolocci ſays that he was born at Lunir, a city in the province of Aquitain.*] Bartolocci adds that it is a city where ſeveral Jews lived, as St. Gregory witneſſes it in the twenty firſt Letter of the third book (1). All this abounds with errors: for in the 1ſt place, he ſhould have ſaid *Lunel*, and not *Lunir*. 2. Lunel is not ſituated in the province of Aquitain. 3. Pope Gregory ſpeaks neither of Lunel nor of Lunir, but of

(1) Bartol. *Bibliotb. Rabbin.* Part 4. pag. 378.

and place his birth under the year 1105. Isaacites began to travel when he was thirty years of age. He visited Italy, and afterwards Greece, Jerusalem, and all Palestine; he went afterwards into Egypt where he saw Rabbi Maimonides. He travelled into Persia, Tartary, Muscovy, and into other northern countries, and afterwards into Germany, whence he returned into his own country. He took a wife and had three daughters by her, who were married to very learned Rabbies, authors of a great many books. Some of his Commentaries on the holy Scriptures have been translated into Latin, by Christians [*B*]. It is said that he understood Physic, Astrology, and several other Languages very well, and that he died at Troies at the age of threescore and fifteen years. His corps were carried into Bohemia, and buried at Prague in the year 1180 (*d*).

(*d*) *Taken from* Bartolocci, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* Part 4. pag. 378, *& seq.*

of Luna, an episcopal city in Italy: see a blunder of Hornbeeck criticized upon above (2). Here follows another mistake. *Ibidem* (that is to say in the *Catena Cabalæ*) *Rabbi Joseph Iachijà Auctor dicit quod natus sit anno ab Orbe condito . . . .* 4865. *Chr.* 1105. *in Urbe Trevis, seu Trecis* (α) *in Gallia in provincia Narbonensi, vel in Linguadoca* (3). i. e. "Rabbi Jachija asserts, "that he (Isaacites) was born A. M. 4865, and 1105 "of Christ, in the city of Trevis, or Trecis (Troies) "in France, in the province called Narbonensis (an-"tiently) otherwise Languedoc." This is pretending that Troies is in Languedoc, than which nothing is more ridiculous. Observe that according to some Rabbies the death of our Isaacites happened in the year 1105 (4); but we have seen just now, that according to other authors this was the year of his birth. The Jewish writers never distinguished themselves by any accuracy in Chronology; and it is a strange thing that they should have been so careless in observing the time when their most famous Doctors lived. Benjamin of Tudelle (5), who died in the year 1173, commends very much the Jews of Lunel, and names some of their learned men, and amongst others Rabbi Solomon. Some persons pretend (6) that he means our Solomon Jarchi. And if you object to them, that this Solomon died in the year 1105, they answer, that Benjamin of Tudelle does not assert, that all the Doctors he mentions in the account he gives us of what he did at Lunel, were living then. I do not like this answer. It seems to me, that Benjamin of Tudelle speaks of a Solomon, who was still living: it must therefore be supposed, either that we are mistaken, when we place Solomon Jarchi's death under the year 1105, or that the Solomon mentioned by Benjamin of Tudelle is not our Isaacites. I am apt to believe, that Constantin L'Empereur was in the wrong to imagine, that this Benjamin mentioned Solomon Jarchi. If he had mentioned so famous a Doctor as this was, he would have commended him very much, whereas he does not at all commend the Solomon he speaks of. If you have a mind to see an instance of the bad Chronology of the Jewish writers, do but consider, that in the same book (7), in which it is asserted that Rabbi Solomon Isaacites was born in the year 1105, it is also asserted, that Maimonides was born in Spain in the year 1135, and that these two Rabbies met in Egypt, whither Solomon went when he was about thirty two years old (8). Observe that some persons (9) maintain that Rabbi Solomon Isaacites is not sirnamed Jarchi in the books of the Jews, and that it would be a difficult matter to find out the time when this false name was given him, for what reason, and on what occasion, and that the Jews ridicule the Christian authors, who call him by that name.

§ (α) *Trecæ*, in Bartolocci's Latin words, do not signify *Troies* in Champagne, but *Treys* in Provence (β). It is true that the former is named *Trecæ* in Gregorius Turonensis; but Thuanus, who calls the latter *Trecæ*, always calls the inhabitants of *Troies in Champagne Tricosses*. REM. CRIT.]

§ (β) But this would still be a mistake, since Isaacites was born at Troyes in Champagne, and not at Treis in Provence. However I am apt to think, that Bartolocci imagined Troies was in Languedoc: he does not mention Provence; for the general expression of *Provincia Narbonense*, which contained *Dauphiné*, *Provence and Languedoc*, is by him explained of *Languedoc* only. ADD. REM.]

[*B*] *Some of his Commentaries have been translated into Latin by Christians.*] His Commentaries on Joel, and Solomon's Song, have been translated into Latin by Genebrard. He published his translation of the Commentary on Joel at Paris in the year 1563, and that of the Commentary on Solomon's Song in the year 1570. Arnaud de Pontac has translated the Commentaries on Obediah, Jonah and Zephaniah into Latin (10). Henry Aquinus published the Commentary on Esther with Notes at Paris in the year 1522 (11).

(2) In the remark [*A*] of the article JARCHI.

(3) Bartolocci, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* Part 4. pag. 378.

(4) See above, quotation (1) of the article JARCHI.

(5) Benjamin. Tutel. *Itiner.* pag. m. 6.

(6) Const. L'Empereur, *Notis in Itinerar. Benjam. Tutel.* pag. 149.

(7) *Catena Cabalæ. See* Bartolocci, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* Part 4. pag. 378.

(8) *See* Bartolocci, ibid.

(9) Andreas Acoluthus, *in Tractatu de Aquis amaris maledictionem inferentibus*, pag. 3.

(10) Printed at Paris in the year 1560, in 4to.

(11) *Taken from* Bartolocci, *Bibliothec. Rabbin.* Part 4. pag. 380, 381.

ISLEBIANS. This is the name that is given to those who followed the opinions of a Saxon Divine named John Agricola, a native of Islebe, and a disciple and countryman of Martin Luther. I have given a large account of this JOHN AGRICOLA (*a*). He taught for some time a very false doctrine concerning the use of the ancient Law. He had misunderstood St. Paul's controversies with the Jews, and the opposition which this great Apostle and Preacher of Grace makes so often between the Law of Works, and the Law of Faith. Luther opposed Agricola's errors so vigorously, that he obliged him to retract them. It is an easy matter to understand why this man's followers were called *Antinomians*. Their opinions have not been fairly represented by their adversaries, nor ought we to question but there are a great many exaggerations in what Prateolus has said of them [*A*]. But that is nothing if compared with Father Garasse's silly

(*a*) See his article under the letter A.

[*A*] *There are a great many exaggerations in what Prateolus has said of them.*] He has not consulted the original, he has only transcribed Staphylus, Hosius, and Lindanus. Here follows the substance of what he borrowed from Staphylus (1): according to John Agricola the law of God is absolutely useless, it is not necessary neither before nor after our justification; under the gospel men are not obliged to do good works. What he took from Lindanus is much more harsh still; namely, that according to Agricola men may be righteous even against their own conscience; that an adulterer, a usurer, a fornicator, or any other great sinner shall be saved, if he does but believe. *Antinomi à Joanne Islebio Lutheri cive ac discipulo exorti. Hi dogma sequuntur legibus divinis contrarium, (ait Querela Lutheri) legem operum rejicientes, finguntque homines contra conscientiam justos esse. Ajunt enim, teste Luthero lib. de Conciliis; Si es adulter, scortator, usurarius, avarus, aut aliis pollutus peccatis, si tantum credis, salvus es. Hactenus Lindanus* (2). i. e. "The Antinomians sprung "up from Islebius, a fellow-citizen and disciple of "Luther. They maintain a doctrine contrary to the "laws of God (says Luther in his complaint) for they "reject the law of works, and imagine that men may "be righteous against their own conscience: for they "say, according to Luther in his book about Coun-"cils, be you an adulterer, a fornicator, an usurer, a "covetous man, or given to any other wicked habit, "if you have but faith, you are safe." I cannot imagine that this is giving a faithful account of Agricola's opinions.

(1) Prateolus, in *Elencho Hæreticorum*, under the word *Antinomi*. pag. m. 41. He observes that Staphylus extracts this from *Agricola's Notes on St. John's Gospel*, and from *Luther's Antinomian Disputations.*

(2) Prateolus, ibid.

3

filly jests in his account of the pretended heresies of the Islebians [B].

[B] *Father Garasse's filly jests in his account of the pretended Heresies of the Islebians.*] It is an advantage for the readers that we should lay before them notorious instances of the impudence with which some persons dare to asperse their neighbours; and therefore the length of the following passage will not prevent me from transcribing it at large. "The Islebians or Antimonians, who are otherwise called *Nomomachi*, "because they oppose the law of Moses, saying in "their articles of belief, that it is a constraint upon "our souls, are the followers of a certain ploughman, "named John Islebius, who coming from behind his "plough, *Triduo se Theologum professus est*, set up for a "Divine in three days time, as Melanchthon speaks, "writing against him. The chief fancies of these "upstarts are accurately set down in the book intitled "*De Libertate Christianâ*, (Of Christian Liberty) "written by Dr. Paul Crellius, one of the most con"siderable assertors of that cursed sect. I shall men"tion but three of their tenets, but these the most noto"rious, which I shall transcribe word for word from "their articles of belief. The first is, that the whole "Gospel, and all the Old Testament, if they be not "preached by word of mouth, *sunt veteres calcei in "angulo derelicti*, are like an old pair of shoes, which "are left in a corner, when they are worn out: but when "the Gospel is preached, then there is, as it were, a "new pair of shoes made, of which it is said in Solo"mon's Song; *Quàm pulchri sunt gressus tui in calcea"mentis tuis, filia principis.* i. e. "How beautiful are "thy feet with shoes, O Princes daughter (*)!" and "in the CVIIth (†) Psalm, *In Idumæam extendam "calceamentum meum:* that is to say, according to "Beza's translation:

(*) *Solomon's Song*, chap. vii. ver. 1.

(†) Or 108 according to the Hebrew.

"*Contre Edom peuple glorieux*
"*Je jetteray mes souliers vieux,*

"i. e. [according to Sternhold's translation,]

"*My shoe on Edom will I throw.*

"So that according to their saying, the Preachers are "Coblers, the Holy Scriptures are old Shoes, the "Pulpit is a Cobler's Stall, the time of Lent and Ad"vent is the fair for old Shoes.

"The second proposition of the Antimonians is more "horrid still, and I am very sorry that I cannot find "words proper to express the whole indignation of my "heart. That proposition is thus laid down by Dr. "Crellius. *Qui quærit salutem in veteri lege, quærit* "PEDICULUM IN SCABIE, whoever looks for sal"vation in the law of Moses, looks for a LOUSE in "a scab. That is to say, that the salvation of "our souls is like lice, and that God is like a scab. "There are no words that can express my astonish"ment . . . . (3).

(3) Garasse, *Doctrine Curieuse*, lib. 5. Sect. 16. pag. 557.

"The third maxim of the Nomomachi (or fighters "against the law) is quoted by Dr. Crellius in these "words. *Moses ad corvos abeat cum lege suâ, nam si "non resipuit, est damnatus ad omnes Diabolos.* i. e. "*Let Moses go to the gallows with his Law, for if he "did not repent, he is damned with all the Devils in "hell.* For my part I lodge an appeal against this "sentence of the Antinomians, as having Moses's "Letter of Attorney for it; and I find that the blind"ness of these Nomomachi is much greater than that "of the Manichees was: for when they sent Moses a "packing, they pretended to have some honourable "reasons for it, as St. Augustin tells us in his XVth "book against Faustus: and being asked, why they "rejected the Old Testament, and the whole Law of "Moses, they answered in plausible words, and in "an elaborate stile, that for their part, they obeyed "Jesus Christ's command, who forbad his Apostles "to put new wine into old casks, and that their church "was like a young Lady, who would not receive any "love-letters from her old lovers, who endeavoured to "debauch her by fair promises: that is to say, that "their church does not receive nor acknowledge the "Old Testament, which is an old wine that is turn"ed, an old piece of parchment all torn and useless; "an old discarded lover; and then they add, boast"ing and insulting our church, *Vos quidem pergite "agere ut cœpistis, rudem pannum veteri vestimento com"mittite, novum vinum veternosis utribus credite, duo"bus maritis nulli placituri servite, Christianam fidem "Hippocentaurum facite, nec equum perfectum nec ho"minem: nobis soli Christo servire permittite.* i. e. *As "for you, go on as you have begun; put a piece of new "cloth to an old garment, put new wine into old casks, "serve two husbands to please neither; make a centaur "of the Christian religion, neither a perfect horse nor a "perfect man; but suffer us to obey Christ alone.* Would "not such a cunning boldness, such enchanting words "make us believe, that these people are perfect saints? "But after all it appears that the Manichees are but "poor beggars; but how ragged soever they may "have been, they had not so many lice as the Anti"nomians (4)."

(4) Ibid. pag. 559.

ITALICA, a city of Spain, was thus called after Scipio Africanus had given it the form of a City (*a*). It became very considerable; Trajan and Hadrian were born there (*b*). It continued a pretty while (*c*) in the condition of those cities, which were called *Municipia*; the inhabitants desired afterwards to pass to the condition of those cities that were stiled *Colonies*. Hadrian wondered that they should desire such an alteration (*d*); for in his opinion the privileges of a *municipium* were more valuable than those of a Colony. There is nothing to be seen at present of Italica but its ruins (*e*). Some authors pretend that it was situated near Seville, in a place which is now called *Sevilla la Veja* (*f*). I have observed above (*g*), that I do not think it possible to prove, that there ever was in Italy a city called Italica; I have not altered my opinion, though I know one may make a plausible objection against it [*A*].

(*a*) Appian, *in Ibericis*, pag. m. 464.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

(*c*) Aulus Gellius, lib. 16. cap. 13.

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

(*e*) *See* Ludovicus Nonnius, *in Hispanis*, cap. 17. pag. m. 64.

(*f*) Idem, ibid. pag. 65.

(*g*) See the remark [*A*] of the article HADRIAN (Publius Ælius).

JUBA.

[*A*] *I know one may make a plausible objection against my opinion.*] It is grounded on a passage in Strabo, who tells us, that certain nations in Italy having revolted against the Romans and entered into a conspiracy against them, chose Corfinium to assemble their army there, and called it Italica. Μετονομασθῆναι Ἰταλικὴν, *Italicæ nomen indiderunt* (1). Observe that Corfinium was the capital city of the Peligni, and that the war we mention was called *Sociale*, or *Marsicum*, or *Italicum*, and began in the year 662 since the building of Rome (2). It is very probable that in the following words of Diodorus Siculus, τὴν κοινὴν πόλιν Ἰταλίαν ὀνομάσαντες, i. e. "They called their common city "Italia (3)," we must read Ἰταλικὴν (Italica) (4) instead of Ἰταλίαν; so that we have here two authors, who assert that the city of Corfinium was called *Italica*, when those nations confederated against the Romans. Velleius Paterculus may be considered as a third witness, *caput imperii sui Corfinium legerant*, says he (5), *quod appellarent Italicum*, i. e. "They chose Corfini"um for the capital city of their Empire which they "called *Italicum*." Some Critics (6) correct the words thus, *quod appellarunt Italicam*, which they called *Italica*. Others (7) keep the word *Italicum*. It signifies very little to me, the answer I have to make does not require that I should choose the reading, which is the most favourable to my opinion; for here follows what I have to offer. The name of *Italica*, which the confederated nations give the city of Corfinium, continued no longer than the war. They had given it this new name when they chose it for their common metropolis, and had established there a civil government exactly

(1) Strabo, lib. 5. pag. m. 167.

(2) *See* Sigonius, *in Fastis*, *ad ann.* 662.

(3) *In Excerptis*, lib. 37. *apud* Photium.

(4) *See* Casaubon, *in Strab.* lib. 5. pag. m. 94.

(5) Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 16.

(6) Gerardus Vossius, *Not. in Paterc.* ibid.

(7) Sigonius, *de Ant. Jure Italiæ*, lib. 3. cap. 1. folio m. 100. Boecler. *in Paterc.* ibid.

JUBA. Two Princes of that name are mentioned in hiſtory, one of which was the father of the other. Moreri has given an account of them, but he has committed ſome errors [*A*], which it will be proper to obſerve. We ſhall take notice of but very few blunders of other authors [*B*].

(8) *See* Sigonius, *ubi ſupra.*

exactly like that of Rome (8). They had ſhewed by this not only their emulation for the capital city of the Romans, but alſo the reſolution they had taken to make themſelves independent. Since therefore the new name of *Italica* was a conſequence and a memorial of their conſpiracy, we ought not to think that the Romans ſuffered it to remain. Corfinium took its old name again as ſoon as the war was finiſhed, which was in the year 664 ſince the building of Rome, nor do we find that ſince that time it was ever called otherwiſe than Corfinium. Whence it appears how much they are miſtaken, who pretend that the Poet Silius Italicus was born at Corfinium, and was for that reaſon ſirnamed *Italicus.*

[*A*] *Moreri ... has committed ſome errors.*] I. He aſſerts that Juba the father was King of Mauritania, which is falſe. In Juba's time the *Mauritania Cæſarienſis* belonged to Bocchus, and the *Tingritana* to Bogud. Some time after, that is to ſay in the year of Rome 716, Bocchus made himſelf maſter of the *Mauritania Tingritana.* After his death his Kingdom was made a province of the Empire in the year 721, as Numidia had been under Julius Cæſar (1). II. Moreri ſays, that Juba the ſon was reſtored to his father's Kingdom, that is to ſay, to that of Numidia by Auguſtus. He ſhould have ſaid, with Dion Caſſius (2), that Auguſtus gave him ſome parts of Getulia, and the two Mauritania's, and the greateſt part of Numidia was left in the condition of a Roman province. Strabo indeed aſſerts (3), that Auguſtus reſtored Juba to his father's Kingdom, and granted him Mauritania beſides. But if we conſider how this Geographer places the limits of the Roman province, and of this Juba's Kingdom, we ſhall find that Numidia belonged to the Romans (4). III. He charges Pliny with ſaying, that Juba the ſon *found a plant, which his Phyſician Euphorbus called Euphorbia after his own name.* This is not what Pliny ſays. Let us tranſcribe his words (5). *Invenit & patrum noſtrorum ætate Rex Juba, quam appellavit Euphorbiam Medici ſui nomine* (α). That is to ſay, that Juba found a plant which he called Euphorbia after his Phyſician's name. It would be ſomewhat ſtrange that a Prince's Phyſician ſhould be ſo bad a Courtier as to give his own name to a plant, which his maſter had found: and yet this is what Pliny aſſerted, if we believe Moreri. It would be much leſs ſtrange that a King having found out a plant, ſhould chooſe to give it his Phyſician's name rather than his own. This is what Juba did, if we muſt reſt ſatisfied with Pliny's authority in the words which I have quoted. But we have reaſon to think that Pliny was not on this occaſion ſo accurate as he ſhould have been. What he obſerves in another place is more probable: namely that the Euphorbia was thus called from the name of the perſon who found it firſt, and who was King Juba's Phyſician. He adds a particular, which was well worthy to be tranſcribed by Moreri; namely, that Juba wrote a particular treatiſe on this plant, in which he commended very much the remarkable qualities with which it is endowed. *Juba Ptolemæi pater, qui prius utrique Mauritaniæ imperavit, ſtudiorum claritate memorabilior etiam, quam regno, ſimilia prodidit de Atlante: præterque gigni ibi herbam Euphorbiam nomine ab inventore medico ſuo appellatam. Cujus lacteum ſuccum miris laudibus celebrat in claritate viſus, contraque ſerpentes, & venena omnia, privatim dicato volumine* (6). i. e. " Juba, Ptolemy's father, who reigned over both the " Mauritania's, a Prince more eminent ſtill for his " learning than by his Kingdom, wrote ſomething " like it of mount Atlas; and adds that the plant Eu- " phorbia grows there, which was ſo called from the " name of Euphorbus the King's Phyſician, who " found it. Juba compoſed a particular treatiſe on " this plant, which he greatly extols on account of " its milky juice, which is good for the eyes, and " againſt ſerpents, and all ſorts of poiſons." IV. I might place amongſt Moreri's blunders his wrong way of quoting (7).

(1) See the proofs of all this in Father Noris, *Cenotaph. Piſana*, pag. 235.

(2) Lib. 53. *ad ann.* 729.

(3) Lib. 17. pag. 570.

(4) See Father Noris, *Cenotaph. Piſana*, pag. 235.

(5) Plin. lib. 25. cap. 7. pag. m. 400.

(6) Plin. lib. 5. cap. 1. *ſub fin.* pag. m. 527.

(7) He quotes Dion. lib. 41, & *ſeq.* he ſhould have quoted particularly lib. 43. He quotes Plin. cap. 1. lib. 25. it muſt be cap. 7. He quotes the 8th book of Athenæus, where there is only a Greek Epigram of Juba mentioned. He ſhould have quoted lib. 3 and 4. He ſhould alſo have quoted Strabo, lib. 17. and Voſſius, lib. 2.

§ (α) Rabelais, l. iii. ch. 48, admits this laſt opinion of Pliny. CRIT. REM.]

[*B*] *We ſhall take notice of but very few blunders of other authors.*] Joſephus ſeems to have aſſerted, that Juba the ſon married Glaphyra, the widow of one of Herod's ſons. See the article of that woman (8), in which I refute that aſſertion. Father Salian imagined that Juba died in the year 759 ſince the building of Rome. Father Noris (9) has refuted this unanſwerably by the following obſervation. Strabo wrote his fourteenth book ſoon after the year 771; now in his ſeventeenth book he mentions Juba as a Prince who was but lately dead. Whence it follows that Juba did not die before the year 772 or thereabout. The ſame Strabo obſerves in another place (10) that Juba lived under the Emperor Tiberius; now Tiberius did not begin his reign before the year 767. It ſeems one might infer from a paſſage in Tacitus that Juba was ſtill living in the year 776 (11). Noldius is miſtaken, who ſuppoſes that Dion Caſſius aſſerts, that Auguſtus gave Egypt to Juba beſides his father's Kingdom (12). There is nothing in Dion's words, that obliges us to refer ταύτην to Egypt, and it is certain that it muſt be referred to Cleopatra. The tranſlator has blundered here wretchedly. Ἥ τε Κλεοπάτρα Ἰόβα τῷ τοῦ Ἰόβα παιδὶ συνῴκησε· τοῦτον γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τραφέντα τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ συστρατευσάμενον οἱ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν πατρῴαν ἔδωκε. *Cleopatra autem Jubæ, Jubæ filio, in matrimonium tradita eſt. Hunc Jubam Cæſar in Italia educatum, ac ſuam militiam ſecutum, hoc regno* (read ea, Cleopatra ſcilicet) *& paterno etiam donavit* (13). i. e. " Cleopatra was mar- " ried to Juba, Juba's ſon. The Emperor, who had " him educated in Italy, and had taken him with him " in the armies, gave him that Princeſs, and his " father's Kingdom." Noldius having quoted the paſſage in which Dion Caſſius aſſerts (14) that Juba, inſtead of his father's Kingdom, received from Auguſtus ſome parts of Getulia, and the dominions of Bocchus, with thoſe of Bogud, obſerves that Pliny is in the right to mention the two Mauritania's inſtead of thoſe dominions. *Pro quibus rectè Plinius*, hiſt. nat. V. c. I. *utramque Mauritaniam ſubſtituit, hoc eſt Cæſarienſem & Tingitanam.* This is plainly inſinuating this falſity, namely that the two Mauritania's and the dominions mentioned by Dion Caſſius were not the ſame thing.

(8) In the remark [*B*].

(9) Noris, *Cenotaph. Piſana*, pag. 238.

(10) Lib. 6. *circa finem.*

(11) See the article GLAPHYRA, granddaughter, &c.

(12) Noldius, *de Vita & Geſtis Herodum*, pag. 176.

(13) Dio, lib. 51, pag. 520. Leunclavius has taken notice of this blunder of Xylander, in his edition of Dio.

(14) Idem, lib. 54. pag. 589, *ad annum* 729.

JUDEX (MATTHEW) one of the chief authors of the Centuries of Magdeburg, was born at Tippolſwald (*a*) in Miſnia September the 22d (*b*) 1528. He ſhewed great inclination for Literature, wherefore his father gave him leave to go and ſtudy at Dreſden. He did not continue long there, chooſing rather to ſtudy in the College of Wittenberg, and afterwards in that of Magdeburg. He was in a ſad condition when he arrived in this laſt city, being all over covered with ſcabs, and having no money in his pocket. The method he took to get ſome, was by begging and ſinging from door to door. But at laſt it being found that he was a hopeful youth, they procured him a tutor's place at a Lawyer's, who ſent him with his ſon to Wittemberg in the year 1546. He took his degree of Maſter of Arts there in October 1548. After which he returned to Magdeburg, and taught the ſecond form there for ſome years, and was afterwards choſen Miniſter of St. Ulric's Church there, in which poſt he continued till the year 1559. He left it only to be Divinity Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Jena; but he did not perform the functions of it above eighteen months, for he was deprived by the orders of John Fre-

(*a*) That place is two German leagues diſtant from Dreſden.

(*b*) Andrew Schoppius below, quotation (*c*) obſerves, that it was St. Matthew's day; he ſhould then have ſaid the 21ſt, and not the 22d.

deric Duke of Saxony, in the beginning of October 1561. He continued ſix months longer at Jena, and having ſtaid about as long at Magdeburg he retired to Wiſmar. He died May the 15th 1564 [*A*] at Roſtock, whither he had been a few days before, to be preſent at the promotion of the ſcholars. He was a man of good morals, laborious, zealous, learned, and wrote a great many books [*B*]. He had ſuffered many perſecutions

[*A*] *He died May the 15th, 1564.*] I would not make any remark upon this, if I had not to obſerve, that moſt authors are but too apt to be inaccurate with regard to the dates of men's death, and in their calculations. I find in Paul Freher's Theater (1) that our Judex died June the 11th, 1564. This date is put down on the credit of the *Nomenclator Profeſſorum Jenenſium*, i. e. "A Liſt of the Names of the Profeſſors "of Jena," written by Hadrian Beyer. Sagittarius (2), quoting the ſame *Nomenclator*, places Judex's death on the ſame day as Paul Freherus does: but I find that in Micrælius (3), this death is placed under the year 1587, which was the ſeventy ninth of the deceaſed's life. There is this reference in the margin, *Freher. p.* 202. It is a difficult thing to gueſs, how ſo falſe a quotation could creep into that place: and obſerve, that Judex would not have lived ſeventy nine years, though he had lived till the year 1587; for he was born in 1528. It is aſſerted in his life (4), that his death was ſo much the more lamented, that he was not yet paſt his thirty ſeventh year. This account is not exact; for ſince his birth was fixed on the 22d of Sept. 1528, and his death on March 15, 1564, it ſhould have been ſaid, that he was not yet thirty ſix years old.

(1) In page 202.

(2) Sagittar. *Introd. in Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 247.

(3) Micrælius, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 770. edit. 1699.

(4) Andr. Schoppius, *Orat. de Vita Matth. Judicis, apud* Crenium, *Anim. Phil. & Hiſt.* Part 4. pag. 71.

[*B*] *He was a man of good morals . . . and wrote a great many books.*] He was ſo ſober, that he did not eat ſo much in a whole week, as other people, who have but a moderate ſtomach, eat in two days, and his beſt friends could never prevail upon him to be ſo complaiſant as to drink more than to ſatisfy his thirſt (5). He abhorred all pomp and luxury ſo much, that even on his wedding-day he would not ſuffer his bride to dreſs fine, and obliged her to be ſatisfied with a very indifferent gown (6). His chaſtity was ſo great, that before he was married, ſome perſons imagined, that there was a kind of frigidity or inſenſibility in the conſtitution of his body; and he confeſſed as a ſecret to his intimate friends, that he imagined, his ſtaying too long to take a wife was the cauſe of the ill ſtate of his health, or had at leaſt greatly added to his infirmities. *Ante legitimum conjugium adeo pudicè vixit, ut à nonnullis frigidus ſit judicatus, ac ipſe intimis ſit confeſſus, ſe judicare originem aut certè non leve ſuæ adverſæ valetudinis incrementum inde exiſtere, quòd non priùs duxiſſet uxorem* (7). And yet he married at the age of twenty ſix (8), when he was choſen Miniſter of St. Ulric's Church at Magdeburg. He married a maiden of fifteen or ſixteen, who had no fortune. Some of his friends were ſorry, that he ſhould take a wife, who was neither old enough nor rich enough: but he anſwered them, that he had always prayed to God, to give him a wife unacquainted with wickedneſs, who was good-natured, and had no pride, &c. *Ægriùs tulêre amicorum quidam, quòd juvenculam & minùs dotatam ſibi jungeret virginem, ſed iis reſpondit, ſe ab adoleſcentia aſſiduè petiiſſe à Deo, ut puellam bonis prognatam, honeſtè educatam, virtutibus & pietate ornatam, malarum rerum ætate adhuc imperitam, & morigeram potiùs, quàm natalibus elatam, delicatâ & blandâ educatione ac converſatione malâ depravatam, ac dotibus & ornamentis fortunæ protervam, ſibi dare dignaretur, ac ſe voti ſui compotem factum, in Dei providentia acquieſcere* (9). i. e. "Some of his friends being ſorry that he ſhould "take for his wife a virgin who was ſo young, and "had no fortune; he anſwered them, that from his "youth he had always prayed to God, to give him "for his wife a young girl, of a good family, honeſtly "educated, adorned with virtue and piety, on ac"count of her tender age, unacquainted with "wickedneſs, and tractable, rather than a woman "proud of her family, nicely and delicately edu"cated, and haughty on account of her fortune "And ſince he had his wiſh, he ſubmitted and truſted "to Providence." He lived a little above ten years with his wife in an agreeable and religious manner, and had ſix children by her (10). She married to her ſecond huſband Andrew Schoppius (11).

(5) Schopp. ibid. pag. 58.

(6) Ibid. pag. 58, 59.

(7) Ibid. pag. 57, 58.

(8) Ibid. pag. 58.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid. pag. 59.

Let us now ſpeak of the books he wrote. He tranſlated out of German into Latin Luther's book concerning the literal ſenſe of theſe words, *This is my Body*. He dedicated this work to the ſenate of Ratiſbone, and refuted in his dedication the fifteen moſt conſiderable arguments of the Zwinglians. Here follows the title of a book which he publiſhed in the year 1559: *Quod arguere peccata, ſeu concionari pœnitentiam ſit proprium Legis & non Evangelii proprie dicti, Rationes & Argumenta.* i. e. "Reaſons and Arguments "to prove, that to reprove men for their ſins, or to "preach repentance belongs to the Law, and not to "the Goſpel properly ſo called." His treatiſe *De Typographiæ inventione, & de prælorum legitima inſpectione*, i. e. "Of the invention of Printing, and of a lawful "Inſpection over the Preſs," was printed in the year 1566. His *Enarrationes Epiſtolarum Dominicalium*, i. e. "Expoſitions on the Epiſtles read every Sunday," were publiſhed in the year 1578. The public has ſeen ſix works of his in the German tongue. He and Wigandus publiſhed jointly ſome works. As for inſtance (12) *Reſponſio ad Confeſſionem Majoris de Juſtificatione & bonis operibus.* i. e. "An Anſwer to Ma"jor's Confeſſion concerning Juſtification, and good "Works." *Reſponſio ad ſcurriles & blaſphemos fœtidi Rambocchii Rythmos Witebergæ impreſſos.* i. e. "An "Anſwer to the ſcurrilous and blaſphemous Verſes of "the wicked Ramboch, printed at Wittenberg." *De Adiaphoricis corruptelis in magno libro Actorum Interimiſticorum, ſub conficto titulo Profeſſorum Wittebergenſium edito, repertis, Admonitiones.* i. e. "Admonitions con"cerning the indifferent falſifications obſerved in that "great Book of the Acts of the *Interimiſts*, publiſhed "under the falſe name of the Profeſſors of Witten"berg." *Corpus Doctrinæ ex Novo Teſtamento.* i. e. "A Body of Divinity extracted from the New Teſta"ment." *De Victorini Strigelii declaratione ſeu potiùs occultatione.* i. e. "Of Victorinus Strigelius's declara"tion or rather concealment." Andrew Schoppius adds this. *Item cum Illyrico, Muſæo, & Wigando miſit Epiſtolam ad quoſdam pios fratres de cauſſa Victorini.* i. e. "He together with Illyricus, Muſæus, and Wi"gandus wrote a Letter to ſome of the pious brethren, "concerning the affair of Victorinus." *Et cum iiſdem ſe purgavit de fictis rationibus demiſſionis Jenenſis, quas charta ἀνώνυμος referebat* (13). i. e. "And with "the ſame perſons he cleared himſelf of the falſe rea"ſons, for which it was aſſerted in an anonymous "piece that he had been deprived at Jena." He gives us afterwards the title of ſome German books, and thoſe of ſome Latin pieces which have not been printed. He obſerves (14) that Judex underſtood Muſic very well, and had ſome knowledge of Mathematics. He was not unacquainted with Aſtrology, and even drew up ſome Horoſcopes. *Judicia nativitatum ſibi, liberis ſuis & Embdenis* (15) *nonnullis compoſuit, atque figuras cœli, quas vocant, aliis rebus accommodatas erexit.* i. e. "He caſt up Horoſcopes for himſelf, for his children, "and for ſome of Embdenus's: and made aſtrologi"cal ſchemes, as they call them, adapted to ſome "other things." He had ſtudied the Law for ſome time at Wittenberg; he could write verſes, both in Latin and in Greec; and he deſigned to write an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of his own time (16). All the world knows what ſhare he had in the two firſt centuries (17) of Magdeburg; and that it was a very heavy taſk: ſince therefore it is known that Judex died very young, and that he was for fifteen years in a very ill ſtate of health (18), it cannot be queſtioned but that he was a very ſtudious and laborious man.

(12) In the year 1558.

(13) *Taken from* Andrew Schoppius, pag. 63, *&ſeq.*

(14) Idem, ibid. pag. 56.

(15) He was tutor to Levin Embdenus's children, a Civilian at Magdeburg.

(16) And. Schoppius, pag. 56.

(17) Obſerve, that he had a ſhare in the German tranſlation of the three firſt Centuries.

(18) *Annis quindecim valetudine afflictiſſima.* And. Schoppius, pag. 56.

Let us take this opportunity to relate a particular, which will ſerve as a ſupplement to what we have obſerved above (19) concerning the centuries of Magdeburg. The three laſt have never been publiſhed, though the centuriators had forwarded them very much, and the Marquiſs of Brandenburg Duke of Pruſſia had commanded Andrew Stangewald to put the finiſhing hand to them in order to their being publiſhed. *Andreas Stangewaldus . . . ſibi ab inclyto Marchione Brandenburgenſi,*

(19) Remark [*H*] of the article ILLYRICUS.

secutions and vexations during the time he was a Miniſter (c) [C].

(c) *Taken from* Andrew Schoppius, in *Oratione de Vita Matthæi Judicis*; It is to be found at the end of the ſecond Part *Enarrationis Epiſtolarum Dominicalium Matthæi Judicis*, in the edition of *Iſlebe*, 1578, in 8vo. Crenius has inſerted this *Oration* in the 4th Part of his *Animadverſiones Philol. & Hiſtor.* pag. 49, *& ſeq.*

burgenſi, Duce Boruſſiæ, tùm temporis negotium datum eſſe confirmabat, ut reliquas tres centurias Eccleſiaſticæ Hiſtoriæ Magdeburgenſ. ab auctoribus affectas jam penèque perfectas, perpoliret, atque ad editionem accuratè præpararet. Crenius (20) tranſcribes the letter from which I have extracted this paſſage. He met with it in a poſthumous work of ConradSchluſſelburgius printed at Roſtock in the year 1624. He wonders that Sagittarius omitted this particular. He acquaints us with another, which he read in a work of Francis Baudouin the Civilian (21): namely, that they printed at Geneva a French tranſlation of the Centuries of Magdeburg, with ſuch falſifications as had been obſerved in the French tranſlation of Luther's Commentary on St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Galatians (22).

(20) Crenius, *Animadv.* Part 4. pag. 72.

(21) His Anſwer to Beza, under the name of Michael Fabricius.

(22) Crenius, *Animadv.* Part 4. *in Addendis*, pag. *penult.*

[C] *He had ſuffered a great many perſecutions and vexations during the time he was a Miniſter.*] He was one of thoſe who drew up a form of diſcipline for the church of Magdeburg, which was printed in the year 1554. He took care to have it obſerved very punctually, and he refuſed the Sacraments to ſome impenitent perſons. For which reaſon they threatned to beat him, and to tread him under foot (23). He was ſeverely abuſed in the libels which were made at Wittenberg againſt the Centuriators. *Scurriles Neminiſtæ & Acolaſti Wittebergenſes in famoſa illius laboris reprehenſione & acerba invectiva D. Judicem vocabant Judam & pullum filium aſinæ ſubjugalis* (24). i. e. "The anonymous and incorrigible ſlanderers of Wittenberg, "in their abuſive cenſure of that work, and bitter in"vective againſt it, called Judex a Judas, and the "ſon of an aſs accuſtomed to the yoke." Whilſt he was Profeſſor of Divinity at Jena, he ſtrongly oppoſed thoſe, who maintain that man co-operates with God's grace. Their party was very numerous, and they diſperſed paſquils againſt him in the moſt impudent and ſlanderous manner. They alſo made uſe of ſtones; for there was a parcel of wicked fellows, who committed great diſorders about his houſe, during a whole night, and threw ſtones at his windows. He was turned out of his poſt, after he had performed the functions of a Profeſſor during eighteen months amidſt great diſorders and confuſions. The pretext that was uſed was the publication of a book in the German tongue *de fuga Papatus, Of avoiding Popery* (25): but one of the true reaſons of his deprivation was his oppoſition to that party, which the court (26) favoured. It was the party of Profeſſor Strigelius, one of the heads of the *Synergiſtæ*, or aſſertors of man's free-will. They diſperſed abroad ſeveral reaſons or rather pretences for Matthew Judex's deprivation, which were all refuted. He was charged amongſt other things, with diſperſing ſeveral copies of Balthazar Winter's Life; and it was demanded of him to name the author of that ſatire, and to call in all the copies of it, and to deliver them up to the court. He anſwered, that this work was no libel, that it was only a true account of the life and death of a faithful ſervant of God, that it had been neceſſary to publiſh it in order to refute the calumnies which the enemies of that pious man had ſpread abroad, and to communicate it to his widow and ſome other perſons, in order to comfort them. He did not think himſelf under any obligation to name the author of it: but he offered to give an account of this whole affair before impartial judges, partly laymen, and partly eccleſiaſtics. His adverſaries did not care for ſuch a tribunal (27). When he left Jena he retired to Magdeburg with his friend Wigandus, but he did not enjoy long the liberty which the Senate had granted him to continue there. Some Miniſters were arreſted; others were turned out of the city in the night time. Judex did not approve this conduct of the Magiſtrates, and exhorted thoſe Miniſters to patience. By this behaviour he expoſed himſelf to all ſorts of opprobious language, and outrages, and there was a citizen who was forbidden to let out his houſe to him. His father-in-law had his ſhare of this ill treatment, becauſe he had given him a lodging in his houſe. Laſtly, the Senate commanded Judex to leave the city immediately. His wife all in tears went to the firſt Burgomaſter, and begged of him moſt earneſtly, that ſhe might have leave to continue at her father's, with her five children, till the ſharpneſs of the winter ſhould be a little abated. She repreſented to him, that her eldeſt ſon was but eight years old, and the youngeſt but three months, and very ill. All her prayers and repreſentations proved ineffectual: they were obliged to ſet out, and retire to Wiſmar through froſt and ſnow (28). The Roman Catholics have triumphed on account of this treatment which the Centuriators of Magdeburg have met with. I ſhall only quote the reflection of a Jeſuit. "The four firſt authors of the "Centuries, *ſays he* (29), met with a fate very diffe"rent from that of Baronius; for ſoon after they had "publiſhed their work they were baniſhed by the Lu"therans themſelves, who could not ſuffer ſuch wicked "men to live amongſt them."

(23) *Ipſi verbera & conculcationem fœdiſſimam minati ſunt, quòd eos ad Baptiſmum & uſum Cœnæ non admiſerat.* Andr. Schoppius, *apud* Crenium, *Animadv.* Part 4. pag. 62.

(24) Idem, ibid. pag. 63.

(25) Idem, ibid. pag. 67.

(26) That of the Duke of Weimar.

(27) And. Schoppius, *apud* Crenium, *Animadv.* Part 4. pag. 68.

(28) Idem, ibid. pag. 69.

(29) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Luther.* tom. 2. pag. 179. of the edition printed in Holland.

JUDITH, a Jewiſh woman, who delivered her native place which was beſieged by Holofernes. You will meet with this Hiſtory in Moreri, where you will alſo find ſome obſervations on the perplexity into which it throws the Commentators. Of all the books which the Proteſtants have exploded as apocryphal, there is none that deſerves this diſgrace more than the book of Judith; for all that can be ſaid of it at beſt is, that it is a religious romance [A]. A few years ago a learned Benedictine wrote a book to ſolve the objections that are made againſt this ſtory [B]. If he has not removed the difficulties,

[A] *It is a religious romance.*] Don Bernard de Montfaucon (1) obſerves, *that the Proteſtants, in order to remove all objections* (againſt the Hiſtory of Judith) *have ſaid that it is only a fiction or a parable, and that ſome of them have aſſerted that it is a Tragedy.* I think that the Proteſtants do not much care whether theſe objections be removed or not: on the contrary, it is their intereſt that they ſhould ſubſiſt, and be more and more multiplied in the moſt perplexing manner. This ſhews that they are in the right to explode that Hiſtory, and that the church of Rome admits a book as canonical, which is not ſo. I imagine therefore, that when that author ſpoke this, he did not call to mind the ſyſtem of the Proteſtants, and thought that it was theirs as well as the Roman Catholic's intereſt to vindicate the honour of the Holy Ghoſt with regard to that book. When it cannot be vindicated by reconciling the particulars mentioned in a book with the truth of Hiſtory, men have recourſe to allegories, to parables, to a myſtical ſenſe, &c. This is what the Proteſtants would do, if they believed that the Hiſtory of Judith was inſpired by God; but as they do not believe it, it does not concern them much to ſay, it is or it is not a parable.

(1) Preface de la *Vérite de l'Hiſt. de Judith.* At Paris 1690 in 12mo. The 2d edition was printed in the year 1692.

[B] *A learned Benedictine wrote a book to ſolve the objections that are made againſt this ſtory.*] You may ſee his name and the title of his work in the foregoing remark. The method he follows to aſſert the truth of the Hiſtory of Judith, which the Roman Catholics believe to be canonical, is more inſtructive, and at the ſame time more edifying, than that of the other Roman Catholic writers on controverſy. The latter do, generally ſpeaking, but return the objections: they endeavour to ſhew that the difficulties of the Proteſtants againſt the Apocrypha may alſo be urged againſt the canonical books. But Don Bernard de Montfaucon only glances upon this ſubject, and applies himſelf entirely to make a direct anſwer. His whole recrimination is contained in theſe words. "Are there not ſeveral "Hiſtories in the Bible, in which we meet with theſe

culties, he has however furniſhed us with ſeveral uſeful hints. I remember to have ſeen a diſſertation (*a*), in which amongſt other arguments the author urges the following one, namely, that we ought not to look upon a book as canonical, in which private murther is juſtified. This calls to my mind a particular concerning the aſſaſſin of William I Prince of Orange [*C*]. Some body has obſerved, that it is commending Judith in the moſt ſignificant manner, to ſay that ſhe has never been the object of ſlander [*D*].

JULIA,

(*a*) Intitled, *Ficta Juditha, &c.* printed at Verona in the year 1674, and written by *Mirabilis de Bonacaſa*; it is proved there, 1. that the book of Judith is Apocryphal; 2. that Judith's action was criminal; and Roſſæus, Mariana, and other oppoſers of Monarchy are in the wrong to make an advantage of it. The true name of this *Mirabilis de Bonacaſa* was *Eberhart de Weibe*: he was Chancellor to Prince Julius Duke of Brunſwick. *See* Placcius, *De Pſeudonym.* pag. 166.

" and even with greater difficulties? and did ever any " perſon deny for that reaſon that they are true in the " literal ſenſe? Does not the Hiſtory of Eſther abound " with difficulties, which it is almoſt impoſſible to ſolve? " Could it ever be determined with certainty who the " Ahaſuerus is, who is mentioned in that book, and to " what time that Hiſtory muſt be referred? Is it not " as difficult to determine the time of the Hiſtory of " Ruth, and of the deſtruction of the tribe of Benja- " min? But would any perſon, for theſe reaſons, dare " to aſſert that theſe hiſtories are only parabolical, or " enigmatical (2)?" I do not know whether he had read Rainolds's objections, who has handled this controverſy of the apocryphal books with more accuracy and ſtrength of argument than any other Proteſtant author.

(2) Pag. 283.

[*C*] *This calls to my mind a particular concerning the aſſaſſin of William ... Prince of Orange.*] I mean that villain, Balthazar Gerard, who killed him; for there have been other aſſaſſins, who only wounded him. " Though a ſincere Catholic, yet he perſonated " the Proteſtant. He heard Sermons; he was at the " Evening Prayers; he had always Marot's Pſalms, " or ſome other Huguenot Book in his hands: he uſed " alſo to read du Bartas's Poetical Week; and it was " obſerved that that part of the Book was moſt worn " out, which contained the Hiſtory of Judith cutting " Holofernes's throat (3)." This woman's example is certainly very proper to perſuade us that it is a very holy action for a man to introduce himſelf under a thouſand falſe pretences into the Court of a Prince, who is an enemy to liberty and to religion, in order to ſtab him, the firſt opportunity that offers. In a word, this Hiſtory being once looked upon as Canonical, is an encouragement for all aſſaſſins to venture any thing againſt the lives of thoſe Princes, that are reckoned enemies; and affords the orators a crown of glory to put on the heads of all the Clements and the Ravailliacs. Here follows a paſſage from Father Maimbourg. The Leaguers " did even publiſh in their " writings printed at Paris and at Lyons, that an " Angel had declared to James Clement, that the " crown of a Martyr was ready for him, when he " would have delivered France of Henry of Valois, " and that Clement having acquainted a learned " Monk with this viſion, the latter approved his de- " ſign, and told him for certain, that by that attempt " he would make himſelf as acceptable to God, as Judith " was by killing Holofernes. And as his Prior, named " Father Edme Bourgoing, was of all the Preachers of " the League, the moſt forward and zealous in com- " mending this abominable murtherer, directing his diſ- " courſe to him from the pulpit, ſtiling him a bleſſed " child of his Patriarch, and a holy Martyr of Jeſus " Chriſt, and comparing him with Judith, it was no " longer doubted but he was the Monk whom that " young man, who was under his direction, had aſked " for advice, nor was it queſtioned but he confirmed " him afterwards in his abominable deſign (4)."

(3) *Hiſt. d'Alexandre Farneſe Duc de Parme*, liv. 3. pag. 205. printed in the year 1692.

(4) Maimbourg, *Hiſtoire de la Ligue*, pag. 358.

[*D*] *To ſay that ſhe has never been the object of ſlander.*] The reflection I hint at is to be met with in the extract from a panegyrick (5). The Abbé de la Chambre being to deliver a funeral oration on the death of the late Queen of France (6) " took for " his text theſe words from the book of Judith, *She* " *made her ſelf commendable*, famoſiſſima, *in every* " *thing, becauſe ſhe greatly feared the Lord, and there was* " *none that gave her an ill word.* This is perhaps the " greateſt commendation that ever was paſt on a wo- " man. For though in ſpite of that terrible diſpoſition " to ſlander, which prevails in the world after ſo " many ages, there are ſome women, whom that " cruel and inſatiable monſter never touches, yet " thoſe women who have gained a great reputation, " and who are, as the text expreſſes it, *famoſiſſimæ*, " greatly renowned, ſeldom meet with that happineſs; " ſo that we may boldly challenge all the Greeks and " all the Romans to ſhew us one ſingle paſſage in all " their books, which in ſo few words gives ſo great a " character of a perſon, as that which is given us in " the book of Judith, in the words we have quoted. " Homer's artifice, to give his readers a moſt exalted " notion of Helena's beauty (7), comes infinitely ſhort " of the natural ſimplicity of the Jewiſh author: " and what is ſtill more beautiful in his way of com- " mending is, that he acquaints us in his elogy with " the real cauſe and true ſpring of the virtue he deſ- " cribes. *She had*, ſays he, *a great reputation in every* " *thing, and was ſecure againſt ſlander, becauſe ſhe* " *feared the Lord from her heart.* It is upon this " happy expreſſion of Judith's panegyriſt, that Mr. de " la Chambre has formed the plan of his funeral ora- " tion on the Queen."

(5) In the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for Dec. 1684, Art. 8. pag. 1041.

(6) I write this Aug. 20, 1695.

(7) See the article of HELENA, quotation (7).

Auſonius mentions among the ſentences of one of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece, that a chaſte woman frightens calumny away.

Quæ dos matronæ pulcherrima? Vita pudica.
Quæ caſta eſt? De qua mentiri fama veretur (8).

(8) Auſon. *in Septem Sapientum Sententiis ſeptenis verſibus explicatis*, pag. m. 288.

He ſuppoſes that Bias had two queſtions to anſwer. The firſt was, *What is the moſt agreeable portion of a woman?* A chaſte life, anſwered he. The ſecond was, *What woman is chaſte?* She againſt whom even fame dares not to diſperſe falſities, anſwered he. Theſe rules are too ſevere, will ſome ſay; for by them you muſt condemn all women that have been expoſed to the ſtrokes of calumny; and yet it is certain that there have been ſome very virtuous women, who could not eſcape them. It muſt be confeſſed, that Bias's maxim ought not to be taken for a general rule, without any exception. But yet, when a woman has the reputation of a chaſte woman, without any oppoſition, without any report to the contrary, it is, generally ſpeaking, an argument that ſhe has behaved herſelf modeſtly both in her public and private conduct. *Magnus eſt pudicitiæ fructus pudicam credi; & adverſus omnes illecebras atque omnia delinimenta muliebris ingenii eſt veluti ſolum ac firmamentum in nullum incidiſſe fabulam* (9). i. e. " One of the great advantages of chaſtity for a wo- " man, is to be reputed chaſte. And when ſhe never " was the talk of the town, it is a ſtrong argument, that " ſhe was always proof againſt all the alluring plea- " ſures and temptations, to which the fair ſex is ex- " poſed." This is what the orator Porcius Latro obſerved when he pleaded for an huſband, who had brought in an action of adultery againſt his wife, becauſe a rich foreign merchant had made her his heireſs, giving this reaſon for it, that he had not been able to debauch her. The Counſel for the huſband grounded one of his arguments upon that particular: he maintained that a woman was juſtly ſuſpected as ſoon as a man undertook to debauch her; for if ſhe were very chaſte, one might read a refuſal in her very face, and her countenace alone would put a lover out of all hopes, ſo that he would not dare to be ſo bold as to make a declaration. Or if he did, ſhe would at leaſt refuſe him with ſo much ſeverity, that he would never venture to aſk her the queſtion a ſecond time. If ſhe does not mind whether or no people think her capable to commit the fault, ſhe will not ſcruple to commit it. *Matronaquæ ſe adverſus ſollicitantes aviam volet, prodeat in tantum ornata, ne immunda ſit: habeat comites ejus ætatis, qui impudicos, ſi nihil aliud, verecundia annorum removeant;*

(9) Seneca, *Controv.* 7. lib. 2. pag. m. 187.

removeant: ferat jacentes in terram oculos: adverſus officioſum ſalutatorem inhumana potius quam inverecunda ſit etiam in neceſſariam reſalutandi vicem multo rubore confuſa longe ante impudicitiam neget ore, quam verbo: in hac ſervandæ integritatis cuſtodia, nulla libido irrumpet. Prodite mihi fronte in omne lenocinium compoſita, paulo obſcœnius quam poſita veſte nudæ, exquiſito in omnes facetias ſermone, tantum non ultro blandientes, ut quiſquis vicerit, non metuat accedere. Deinde miramini, ſi cum tot argumentis pudicitiam proſcripſerit, cultu, inceſſu, facie, aliquis repertus eſt qui incurreret, & reti adulteræ ſe non ſubduceret. Internuntium, puto ſollicitantis ſe, arripi, & denudari juſſit, & flagella & verbera, & omne genus cruciatus popoſcit in plagas deterrimi mancipii; vix imbecillitas muliebris manus continuit. Nemo ſic negantem iterum rogat . . . (10). *Quæ poteſt non timere opinionem adulteri, poteſt non timere adulterium* (11). i. e. " A matron, who would be inacceſſible to all inticing " lovers, muſt appear in public dreſſed only ſo as not " to be ſluttiſh; let her be attended with ſuch com- " panions, whoſe age, if nothing elſe, might awe the " lovers away; let her walk modeſtly, caſting her " eyes downwards: if a man offers officiouſly to ſa- " lute her, let her be unpolite rather than immodeſt; " and if ſhe muſt ſalute him again, let the bluſhes in " her face deny his wicked requeſt long before ſhe de- " nies him by word of mouth. If ſhe thus takes " care to keep her chaſtity, nothing that is laſcivious " will ever break in upon her. But if a woman has " a wanton and enticing air, if ſhe be dreſſed ſo as " to appear a little more immodeſt than if ſhe were " quite naked, if ſhe be gay and free in all her diſ- " courſes, and almoſt courting the lovers herſelf, ſo " that the firſt that ſees her makes his addreſſes to her, " it is no wonder that being ſo many ways loſt to all " ſenſe of modeſty, by her dreſs, her countenance, " and by her looks ſhe ſhould meet with ſome man " who would be ſure to make an advantage of it, " and not avoid the ſnares of adultery, that are thus " laid before him . . . She ordered the meſſenger (ſent, " I ſuppoſe, by the man who would debauch her) " to be taken, ſtript and ſeverely whipt, and would " have him afterwards tortured moſt cruelly; and " though weak as a woman, ſhe could hardly forbear " ſtriking him herſelf. No man will ever aſk a wo- " man a ſecond time, who denies him after that man- " ner. . . She who is not afraid to have the reputation " of committing adultery, may alſo not ſcruple to " commit it." Theſe maxims are too ſevere, and carried too far (12); and would often be unjuſt, if we were always to judge according to them. But yet the advantage, happineſs and glory of our Judith are a prejudice in her favour, which gives us the moſt exalted notion of her virtue and prudence. I ſhall obſerve here by the by, that ſome Heathens had ſuch ſtrict and ſevere principles of morality, that they would have a woman give occaſion neither to ſlander nor to commendations; that is to ſay, they pretended that the true merit of a woman conſiſted in her being not in the leaſt talked of, nobody ſpeaking well or ill of her. Plutarch did not like this maxim, for he ſpeaks thus in the preamble of one of his works (13): " I am not " of Thucydides's opinion . . . concerning the virtue " of the women: for he believes that ſhe is the moſt " virtuous and the beſt, who is the leaſt talked of, and " of whom neither good nor ill is ſaid, imagining that " the name of an honeſt woman ought to be kept as ſe- " cret as her perſon, and never to come abroad. As " for my part, I think that Gorgias was more rea- " ſonable, who would have a woman's reputation but " not her face to be known to ſeveral perſons; and I " do very much approve the law or cuſtom of the Ro- " mans, which is that the women as well as the men " received publicly at their funeral after their death the " praiſes they deſerve." St. Gregory of Nazianzen was of Thucydides's mind. *Dread the praiſes of men,* ſaid he to a woman, *that fear is the ornament of your ſex.*

(10) Seneca, ibid. pag. 186.

(11) Idem, ibid. pag. 187.

(12) See above, the remark [O] of the article BLONDEL (David).

(13) Plutarch. *de Mulier. Virtutib.* pag. 242. Mr. Bayle quotes Amyot's French Tranſlation.

Ἄλλησιν τὰ πέρισσὰ, σὺ δ' ἄζεο χείλεσιν ἀνδρῶν.
Καὶ κλῃζομένη, τῦτο γυναιξὶ κλέος.

(14) Gregorius Nazianzenus.

i. e. " Leave theſe vanities to others; fear thoſe com- " mendations that come from the lips of men; that " fear is the glory of your ſex."

Add to this theſe words of Syneſius (15). Μίαν ἀρετὴν Ὄσιρις ᾤετο γυναικὸς εἶναι, τὸ μήτε τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς, μήτε τὄνομα διαβῆναι τὴν αὐλίαν. i. e. " Oſiris " was of opinion that the only virtue of a woman is, " that neither her body nor her name paſs the threſhold " of her houſe." The opinion which Syneſius aſcribes to Oſiris is upon the whole the ſame with that which Plutarch aſcribes to Thucydides. Some have given it as an opinion of Pericles. See the following words of John de la Caſa. *Cujus quidem mulieris* (Victoriæ Farneſiæ) *modeſtia ac pudor ingenuus illud profecto præſtitiſſet, quod Periclem ajunt dixiſſe, primam in muliere laudem eſſe, ut ne de virtute quidem illius ulla ad viros fama emanet: ſed nulla ratione occultari tantæ primariæ fœminæ virtus poteſt, ad viros quoque emergat, ac ſuo ipſa ſplendore ſe prodat* (16). i. e. " This woman's " (Victoria Farneſe's) modeſty and unaffected baſhfulneſs " would have produced that, which Pericles, they ſay, " maintained was the chief glory of a woman, name- " ly, that the men hear not the leaſt report of their " virtues. But the virtue of this noble woman was " ſo great, that it could by no means be kept ſecret " from the men; it betrayed itſelf by its own bright- " neſs." But though an hundred perſons as illuſtrious as theſe three (17), had aſſerted this maxim, we would not be obliged to approve it. It would be condemning the women to a more auſtere life than that of the Carthuſians; it would be requiring of them to keep themſelves ſhut up and to be ſilent like theſe Monks; it would be forbidding them to receive any viſits in their cells, which yet the Carthuſians are ſuffered to do.

(15) Syneſius, *Orat.* 1. *de Providentia.*

(16) Joh. Caſa, *in Vita Petri Bembi*, pag. 143. *Collect. Bateſii.*

(17) Oſiris, Thucydides, Pericles.

I ſhall cloſe up this remark by the following obſervation. Judith's reputation, that reputation, I ſay, which was entire, free from all ſuſpicions, and proof againſt all manner of ill reports, is an unqueſtionable argument of virtue and prudence; but it does not follow from thence, that every woman, who does not meet with the ſame happineſs, and of whom ſome reports are ſpread, is guilty at leaſt of imprudence. A woman may have really led a very regular life, and yet becauſe for ſome good reaſons ſhe turned away her woman, or her chamber-maid, or her cook, there will be very ſoon a thouſand reports ſpread againſt her reputation. The perſon that is turned out may be malicious and revengeful; ſhe will go and meet her miſtreſs's enemies; and myſteriouſly hint to them what a ſpirit of calumny inſpires her with. Theſe ſlanders will ſoon be revealed to other people, they will be told as ſecrets, they will be commented upon and improved with a thouſand aggravating circumſtances, they will even be printed; and thus a woman who is really innocent, will not have the reputation of being ſo; ſo true is it, as I have obſerved in another place (18), that it is ſometimes eaſier to be honeſt than to appear ſo. The former is in our power, but not the latter. The Poet Plautus has expreſſed this thought very naturally in a ſcene in which two old men Callicles and Megaronides are introduced talking together,

(18) Above, towards the end of the remark [H] of the article AMPHIARAUS.

ME. Quia omnes bonos, bonaſque accurare, addecet.
Suſpicionem, & culpam, ut ab ſe ſegregent.
CA. Non poteſt utrumque fieri. ME. Quapropter?
CA. Rogas?
Ne admittam culpam, meo ſum promus pectori:
Suſpicio eſt in pectore alieno ſita.
Nam nunc ego ſi te ſurripuiſſe ſuſpicor,
Jovi coronam de capite, è Capitolio,
Quod in culmine aſtat ſummo: ſi id non feceris,
Atque id tamen mihi lubeat ſuſpicarier:
Qui tu id prohibere me potes, ne ſuſpicer (19)*?*
- - - - - -
- - - - - - - -
CA. Exſpecto, ſi quid dicas. ME. Primum dum omnium,
Malè dictitatur, tibi volgò in ſermonibus:
Turpilucricupidum te vocant cives tui.
Tum autem ſunt alii, qui te volturium vocant:
Hoſteſne an cives comedis, parvi pendere,
Hæc cùm audio in te dicier, excrucior miſer.
CA. Eſt, atque non eſt, mihi in manu, Megaronides.
Quid dicant, non eſt: meritò ut ne dicant, id eſt (20).

(19) Plautus, *in Trinummo*, Act. 1. Sc. 2. ver. 41. pag. m. 732.

(20) Idem, ibid. ver. 61. p. 733.

The ſenſe is,

" ME. It becomes all honeſt men and women not " only to abſtain from evil but even to keep themſelves " free from the very ſuſpicion of it.
" CA. It is impoſſible to do both.
" ME. Why ſo?
" CA. Why! Becauſe it lays in my power to abſtain

JULIA, wife to Septimus Severus the Roman Emperor, and daughter of Baſſianus Prieſt of the Sun [*A*], was born in Syria. The Aſtrologers had foretold her that ſhe ſhould marry a ſovereign Prince [*B*], for which reaſon Severus, before he came to the Empire, made his addreſſes to, and married her. He had a mighty opinion of Aſtrology, and thence was induced to think that ſuch a marriage would one day inſure the throne to him. She was poſſeſſed of great talents, and had abilities for conducting of affairs of importance (*a*). According to ſome writers, her huſband, though he had little affection for her, let her have a great ſhare in the adminiſtration [*C*]. She applied herſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy [*D*], and employed a great deal of time in hearing the

(*a*) See the cloſe of the remark [*I*].

" from evil. But the ſuſpicion of it is in the breaſt " of another. If, for inſtance, I ſhould now ſuſpect " you to have ſtolen the crown from the head of the " ſtatue of Jupiter, which ſtands on the top of the " capital, though you had not done it, yet if it pleaſed " me to ſuſpect you of it, how could you hinder it ?
" - - - - - -
" - - - - - -
" CA. I wait to hear what you have to ſay ?
" ME. Men ſpeak commonly very ill of you. Your " fellow-citizens call you covetous of diſhoneſt gain ; " others ſtile you an extortioner, and ſay that you do " not care whether you devour a citizen or a ſtranger. " I am vexed to death when I hear ſuch things of " you.
" CA. It is, and it is not in my power, Megaronides. " What they ſay of me is not in my power ; but that " they may not ſay it juſtly, that is in my power to " prevent."

This concluſion is very good. I cannot prevent people from ſpeaking ill of me, anſwered Megaronides, I can only take care that they do it not with reaſon. Obſerve that there are a thouſand accidents, that may be attended with the ſame conſequence, as the malice of a ſervant who is turned out of doors.

[*A*] *She was . . . . daughter of Baſſianus, Prieſt of the Sun.*] This may be inferred from the following words of Aurelius Victor (1) : *Caracalla Severi filius . . . Baſſianus ex avi materni nomine dictus . . . Hujus* (Heliogabali) *matris Semeæ avus Baſſianus nomine, fuerat ſolis ſacerdos, quem Phœnices unde erat, Heliogabalum nominabant* (2). i. e. " Caracalla, the ſon of Se- " verus . . . called Baſſianus from his grandmother by " the mother's ſide . . . Baſſianus, grandfather of Se- " mea, mother of this Heliogabalus, was Prieſt of the " Sun, whom the Phœnicians, whence he was de- " ſcended, called Heliogabalus." Semea (3) was the daughter of Mæſa ; now Mæſa was Julia's ſiſter (4) ; and conſequently Baſſianus, Prieſt of the Sun, was Julia's father. One cannot poſitively affirm whether Julia was born in Emeſa or Apamea ; for, according to ſome authors (5), her ſiſter Mæſa was a native of Emeſa ; but according to others (6) ſhe was born in Apamea. Lampridius (7) ſays that Julia was a noble woman of the Eaſt, *nobilem Orientis mulierem* : but Dion (8) ſays that ſhe was of Plebean extraction, ἐκ δημοτικῆς γένους.

(1) Aurel. Victor, *in Epitome*, pag. m. 211.

(2) Idem, ibid. pag. 212.

(3) Or rather *Soæmis* according to Herodian, lib. 5. cap. 3.

(4) Herodian, ibid.

(5) Herodian, ibid. Julius Capitolinus, *in Macrino*, cap. 9. pag. m. 759.

(6) Dio, lib. 78. pag. 902.

(7) Lampridius, *in Alexandro Severo*, cap. 5. pag. 890.

(8) Dio, lib. 78. pag. 899. edit. 1606.

(9) Spartian. *in Septim. Severo*, cap. 3. pag. m. 594. tom. 1. *See alſo* Lampridius, *in Alex. Severo*, cap. 5. pag. 890.

[*B*] *The Aſtrologers had told her that ſhe ſhould marry a ſovereign Prince.*] I will tranſcribe Spartian's words, in order that the reader may know, what it was that Severus enquired chiefly about, when he was reſolved to marry again. He did not enquire into the merits of the perſon, but the promiſes of the horoſcope. *Quum amiſſa uxore aliam vellet ducere, genituras ſponſarum requirebat, ipſe quoque matheſeos peritiſſimus : & quum audiſſet eſſe in Syria quandam, quæ id genituræ haberet ut regi jungeretur, eandem uxorem petiit, Juliam ſcilicet : & accepit interventu amicorum : ex qua ſtatim pater factus eſt* (9). i. e. " When having loſt his wife, " he was deſirous of marrying another, and be- " ing extremely well ſkilled in Aſtrology, he calcu- " lated the nativity of thoſe whom he made choice " of as a wife : and hearing that there was a certain " woman in Syria, whoſe horoſcope declared that ſhe " ſhould be married to a King, he ſought her in mar- " riage (this was Julia) and obtained her by the good " offices of friends, and ſhe ſoon made him a fa- " ther."

[*C*] *According to ſome writers, her huſband . . . let her have a great ſhare in the adminiſtration.*] " Dion " informs us in the Life of Caracalla, that ſhe had in " charge his Memorials, Letters, and Petitions, tho' " of the utmoſt conſequence. This ſhews her great " capacity, for ſhe gave her advice on all affairs of im- " portance : and yet they had little affection for one " another, as we find by Dion and Herodian, though " ſhe commonly uſed to receive this honour from him, " viz. that he always named her with applauſe in " his letters ; and even when he wrote to the Senate, " inſerting her name with his and that of his armies, " according to the ſtyle of that age ; and indeed ſhe " maintained her ſtate very well, ſhe not paying " more honour, and not ſaluting with greater reſpect, " perſons of the higheſt diſtinction in the Empire, than " Severus or Caracalla. However when Caracalla " came to the empire, he ſo far leſſened her authority, " that he never followed her counſel, particularly " when he took it into his head to put any perſon " to death : but with regard to Severus her huſband, " he was very much ſwayed by her advice and good " ſenſe (10)." This is what we are told by Triſtan, but it is certain that he is miſtaken, by taking the father for the ſon ; for what he relates does not refer to Julia under her huſband's reign, but ought only to be underſtood of her, under the Empire of Caracalla. There is no great difficulty in the thing, if we do but read Xiphilinus's words with ſome attention (11). Οὐδὲ ἐπείθετο ὅτε περὶ τούτων ὅτε περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῇ μητρὶ πολλὰ καὶ χρησὰ παρῃνέση. καίτοι καὶ τὴν τῶν βιβλίων τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἐκαλέρων, πλὴν τῶν πάνυ ἀναγκαίων, διοίκησιν αὐτὴ ἐπιτρέψας. καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιστολαῖς ὁμοίως τῷ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ τῷ τῶν στρατιωμάτων, ὅτι σώζηται, μετ' ἐπαίνων πολλῶν ἐγγράφων. Τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ ὑπατείας δημοσίᾳ πάντας τοὺς πρώτους, καθάπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος. i. e. " In which affair, and in all others, " he was far from complying with the juſt and pru- " dent advice which his mother gave him, although he " entruſted her with the petitions and letters of both " kinds, thoſe excepted which were of great impor- " tance (12) ; and joined her name to his, and that " of his army (with the higheſt encomiums) in the " letters he uſed to write to the Senate, acquainting " them that all were well ; nor is there occaſion for " me to relate, that all perſons of the higheſt diſtinc- " on uſed to pay their compliments to her, in the " ſame manner as to the Emperor himſelf." I ſhall obſerve that it was at the requeſt of our Julia, that her huſband engaged in the war againſt Peſcennius Niger and Claudius Albinus (13).

(10) Triſtan, *Comment. Hiſtor.* tom. 2. pag. 110.

(11) Xiphil. *in Epitome Dionis, in Caracalla*, pag. m. 553.

(12) Triſtan ſhould not therefore have ſaid, that ſhe was intruſted with the petitions tho' of the utmoſt conſequence. He ſhould have made the following exception (as Tillemont, *Hiſt. des Empereurs*, tom. 3. pag. m. 189. does) unleſs it was an affair of very great importance.

[*D*] *She applied herſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy.*] Xiphilin, immediately after the words juſt read, affirms that Julia, in the midſt of her numberleſs affairs, devoted ſome of her hours to Philoſophy. Ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐφιλοσόφει. *Sed ea nihilo minus philoſophabatur.* He had ſaid elſewhere (14), that upon her being perſecuted by Plautianus, who had prodigious intereſt, ſhe began to cultivate Philoſophy, and to ſpend whole days with the Sophiſts. Καὶ ἡ μὲν αὐτή τε φιλοσοφεῖν διὰ παντὸς ἤρξατο, καὶ σοφισταῖς συνημέρευσεν. *Quæ dum ob eam cauſam philoſopharetur, & tempus cum Sophiſtis tranſigeret.* Philoſtratus gives her the name of Female-Philoſopher : Ἀντωνῖνος, ſays he (15), ſpeaking of Caracalla, ἦν ὁ τῆς φιλοσόφου παῖς Ἰουλίας. i. e. " Antoninus was the ſon of Julia the Fe- " male-Philoſopher :" In this manner it ought to be read, purſuant to the learned Salmaſius's happy conjecture (16). He has corrected another paſſage of Philoſtratus, where we are told that Philiſcus the Sophiſt obtained a Profeſſorſhip in Athens by Julia's intereſt. It was ſhe who ordered Philoſtratus to write the Life of Apollonius ; a circumſtance which Philoſtratus himſelf tells us (17), who obſerves at the ſame time that this Lady was very fond of Rhetoric. Tzetzes takes notice of the ſociety of learned men who uſed to attend upon

(13) Capitolinus, *in Clodio Albino*, cap. 3. pag. 689.

(14) In *Sept. Severo*, pag. 330.

(15) Philoſtratus, *in Vitis Sophiſtarum, in Philiſco.*

(16) Salmaſ. ad Spartian. *in Vita Severi*, cap. 18. pag. m. 625.

(17) Philoſtrat. *in Vita Apollonii*, lib. 1. cap. 3.

the diſcourſes of thoſe wits who uſed to make their court to her. It is a great pity we cannot juſtly affirm, for the glory and advantage of the Sciences, that her virtue equalled her capacity; for Hiſtorians relate that her adulterous practices reflected ignominy on her huſband [*E*]. It is related by ſome authors that Julia, after Severus's death, contracted an inceſtuous marriage, by marrying Caracalla her huſband's ſon [*F*]; but this is a falſity.

upon Julia. Εἷς τῶν χόρυ Ῥηϊώρων τε καὶ Γραμματευόντων τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ κραταιᾷ τελούσῃ Βασιλίδι (18). i. e. "One of thoſe Rhetoricians and Grammarians who uſed to "wait often on the Empreſs Julia."

(18) Tzetzes, *Chil.* 6. *Hiſt.* 45.

Mr. le Moyne has made two obſervations that deſerve to be mentioned. I. He is ſurprized that Scaliger, who was ſo bold in his conjectures, durſt venture none with regard to Antoninus the ſon of Julia, ſpoken of by Philoſtratus. II. He has confirmed by Tzetzes's words the correction of Salmaſius, which he yet ſeems to have never heard of. Here follows what he ſays with regard to Scaliger: "*Sic Philoſtratus in vitis Sophiſtarum, in Philiſco,* Ἀντωνῖνος δὲ ἦν ὁ τοῦ φιλοσόφου παῖς καὶ Ἰουλίας. Antoninus erat Filius Philoſophi Juliæ. *Ad quæ verba hærens & attonitus Scaliger,* "Antonino Philoſopho alius filius quam Commodus, "alia uxor præter Fauſtinam? Niſi legamus ὁ τοῦ Σεβήρου παῖς καὶ Ἰουλίας. Hoc etiam tenuit ancipitem "Tſetſem, nec mihi minorem movit admirationem. "Quæ nos proponimus Chronologis eruditis, & Antiquitatis inveſtigatoribus, ut quærant, & nos doceant, "quæ ingenue nos neſcire profitemur. *Sed mirum hic "retuſum Scaligeri acumen, & moratam iſtam felicem "audaciam, quæ loca, hoc multo difficiliora, tam ſtrenue "& alacriter ſuperaverat* (19)." With regard to the paſſage of Tzetzes, he makes uſe of it to ſhew that Philoſtratus did not write τῷ φιλοσόφῳ; for if Tzetzes had read this in Philoſtratus, he would not have ſaid that this author does not ſpecify the perſon to whom the Empreſs Julia was married. Συζυγος δ' αὐτὴ ὑφηνί τίνος ἦν βασίλεως. *Non dicit vero cujus Imperatoris illa fuerit conjux* (20). He might have eaſily perceived that Julia's huſband was either Marcus Aurelius, ſurnamed the Philoſopher, or Septimius Severus, who, in imitation of Marcus Aurelius, was extremely fond of philoſophical ſtudies. *Amore Marci, quem fuiſſe vel fratrem ſuum dicebat, & cujus Philoſophiam literarumque inſtitutionem ſemper imitatus eſt* (21). *Philoſophiæ, declamandi, cunctis poſtremo liberalium deditus ſtudiis* (22). *Philoſophiæ ac dicendi ſtudiis ſatis deditus; doctrinæ quoque nimis avidus* (23). By the way, le Moyne generally gives our Julia the ſurname of *Severa*, for which he is authorized by ſome inſcriptions (24).

(19) Stephanus le Moyne, *in Prolegomenis* Variorum Sacrorum, folio * 25.

(20) Tzetzes, *Chil.* 6. *Hiſt.* 45.

(21) Spartian. *in Geta*, cap. 2.

(22) Aurelius Victor, *in Cæſaribus.*

(23) Spartianus, *in Severo*, cap. 18. pag. 625, 626.

(24) *See* Triſtan. *Comment. Hiſtor.* tom. 2. pag. 121.

[*E*] *Her adulterous practices reflected ignominy on her huſband.*] Severus had acquired a great reputation by his actions, both as a Soldier and a Politician; but he ſullied it by the indulgence he had for his wife's debaucheries. It is even ſaid that he knew of her being engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him. *Huic tanto domi foriſque, uxoris probra ſummam gloriæ dempſere: quam adeo famoſe amplexus eſt, ut cognita libidine ac ream conjurationis retentarit* (25). This is what Aurelius Victor relates of this affair, and Spartian ſays no leſs. *Domi tamen minus cautus, qui uxorem Juliam famoſam adulteriis tenuit, etiam conjurationis conſciam* (26). Triſtan (27) does not think it probable that ſhe ever conſpired againſt her huſband; and the reaſon for it is, that ſhe had too much good ſenſe not to know, that ſuch an attempt could not but be fatal both to herſelf and her two ſons. But to this it may be anſwered, I. That we very often act againſt our true intereſt, when we are determined to indulge an importunate paſſion; as, for inſtance, if Julia had a ſtrong deſire to revenge ſome injurious treatment ſhe had met with from her huſband, or from a deſire to get rid of an intolerable oppreſſion. II. That Julia might have diſpoſed things in ſuch a manner, that the murderers of Severus might beſtow the Empire on her ſon. There are inſtances of this. However this be, it cannot be denied but that ſhe was oppreſſed. Severus entertained ſo very ſtrong a friendſhip for Plautian, that it was manifeſt this favourite had more credit and authority than his Sovereign (28). Now Plautian inveighed in a moſt furious manner againſt Julia; he was for ever aſperſing her to Severus; cauſed informations to be lodged againſt her, and ſought for witneſſes to ruin her: he ſought for them, I ſay, by putting many matrons of diſtinction to the torture.

(25) Aurelius Victor, *in Cæſaribus.* Triſtan, pag. 110. has not tranſlated the paſſage juſtly; he imagines that it ſignifies that Julia's debaucheries *threw a deep ſhade on the glory of Severus, both at home and abroad.*

(26) Spartian. *in Severo*, pag. 626, 627.

(27) *Comment. Hiſt.* tome 2. pag. 100.

(28) Xiphilin. *in Severo*, pag. m. 329, 330.

Ὥστε καὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὐγέσταν πρὸς τὸν Σεβῆρον ἀεὶ διέβαλλεν, ἐκζελάσεις τε κατ' αὐτῆς, καὶ βασάνους κατ' εὐγενῶν γυναικῶν ποιούμενον (29). *Ut etiam apum eum Juliam Auguſtam ſemper calumniatus ſit, & in eam ac de matronis nobilibus tormentis quæſiverit* (30). The Hiſtorian who informs us of this, does not ſay that the Empreſs ſought to free herſelf by engaging in a conſpiracy againſt her huſband; he only obſerves, that this was the cauſe that ſhe applied herſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. We cannot but applaud Julia for having recourſe to that conſolation: the misfortune is, that whilſt the favourite made too inſolent an abuſe of his power, ſhe perhaps furniſhed him with but too many reaſons to impeach her for her adulterous practices. Let us here inſert the anſwer that was made her in Great Britain. She had followed her huſband into that iſland (31); and obſerving that the women of this iſland indulged their favours to many men without the leaſt ſenſe of ſhame, ſhe rallied very ſeverely the wife of Argentocoxus on that account, who made her the following anſwer; *We ſatiate the cravings of nature in a better manner than your Roman Ladies; for we dally publickly with the moſt worthy men; whereas the women of your country ſecretly commit adultery with the moſt wicked wretches.* Μάλα αἰσίως Ἀργεντοκόξου τινὸς γυνὴ Καληδονία πρὸς τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὐγέσταν ἀποσκώπτουσάν τι πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνέσει σφῶν πρὸς τὰς ἀφροδίτας συνουσίαν, εἰπεῖν λέγεται, ὅτι πολλῷ ἄμεινον ἡμεῖς τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀναλισκόμεθα ἀποπληροῦμεν ὑμῶν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν· ἡμεῖς γὰρ φανερῶς τοῖς ἀρίστοις ὁμιλοῦμεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ λάθρα ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων μοιχεύεσθε. *Urbane imprimis Argentocoxi Caledonii uxor, Juliæ Auguſtæ quæ ipſam mordebat, initis fœderibus, quòd ipſæ impudenter cum maribus verſarentur, dixiſſe fertur, Nos (inquit) multo melius explemus ea, quæ naturæ poſtulat neceſſitas, quam vos Romanæ. Nam apertè cum optimis viris habemus conſuetudinem: vos autem occultè peſſimi homines conſtuprant* (32). If any one ſhould aſk on what occaſion the Hiſtorian mentions this anſwer, I ſay it was on account of a law which the Emperor had enacted againſt adultery; the execution whereof he was forced to neglect, becauſe ſuch multitudes (33) were impeached, that the courts did not care to concern themſelves any more with thoſe trials. It muſt be confeſſed that this female Barbarian made a very arch anſwer to the Empreſs's railleries; but then we muſt not think, that the impudence of theſe iſlanders was leſs criminal than the ſecret adulteries which were carried on in Rome. Thoſe who commit evil ſecretly retain the ideas of virtue, and pay ſome homage to it; but ſuch as ſin without the leaſt ſenſe of ſhame, have no regard to juſtice either in theory or practice (34).

(29) Idem, ibid. pag. 330.

(30) Caſeneuve, in his *Remarks on Philoſtratus's Letters*, pag. 19. gives this, in French, from Suidas; but he makes a very great blunder on that occaſion; *Plautianus, ... dit il, taſcha de l'arguer de pluſieurs crimes auprès de Severus, & fiſt à ceſt effect des enqueſtes à l'encontre d'elle. Il ſouloit auſſi propoſer diverſes queſtions à des Dames.* i. e. "Plautianus, "ſays he, endeavoured to "accuſe her of "ſeveral crimes "to Severus, "and for this "purpoſe cauſed "informations "to be lodged a-"gainſt her. It "was alſo his "cuſtom to pro-"poſe various "queſtions to "certain Ladies."

(31) Anno 208.

(32) Xiphilin *in Severo*, pag. 343.

(33) Three thouſand perſons had been impeached for adultery.

(34) See remark [*B*] of the article JONAS (Arngrimus).

Brantome relates a particular which I have not read in antient Hiſtorians, in giving the reaſon why Severus bore ſo patiently his wife's lewdneſs. Brantome's words are as follow (35). "The Emperor Severus "was not under much concern with regard to his "wife's honour, ſhe being a public proſtitute; and "yet he did not even take the leaſt pains to reform "her, ſaying that her name was Julia, and there-"fore he ought to excuſe her, in as much as all the "women, from the moſt remote antiquity, ſo called, "uſed to be very great whores, and to cuckold their "huſbands; I know many Ladies, bearing certain "Chriſtian names (36), which I forbear to mention "out of the reverence I bear to our holy religion, who "are more ſubject to be proſtitutes, and to &c. more "than women who go by other names; and few have "been ſeen that have eſcaped it."

(35) Brantome, *Dames Galantes*, tom. 1. pag. 33.

(36) We may here apply the two verſes following of Rutilius Numatianus: *Nominibus certos credam decurrere mores,*
Moribus an potius nomina certa dari.

[*F*] *It is related by ſome authors that Julia ..... married Caracalla.*] This is not a ſtory lately invented, but is found in Spartian and Aurelius Victor. Brantome tells it as follows. "It is farther related of "Julia the Emperor Caracalla's ſtep-mother, that being "one day, as though it had been inadvertently, half "naked, and Caracalla ſpying her, ſaid only theſe "words: how gladly would I, if I might! Julia re-"plied that inſtant, you may if you pleaſe; do not

falſity [G]. She was no leſs the true mother of Caracalla than of Geta. Julia was ſo unhappy as not to be able to maintain unity and concord between her two ſons (b); her endeavours, though ſo very induſtrious, not being able to compaſs ſuch a work. Geta was

(b) Herodian. lib. 4. cap. 3.

" you know that you are Emperor, and as ſuch im-
" poſe laws, and not receive them from others?
" Finding ſhe had ſuch an inclination for him, he
" married, and lay with her (37). She muſt needs
" have been a proſtitute, to love and marry that very
" man who ſome time before had killed her ſon in her
" arms. She muſt have been an arrant proſtitute,
" and very mean ſpirited; and yet it is a great thing
" to be an Empreſs, and ſo exalted an honour atones
" for all imperfections. This Julia was very well be-
" loved by her huſband, though ſhe was far advanced
" in years, notwithſtanding which her beauties were
" not leſſened in any manner, ſhe being extremely
" handſome and courteous, as is manifeſt from her words
" which greatly increaſed her grandeur (38)." That the reader may ſee whether the circumſtances are heightened here, I ſhall cite the very expreſſions of the Latin authors who have mentioned this incident. *Intereſt ſcire*, ſays Spartian (39), *quemadmodum novercam ſuam Juliam uxorem duxiſſe dicatur. Quæ quum eſſet pulcherrima, & quaſi per negligentiam ſe maxima corporis parte nudaſſet, dixiſſetque Antoninus*, Vellem, ſi liceret: *reſpondiſſe fertur*, Si libet licet. An neſcis te imperatorem eſſe, & leges dare, non accipere? *Quo audito, furor inconditus ad effectum criminis roboratus eſt: nuptiaſque eas celebravit quas ſi ſciret ſe leges dare, vere ſolus prohibere debuiſſet. Matrem enim (non alio dicenda erat nomine) duxit uxorem, ad parricidium junxit inceſtum: ſiquidem eam matrimonio ſociavit, cujus filium nuper occiderat.* Aurelius Victor exhibits the artifice ſhe employed a little more clearly. She was not ſo impolitic as to undreſs herſelf at once before Caracalla; ſo looſe and impudent a behaviour might have ſhocked the young man: ſhe ſo ordered matters, that the whole paſſed for a ſurprize; ſhe pretended not to know that Caracalla could ſee her that time, and feigned being ignorant of his being in the place where ſhe was naked. *Pari fortuna, & eodem matrimonio, quo pater: namque Juliam novercam . . . forma captus, conjugem affectavit: cum illa factioſior, aſpectui adoleſcentis, præſentiæ quaſi ignara, ſemet dediſſet, intecto corpore, afferentique, Vellem ſi liceret, uti: petulantius multo (quippe quæ pudorem velamento exuerat) reſpondiſſet: Libet? plane licet* (40). I know not where Vigenere found what he ſpecifies with reſpect to the circumſtance of the place. " The Empreſs Julia, *ſays he* (41), was doubtleſs the
" wife of Severus; for Antoninus Caracalla married
" her afterwards though ſhe was his mother-in-law:
" and this inceſtuous commerce roſe from his ſpying
" her one day naked in the hot bath, through a pri-
" vate window that looked into it; he revealed him-
" ſelf: and ſhe aſking Caracalla how he liked her,
" he anſwered, Were it lawful, I ſhould deſire you
" above all other women. How! replied ſhe on a ſud-
" den, are you ſtill ſo ignorant as not to know, that all
" things are lawful to you, who are the ſovereign of
" the whole earth? Saying which they immediately
" proceeded to their guilt."

(37) Brantome, *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 205.

(38) Ibid. pag. 206.

(39) Spartian. *in Caracalla*, cap. 10. pag. m. 730.

(40) Aurel. Victor. *in Cæſarib.* pag. m. 144. *See alſo* Eutropius, Book 8. *and* Oroſius, lib. 7. chap. 18. who ſpeak of this inceſtuous commerce.

(41) Vigenere's Preface to *Philoſtrata's de Pictur.*

[G] . . . *but this is a falſity.*] It has been proved ſo manifeſtly, that Moreri is inexcuſable for relating this ſtory as a certainty. Had he read Triſtan's commentaries, he would have ſeen ſufficient proofs of the falſity of it; though it muſt be owned that all the arguments of this author are not demonſtrative.

(42) Triſtan, *Comment. Hiſtoriques*, tom. 2. pag. 113, *& ſeq.*

His firſt proof (42) is drawn from the ſilence of thoſe Greek authors, who have given a faithful account of Caracalla's actions, without employing the leaſt flattery. Dion Caſſius lived in that age, and had exerciſed very high employments: he conſequently could not be ignorant whether Caracalla had married Julia or not; and had he known of ſuch a marriage he certainly would have ſpoke of it, to throw the greater odium on that Emperor, whom he ſeems not to ſpare in any manner; ſince then he does not ſpeak of it, it is a certain proof of the falſity of that marriage. The ſame circumſtance is confirmed by Herodian's ſilence; Herodian, I ſay, who relates many particular and blackening incidents; and who lived much nearer that period than they who vouch the truth of this pretended marriage.

The ſecond proof is borrowed from the age of our Julia. Triſtan ſuppoſes (43), *that at the time thoſe authors repreſent her as ſo beautiful, that Caracalla was ſo captivated by it, that he was deſirous of marrying her, ſhe muſt be* 45 *at leaſt; for ſhe muſt have been ſeventeen or fifteen years of age* when ſhe married Severus; and as ſhe brought Caracalla into the world the firſt year of her marriage, and as Caracalla was 27 when it is ſuppoſed he ſaw her naked, it follows that ſhe was 44 or 45. This author had reaſon to ſay, that Julia was not Caracalla's mother-in-law, but his own mother. He need not fear any ſtrong objection on that occaſion; thoſe which might be made to him, in order to leſſen Julia's age, and againſt the conſequences he draws from her being 45, might puzzle him ſtill more. Nothing hinders, will it be ſaid, but that Julia might be no more than fifteen when ſhe married Severus; and it is probable that Caracalla married her a year after he had killed Geta (45). Now Caracalla reigned ſix years ſince his brother's death (46), and lived but 29 years in all (47). He therefore might have married Julia when he was but 24, which added to ſixteen (his mother's age when ſhe brought him into the world) make but forty in all. According to Triſtan the age of 44 or 45 years *is not a period of life in which Julia's luſtre, gracefulneſs and vigour could be ſo great, as to inchant Caracalla to ſuch a degree, that he was forced to marry her in order to poſſeſs her.* To this might be objected the example of ſome women, who at that age, or even in a more advanced one, have fired Princes with a very ſtrong paſſion; but Triſtan might anſwer, that the women in queſtion did not atchieve ſuch conqueſts on a ſudden by diſplaying their beauties naked. The charms of converſation, the ſtratagems of love, and a thouſand pretty ways were the ſtrongeſt arms by which they gained their conqueſts; and then I know not what caſt or turn of body or mind enabled them to preſerve their conqueſts. The bare revealing of a body, which has been ſubject to the influences of above forty years, is not an object fit to gain victories; on ſuch an occaſion a woman does not ſhew herſelf to the greateſt advantage. It is therefore no ways probable, that ſo artful a woman as Julia employed the expedients we are told in hiſtory, in order to captivate Caracalla; or that, in caſe ſhe did, ſhe was ſucceſsful in her attempt. I go no farther, I believe a reply might be made to this; the reaſons given here are not of a nature to admit of no room for doubting.

(43) Ibid. pag. 114.

(44) This in all probability is an error of the preſs for 18.

Let us ſee the third proof. Dion (49) obſerves, that when Julia " knew of the death of her ſon, ſhe
" ſtruck her breaſt (50), in order to occaſion her own
" death by reviving and irritating a cancer, which ſhe
" had been troubled with for a long time, and that it
" contributed very much to her death afterwards.
" This ſhews how ridiculous they made themſelves,
" who have forged this pretended hiſtory, that Julia
" ſhewed herſelf naked to Caracalla, and that the ſight
" of her, when ſhe was naked, inſpired him with a deſ-
" perate paſſion for her. For is it probable that this
" woman would have ſhewn herſelf naked, when ſhe
" was thus full of ulcers: and that Caracalla, a young
" Prince, Monarch of the world, who had the option
" of all that was beautiful in ſo extenſive an empire,
" could have been captivated by ſuch an object as they
" repreſent?" As there is nothing too difficult for a ſophiſt, ſome caviller might be found, who would obſerve to Triſtan, that Julia did not expoſe her whole body (51). Spartian ſays, that ſhe only ſhewed above half of it. We may then ſuppoſe, that the part concealed by her was her breaſt, and ſo her cancer did not appear. Mr. Chevreau would not be a proper perſon to make this objection; for he ſays, that Julia *appeared before Caracalla, in a negligent manner, and with her breaſt naked* (52). It would be in vain to examine, whether it is likely, that a woman, who would expoſe herſelf naked, except ſome part, would determine to hide her breaſt before all others. This, I ſay, would be in vain, ſince, by ſuppoſing the cancer, there were particular reaſons to induce her neceſſarily not to ſhew her breaſt. Let us proceed therefore to a third remark, which

(45) He put to death his wife who was Plautian's daughter, after he had got rid of Geta. Herodian, lib. 4. cap 6.

(46) Herodian, lib. 4. cap. 13. *in fin.*

(47) Triſtan, *Comment. Hiſt.* tom. 2. pag. 119, 148.

(48) Ibid. pag. 114.

(49) Ibid.

(50) See the remark [I].

(51) *Se maxima corporis parte nudaſſit.* Spart. *ubi ſupra.*

(52) Chevreau, *Hiſt. du Monde*, tom. 2. pag. 306. Dutch edit. 1687.

was killed by Caracalla in the arms of Julia, who received a wound on that occaſion, but durſt not afterwards diſcover the leaſt uneaſineſs on that account (*c*). If I miſtake not, the beſt expedient which Caracalla employed, in order to comfort his mother, was to let her enjoy a conſiderable ſhare in the Government [*H*]. The Lady found infinite charms in this; and if ſhe attempted to kill herſelf when news was brought her that Caracalla had been aſſaſſinated, it did not proceed ſo much from grief at her ſon's death, as from the fear of being ſoon reduced to the condition of a private perſon (*d*); and accordingly ſhe laid all thoughts of dying aſide, the inſtant ſhe perceived that Macrinus, Caracalla's ſucceſſor, uſed her well: but as ſoon as ſhe was informed that he intended to reſent the injurious expreſſions ſhe had vented againſt him, upon her being told of Caracalla's murther, ſhe ſtarved herſelf to death [*I*]. The title of *Domna* that was given

(*c*) Xiphilin. *in Caracalla*, pag. 346.

(*d*) Xiphil. *in Macrino*, pag. 362.

which weakens the proof of Triſtan. Let us obſerve, that the cancer was formed after Julia married Caracalla. If it was formed after marriage, ſhe might have had it four years, when Caracalla was killed; and ſo Dion might ſay, that ſhe had been troubled with it for a long time (53).

(53) Ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ χρόνου: *jam multo tempore*, Dio, *in Macrino*, pag. 362.

The fourth proof of Triſtan is, that Dion, who "was perfectly well acquainted with Caracalla, obſerves, that he had been prodigiouſly enervated for "a long time, and extremely incapable of that "ſort of exerciſe, having reduced himſelf to that "condition by his debaucheries, ὕστερον γὰρ ἐξησθένησαν (54) αὐτῷ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἰσχύς; for, "ſays he, the natural vigour neceſſary for the ſervice "of the Ladies was exhauſted in him during the laſt "years of his life (55)." It is not true that Dion obſerves, that Caracalla was enervated in that point *for a long time*; and therefore the fourth proof lies expoſed to the ſame objection as the preceeding; for it may be anſwered, that this Emperor exhauſted his vigour by his debaucheries after his marriage with Julia. The reader will perhaps be pleaſed to know upon what occaſion Dion makes this obſervation. He had ſaid, that Caracalla put four Veſtals to death, and that he enjoyed one of them as much as his ſtrength would give him leave. The Hiſtorian afterwards ſays what is cited by Triſtan, and adds, that this Veſtal cried out when ſhe was conducted to the place of execution, *The Emperor himſelf very well knows that I have kept my virginity.* Τέσσαρας δὲ τῶν ἀεὶ παρθένων ἀπέκλεινεν, ὧν μίαν βίᾳ, ὅσα γε καὶ ἠδύνατο, ἠσχύνει· ὕστερον γὰρ ἐξησθένησεν αὐτῷ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἰσχύς· ἀφ' ἧπερ καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον αἰσχρουργεῖν ἐλέγετο· ἡ δὲ δὴ χόρη αὕτη περὶ ἧς λέγω, Κλωδία Λαίτα ὠνομάζετο· ἥ τις καὶ μέγα βοῶσα. Οἶδεν αὐτὸς Ἀντωνῖνος ὅτι παρθένος εἰμὶ, ζῶσα κατωρύγη. *Veſtales occidit quatuor, ex quibus unam, quantum in ipſo fuit, vitiavit: nam eum ad extremum vis in rebus Venereis defecerat, qua ex re dicebatur flagitia obſcœna alterius generis facere. Huic virgini Clodia Læta nomen fuit, eaque viva ſepulta eſt: quum tamen exclamaret ſcire ipſum Antoninum ſe virginem eſſe* (56).

(54) It ſhould be ἐξησθένησεν.

(55) Triſtan, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 114.

(56) Xiphil. *in Caracalla*, pag. 352.

(57) Triſtan, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 115. He quotes no body. This is to be found in the fragments of Dion, pag. 899. of the edit. of 1606.

Let us proceed to the fifth proof. "It is certain, "*that if Julia had been his wife*, when ſhe died, her "body would not have been depoſited firſt in the monument of the two brothers, Lucius and Caius Cæ"ſars, and afterwards in that of the Antoninus's with "the bones of Geta, but with him (57)." This proof is a very bad one, and ſhews, that Triſtan did not know, that Caracalla and Geta were in the ſame tomb. Geta was laid in the ſepulture of Severus (58), that is to ſay, in that of the Antoninus's (59), and Caracalla was laid there likewiſe. *Corpus ejus Antoninorum ſepulchro illatum eſt, ut ea ſedes reliquias ejus acciperet quæ nomen addiderat* (60). His corps was ſent to Rome by the order of his murderer himſelf (61). Others affirm, that Macrinus cauſed it to be burnt, and put the aſhes in an urn, which he ſent to Julia (62).

(58) *Funus Getæ accuratius fuiſſe dicitur quam ejus qui à fratre videretur occiſus. Illatuſque eſt majorum ſepulcro, hoc eſt Severi.* Spartianus, *in Geta*, cap. 7. pag. m. 744.

(59) *Urnulam auream . . . Severi reliquias continentem eamdemque Antoninorum ſepulcro illatam.* Idem, *in Severo*, cap. *ult.* pag. 640.

(60) Idem, *in Caracalla*, cap. 10. pag. 730.

(61) Capitolin. *in Macrino*, cap. 5. pag. 753.

(62) Herodian, lib. 4. cap. 13.

The ſixth proof is a very good one, and is founded upon Julia's being the mother, and not the mother-in-law of Caracalla. This is evident from the teſtimony of Dion, a perſon of eminence in the Empire, who had ſeen Severus, Julia, Caracalla, Geta, &c. an hundred and an hundred times. Herodian affirms the ſame, and what can be more convincing upon this point, than theſe words of Oppian? τὸν μεγάλῃ μεγάλῳ φυτήσατο Δόμνα Σεβήρῳ. Since Oppian, in a book, which he dedicated to Caracalla, aſſerts, that Julia brought forth Caracalla, can there be the leaſt doubt concerning it? Can a contemporary writer be miſtaken in ſuch a thing? And would he venture to aſſert a falſity in the face of the whole court about a thing, which every body knew? Can any body be ignorant in a Prince's court, whether his wife is the mother or the mother-in-law of his ſons? I ſay nothing of the inſcriptions, in which Julia is ſtiled the mother of Caracalla (63). Now all thoſe writers, who mention the pretended marriage of Julia and Caracalla, ſuppoſe that ſhe was his mother-in-law, and therefore deſerve no credit, as building upon a miſtake. Obſerve likewiſe, that they even fall into a contradiction. Does not Spartian ſomewhere ſay, that Geta was better beloved by his mother than Caracalla? *Fratri ſemper inviſus, matri amabilior quam frater* (64). Would a perſon, who ſhould make this obſervation, while he believed that Julia was Geta's mother, and Caracalla's mother in-law, have common ſenſe? This is not the only argument which Spartian furniſhes us with againſt himſelf (65). Aurelius Victor (66) aſſerts, that Caracalla died when he was near thirty years of age; which cannot be true, if this Emperor was not Julia's ſon. See the remark [*L*]. The ſame Hiſtorian obſerves, that Caracalla having ſecretly lain with Semea, his couſin, had a ſon by her, who was the Emperor Heliogabalus (67). If Caracalla was Semea's couſin, he was Julia's ſon. I ſhall obſerve by the way, that Mammea, Semea's ſiſter, and Alexander Severus's mother, is called by Ulpian Caracalla's couſin (68). Here then is a contemporary writer, who ſays, that Julia was Caracalla's mother.

(63) *See* Salmaſius *in Spartian.* cap. 20. pag. 633. *and* Spanhem. *de Præſtant. Numiſ. mat.* pag. 628.

(64) Spartian. *in Geta*, cap. 5. pag. m. 740.

(65) See the remark [*L*].

(66) Aurel. Victor. *in Epitome*, pag. 212.

(67) *Heliogabalus dictus Caracalla x Semea CONSOBRINA occulte ſtuprata filius.* Idem, ibid.

(68) Ulpian. *Lege ultima* de Senator. *apud* Triſtan, pag. 117.

[*H*] *Her ſon . . . let her enjoy a conſiderable ſhare in the Government.*] See what has been cited from Dion, in the remark [*C*]; and add to it what that Hiſtorian tells us, when he gives an account of the tragical fate of Caracalla. He ſays, that during Caracalla's expedition againſt the Parthians, Julia ſtaid at Antioch, and received all the diſpatches, and communicated to the Emperor only ſuch as were of importance. Thus all the affairs of State paſſed through her hands, and it was ſhe who judged whether ſuch or ſuch letters written to the Emperor, deſerved to be ſent to him, or whether ſhe might not ſpare him the time of reading them. This is at the ſame time a proof of the confidence which Caracalla repoſed in her, and of his opinion of her capacity. Ἐπιτέλευτο αὐτῇ πάντα τὰ ἀφικνούμενα διαλέγειν, ἵνα μὴ μέτην αὐτῷ ὅλῳ γράμματων ἐν τῇ πολιμίᾳ ὄντι πέμπηται. *Cui mandatum erat, cuncta quæ mitterentur, diſcerneret, ne ad Antoninum occupatum in terra hoſtili fruſtra multitudo literarum mitteretur* (69).

(69) Xiphilin. *in Caracalla*, pag. 357.

[*I*] *As ſoon as ſhe was informed that Macrinus intended to reſent the injurious expreſſions ſhe had vented againſt him . . . ſhe ſtarved herſelf to death.*] Macrinus ſent her Caracalla's aſhes (70), and wrote her an extremely polite letter (71). He deſired her to keep all her retinue, and the ſame guards as uſual, which made him ſuppoſe that ſhe had laid aſide all thoughts of deſtroying herſelf. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὡς ὅτι τι τῆς βασιλικῆς θεραπείας ἢ τῆς τῶν δορυφόρων περὶ αὐτῇ φυλακῆς ἀλλοιοῖτο, καὶ ἰκανῶς χαλεπά τινα αὐτῇ ἐπέστειλε, θαρσήσασα, τὴν τοῦ θανάτου ἐπιθυμίαν κατέθετο. *Sed poſtquam ille non modò nihil de regio famulatu ejus, aut de ſtipatoribus quos ſecum habebat cuſtodiæ cauſa immutavit, verùm etiam multa ad eam percommode ſcripſit, cœpit bona ſpe injecta deſiderium mortis deponere* (72). But when he was told that ſhe had inveighed bitterly againſt him, and formed factions, in order to obtain the ſovereignty in that country, after the example of Semiramis and Nitocris, he commanded her to leave Antioch immediately, and to retire whitherſoever ſhe might think proper. But now Julia was quite ſick of life; ſhe dreading the condition

(70) Herodian, lib. 4. cap. 13.

(71) Xiphil. *in Macrino*, pag. 362.

(72) Idem, ibid.

given her was the ſurname of a family [K]. There are ſome difficulties with reſpect to the time of her marriage with Severus [L]. There are extant ſome inſcriptions (e) in which

(e) Triſtan gives them in tom. 2. pag. 117, 118. of his *Commentaires Hiſtoriques.*

condition of a woman devoid of authority, more than death. Some authors (73) doubt whether ſhe put an end to her life; but Dion does not ſpeak of it in a doubtful manner, he affirming (74) that ſhe ſtarved herſelf to death; and that ſhe effected this the more eaſily, as ſhe had inflamed her cancer, by the blow ſhe gave herſelf on the breaſt. Triſtan fancies that *ſhe ſtruck herſelf on the breaſt, in order to kill herſelf by inflaming* her cancer; but I doubt very much whether this be the hiſtorian's meaning. I fancy Dion meant no more than this, that the Lady in queſtion, by ſtriking her breaſt, whilſt ſhe was bewailing her ſon's murther, inflamed the cancer (75). It was the uſual cuſtom of women, at the news of a loſs like this, not only to weep, but alſo to ſtrike their breaſts. Julia did like other women; but in all probability ſhe did not ſtrike herſelf ſo hard, as though ſhe intended directly to kill herſelf by thoſe blows. Since ſhe is compared to Semiramis, ſhe muſt neceſſarily have been looked upon as a very ambitious and very artful woman. She did not want this laſt quality, if Dion may be credited. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἶχε καὶ τὸ πανοῦργον τῆς μητρὸς, καὶ τῶν Σύρων ὅθεν ἐκείνη ἦν (76) i. e. "She "had the deceit of her mother, and of the Syrians "from whom ſhe ſprung."

(73) Herodian, lib. 4. cap. 13.

(74) Xiphilin. *in Macrino*, pag. 362.

(75) See the *Fragments*, pag. 899. of Dion, edit. of 1606.

(76) Xiphilin. *in Caracalla*, pag. 349.

[K] *The title of* Domna . . . *was the ſurname of a family.*] Triſtan (77) proves this very learnedly; and cenſures Ritterſhuſius (78), who thought that in the following verſe of Oppian, Τὸν μεγάλη μεγάλῳ φυτήσατο Δόμνα Σεβήρῳ, the word Δόμνα is *an epithet borrowed from the Latin* Domina; *and that the* Poet, *by giving it a Greek turn,* had introduced it *with the licence of the eliſion of the* ιοτα. He cenſures another error of the abovementioned Ritterſhuſius, which is, his imagining that Oppian ſpeaks of Martia Severus's firſt wife. See Menage (79), who cenſures Gentilis (80), who had committed the ſame error as Ritterſhuſius's firſt. See likewiſe Spanheim (81), who takes notice of the ſame error in the Notes on Nicephorus Briennius.

(77) *Comment. Hiſt.* tom. 2. pag. 119, 120.

(78) *Not. in Oppiani Cynegetica.*

(79) *Amœnit. Juris*, cap. 25. pag. m. 139.

(80) Lib. 2. *Parergorum Juris*, cap. 22.

(81) Spanhem. *de Præſtant. Numiſmat.* pag. 626.

[L] *There are ſome difficulties with reſpect to the time of her marriage with Severus.*] Dion (82) aſſerts that Fauſtina, wife of Marcus Aurelius, prepared the nuptial chamber of Severus and Julia, in the temple of Venus that was in the palace. *Now Fauſtina died in the Eaſt about the cloſe of the year* 175 (83). The marriage of Severus and Julia was not therefore after that year. Julia was ſoon made a mother. It is not known whether Caracalla was the eldeſt of all her children, but that might be, according to Spartian, who declares him to have lived forty three years. Caracalla was killed in the year 217; and conſequently he was born in the year 174, in caſe he lived to the age we are told by Spartian. Should it be objected to this author, that Caracalla and Julia muſt have been married about the year 212, ſince it was after the beginning of Caracalla's reign, a reign that continued but ſix years; and ſhould it be concluded from thence, that this marriage is a mere chimera, ſince Julia was then above fifty years of age; this author, I ſay, will anſwer that Julia was not Caracalla's mother: he will inſiſt that ſhe was not married to Severus till a long time after the year 174. Nevertheleſs Dion furniſhes us with a ſtrong proof that Julia muſt have been fifty years of age at leaſt, when her naked charms are ſaid to have inchanted Caracalla to ſuch a degree. From what he ſays, we ſhould ſuppoſe that ſhe married before Fauſtina's death, and conſequently that ſhe was at leaſt twelve or thirteen in 175. I will now ſhew, that Caracalla could not poſſibly have been born the firſt year of Julia's marriage, if it be true that this marriage happened before Fauſtina's death.

(82) Xiphilin. *in Severo*, pag. 310.

(83) Tillemont, *Hiſt. des Emper.* tom. 3. pag. 389.

Spartian ſays, *that Caracalla was but five years old when his father was Governor of Illyricum (which cannot be fixed before the year* 190) *and that he put on the* Toga virilis *when he was nominated Conſul (that is at the cloſe of the year* 201; *and ſo he was then at moſt but in the beginning of his fifteenth year.) He ſays every where, that Caracalla was very young when Severus came to the Empire. He repreſents him as a child of two or three years old, at moſt, at Geta's birth, i. e. the 27th of May* 189 (84). All this is inconſiſtent with the forty three years of age which he declares this Emperor to be, he being killed in the year 217. He therefore contradicts himſelf. Dion affirms that Geta lived but twenty two years and nine months (85), and that Caracalla lived but twenty nine years (86). Now Caracalla lived but ſix years (87) after Geta's death, and was killed in the year 217. Geta therefore muſt have been born in 189, and Caracalla in 188. There then muſt have been a long interval between Julia's marriage, and Caracalla's birth, in caſe Fauſtina had prepared the nuptial bed, as Dion relates; and nevertheleſs, according to Spartian, Julia's marriage was quickly fruitful, and gave Severus a ſecond ſon a few years after the birth of the firſt. *Ex qua* (Julia) *ſtatim pater factus eſt. A Gallis ob ſeveritatem & honorificentiam & abſtinentiam, tantum quantum nemo dilectus eſt. Deinde Pannonias proconſulari imperio rexit. Poſt hoc Siciliam proconſularem ſorte meruit, ſuſcepitque Romæ alterum filium* (88). i. e. "By whom *(Julia)* he was ſoon made a father. "The Gauls had a prodigious affection for him, "becauſe of his ſeverity, honour, and temperance. "He next governed Pannonia in quality of Pro "conſul; was afterwards Proconſul of Sicily, and "had another ſon in Rome." There is a great deal of confuſion in all this. I know not whether the reader will approve of a conjecture I am going to venture at random. Methinks Dion does not ſay that Fauſtina really prepared the nuptial chamber; but that Severus imagined he had ſeen her, in a dream, prepare it. This hiſtorian relates in that place ſeven preſages of Severus's exaltation; and after ſpeaking of the ſix firſt, he adds, that they appeared to him in his ſleep. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων ἤμαθεν. ὅπερ δὲ ἐς τε τὸν βασιλικὸν θρόνον ἐφήδρευσεν ὢν ἔτι ἀγένειός τε καὶ ἐφηβῶν. *Quæ omnia quum ex ſomniis intellexerit Severus, tum id revera evenit, quod quum adhuc ephebus eſſet, conſedit in ſella principis per imprudentiam* (89); and then the Hiſtorian in queſtion ſpeaks of the ſeventh preſage as of a fortuitous action done when he was awake. In relating the ſix firſt, he does not always obſerve, on each in particular, that it was a dream, but he does this three or four times. This muſt have miſled the interpreters; for he does not obſerve it as to this action of Fauſtina, which is one of thoſe ſix preſages or omens; he tells it as a real thing, I mean without giving notice that it was a dream. Now ſince he does thus with reſpect to ſome of the other omens, which it is manifeſt were only dreams; and ſince, before he relates the omen that conſiſted in a real action, he gives notice that all the preceding omens appeared in his ſleep; methinks we may conclude, that he gives this preparation of the nuptial bed by Fauſtina in the temple of Venus, as the viſion of a man who ſleeps. I know not whether a nuptial chamber was ever prepared for a particular perſon in a temple. It is eaſier therefore to come to the aſſiſtance of Dion than to diſengage the other Hiſtorians; and nevertheleſs many contradictions are objected (but without much foundation) to the latter. This I will here examine, after obſerving that Mr. de Tillemont ſhould not have preferred this paſſage of Dion, to the hypotheſis which Spartian leads us to (90). This hypotheſis is to ſay, that Severus married Julia, whilſt he commanded in Gallia Lugdunenſis, in the year 186. According to ſome Hiſtorians (91) Caracalla was born at Lyons.

(84) Ibid. pag. 389, 390.

(85) Xiphilin. *in Caracalla*, pag. 346.

(86) Idem, ibid. pag. 358.

(87) Herodian, lib. 4. cap. 13. *See alſo* Xiphilin. *in Caracalla*, pag. 358. *who ſays that Caracalla reigned ſix years, two months and ſome days. Two days, according to Dion*, edit. of 1606.

(88) Spart. *in Severo*, cap. 4. pag. 594.

(89) Xiphilin. *Severo*, pag. 310.

(90) *See* Tillemont, *Hiſt. des Empereurs*, tom. 3. pag. 389. *and* Spartian, *in Severo*, cap. 3 & 4. pag. 594.

(91) Aurel. Victor. *in Cæſarib.* pag. 211.

ENQUIRY into ſome contradictions objected to Spartian.

Triſtan (92) alledges as a proof of the contradictions of Spartian, the following words of Caracalla's Life. *Hic tamen omnium duriſſimus, & ut uno complectar verbo, parricida, inceſtorum reus, patris matris, & fratris inimicus* (93). i. e. "He yet was the moſt hard-heart-"ted of men; to ſay all in a word, he was guilty of "parricide and inceſt, and an enemy to his father, "mother, and brother." But methinks he cannot hereby be convicted of contradiction, and of forgetting his hypotheſis: he might aſſert, that he takes the word *mater*, in the ſame idea which he explains two pages before; *Matrem enim* (*non alio dicenda erat nomine*) *duxit uxorem.* i. e. "He married his mother, "for this was the only name ſhe could be called by." And we find that he does not omit the inceſt, in the

(92) Triſtan, *Comment. Hiſt.* tom. 2. pag. 119.

(93) Spart. *in Caracalla, ſub fin.* pag. 732.

which ſhe is called the Mother of the Camps, the Mother of the Country, and Mother of the Senate.

(94) Triſtan, *Comment. Hiſt.* tom. 2. pag. 119.

words related by Triſtan (94). " The abovemention-
" ed Spartian mentions the juſt reaſon which Caracalla
" ſaid he had to get his brother diſpatched, viz. that
" he deſpiſed their mother, and did not pay her the
" veneration that was due; whence it is plain that
" Spartian, or the author from whom he borrowed
" it, was perſuaded that ſhe was their common mo-
" ther; for he would not have had any reaſon to be
" ſo much exaſperated at his brother's irreverence
" with regard to Julia, had ſhe not been his mother;
" and the pretence had been as ridiculous as it was
" judged barbarous, notwithſtanding all the other rea-
" ſons he invented to palliate his cruelty and guilt."
Here we have a very bad objection; for firſt, theſe words, *matri eum irreverentem fuiſſe* (95), ſignify only, that Geta did not reſpect his mother; and they muſt not be tranſlated as if being ſpoken by Caracalla, they mean, *Geta does not reſpect our mother.* Nevertheleſs, Triſtan underſtood them in this ſenſe, which was his own fault. Secondly, it is a very ſpecious pretence, in order to extenuate the guilt of a murder, to ſay that the perſon murdered uſed his mother ill. An uſurer, who ſhould have dethroned a Prince who had treated his mother with inſolence, would not fail to accuſe him of that crime, though he were not related to the family dethroned. Cromwell and his adherents would have exhauſted all the common places of rhetoric, could they have reproached Charles I with ſo irreverent a behaviour: much more could this pretence be alledged, if a perſon was ſon-in-law to the Lady who had met with ill treatment from her own ſon. Such a man would ſay, that it was incumbent on him to defend all the rights of his father's widow againſt all opponents whatſoever; in a word, he would lay down an hundred very plauſible reaſons, ſuch as might make the ſtrongeſt impreſſion; ſo that I do not know what Triſtan was thinking of, when he called this a ridiculous pretence.

(95) Spart. *in Geta*, cap. 2. pag. 709.

Here follows a more real objection againſt Spartianus. He ſays (96) that Caracalla, being in his thirteenth year, was proclaimed as a partner of the Empire by the ſoldiers, on the taking of Cteſiphon. He adds that Severus, being returned to Syria, gave the *Toga virilis* to Caracalla, and appointed him his collegue in the Conſulate, which they entered upon immediately. This Conſulſhip was in 202, and Cteſiphon was taken in 198: and therefore it was not poſſible that Caracalla, who was killed in the year 217, ſhould have lived ſo long as is affirmed by this Hiſtorian, that is, forty three years.

(96) *In Severo*, cap. 16.

(*a*) Strabo, lib. 10. Suidas, Stephanus.

(*b*) Lib. 2. cap. 6.

(*c*) In the article ZIA, near the cloſe of the remark [*C*].

(*d*) Strabo, lib. 10.

JULIS, a town of the iſland Cea in the Ægean Sea. This city (*a*) gave birth to Simonides the Poet, Bacchylides the Poet his nephew, Prodicus the Sophiſt, Eraſiſtratus the Phyſician, and a Philoſopher called Ariſton [*A*]. Valerius Maximus (*b*) relates a very ſingular thing whereof he was witneſs, when he paſſed by Julis, in the retinue of Sextus Pompeius, who was going to Aſia to exerciſe his Proconſulſhip. I have ſpoke of this elſewhere (*c*). When the four cities in this iſland were reduced to two, Julis was one of the two (*d*). It was built on a mountain three miles from the ſea. As it was the native place of ſo many great men, it ſhould not have been omitted by Moreri, nor expunged from the Dictionary of Charles Stephens by Lloyd, who ought to have rectified that article [*B*] rather than quite ſuppreſſed it.

(1) Under the word *Cea*.

[*A*] *A Philoſopher called Ariſton.*] Thus we ought to ſay, and not like Moreri (1) *the Philoſopher Ariſton*; for this expreſſion would induce me to think, either that there was but one Philoſopher ſo called; or that the Ariſton born at Julis, was infinitely more famous than all the reſt of the Ariſtons. Now both theſe circumſtances are falſe.

[*B*] *Lloyd... ought to have rectified that article.*] Charles Stephens had done well not to declare in ſo abſolute a manner, that the iſland of Cea was called indifferently Cia or Cos: and to examine better what he relates, viz. that there was a law in Julis which ſentenced to death all perſons that were above threeſcore; and that this law was enacted in order to keep the reſt of the inhabitants from being in want of victuals. Read what we ſhall ſay on this ſubject in the notes on the article ZIA.

(*a*) So the Italians pronounce it.

JULIUS II, created Pope the night between the 31ſt of October and 1ſt of November 1503, was nephew to Pope Sixtus IV, and his name was called Julian de la Ruvere (*a*). It is related that he had been a waterman [*A*]. There was a very ſingular circumſtance

[*A*] *It is related that he had been a waterman.*] Eraſmus has inſerted this tradition in his Adages. *A remo ad tribunal*, ſays he (1), *Dici ſolitum ubi quis repente ab infima conditione provehitur ad honeſti muneris adminiſtrationem. Id quod haud ſcio an ulli contigerit fœlicius quam Julio ſecundo. Nam fama eſt, hunc juvenem ad ſtipem ſcalmum remo ſubigere ſolitum, & tamen à remulco non ſolùm ad tribunal, verumetiam ad ſummum illud rerum humanarum culmen evectus eſt. Nec contentus hoc faſtigio, pontificiæ ditionis pomeria multum protulit: longius etiam productурus, ſi per mortis inclementiam vitam illi producere licuiſſet.* i. e. " From the oar to the tribunal (*ſays he*) is ſaid " in a proverbial way, when a man is advanced " from a low condition, to an honourable poſt. " I do not know whether any man was more for- " tunate on this article than Julius II; for it is ſaid " that he, in his younger days, uſed to row for mo- " ney: and nevertheleſs he was raiſed, not only from " a boat to the tribunal, but even to the ſummit of " all human honours. And not ſatisfied with this ex- " altation, he very much enlarged the authority of the " Popes, and would have enlarged it much more, " had he not been ſnatched away by death." Father Theophilus Raynaud is miſtaken, when he ſays (2) that Eraſmus mentions the ſame thing in his explication of the proverb, *A ſcapha triumphalem quadrigam:* i. e. " From a boat to a triumphal chariot:" for it was not Eraſmus but Hadrian Junius (3) who explains this adage, and ſays, *Efferri poteſt de quovis è fœce hominum ad magnas opes dignitateſque provecto, quemadmodum Julius Ligur poſt ſedentariam operam in ducendo ſcalmo diu navatam, Sixti Pontificis beneficio inſignibus Eccleſiaſticorum honorum ornatus, tandem ad Pontificatum maximum emerſit.* i. e. " This may be ſaid of " any one who, from the dregs of the people, is " raiſed to great wealth and honours, as Pope Julius, " who, after having been long employed in rowing a " boat, was by the indulgence of Pope Sixtus, raiſed " to high honours in the Church, and at laſt aſcended " to the pontifical throne." Anaſtaſius Germonius Arch-Biſhop of Tarantaſia, has aſſerted, that whatever is related concerning the birth of Sixtus IV and Julia II is falſe; and that Leonard de la Ruvere, father to Sixtus, was a very noble Knight; and that the Ruvere family, before this Pope's exaltation, lived in great ſplendor. *Sixtus IV falſo jactatus eſt è plebeiis & piſcatoribus editus, cùm patrem haberet Leonardum de Ruvere, Equitem nobiliſſimum, ut obſervavit Anaſtaſius Germonius, exponens indultum Hieronymi Cardinalis de Ruvere* §. Sixtus *num.* 28. *qui etiam* §. Magnis, *de gentis Ruvereæ antiquo, (etiam ante Sixtum) ſplendore, agit diffuſiſſimè* (4).

(1) Eraſm. *Adag.* Chil. 3. Cent. 4. num. 86. pag. m. 725.

(2) Theophil. Rainaud. *Hoplotheca*, Sect. 2. *Serie* 3. cap. 1. pag. m. 303.

(3) Hadr. Junius *Adag.* Cent. 6. num. 43.

(4) Theophil. Rainaud. *Hoplotheca*, pag. 304.

circumſtances in his election [*B*]; for, ſtrictly ſpeaking, it was before the Cardinals entred into the Conclave. He had won over the Duke of Valentinois's faction, by making this Nobleman believe that he was his father [*C*], and promiſing to treat him as his ſon. However, he did the very contrary afterwards. No man was ever formed with a more martial ſoul than our Pope Julius [*D*]. He uſed to be preſent at the ſiege of

(5) In a manuſcript remark he favoured me with.

Mr. de la Monnoie (5) pretends that Anaſtaſius Germonius, "who only copies Onuphrius, cannot "ſtand againſt Philelphus, Baptiſt Fregoſo, Volaterranus, Corio, Eraſmus, Machiavel, Chaſſeneuz, "Bandello, du Ferron, Maſſo, and ſo many others, "many whereof are quoted by Spondanus in his Continuation of Baronius, in the year 1471. *n.* 10." Bandello affirms that Julius II uſed to boaſt that he had formerly rowed a boat. *Giulio ſecondo Pontefice, anchorche di baſſiſſima gente foſſe diſceſo, e non ſi vergognaſſe ſpeſſe fiate dire che egli da Arbizuola, villa del Savoneſe, haveſſe con una barchetta più volte, quando era garzone, menato de le cipolle à vendere à Genova, fù nondimeno huomo di grandiſſimo ingegno, e di molto elevato ſpirto* (6). i. e. "Pope Julius II, although of very mean birth, "was not aſhamed to ſay often, that from Arbizuola, a village of the Savoneſe, he, when a boy, "carried onions in a boat to ſell at Genoa; he yet "was a man of prodigious parts, and maſter of an "excellent genius."

(6) Bandello, *Novell.* 31. of Part 1. fol. 219 *verſo.* This paſſage was communicated to me by Mr. de la Monnoie.

[*B*] *There was a very ſingular circumſtance in his election.*] He was ſure of it before the Cardinals entered into the conclave; ſo that Julian de la Ruvere was Pope at his coming into it. There was an exception to this pretty common proverb, that he who is a Pope at his entering into the conclave, comes out a Cardinal. *Chi entra Papa, eſce Cardinale* (7). He had made ſure of his faction by ſo many promiſes, and was enabled, ſo many ways, to enrich thoſe who ſhould favour him, that it was not poſſible for him to miſs the Pontificate; for beſides the wealth he had already amaſſed, he had that of other people's, every one being eager to offer him money, and even benefices; ſo that by theſe means he was enabled to promiſe more than was deſired of him. Such are the iniquitous ſteps by which he aſcended to the Pontificate. It is not a Proteſtant who obſerves this; it is an Italian author. *Ma molto più ve lo promoſſono le promiſſioni immoderate, & infinite fatte de lui a' Cardinali, a' Principi, a' Baroni, & a ciaſcuno, che gli poteſſe eſſere utile a queſto negotio, di quanto ſeppono dimandare: & hebbe oltra ciò facultà di diſtribuir danari, e molti beneficii, e dignità Eccleſiaſtiche, coſi delle ſue proprie, come di quelle d'altri: perche alla fama della ſua liberalità molti concorrevano ſpontaneamente ad offerirgli, che uſaſſe a propoſito ſuo i danari, il nome, gli ufficii, & i beneficii loro: ne fu conſiderato per alcuno eſſere molto maggiore le ſue promeſſe di quello, che poi Pontefice poteſſe, ò doveſſe oſſervare: perche haveva lungamente havuto nome tale d'huomo libero, & veridico, che Aleſſandro Seſto, nimico ſuo tanto acerbo, mordendolo nell' altre coſe, confeſſava lui eſſere huomo verace; laqual laude, egli ſapendo, che NIUNO più facilmente inganna gli altri, che chi è ſolito, & ha fama di mai non gl'ingannare; non tenne conto, per conſeguire il Ponteficato, di maculare* (8). i. e. "But the circumſtances which contributed ſo much more to his advancement, was, the extravagant and numberleſs "promiſes he made to the Cardinals, Princes, Barons, "and to all thoſe who might be of ſervice to him in "that affair. Beſides, he had an opportunity of diſtributing monies and a great number of benefices, and "ſpiritual dignities, not only ſuch as were his own, but "alſo thoſe of other people; for ſo great was the fame "of his liberality, that many came to him ſpontaneouſly, and deſired him to diſpoſe at pleaſure of their "monies, their names, their offices and benefices. "Nor were his promiſes thought by many to be much "greater than he could or would fulfil, when he ſhould "be raiſed to the Pontificate; for he had ſo long enjoyed the reputation of being an ingenuous man, "and true to his word, that Alexander VI, who was "ſo bitter an enemy to Julius, and inveighed ſo "ſharply againſt him on other occaſions, confeſſed "that he was a man of his word; an encomium which "he, in order to obtain the Pontificate, did not "ſcruple to ſtain; well knowing, that no perſons have "a more eaſy opportunity of impoſing upon others, "than thoſe who are not uſed to cheat, and do not "paſs for deceivers." Had he not employed thoſe ſimoniacal methods, how would it have been poſſible for him to prevail with the Cardinals to give him their voices; he who had ever diſcovered ſo turbulent, ſo dreadful a diſpoſition, and had created ſo many enemies? *Il qualo era notiſſimo eſſere di natura molto difficile, e formidabile a ciaſcuno; & il quale inquietiſſimo in ogni tempo, e che haveva conſumato l'età in continui travagli; haveva per neceſſità offeſo molti, eſſercitato odii, e nimicitie con molti huomini grandi* (9). i. e. "Who being univerſally known to be of a very ſe-"vere and terrible turn of mind; who had ever been "reſtleſs, and having ſpent his life in perpetual toils, "muſt neceſſarily have offended multitudes, and exer-"ciſed hatreds againſt many perſons of high diſtinction." Money effects all things; it created a Pope before the Cardinals had met in order to elect one; a circumſtance that had never happened before. *Il Cardinale di San Pietro in Vincola potente d'amici, de riputatione, e di ricchezze, haveva tirati a ſe i voti di tanti Cardinali, che non havendo ardire di opporſegli quegli, che erano di contraria ſentenza, entrando in Conclave gia Papa certo, e ſtabilito; fu con eſſempio incognito prima alla memoria de gli huomini, ſenza che altrimenti ſi chiudeſſe il Conclave, la notte medeſima, che fu la notte dell' ultimo giorno d'Ottobre, aſſunto al Ponteficato* (10). i. e. "The Cardinal of St. Peter in Vinculis, who was "powerful in friends, in reputation and riches, had "gained the voices of ſo many Cardinals; that thoſe "who were againſt him not daring to make any oppoſition, he, at his entrance into the Conclave, was "elected Pope that night, the laſt of October, a circumſtance not to be parallelled in the memory of "man."

(7) *Memoires des Intrigues de la Cour de Rome*, printed at Paris, 1677, pag. 20.

(8) Guicciardin, lib. 6. folio m. 165 *verſo.*

(9) Idem, ibid.

(10) Idem, ibid. folio 165.

[*C*] *He making.... the Duke of Valentinois believe, that he was his father.*] I have read this no where but in a work of Varillas. This Hiſtorian (11) relates, that the French accuſed Julius II "of having aſcended "St. Peter's throne by two irregular ways, viz. thoſe "of ſimony (12) and knavery. To prove the ſimony, "they ſpecified the benefices and legateſhips promiſed "in the Conclave, and beſtowed after the election on "ſuch Cardinals as were chiefs of the factions; and "mentioned the ſums of money which other Cardinals had received as a reward for their voices. To "prove the knavery, they remonſtrated to the ſame "Pope that the Spaniſh Cardinals having bound themſelves by an oath, not to give their voices but to "that perſon, who ſhould be propoſed by the Duke "of Valentinois; the Cardinal of St. Peter in Vinculis, who was that Duke's enemy, bribed ſome perſons, who wrought ſo far upon that Duke as to make "him believe he was his father; that he had kept his "mother, at a time when ſhe was thought to be enjoyed only by Cardinal Borgia, who was afterwards "Alexander VI; that the jealouſy which this Borgia had conceived on that account was the ſole cauſe "of his perſecuting him for upwards of ten years; "but that now ſince a new Pope was to be elected, he, "provided the Duke would employ his intereſt for "him, would treat him as a ſon. The Duke "of Valentinois gave credit to what was told him in "confidence, ſo far as to conſent, that the Cardinals "of his faction ſhould elect him of St. Peter in Vinculis, who did not fail immediately to diveſt him of "all Romagna and Umbria, inſtead of acknowledging "him for his ſon."

(11) *Anecdotes de France*, pag. 229, 230.

(12) With regard to the Simony, ſee what has been cited from Guicciardin, remark [*B*] above.

[*D*] *No man was ever formed with a more martial ſoul than our Pope Julius.*] Here follows what John le Maire, Hiſtoriographer of Lewis XII ſays concerning this matter. "Let us farther obſerve another ſurprizing "difference in the concluſion of that work; I mean "the gracious treatment and tractable behaviour of the "Soldan towards the Moſt Chriſtian King, in compariſon of the rigour and obſtinacy of the preſent Pope, "who quite martial and ſour, in his armour, as "though

of towns; and ſhewed greater ardour at them, than thoſe who commanded his armies [*E*]. A vaſt number of writers affirm that he one day threw St. Peter's keys into the Tyber [*F*], in order that he might make uſe only of St. Paul's ſword; but as thoſe writers copy one another,

" though he was deſirous that his dreadful and war-
" like armaments ſhould be ſpoke of, as thoſe of the
" mighty Tamerlane, Emperor and Soldan of the
" Tartars, will always continue wars, which become
" him as much as it does a Friar to dance in his ha-
" bit. He yet muſt not think of making a new
" world wholly monſtrous, as he thinks to do; for
" hogs will always eat acorns. The oak ſhall be ſtript
" of its leaves in due time, and the wood applied to
" ſuch uſes as are proper for it. But the beautiful ſtel-
" liferous crown, and the eagle of Jupiter, which, as
" Aſtrologers declare, are bright celeſtial luminaries,
" fixed and immoveable, ſhall ſhine in the firmament
" ſo long as the world laſts (13)." William Budæus calls him a ſanguinary leader of gladiators, *Cum interim ſub ipſo laniſta ſanguinario* (14); and has repreſented in very ſtrong colours the ſcandal that Pope gave, who, at the age of ſeventy, appeared publicly in a military habit, whilſt the people were going in proceſſion to beg a peace from the Almighty. *Cùm ſacerdos ſeptuagenarius Chriſti, Pacis conditoris & parentis Legatus, Bellonæ ſacris operaretur: cui cum generis humani luculento diſpendio litare contendebat. Idque tum, cùm profanum vulgus ad delubra pacis & concordiæ miſerabili ſpecie ſupplicationes inibat. Enimverò viſendum ſpectaculum, Patrem non modo ſanctiſſimum, ſed etiam ſenio & canitie ſpectabilem, quaſi ad tumultum Gallicum Bellonæ ſuma ſuos evocatos cientem; non trabea, non auguſtis inſignibus venerandum, non Pontificiis geſtaminibus ſacroſanctum, ſed paludamento & cultu barbarico conſpicuum; ſed furiali, ut ita dicam, confidentia ſuccinctum, fulminibus illis brutis & inanibus lucidum, eminente in truci vultu cultûque ſpirituum atrocitate* (15). i. e. " When a Miniſter of Chriſt, aged ſeventy years,
" an Embaſſador ſent from the Prince of Peace, was
" buſied in offering up ſacrifices to Bellona, to whom
" vows were made in a great profuſion of human
" blood, and that at a time when the vulgar were
" mournfully praying in the Churches of Peace and
" Concord, it indeed was a ſurprizing ſpectacle, to
" behold a moſt holy father, venerable for his old age
" and ſilver hairs, rouzing his ſubjects to war; not
" dreſſed in kingly robes or in a pontifical habit,
" but in that of a dreadful warrior, girded as it were with
" furious confidence; glittering with vain and empty
" fulminations; and diſcovering by his air and dreſs
" the rage with which he was fired." This is but a ſmall part of Budæus's violent exclamations againſt this Pope. The reader may ſee them more at large in Flacius Illyricus's twentieth book of his *Catalogus teſtium veritatis*.

(13) John le Maire de Belges, *Prologue to his Treatiſe of Schiſms*, pag. 2. Lyons edit. 1549 folio.

(14) Budæus, *de Aſſe*, *apud* Hotting. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. 5. pag. 545.

(15) Idem, ibid. *apud eundem*, Hottinger, ibid. pag. 546.

[*E*] *He uſed to be preſent at the ſiege of towns, and ſhewed greater ardour at them than thoſe who commanded his armies.*] Du Pleſſis Mornai does not make any additions to Guicciardin's expreſſions, when he ſays (16), " Being determined to attack Ferrara, he was adviſed
" to take Mirandola firſt; and being tired with the
" ſlow progreſs of the ſiege, which went not to his
" mind (*a circumſtance not expected, and that never
" happened before*) *Chriſt's Vicar upon earth, was there
" in perſon, againſt a Chriſtian town*, ſays Guicciar-
" din, *and though ſo old and ſick*, was ſo obſtinate and
" impetuous, *in a war, which he had raiſed againſt
" the Princes of Chriſtendom*, that nothing was done
" ſoon enough; he was ever crying aloud againſt the
" Captains, ever in a fury; and having his quarters
" ſo near the battery, that two men were killed in
" his kitchen, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances
" his Cardinals could make with regard to the ſcandal
" he brought upon himſelf and the Roman Pontificate.
" Monſtrelet (17) ſays as follows on this occaſion;
" *He abandoned St. Peter's chair, to aſſume the title of
" Mars God of Battle, to diſplay his three crowns in the
" field, and to ſleep in a watch tower; and God knows
" what a charming figure theſe miters, croſſes and croſiers
" made fluttering up and down the fields; the devil was
" not ſo ſilly as to be there, for benedictions were too
" cheap.*" Guicciardin repreſents in very ſtrong terms the particulars relating to the ſiege of Mirandola; he obſerving that the Pope did not regard in any manner the horrible ſeverity and coldneſs of the ſeaſon which retarded the beſieger's works. *Partì il ſecondo dì di Gennaio* (18) *da Bologna accompagnato da tre Cardinali, e giunto nel campo, alloggiò in una caſetta d'un villano, ſottopoſta a' colpi dell' artiglierie de' nimici: perchè non era più lontana dalle mura della Mirandola che tiri in due volte una baleſtra commune: quivi affaticandoſi, & eſſercitando non meno il corpo che la mente, e che l'Imperio, cavalcava quaſi continuamente hora quà, hora là per il campo, ſollecitando che ſi deſſe perfettione al piantare dell' artiglierie, delle quali infino a quel giorno era piantata la minor parte, eſſendo impedite quaſi tutte l'opere militari da' tempi aſpriſſimi, e dalla neve quaſi continua* (19). i. e. " The Pope ſet out the ſecond of
" January from Bologna accompanied by three Car-
" dinals; and being come to the camp, he took up
" his quarters in a country cottage that was expoſed
" to the enemy's canon: it not being farther from
" the walls of Mirandola, than twice the diſtance of
" a common croſs-bow ſhot. There toiling no leſs
" with his mind than his body, he was continually
" riding up and down the camp, in order to finiſh
" the planting of the cannon, the greateſt part of
" which could not be employed till then; moſt of the
" operations of war being ſuſpended by the very ri-
" gorous ſeaſon, and the almoſt perpetual ſnows."
Complaning of his Captains, he encouraged his ſoldiers by the hopes of plunder, he promiſing them not to capitulate with the city, but to permit them to ſack it. *Stette alla Concordia pochi giorni riconducendolo all' eſſercito la medeſima impatientia, & ardore; il quale non raffredò punto nel camino la neve groſſiſſima, che tuttavia cadeva del Cielo, nè i freddi così ſmiſurati che a pena i ſoldati potevano tollerargli: & alloggiato in una Chieſetta propinqua alle ſue artiglierie, e più vicina alle mura, che non era l'alloggiamento primo, nè gli ſatisfacendo coſa alcuna di quelle, che ſi erano fatte, e che ſi facevano; con impetuoſiſſime parole ſi lamentava di tutti i Capitani, eccetto che di Marc' Antonio Colonna, il quale di nuovo haveva fatto venire da Modena; nè procedendo con minore impeto per l'eſſercito, hora queſti ſgridando, hora quelli altri confortando, e facendo con le parole, e con i fatti l' officio del Capitano. Prometteva, che i ſoldati procedevano virilmente, che non accetterebbe la Mirandola con alcuno patto; ma laſcierebbe in poteſtà loro il ſaccheggiarla* (20). i. e. " The Pope did not ſtay
" long at *Concordia*, the ſame impatience and heat
" drawing him back to the army; nor was his fury
" leſſened in any manner by the prodigious ſnows
" that fell perpetually in the road, nor by the cold
" which was ſo extreme that the ſoldiers could ſcarce
" bear it. He himſelf was quartered in a little Church
" near to his artillery, and nearer the walls than his
" former quarters were; and not being ſatisfied with
" any thing that had been done or was then doing,
" he vented the moſt bitter complaints againſt all his
" Captains, except Mark Anthony Colonna, whom
" he had lately ſent for from Modena. He rode with
" great impatience about the camp; one moment
" crying out to one, and the next exhorting another,
" and acting as a Captain both in his words and actions.
" He promiſed that if the ſoldiers would ſignalize
" themſelves, he would not ſuffer the citizens of Mi-
" randola to come to any compoſition whatſoever,
" but ſuffer his army to ſack it." Mezerai (21) relates that *the city having been ſurrendered upon articles the 19th of March* (22), *the Pope would be, and was carried into it through the breach.*

(16) Du Pleſſis, *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 578.

(17) Du Pleſſis cites Monſtrelet in the new Additions, but it is an error; for Monſtrelet died before the Pontificate of Julius II, and is not author of thoſe Additions.

(18) Of the year 1511.

(19) Guicciard. lib. 9. folio 262 *verſo*.

(20) Ibid. folio 263.

(21) *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 455. *ad ann.* 1511.

[*F*] *A vaſt number of writers affirm that he one day threw St. Peter's keys into the Tyber.*] I have not hitherto met with any other authority for this incident than the following Latin epigram of one Gilbertus Ducherius Vulto (23) of Aigueperſe.

In Gallum, ut fama eſt, bellum geſturus acerbum,
Armatam educit Julius urbe manum:
Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem
Projicit, & ſævus, talia verba facit:
Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claves,
Auxilio Pauli forſitan enſis erit.

(22) He ſhould have ſaid *the 20th of January.*

(23) Du Pleſſis, pag. 580. cites only this author, and calls him *Gilbertus Ducterius.* He was of Aigueperſe in Auvergne. His Epigrams were printed at Lyons in 1538.

" Julius

another, without citing one original author of credit, I would not adviſe any perſon to warrant that incident. However this be, it may be ſaid that if this Pope was not endowed with the qualities that form the good Biſhop, he at leaſt had thoſe of a conquering Prince. Pope Julius was very courageous, and had a head that was well turned for politicks, by which he formed alliances, or broke them, accordingly as it ſuited his intereſt. He made a very formidable League againſt the Commonwealth of Venice; and employed, among other things, the thunder of his excommunications; but finding that the victory which the King of France, one of the Chiefs of that League, had obtained over the Venetians, weakened that Republic too much, he abandoned his allies, and joined thoſe of Venice. The Emperor and King of France being equally diſguſted at him, endeavoured to bring him to reaſon, by a method that was always formidable to the Popes, viz. by calling a Council (*b*). However, this did not intimidate our Julius in any manner, but he proceeded with ſeverity againſt this Council; and called another which gained the ſuperiority, and to which the King of France at laſt ſubmitted, after a low and groveling manner [G]. Julius II was indeed not alive at that time. The ſacred

(*b*) It was convened at Piſa, and afterwards transferred to Milan, and laſtly at Lyons.

" Julius, as fame reports, reſolv'd to wage
" Fell war with Gaul, leads out a mighty army:
" Girt with his ſword, he into Tiber throws
" The keys; and furious, loudly thus he cries;
" Since, Peter, thy fam'd keys in war avail not,
" I'll now unſheathe, O Paul, thy mighty ſword.

It muſt be confeſſed that this is a very weak foundation; for when a Poet has a pretty thought, but does not find a ſubject proper for him to apply it, he does not ſcruple very much to ſupply the want of it by amplifications and fictions; and will rather ſacrifice the truth than loſe a ſmart ſaying. *Poëtæ modo aliquid argutè vel acutè dicere videantur, plerumque verumne ſit an falſum, propemodum non curant* (24). Be this as it will, this action of Julius II, whether true or falſe, is related by a great number of authors. One of the lateſt writers where I have ſeen it relates it thus (25). *Percuſſo cum ipſis* (Venetis) *fœdere exercitum ſuum adverſus Imperatoris confœderatos Ferrarienſem & Ludovicum XII, Regem Francorum, iniquiſſimus & perfidiſſimus bellator eduxit* (26), *cum ea voce, quæ ipſum non S. Petri, ſed perditiſſimi & ſceleratiſſimi latronis ſucceſſorem eſſe commonſtravit. Cum exercitu enim Roma egreſſus, Petri clavem furibundus in Tiberim jactavit, adeoque, uti ingenioſe Bibliander concluſit, omne, quod à Sancto Petro ſe habere finxit jus, Tiberino flumini reſignavit; additis hiſce verbis:* Quia clavis S. Petri amplius nil juvat, *(evaginato gladio)* valeat gladius S. Pauli. i. e. " Having concluded an alliance with the Venetians, " this moſt unjuſt and moſt perfidious warrior marched " out his army againſt the Emperor's allies, viz. the " Duke of Ferrara, and Lewis XII of France, em- " ploying ſuch an expreſſion as ſhewed him to be the " ſucceſſor, not of St. Peter, but of a moſt abandoned " and moſt villainous robber; for leading his army out " of Rome, he, in a fury, threw St. Peter's key into " the Tyber; in this manner reſigning, as Bibliander " ingeniouſly concludes, all the right and power which " he pretended to have received from St. Peter; ad- " ding the following words, *ſince St. Peter's key is now* " *of no ſervice,* (ſaying which he unſheathed his ſword) " *let's ſee what St. Paul's ſword will do.*" I muſt not omit that Hotman relates the ſame incident on the credit of Arnould du Ferron a Catholic Hiſtorian. *Is eſt Julius ſecundus,* ſays he (27), *de quo & Arnoldus Ferronus, vir imprimis doctus, & Galliæ noſtræ hiſtoricus, & Burdegalenſis quondam Parlamenti Senator, itemque alii complures memoriæ prodiderunt: quòd cùm exercitu comparato Roma in Galliam, infeſto in Regem noſtrum animo, contenderet, ſuaſque armatas copias ipſe loricatus ex urbe per Tiberis pontem educeret, multis hominum audientibus hæc pronuntiavit: Quando nobis claves Petri nihil proſunt, age, gladium Pauli diſtringamus: ſimul claves, quas ſecum attulerat, in Tiberim projecit, gladiumque vagina eduxit. Qua de re notum illud vetus carmen eſt* (28),

I could never have believed that Hotman could be guilty of the unfairneſs, of which I am going to convict him. I have looked into Arnold du Ferron, and do not find that he cites Ducherius's epigram, as Hotman ſeems to ſay. The verſes he quotes are of a very different kind; and he has added to them the anſwer which John de Laſcaris made in favour of Julius II. I do not deny but that he relates the incident concerning the throwing of St. Peter's keys into the Tyber, but he queſtions whether it be not a fiction. *Quin vulgatum eſt,* ſays he (29), JOCONE CONFICTO *an vero, quando Romani pictores Petro claves, Paulo enſem tribuunt, illum in Gallos emiſſurum copias enſe accinctum & clavibus ad Tybrim profectum in aquas amnemque projeciſſe claves, hæc inferentem, quandoquidem nihil Petri claves prodeſſent, Pauli enſem (quem mox eduxerat) auxilio futurum.* i. e. " It is reported, truly " or jokingly, that whereas the Roman painters draw " St. Peter with keys and St. Paul with a ſword, our " Pope being about to march out an army againſt the " French, armed with the ſword and keys, and paſſing " by the river Tyber, toſſed the keys into it, ſaying " at the ſame time, that ſince St. Peter's keys were of " no benefit, he would make uſe of St. Paul's ſword " which he immediately drew." Now is it conſiſtent with fairneſs and ſincerity, to ground ſuch a ſtory on the authority of a great Catholic Magiſtrate, and to omit the declaration he made, viz. that he did not know but it might be an impoſture? Moſt books are full of ſuch quotations; and that perſon, who often takes the pains to verify whether thoſe who quote authors act with candor and exactneſs on thoſe occaſions; any perſon, I ſay, who often takes that pains, muſt neceſſarily contract ſuch a diſtruſt as will prompt him to believe only his own eyes. If an author of ſo great a reputation as Hotman takes ſuch a liberty, what will not the little fry of authors do, who have nothing to loſe? We here muſt argue juſt contrary to him who cried out,

Quid Domini facient, audent cum talia fures (30)?
The ſenſe is,
" What wou'd not maſters do, if ſervants take
" Such freedom?

[G] *The King of France ſubmitted after a low and groveling manner.*] This confirms what I have ſaid elſewhere (31), that Princes ſeldom or never ended their quarrels with the Popes but to their confuſion. Lewis XII had convened an aſſembly of the Gallican Church at Tours in 1510, in order to enquire whether he could juſtly make war on Julius II. This aſſembly had told him, *that his cauſe was juſt, and that of the Pope was not ſo: and that he might proceed to the offenſive part, in order to defend himſelf* (32). At his and the Emperor's requeſt, and *in execution of the decree of the Council of Conſtance* (33), ſome Cardinals had convened a great Council at Piſa. He and the Emperor had approved by their letters patents (34) the calling of this Council; he had protected the fathers who compoſed it, and who had declared Julius *ſuſpended from the adminiſtration of the Pontificate, and forbad all obedience to him* (35); he had protected them, I ſay, againſt this Pope, who excommunicated and degraded them in his Council of Lateran; and nevertheleſs the ſame King declared ſome time after, that he looked upon the aſſembly of Piſa as a pretended Council. " His proxies, *theſe are the words of the inſtru-* " *ment* (36), having in their hands the letters patents " of the ſaid Moſt Chriſtian King, ſealed with his " ſeal, and ſigned by him, and diſpatched by his com- " mand, after the reverence and humility required in " ſuch caſes, have entirely departed from the pre- " tended Council of Piſa, and fully renounced it: and " entirely, freely and ſimply adhered to the moſt holy

" Council

(24) Papyr. Maſſo, *in Vita Leonis X.*

(25) Joan. Henric. Heideggerus, *Hiſt. Papatus,* pag. 192, 193.

(26) Du Pleſſis, pag. 580. ſhould not have fixed this expedition a little after his election to the Pontificate.

(27) *In Bruto Fulmine,* pag. m. 110, 111.

(28) It is Ducherius's *Epigram* quoted above: Hotman gives it at length.

(29) Arn. Ferronus, *in Ludovico XII* folio m. 52 *verſo.*

(30) Virgil. *Eclog.* 3. ver. 16.

(31) The end of the note [B] in the article GREGORY VII.

(32) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 453.

(33) Ibid. pag. 457.

(34) Dated in July 1511.

(35) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 462.

(36) It is found entire in *la Reponſe du Coffreteau au Myſtere d'Iniquité,* pag. 1221, & *ſeq.*

sacred League which he formed in Italy received a dreadful blow by the battle of Ravenna (c); and if his enemies had known how, or been able, to make a proper use of that advantage, they doubtless would have humbled this haughty Pontif; whereas they gave him an opportunity to recover himself after this severe shock [*H*], by the little benefit they made of this victory, to which the powerful diversions made in his favour contributed greatly. The Swiss indulged him great succours; in return for which our Pontif bestowed, with great liberality, titles and a great many marks of honour on the Cantons [*I*]. He was snatched away by sickness, in the midst of the great designs he was meditating [*K*], the twenty second of February 1513. He was a lover of

(c) The 11th of April, being Easter Sunday of the year 1512.

" Council of Lateran, as the only true and lawful " one. Farther, pursuant to their procuration aforesaid, " they have promised, that henceforward the said " most Christian King shall not shew any favour, or " give any assistance, in any manner whatsoever, to " the said pretended Council of Pisa: but rather, that " all those who shall be in his city of Lyons, or in " any other part of his Kingdom, Territories and " Lordships belonging to him, persisting in their ad- " herence to the said pretended Council of Pisa, shall " be forced to quit those places in a month; and all " those, of what state, degree, dignity or condition " they may be, whether Laity or Clergy, who shall " refuse obstinately to obey, he will drive them out, " and consider them as Schismaticks; and as such, " on any order of the said holy Father, shall pursue " them with an armed force in case it be necessary. " Farther, the said proxies have promised as above, " that the said most Christian King shall cause six " Prelates, and four Doctors, or most eminent Gra- " duates among those who were in the said pretended " Council of Pisa, shall be deputed to our said holy " Father the Pope, for and in the name of the said " pretended Council of Pisa, and representing the " body of all those who adhered to it, to appear in " person, between this and the first of January, be- " fore his Holiness, in order to renounce entirely and " simply the said Council of Pisa, and abjure it, after " having asked and received, humbly and in due " form, forgiveness and absolution from his Holiness. " And moreover, that they shall adhere and incorpo- " rate themselves with the said Council of Lateran, " as to the only true and undoubted one, both in " their own name and in that of their adherents. " But in case they shall refuse to do this, the said " King shall not give any succour, assistance, or fa- " vour against the authority of the holy, Apostolical " See, to any of those that were present at, or fa- " voured the said pretended Council of Pisa; on the " contrary, he shall to the utmost of his power, cause " to be executed the sentences, decrees, and censures " of our holy Father, even by force of arms, in case " it be necessary, without the least dissimulation or " fraud." This is what those Prelates gain who side with their Prince in the contests he may have with the Court of Rome; they are sacrificed to the Pope when the divisions are ended. It is surprizing that so great a number should prefer their temporal to their spiritual Prince.

[*H*] *They gave him an opportunity to recover himself after this severe shock.*] He recovered himself so well, that the French were forced to evacuate the Milanese that very year. Nothing did so much prejudice to Lewis XII as the superstition of Anne of Bretagne his queen. She filled her brain with so many scruples, with respect to the war which the French waged against the Pope, that she retarded all her husband's good designs (37).

(37) *See* Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* pag. 457, 460.

[*I*] *Our Pontif bestowed, with great liberality, titles . . . . on the Cantons.*] " Whereas his predecessors " gave privileges to the Mendicant Friars, this Pope " bestowed them on the Swiss Cantons, who were then " the chief executors of his high enterprizes, to whom " he gave the perpetual title of *Defenders of Ecclesiastical Liberty*, with several *Bulls*, *Standards*, *a Sword* " *and a golden Cap*, and other presents, to oblige them " to *obey all his commands* (38)."

(38) Du Plessis Mornai, *Mystere d Iniquité*, pag. 580. *See also* Heidegger, *Hist. Papatus*, pag. 192, 193.

[*K*] *He was snatched away by sickness, in the midst of the great designs he was meditating* (39).] This we are told by Guicciardin (40). *In questi tali e tanti pensieri* (that is, to prompt the King of England to make war on France, and dethrone Lewis XII, and bestow his Kingdom on the first who should be able to conquer it) *e forse ancora in altri più occulti, e maggiori (perche in un' animo tanto feroce non era incredibile concetto alcuno, quantunque vasto, e smisurato) l'oppresse dopò infirmita di molti giorni la morte. . . . . Principe d'animo, e di costanza inestimabile, ma impetuoso, e di concetti smisurati, per i quali che non precipitasse, lo sostenne più la riverenza della Chiesa, la discordia de' Principi, e la conditione de' tempi, che la moderatione, e la prudenza: degno certamente di somma gloria, se fusse stato Principe seculare, ò se quella cura, & intentione, che hebbe ad esaltare con l'arti della guerra, la Chiesa nella grandezza temporale, havesse havuta ad esaltarla con l'arti della pace nelle cose spirituali: e nondimeno sopra tutti suoi antecessori, di chiarissima, & honoratissima memoria, massimamente appresso a coloro, iquali, essendo perduti i veri vocaboli delle cose, e confusa la distintione del pesarle rettamente, giudicano che sia più ufficio de' Pontefici, aggiugnere con l'armi, e col sangue de Christiani, imperio alla Sedia Apostolica, che l'affaticarsi con l'essempio buono della vita, e col correggere, e medicare i costumi trascorsi per la salute di quelle anime, per laquale si magnificano che Christo gli habbia constituiti in terra suoi Vicari* (41). i. e. " In " these mighty and various thoughts, and perhaps " in others more secret and more important (for in so " fierce a mind as his, no idea or imagination, how " vast soever it might be, is incredible) he, after " many days sickness, drew near his end. . . . . he " was a Prince of wonderful constancy and courage, " but so impetuous and full of vast conceptions, that " the reverence due to the church, the discord of " Princes, and the state of the times, did more to " prevent his ruin, than his own moderation or pru- " dence. He doubtless would be worthy of the " highest glory, had he been a temporal Prince; or " if that care and attention he had to raise the tem- " poral grandeur of the church by means of war, had " been employed to raise it, by means of peace, in " spiritual matters. Nevertheless he was bewailed " more than any of his predecessors, though ever so " worthy; and particularly by those persons, who " having lost the true names of things, and confound- " ed distinctions in such a manner that they were not " able to weigh them rightly, thought it an office " more duly belonging to the Popes, to increase the " power of the See of Rome by arms and the blood of " Christians, than to endeavour, by good examples " of life, and a proper curing of corrupt manners, at " the salvation of those souls, for which they glory, " that Christ has appointed them his Vicar upon " earth." How judicious is this, and how admirable a censure is it of those impatient Doctors, who believe that every thing is just, provided it contributes to the temporal grandeur of the church! This strikes Cardinal Pallavicino in particular, who speaks so faintly of the faults of Julius II, and excuses them on account of the temporal advantages they brought to St. Peter's patrimony. *Fu dotato*, says he (42), *di spiriti eccelsi, à tal che se fosse stato principe di dominio sol temporale, meriterebbe d'esser contato fra gli Eroi . . . . Certamente senza una tal ferocia non havrebbe ricuperato egli alla Chiesa il piu e'l meglio del suo dominio.* i. e. " That " Pope was endowed, *says he*, with a high spirit, in- " somuch that had he been a temporal Prince, he " would deserve to be ranked among the Heroes . . . " Had it not been for that fierceness, he certainly " would not have recovered to the church the " most and best parts of its jurisdiction or patrimo- " ny."

(41) See a passage of Mezerai, in the remark [*O*] citation (60).

(42) *Istoria del Concilio*, lib. 1. cap. 1. num. 3.

Paulus Jovius (43) declares that Julius II, at his death, had meditated a grand design on the Kingdom of Naples. *Hæc ingenti animo, verum ægro corpore cogitantem, diuturnus fluentis alvi morbus intercepit* (44). It was said that the title of Deliverer of Italy, with which

(43) Ibid. num. 5.

(44) Jovius, *in Vita Alfonsi Ferrariæ Ducis*, pag. m. 353, 354.

of the fair-ſex and the bottle [*L*]; and he is even accuſed of ſporting with his own ſex [*M*]; and there is not a ſingle crime he eſcapes being accuſed of, in a dialogue which it is pretended he had with St. Peter at Paradiſe Gate. The hatred he conceived againſt France, where he had found ſo ſecure an aſylum under the Pontificate of Alexander VI, was ſo exceſſive, that he gave orders for killing all the French that ſhould

which he ſuffered himſelf to be flattered, was but an empty name, whilſt the Spaniards were poſſeſſed of Naples: *If God will but enable me to act*, anſwered he, ſtriking his ſtaff againſt the floor, *it ſhall not be ſo long. Ad quod Pontifex quaſſato ſcipione quo innixus pavimentum infrendendo pertundebat, reſpondit brevi futurum, ut Neapolitani non iratis ſuperis externum jugum excuterent* (45).

(45) Idem, ibid.

[*L*] *He was a lover of the fair ſex and the bottle.*] We are told that the Emperor Maximilian made the following exclamation: *Deus æterne! niſi vigilares quam male eſſet mundo, quem regimus nos, ego miſer venator, & ebrioſus ille ac ſceleratus Julius* (46). i. e. "Eternal God! if thou didſt not watch over the world "what would become of it, under ſuch an Emperor as "I (a poor hunter) and ſo wicked and drunken a "Pope as Julius II?" Some Hiſtorians obſerve, that this Pontif invented a new name in order to accuſe the French of drinking wine too copiouſly, and voiding it immediately by urine, and they add that this was his great vice. *Gallos in univerſum novo nomine augens Romanam ſupellectilem, Micturivinos vocaret, quaſi immodicos vini potores quod mox emittendum eſſet, quo vitio ipſe maximè laborabat* (47). i. e. "He added a new word "to the Roman tongue, giving the French the gene-"ral name of Wine-Piſſers, as though they drank "wine immoderately, which was to be voided after-"wards; a vice to which he himſelf was very much "addicted." I proceed next to his lewdneſs. He had a daughter, who was married to John Jordan de Urſinis, and he is made to ſay in a dialogue he had with St. Peter (48), that he had had the foul diſeaſe.

(46) Du Pleſſis, *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 580. citing Joachim Curæus, *Freiſtadienſis, in Annalibus Gentis Sileſiæ.*

(47) Arnoldus Ferronus, *in Ludovic. XII*, fol. 52 *verſo.*

(48) I ſpeak of this Dialogue in the remark [*N*]

It is to be obſerved, that there is an error in the words of Arnold du Ferron above cited. He ſuppoſes that the Pope coined the Latin word *Micturivinos* to denote the drunkenneſs of the French; but Julius II did not expreſs himſelf in that language; he employing the Italian tongue, and the word *Piſciavini*. It is ſaid that one of his officers, a Norman, ſaid one day to him, alluding to this, *By my troth, holy Father, you are a true Frenchman then; for you are one of the greateſt Wine-Piſſers upon earth* (49).

(49) I am obliged to Mr. de la Monnoie for this remark.

[*M*] *He is even accuſed of ſporting with his own ſex.*] It is certain that Julius II is accuſed of this abominable vice. *We read in a treatiſe of one of our Divines of Paris, of two young Gentlemen forced by him, whom Queen Anne, conſort of Lewis XII, had recommended to Cardinal de Nantes, in order to carry them into Italy* (50). In all probability du Pleſſis gives us here a tranſlation of the following words of Wolfius. *Legitur in Commentario Magiſtrorum Pariſienſium* (α) *de Julio ſecundo Papa, quod duobus nobiliſſimi generis adoleſcentibus, quos Anna Galliarum Regina Nanetenſi Cardinali informandos commiſerat, & aliis multis diabolicâ rabie (proh facinus) ſtuprum intulerit* (51). This quotation ſeems to me too vague and indeterminate; he ſhould have told us where, and in what place, the treatiſe of the Paris Doctors was printed. John Crepin, has been guilty of an anachroniſm, in the relation he gives of this adventure. "We "read, *ſays he* (52), in a certain commentary of the "Doctors of Paris againſt the Lutherans, that this "Julius, excited by a diabolical frenzy, forcibly en-"joyed two youths of a noble family, whom Queen "Anne of France had ſent to Robert Cardinal de "Nantes, to be inſtructed by him." The Doctors of Paris would have been far from inſerting ſuch a particular in a controverſial piece againſt the Lutherans; if they had inſerted it any where, it is in the pieces that were wrote againſt Julius II under Lewis XII.

(50) Du Pleſſis, *Myſtere d'Iniquite*, pag. 581.

(51) Wolfius, *Lection. Memorab.* tom. 2. pag. 21.

(52) In his *Etat de l'Egliſe, ad ann.* 1513, pag. m. 512.

§ (α) This citation of Wolfius is falſe. He ſhould have ſaid: *in Commentario* ſuper Articulos *Magiſtrorum Pariſienſium:* whence it would have appeared, that this *Commentary* being a compoſition of the new Lutherans, one might expect to find ſuch facts in it, as could not be decently advanced by the Sorbonne. This commentary, (to obſerve it tranſiently) is cited by John Bale in his Life of Clement VII; and it relates to the XXV articles of the Sorbonne, publiſhed by Peter Gallandius in 1543, and refuted by Calvin in his *Antidote*, &c. See Du Boulai, Tom. VI, pag. 384 and 385 of his *Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Paris.* REM. CRIT.]

[*N*] *A Dialogue which it is pretended he had with St. Peter at Paradiſe gate.*] This is a very ſatyrical piece. Wolfius has inſerted it in his *Lectiones memorabiles* (53). Rivetus (54) affirms that it was printed at Paris with the King's licence in the year 1612, at the end of the acts of the Council of Piſa. The ſubſtance of this Satyr is as follows. "*Paulo poſt ipſius mortem Vir quidam doctus in lucem emiſit Dialogum, quem inſcripſit*, Julius, *in quo Pontificem hunc horrendorum criminum inſimulat, nim. quod fuerit homo* pa-"lam ſceleroſus, temulentus, homicida, ſimoniacus, "veneficus, perjurus, rapax, portentoſis libidinum ge-"neribus undique conſpurcatus, denique ſcabie, quam "vocant Gallicam, totus coopertus (55). i. e. "Soon "after his death, a certain learned man publiſhed a "dialogue, to which he gave the title of *Julius*, "wherein this Pope is accuſed of horrid crimes, viz. "with being publickly a miſchievous man, a drunkard, "a murderer, guilty of ſimony, a poiſoner, a per-"jured wretch, rapacious, defiled in every reſpect with "luſts of a monſtrous kind; in fine, quite covered "over with what is called the French diſeaſe." Some declared that this ſharp piece was wrote by Fauſtus Andrelinus (56), and ſome aſcribed it to Eraſmus. Placcius affirms that ſeveral authors declare this, in the two places he quotes of Melchior Adam (57). I have looked into thoſe two places, and find no other teſtimony than that of Leo Juda. Thus Placcius impoſes upon us. Eraſmus was very angry that this piece ſhould be aſcribed to him, and he endeavours to clear himſelf, very ſeriouſly, of this imputation in a letter; wherein he obſerves, that the piece in queſtion was wrote againſt Pope Julius during the ſchiſm, but that he could not tell who the author was. That he had juſt caſt his eye upon it five years before; and had met with it in Germany, but under different titles. That ſome ſaid it was compoſed by a Spaniard, others by Fauſtus the Poet, and others again by Jerom Balbus. That he was not able to gueſs who it was wrote by; that the author, whoever he was, muſt be ſilly; but that he who publiſhed it was much more in fault. That he is ſurprized that ſome perſons ſhould declare it to be his merely from the ſtyle, he judging it to be vaſtly different from it, &c. *Dialogi cujuſdam ſuſpicionem mihi moliuntur impingere. Is, ut ex argumento ſatis conſtat, ſcriptus eſt in odium divi* Julii *Pontificis maximi ſchiſmatis tempore, ſed à quo incertum, ante quinque annos deguſtavi veriùs quam legi. Poſt reperi in* Germania *apud quoſdam deſcriptum, ſed variis titulis. Quidam teſtabantur* Hiſpani *cujuſpiam eſſe, ſed ſuppreſſo nomine, rurſus alii* Fauſto *Poëtæ tribuebant, alii* Hieronymo Balbo. *Ego quid de his conjectem non habeo, ſubodoratus ſum quoad licuit, verum nondum perveſtigavi, quod animo meo faceret ſatis. Ineptiit quiſquis ſcripſit, at majore ſupplicio dignus, quiſquis evulgavit. Ac miror eſſe qui ſolo ſtyli argumento mihi obtrudere parent, quum nec mea ſit phraſis, niſi prorſus ipſe mihi ſum ignotus, nec mirum ſit futurum, etiam ſi qui in oratione nonnihil referrent* Eraſmicum, *quum verſer in manibus omnium, & referimus ferè, in quorum aſſidua lectione verſamur* (58) (β).

(53) Pag. 61. of vol. 2.

(54) *Remarques ſur la Réponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité*, Part 2. pag. 634.

(55) Joan. Zuinger, *de Feſto Corporis Chriſti*, pag. 140.

(56) In the edition of Wolfius, it is in the title *F. A. F. Poetæ Regii Libellus de obitu Julii ſecundi.*

(57) *A* Deſiderio ERASMO Roterodamo *conſcriptus eſſe diverſorum teſtimoniis confirmatur apud* Melch. Adam. *in Vitis Theolog. Germ.* pag. m 96. (it ſhould be 97). and pag. 167. (it ſhould be 197) *in Vitis Medic. Germ.* Placcius, *de Anonymis*, num. 259. pag. 72.

(58) Eraſmi, *Epiſt.* 1. lib. 12. pag. 575, 576.

§ (β) Notwithſtanding theſe proteſtations of Eraſmus, yet this dialogue has ſtill been aſcribed to him; and the late Mr. Baluze has left, at the beginning of his copy, a Preface in his own hand writing, wherein he aſſerts that Eraſmus is certainly the author of it. See Num. 2656 of *Bibliotheca Baluziana*, printed at Paris, for Martin and Boudot, 1719, in three volumes in 12mo. REM. CRIT.]

ſhould be met with [O], and promiſed a reward to all thoſe who ſhould execute his command. We muſt not believe that the wine and hams which he ſent to the King of England, were the true cauſe of the war which the Engliſh proclaimed againſt France [P]. I don't know whether it be poſſible to find a certain ſpeech wherein he was very much abuſed. Varillas who ſpeaks of this, has expoſed himſelf to cenſure [Q]. Cardinal Bembo's

[O] *The hatred he conceived againſt France... was ſo exceſſive... that he gave orders for killing all the French that ſhould be met with.*] "Pope Julius obſerved no bounds in his anger. He had drawn up "a decree, in the name of the Council, to transfer "the Kingdom of France, and the title of *Moſt Chriſtian* to the King of England (56), As he was "juſt going to make this public, heaven taking pity "on him and of Chriſtendom ſnatched him away the "23d of February. He died of a hectic fever, cauſed, "as it is related, by the uneaſineſs he was under, at "his not having been able to prevail with the Venetians "to be reconciled with the Emperor; ſo furious were "his paſſions, and more becoming a Turkiſh Sultan "than the common father of the Chriſtians (60)." As for his order to murther all the French, I have read it no where but in page 109 and 110 of Francis Hotman's *Brutum Fulmen*. *Si quæ patrum memoria*, ſays he, *in hoc regno contigerunt recordari volumus, primùm hoc reperiemus: Ludovicum XII (at, quem Regem? qui Patris patriæ nomen ſummo bonorum omnium conſenſu adeptus eſt) urbes aliquot Italiæ, bello captas, Papæ Julii ſecundi ditioni adjunxiſſe. Papam intermiſſis aliquot menſibus hanc Regi pro accepto beneficio gratiam retuliſſe, ut non modò eum ſchiſmaticum & hæreticum pronuntiaret, proſcriberet, diris ſuis excommunicationum fulminibus inſectaretur: verum etiam Gallos omnes hoſtilem in modum cruciandos, interficiendoſque curaret: præmium etiam percuſſoribus polliceretur, peccatorum omnium veniam, & impunitatem, ſi quis vel unicum Gallum quoquo modo trucidaret... Quo nuntio* (61) *Julius accepto tanto dolore atque iracundia exarſit, ut non modò Gallis omnibus aqua & igne interdiceret, verumetiam obvium quemque mactari, trucidarique imperaret: præmiis etiam, ut dixi, ſicarios ac percuſſores invitaret.* i. e. "If we would recollect thoſe things which happened in this Kingdom "in the memory of our fathers, the firſt incident that "occurs is this: Lewis XII (but what kind of Monarch was he? One who obtained the title, by the "univerſal conſent of all good men, of father of his "country) added ſome cities of Italy, that had been "taken during the war, to the dominions of Pope "Julius II. That this Pontif, ſome months after, "rewarded the King in the following manner for the "favours he had received; viz. that he not only pronounced him a ſchiſmatic and heretic; proſcribed "and excommunicated him; but even cauſed all the "French to be tortured and murthered; and even "promiſed all thoſe who ſhould kill, in any manner "ſoever, but a ſingle Frenchman, not only a reward, "but likewiſe the pardon of all their ſins... This "news being brought Julius (61), he flew into ſuch a "paſſion, that he not only excommunicated all the "French, but even commanded thoſe who ſhould "meet with them to murther them; he alſo en"couraged ruffians and murtherers, as I before ob"ſerved, by promiſing them rewards."

(59) *Concitava il Re d'Ingbilterra alla guerra: al quale haveva ordinato ebe per decreto del Concilio Lateranenſe ſe traſferiſſe, il nome del Re Chriſtianiſſimo: ſopra laqual coſa era già ſcritta una Bolla, contenendoſi in eſſa medeſimamente la privatione della dignita, e del titolo di Re di Francia, concedendo quel Regno a qualunque lo occupaſſe.* Guicciard. lib. 11. folio 325.

(60) Mezerai, *Abreg. Chronolog.* tom. 4. pag. 464. *ad ann.* 1513.

(61) i. e. that he had been ſuſpended by the Council of Piſa tranſferred to Milan.

[P] *We muſt not believe that the wine and hams... was the true cauſe of the war which the Engliſh proclaimed againſt France.*] Spondanus has been ſo unfair as to inſinuate this, and to joke upon it; and he pretends that the only reaſon why Polydore Virgil ſuppreſſed ſuch an incident, was, that he might have at one and the ſame time the honour both of Italy and England. This Polydore was an Italian, and he reſided in England, for which reaſon he intereſted himſelf for the honour and glory of both nations. Now he thought it ſhame that Italy ſhould win over people by ſuch a lure, and a ſhame for England to let itſelf be caught by ſuch a bait. Here follows the Annaliſt's words. *Feſtivum eſt quod refert Guicciardinus, appuliſſe hoc tempore in Angliam Pontificiam longam navem Falerno vino, caſeis ſuminibuſque onuſtam; quæ nomine Pontificis Regi, ac Principibus, Antiſtitibuſque donata, ab omnibus miro applauſu accepta ſunt: & plebem, quam plerumque non minùs levia quàm gravia movent, ad eam navem videndam ſummâ cùm voluptate accurriſſe, gloriantem anteà nunquam in eâ inſulâ navim ullam cum Pontificiis vexillis conſpectam. Quibus bellam gentem nobis depingit Guicciardinus, & vini acutique guſtûs appetentem, quibus ſciret Pontifex eam facilè in partes ſuas trahi poſſe; ſicuti olim Narſes feciſſe dicitur* (*), *ut Longobardos in Italiam alliceret; omnis generis poma, aliarumque déliciarum irritamenta, quorum Italia ferax eſſet, mittens, ut pauperrima ſua rura deſerentes ad occupandam regionem cunctis refertam divitiis venirent. Eam verò rem adeò inſignem, & Regi, principibuſque, & antiſtibus, ac populo maximè acceptam gratamque, cùm Polydorus Virgilius ſuæ Hiſtoriæ Anglicanæ non inſeruerit; exiſtimamus, ut Italum & in Angliâ commorantem, utriuſque nationis gravitati parcere voluiſſe* (62). i. e. "Guicciardin tells a pleaſant ſtory, viz, that one of "the Pope's ſhips, laden with Falernian wine, cheeſes, "and hams, came at that time to England; all which "things being preſented in the Pope's name to the "King, the Lords and Prelates, were received univerſally with applauſe; and that the common people, "who are generally as much affected with trifles as "with things of a ſolid kind, flocked with the utmoſt "pleaſure to view this ſhip; boaſting that they had "never before beheld a ſhip in their iſland carrying "the Pope's colours. Guicciardin ſays, that the fine "nation in queſtion was very fond of wine and high "ſeaſoned meats, by which the Roman Pontif knew "he ſhould eaſily prevail with them to ſide with "him: as it is related that Narſes did formerly, in "order to entice the Lombards into Italy; ſending "them fruits of every kind, and other dainties of "which Italy is fruitful, in order that they might "be prevailed upon to leave their extreme poor rural "cottages, and poſſeſs themſelves of a country abounding with riches of every kind. Now Polydore Virgil "has omitted, in his Hiſtory of England, this re"markable incident, ſo highly acceptable to the King, "the Lords and Prelates, and eſpecially to the people; "and the reaſon for his omitting it I take to be this: "as he was born in Italy, and reſided in England, "he did not care to expoſe either of thoſe nations." Mezerai comes much nearer to truth and good ſenſe; he obſerving, that the Pope fired Henry VIII with the ambition of protecting the true Church. The Engliſh, ſays he (63), "were upon the point of breaking with "the King: for the Pope had intoxicated them with "the vain glory of defending the Holy See, and with "the flavour of the delicious wines of every kind, "whereof he had ſent them a large ſhip-load, toge"ther with hams, ſauſages and ſpices, to make them "reliſh the better." According to Varillas (64), it was from a religious motive, that an Engliſh Biſhop founded an alarm for war the day after the feaſt (65), at which the chief men of the Parliament were regaled with the good wines and excellent cheeſes, which the Pope's galley had brought to London. The Prelate in queſtion repreſented, that Lewis XII was a perſecutor of the Church, and *that it would reflect eternal ſhame on the Engliſh nation, to live in peace with thoſe who perſecuted the Holy See.* Varillas ought to have explained a little better the ſeveral reaſons employed by this Prelate; and not have contented himſelf with hinting, that religious motives were blended with thoſe of policy. There is no doubt but the Engliſh Prelate repreſented, that Lewis XII wanted to dethrone the Pope, in no other view but to elect another who might ſuffer him to conquer all Italy. This doubtleſs was the true ſpring that put Henry VIII in motion. He ſaw plainly that if this was not oppoſed, Lewis XII would have the glory of depoſing Pope Julius II, the ſcourge of the Chriſtian world; after which he would elect any man he pleaſed for Pope, and ſubdue all Italy. Neither human politicks nor jealouſy will let a Prince conſent to ſuch an increaſe of the glory and power of his neighbour; and for this reaſon Lewis XII was attacked by England, Switzerland and Spain.

(*) Paul. Diacon. *de Geſt. Longob.* lib. 1. cap. 5.

(62) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1512, num. 3. pag. m. 289. where the following words are put by way of ſummary; *Quibus illiciis Pontifex ſibi Anglos benevolos reddiderit.* i. e. "The allure"ments employed by the "Pope, in order "to win over "the Engliſh."

(63) *Abrégé Chronolog.* tom. 4. pag. 459. *ad ann.* 1512.

(64) Varill. *Hiſtoire de Louis XII*, liv. 8. pag. 81.

(65) Henry VIII gave the entertainment.

[Q] *Varillas who ſpeaks... of a certain ſpeech... has expoſed himſelf to cenſure.*] He ſays (66), that Pompeio Colonna and Antonio Savelli hearing that Pope

(66) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Louis XII*, liv. 8. pag. 8. *ad ann.* 1511.

Bembo's History of Venice, is sufficient to shew the passion, the insincerity, and prodigious ambition of Julius II, though this Historian is not so prolix on this article as Guicciardin.

Our Pope was so tired of the plaisters which his Surgeon had put unsuccessfully upon an ulcer, that at last there was no possibility of prevailing upon him to let it be dress. The Surgeon who had promised with an oath not to use such plaisters any more, had recourse to an artifice which wrought a cure [*R*]. Bandello relates a pleasant incident.

Pope was fallen "into a kind of swoon which "lasted four hours, and made the persons present "think he was dead... assembled (67) their friends, "ran up and down the streets, stirred up the citizens "to rebellion, and led them to the Hotel de Ville, "where Colonna the best orator of the two, made the "most satyrical speech that is extant, against the Popes "in general, and Julius in particular. He declared "that most of them had abused the supreme authority "ever since the time they had usurped it; and enu-"merating all the cities that had formerly been go-"verned by Tyrants, he concluded that none of them "had met with such ill treatment as Rome. He "descended to the particulars of the conduct of the "last Popes, and dropt some particulars on that "subject which it is not decent to relate." Varillas adds (68) that "Guicciardin had drawn up "this speech from the memoirs of two or three people "who had heard it spoke, but it has been struck "out of the body of his history. It is nevertheless printed separately in Italian; and his French "translator who had recovered it, restored it to the "place from whence it had been taken." I have occasion for another passage of this author, before I make my criticism; let us therefore see the beginning of his preface (69). "When I caused, *says he*, the "eighth book of this history to be printed, I imagined "that the speech of Pompey Colonna to the principal "citizens of Rome, to prompt them to shake off the "Papal yoke, was a very scarce piece: and indeed I "had seen it no where but in the King's library. "But I have been informed since, that it had been re-"printed, by the direction of the late Mr. de Wicque-"fort, in the beginning of the book published by him, "entitled *Thuanus restitutus*, and consequently that it is "not hard to be met with at present. It is nevertheless certain, that Mr. de Wicquefort has discharged, "in this respect, only part of what he owed the pub-"lic, since he has not mentioned the motives that "occasioned this speech, which is the most insolent that "can be read; and as Guicciardin has not related "them, the curious will perhaps not be displeased if "I should supply the defect of those two historians. "The first motive &c." I cannot affirm that this speech is in the King's library, nor can I say that it is not, but I may venture to declare that Guicciardin never inserted it in his history. He speaks (70) but transiently of the insurrection. which the two men in question endeavoured to raise; and does not say that Pompeio Colonna, being the best orator, made the speech. It is not true that his French translator has restored that speech *to the place from whence it had been taken*. If this was so, it would not be a scarce piece, the French translation of Guicciardin being easily met with. It was not reprinted by the direction of Mr. de Wicquefort at the beginning of the *Thuanus restitutus*: but doubtless what follows misled Mr. de Varillas. In Guicciardin's fourth book, a long discourse has been omitted with respect to the manner how the Popes made themselves temporal sovereigns of part of Italy. The Protestants have preserved this discourse, and published it separately a numberless multitude of times (71). It is (72) in Latin, in Italian, and in French, at the end of the *Thuanus restitutus* printed at Amsterdam in 1663; and it is inserted in its proper place in the French translation of Guicciardin, by Jerom Chomedey, and printed at Geneva in the year 1593 with summaries, and marginal notes that plainly seem to be writ with a true Protestant spirit (73). Varillas having been told something concerning the history of the discourse in question, and concerning the speech made by those who endeavoured to excite the Romans to rebellion in 1511, has confounded the one with the other (γ).

(67) Ibid. pag. 10.

(68) Ibid. pag. 13.

(69) Of tome 3. of the *Hist. of Lewis XII.*

(70) Guicciardin. liv. 10. folio 280. *See also* Paulus Jovius, *in Vita Leonis X*, pag. m. 108.

(71) See the article GUICCIARDIN, remark [*A*].

(72) With two other passages that had been retrenched, the one of the 3d book, and the other of the 10th of GUICCIARDIN.

(73) Written by de la Noue.

§ (γ) Some objections may be made to this censure of Mr. Bayle with regard to Varillas; for if it be true, as Bayle pretends, that Guicciardin never inserted Pompeio Colonna's speech in his history, and spoke only transiently of the popular insurrection that he and Antonio Savelli endeavoured to excite in Rome in the year 1511; it is also true that he has inserted an extract of their speech to the people on that occasion; and that this extract, after having been omitted in most of the editions of Guicciardin, has been placed, not in the beginning, as Varillas says, of Wicquefort's *Thuanus restitutus*, but at the end of it; and it is surprizing, that Mr. Bayle, not only did not perceive this, but even affirmed positively the contrary, since he speaks of three passages of Guicciardin collected by de Wicquefort; and that the third of these passages is the very extract of Pompey Colonna's speech. It is true indeed on the other side, that Varillas should not have spoke of this, as tho' it had been the speech itself, nor as being "the most insolent speech that can be read, and "the most satyrical extant against the Popes in general "and Julius in particular," nor that Colonna descended "to the particulars of the conduct of the last Popes, "and that he dropt some particulars concerning this "subject which it is not very decent to relate;" since, besides that there is nothing like this in the extract in question; that nothing is there said in particular concerning the last Popes, and that Julius II is not so much as named in it, there are but two small pages in 12mo, in which they content themselves with representing in general the inconveniencies and irregularities of Church government. Nor should he have said, that *the French translator, who recovered it, restored it to the place, whence it had been taken*; for it is not there; a circumstance that is pretty surprizing, since that the other two castrated passages of Guicciardin, and collected by Mr. de Wicquefort, are each fixed in their proper places in the translation just mentioned. It was therefore just in Bayle to affirm that the speech in question was not restored, and this is the only thing on which his censure is grounded; for with regard to what he adds, viz. that doubtless Varillas confounded a castrated passage of the 4th book of Guicciardin, with this which belongs to the 10th book; what has been said above, shews sufficiently that these assertions are not well-grounded; and it is a proof of what Mr. Bayle has himself said elsewhere with so much judgment, viz. that *on matters relating to facts, a person ought to be very cautious in his conjectures; and that such a one had much better suspend his judgment till such time as he has perused several writings or memoirs* (*). I am informed by Mr. Lieve of Leipsic, that this extract of the speech in question is in its proper place, in the Italian edition of Guicciardin *apprεsso Jacobo Stoer* 1636; but as to the speech itself, which Varillas says he saw in the King of France's Library, his authority is so much suspected, that it is not safe to rely upon it. REM. CRIT.]

(*) Bayle's article of SEYMOUR (Anne, Margaret and Jane.)

[*R*] *His Surgeon... had recourse to an artifice which wrought a cure.*] Naudé brings this as an example, in a Dissertation where he enquires whether a patient may be imposed upon. *Is* (celeberrimus Chirurgus Joannes de Vigo) *dum nodum carnosum Julii secundi contumaciorem in dies fieri, & Pontificem omne genus remediorum constanter respuere animad verteret, novam quamdam medendi rationem meditatus est: pannos siquidem veteres frustillatim conscerptos unà cum panis siliginei mica molliore, & arsenici sublimati in aquis rosarum & plantaginis excepti fomento, ad tertias in vase æneo decoxit, expressisque demum illis, & pulveris modo ulceri admotis, quod nullis deinceps unguentis se curaturum jurejurando receperat, brevi summa cum omnium admiratione Pontificem à gravi & molesto affectu liberavit* (74). i. e. "That celebrated Surgeon John de Vigo, observ-"ing that Julius the Second's ulcer grew more "stubborn every day, and that the Pope constantly "refused every kind of remedy, projected a new "method of cure; for he boiled, to a third part, in a "brass

(74) Naudæus, *in Pentade Quæst. Iatrophilologicarum*, pag. 122, edit. Genev. 1647, *He cites* Joan. de Vigo, lib. 2. *Chirurg. tract.* 2. cap. 1.

incident [S]. I have juſt now read in a French author, that this Pope was ſo malicious, as to invent a fiction injurious to the memory of Gaſton de Foix Duke of Nemours; and which might heighten the ſuperſtition of the people, to the prejudice of France. This fiction was, that a ſerpent had been ſeen to come out of the Duke de Nemour's ſepulchre. The author who tells this ſtory, inveighs very ſharply againſt this Pope [T].

" braſs kettle, old rags torn to ſcraps, with crums of " the fineſt white bread, and a fomentation of arſenic " ſublimated in roſe-water and plantain; then ex- " preſſing or drying them, and applying them to the " ulcer, to which he had ſwore he would no more " apply any ſalve or plaiſter, he ſpeedily cured the " Pope, to the admiration of every one, of a very " troubleſome diſeaſe."

[S] *Bandello relates a pleaſant incident.*] The Germans, ſays he (75), " having aſked the Pope leave to " eat fleſh on St. Martin's day when it ſhould fall on " a fiſh day, Julius being unwilling to deny their " requeſt publickly, granted it them, but on condition " that they ſhould drink no wine that day." Now this was equivalent to a refuſal, there being more to be loſt than got by ſuch an indulgence.

(75) Bandell. *Novel.* 31. of Part 1. folio 219 *verſo*. This is a remark of Mr. de la Monnoie.

[T] *This Pope was ſo malicious, as to invent a fiction injurious to the memory of Gaſton de Foix . . . The author who tells this ſtory, inveighs very ſharply againſt this Pope.*] I will firſt relate the ſtory: *Non defuere qui prædicarent ſerpentem viſum de Fuxenſis tumulo ſibilum exilire, & hi maximè ſacrificuli; nam ab iiſdem ſæpè aliquid ſpectri novi intelligimus, ſed Phyſici mitiores* (76). i. e. " There were not wanting ſome who " ſpread a report, that a ſerpent was ſeen to iſſue " ſwiftly, hiſſing, from Gaſton de Foix's monument, " and thoſe perſons were chiefly trifling Prieſts; for " theſe frequently entertain us with the account of " ſome new phantom or prodigy; but natural Philo- " ſophers are more indulgent to us." The reader will obſerve by the way, that this author ſays that the Prieſts were the chief promoters of this tale, and that it is pretty much their cuſtom to ſpread prodigies. I omit his quotations from Ælian and Sozomen (77), and will take only thoſe particulars which relate to our Julius II. *Tales nugas in vulgus emiſerat malignitas Julii II Pontificis Rom. credulitas rudis dederat incrementum* (78). i. e. " Thoſe trifling ſtories owed " their riſe to the malice of Pope Julius II, who " ſpread them among the people, and which their " credulity greatly increaſed." He afterwards relates in what manner this Pope impoſed upon Cardinal George d'Amboiſe; made Rome to eccho with the ſound of arms; and how delighted he was with ſatyrical verſes written againſt France. He pardoned a Poet who was guilty of ſeveral crimes; and ordered him a handſome ſum of money, for a diſtich that will be ſeen below. *Verſiculis ad Gallorum ignominiam ſpectantibus mirè delectabatur; adeò ut poetæ ſtateres aureos ducentos munerarit, præter delictorum abolitionem, qui hos vulgaſſet:*

(76 Forcatulus, *de Gallor. Imperio & Philoſophia*, lib. 4. pag. m. 553.

(77) Book 9. chap. 17. concerning two ſerpents found in the ſepulchre of Zachariah the Prophet.

(78 Forcat. *de Gallor. Imperio & Philoſophia*, lib 4. pag. 554.

Julius evulſit Gallis cytherëius alas:
Martius hic priſco Cæſare major erit (79).

(79) Idem, ibid. pag. 556.

" He was exceedingly pleaſed with verſes that re- " flected ignominy on the French; inſomuch that he " preſented to a Poet two hundred pieces of gold, be- " ſides the pardon of all his offences, for publiſhing " the following lines:

" Greater by far than Rome's immortal Cæſar
" Shall Julius be, who pluck'd the wings of Gaul."

Forcatulus, my author in this remark, contraſts theſe two verſes with a very ſatyrical diſtich that was made againſt this Pope. *Eminuit in contrarium non inelegans diſtichum, dignum, opinor, quod Catulli eſſet, non autoris incogniti:*

Fæx Ligurum Romam, ponti fæx concutit armis
Julius, huic Brutum Gallia fortis alit (80).

(80) Idem, ibid.

" In oppoſition to this, there was handed about a " pretty diſtich, worthy, in my opinion, of Catullus, " not of an unknown author,

" Gaul nurtures a brave Brutus, who ſhall march
" And cruſh this Julius, tho' he now ſhakes Rome."

Some perſons, continues he, obſerved, that the times were come, when another Julius, by the profuſe beſtowing of monies he had borrowed, had obtained the Pontificate, and ſupplanted his competitors; but that the new Julius had nothing in common with the other, neither with regard to knowledge, to clemency, or honeſty; nor any thing in common with the Apoſtle St. Peter, not even to the Fiſherman's boat, ſince the Apoſtle juſt mentioned employed it only in a juſt and honeſt manner, whereas Julius (as it was ſaid) made uſe of it only as a Pirate. A reader who underſtands Latin, will ſoon find that I do not add the leaſt expreſſion to Forcatulus (81). *Nonnulli adjiciebant rediiſſe pro certo Julii ſeculum, quo ille nimirum profuſa largitione Pontificatum indeptus fuerat conflato multo ære alieno, ſuperatiſque, ut Tranquillus ait* (*), *duobus competitoribus ætate & dignitate potioribus . . . . Julius demum, qui nihil doctrinæ cum illo primo & perpetuo Dictatore commune habuit, nihil fidei & benevolentiæ, nihil cum Apoſtolo Petro ſanctitatis & prudentiæ, nihil morum (niſi forſan quod Petrus in mari innoxiam piſcationem exercuit, ille aliquandiu, ut ajunt, piraticam) poſt novenne imperium, & ſi quid menſium excurrit, obſtinatum in Galliam animum ad Manes tulit* (†).

(81) Idem, ibid.

(*) *In Julio* cap. 12.

§ (†) In 1511 Julius II put the whole Kingdom of France, the Dukedom of Britany excepted, under an interdict, which was levelled particularly at the city of Lyons, whoſe fair he removed to Geneva. This appears from the decree made by him in the third Seſſion of the Counil of Lateran, where we read the following words. Anno M. D. XI. die nono Calendas Novembris, & anno ſequenti Idibus Auguſti, Franciæ Regnum, Lugdunum præcipue, (Britanniæ Ducatu excepto) Eccleſiaſtico Interdicto ſubjecit, Nundinaſque Lugduni ſolitus habere in Genebenſem civitatem tranſtulit, ut refert Pontificum Diploma in tertia Seſſione Synodi Lateranenſis, in qua etiam hæc leguntur: " Damna- " tionis alumnos Bernardinum Carvajal, Guillelmum " Briſſonet, Renatum de Pria, & Fridericum de S. Se- " verino, Cardinales, eorumque fautores ſacro Conci- " lio approbante damnamus, reprobamus & deteſta- " mur." Porro Julius Papa, qui antea Julianus, in hæc verba prorupit moriens, *Ut Julius Cardinalibus indulgeo Schiſmaticis, ut Julianus juſtitiæ rationem habendum judico:* id notatum eſt a Pariſio Craſſ. Cæremoniarum Sacelli Pontificii Magiſtro (†). REM. CRIT.]

(†) Petr. Frizon, *in Gallia Purpurata*, pag. 557. He cites Craſſus *in Diariis Pontif.*

JULIUS III, elected Pope the 7th of February 1550, was named John Maria del Monte. He was of mean extraction, and a true ſoldier of eccleſiaſtical fortune. He had riſen gradually till he came to be Preſident of the Council of Trent [A]. Julius was

[A] *He had riſen gradually till he came to be Preſident of the Council of Trent.*] To omit his firſt employments, I ſhall obſerve, in the firſt place, that he aſſiſted in the Council of the Lateran, and made a ſolemn ſpeech at the concluſion of it. He was Archbiſhop of Siponto, Auditor of the Apoſtolical Chamber, and twice Governor of Rome. He was given in hoſtage when Rome was ſack'd by the forces of the Emperor Charles V; and after his being Cardinal he was ſeveral times Legate in the chief provinces of the Eccleſiaſtical State, and in Bologna (1). " He aſſumed the " name of Julius in memory of Julius II, who had " raiſed his family, by promoting Anthony del Monte " his uncle to the Purple, and from whom he had " obtained the Archiepiſcopal See of Siponto. He was " born in the diſtrict of Rome called *del Parione*, but " his

(1) *Extracted from* Palavicino, *Hiſt. Concil. Trident.* lib. 13. cap. 10. num. 8.

was a very voluptuous man [*B*], and was paſſionately fond of a very ugly lad, who was very meanly deſcended [*C*]. As ſoon as he was elected Pope, he gave the youth in queſtion his Cardinal's hat [*D*]; and made a whimſical anſwer when he was told how unworthy

" his family came originally from *Monte-San-Savino* " in Tuſcany, whence he took the name of *Monte*, " inſtead of that of *Giocchi*, by which he was called " before (2)." He obtained of the Duke of Tuſcany the inveſtiture of Monte-San-Savino for his brother. He could not deny himſelf the pleaſure of ſeeing his family governing, in that place, thoſe who once were their equals: *Impotens ſibi temperandi ab ea voluptate qua ſuos aſpiceret in illis dominantes, inter quos educati fuerant æquales* (3).

(2) Amelot de la Houſſaye, in the margin of his tranſlation of Fra-Paolo, pag. 280. *ex Onufrio.*

(3) Palavin. *Hiſt. Concil. Trident.* lib. 13. cap. 10. num. 8.

[*B*] *Julius was a very voluptuous man.*] Thuanus ſpeaks as follows on this ſubject. *Sub id tempus Julius III intemperantia vitæ magis quam ſenio effœtus fato conceſſit, qui Joanne Baptiſta Balduini fratris F. mortuo, cum non ita a Fabiano juniore Baptiſtæ fratre ſollicitaretur, totum ſe voluptatibus mancipaverat, parato ad delicias nobili illo ſeceſſu ſtructura & operibus antiquis admirando, in quo fere reliquam vitam a negotiis vacuus cum amicis ſui ſimilibus inter ludos, aleam, comœdias, & quæ talia comitari amant, ſacro faſtigio indigna oblectamenta, continuatis nocti diebus tranſegit* (4). i. e. " Near that time Julius III left the world, he owing " his death to intemperance rather than old age. This " Julius, after the deceaſe of John Baptiſt, his brother " Baldwin's ſon, being not ſo much ſollicited by Fa" bian, Baptiſt's younger brother, abandoned himſelf " entirely to pleaſures, in that charming and elegant " retirement, ſo wonderful for its ſtructure and works " of antiquity, wherein he ſpent moſt of the reſt of " his life, diſingaged from all buſineſs, among friends " of his own caſt of mind; paſſing whole nights " as well as days, in gaming, ſeeing of plays, and " ſuch like feſtivities, unworthy of his ſacred dig" nity,"

(4) Thuan. lib. 15. pag. 306.

[*C*] *He . . . . was paſſionately fond of a very ugly lad, who alſo was very meanly deſcended.*] Some uſed to ſay that this was his ſon; whilſt others denied this, and related how that Cardinal del Monte, having found this lad playing with a monkey in the ſtreets, took him into his ſervice, becauſe no body but he had the courage to play with that animal. This was the foundation of a favour or kindneſs, which afterwards grew to be a wild paſſion. The lad in queſtion was loathſome in every reſpect, except that he had got a knack of playing the buffoon. We are told theſe particulars by Thomas Eraſtus, whoſe words are as follow. *Habet puerum quendam, nigram, turpem, arrogantiſſimam beſtiam, ineptam, ignorantem, & plane inertem, niſi quod nonnihil eorum, quæ ſcurræ, dicteriorum in ore habet. In ſumma, corpore & animo monſtrum. Quis, unde, aut cujus ille puer ſit, tam ſunt variæ hominum ſententiæ & opiniones, ut nemo exploratum habere videatur. Animadverti ego quoſdam, qui filium arbitrabantur; &, qui filium negabant, ingenioſe aliorum dicta refutare, atque in plateis repertum eduxiſſe e parvulo, propter ſimiam, cum qua, præter illum nemo hominum ludere auderet. Ea re Cardinalem (aut Epiſcopum tum) ita delectatum, ut pro ſuo habuerit. Hunc puerum, miſer, ita amat perdite, ita deperit (dicitur autem alios omnes vincere ἐν τῇ παιδιᾳσίᾳ) ut nihil poſſit dici vehementius* (5). i. e. " He has I know not what boy; a " black, filthy, and moſt domineering brute, ſilly, " ignorant, and quite devoid of all talents except that " he can play the buffoon a little. In ſhort, he is a " monſter both in body and mind. No one ſeems to " have certainly diſcovered who he is, or whence he " ſprung. I have found ſome who think him Julius's " ſon; and thoſe who deny this, come off ingeniouſly " by ſaying, that he met with him in the ſtreets, and " brought him up from a child, becauſe he played " with an ape, which no one but that boy had the " courage to do. The Cardinal, (or Biſhop at that " time) was ſo delighted with this, that he took him " for his own. He is diſtractedly fond of this boy, " as he indeed is ſaid to ſurpaſs all others in the unna" tural vice." Thuanus ſays a thing, which confirms part of this; as firſt, that this boy was called the *Monkey* or *Ape*, even after he had been raiſed to the Purple. Secondly, that he bore this name, becauſe his employment, under the Cardinal his maſter, was to look after a monkey or ape. *Soluti ad omnem licentiam animi homo* (theſe are the words of this great Hiſtorian, which give a very ill character of Pope Julius III) *ſtatim adepta dignitate qualis eſſet, omnibus manifeſtum fecit. Nam cum antiquæ conſuetudinis ſit, ut novus Pontifex galerum, cui velit, ſuum largiatur, eum juveni cuidam, cui Innocentio nomen, quique, quod in familia ſimiæ curam gereret, Simiæ etiam poſt adeptam dignitatem nomen retinuit, cognomine etiam ſuo atque inſignibus attributis donavit* (6). i. e. " This man being addicted to " licentious pleaſures of every kind, was no ſooner " raiſed to the Pontificate, but he ſhewed to every one " his diſpoſition: for it being a cuſtom from time " immemorial, for the new Pontif to beſtow his hat on " whomſoever he pleaſes, he gave it to a certain young " fellow named *Innocentius*; and who on account of " his looking after an ape in his family, retained the " name of *Simia* after he was raiſed to the purple; in " this manner beſtowing on him a ſurname and marks " of honours" See the notes on the *Confeſſion Catholique de Sancy*, pag. 249, edit. of 1699.

(5) Thomas Luberus, *qui* Eraſtus *poſtea voce Græca appellari amavit*) *in Epiſtola ad Pellicanum, apud* Hottingerum, *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 5. pag. 572.

(6) Thuan. lib. 6. pag. 121. vol. 1.

[*D*] *He gave the youth in queſtion his Cardinal's hat.*] We juſt now heard from Thuanus, that Cardinal del Monte, upon his being elected Pope, immediately beſtowed his hat, his name and (7) his arms on a young man whoſe name was Innocent, and whoſe buſineſs it was to look after a monkey. Eraſtus, whom I have already cited, will give us a more circumſtantial relation of this matter. This lad had been left at Bologna; ſo that Julius III, who would not let him come to Rome before he had raiſed him to the Purple, and who wanted a little time in order to get this promotion approved, ſuffered all the rigours of abſence, and ſought for the beſt remedies poſſible. He was never chearful and gay but when he heard of his Innocent; and he enquired about him of all perſons, who were able to give him the leaſt information. He cauſed him to come near to Rome, in order that he might have the conveniency of viſiting him; and having once brought him ſecretly into the city, he waited for him at the window as impatiently as a lover does for his miſtreſs, who had promiſed to paſs the night with him. He was heard to ſay, that the chief reaſon why he rejoiced at being Pope was, that it gave him an opportunity of being a benefactor to Innocent; and that he thought himſelf leſs obliged to the Cardinals for creating him Pope, than for their conſenting to honour Innocent with the purple (8). He appointed him his firſt Miniſter; and all thoſe who wanted to intercede for any favours were ordered to apply themſelves firſt to Innocent. Here follows the original of what I have now ſaid. *Dum Romæ poſt electionem commoraretur (manſerat autem Innocentius, id ei nomen, Bononiæ) dicitur nunquam lætus fuiſſe, niſi dum aliquid de Innocentio intelligeret. Et audivi ego à gravibus viris, inter tam multos Bononienſes, qui Romam ſint profecti, neminem eſſe repertum, quem ſciret cum Innocentio, aut ſuſpicaretur fuiſſe, qui non interrogatus ab eo eſſet, quid, & quomodo Innocentius ageret. Poſt aliquot menſes propius Romam accedere juſſit, ut ad eum deambulatum aliquando Roma exire poſſet. Non enim potuit adduci, ut pateretur eum ingredi Romam, niſi galero rubeo eſſet ornatum turpe caput. Ab hac re plurimi Cardinales videbantur abhorrere, minimeque paſſuri, ut in Cardinalium numerum cooptaretur, quem ne hominem quidem eſſe cognoviſſent. Accerſivit igitur noctu aliquando in urbem clam, atque ita in feneſtris expectabat, ut ii ſolent, quibus amica, qua nihil habent in vita charius, pollicita eſt noctem. Dicitur dixiſſe, ſe lætari, quod in ampliſſimam illam poteſtatem eſſet collocatus, non tam ſua cauſa, quam quod poſſet bene de Innocentio mereri. Et tandem factus Cardinalis dixit, ſe pro beneficio magis Cardinalibus obſtrictum eſſe, quam quod ſe Pontificem eſſe voluerint. Præterea, ut qui aliquid à ſe velint, id per Innocentium eſſe impetrandum. Quamobrem Legati Civitatum, Principum & Regum ad puerum concurrunt, illi ſua negotia exponunt, ut is de rebus ſuis graviſſimis etiam ad Papam referat* (9). Some ſatires were publiſhed at Rome, wherein it was ſaid

(7) See the remark [*M*], citation (30) in the margin.

(8) Compare what is ſaid below, remark [*M*] citation (†).

(9) Eraſtus, *apud* Hottingerum, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. 5. pag. 572.

unworthy a choice he had made [*E*]. There was little gravity in his diſcourſes, which is manifeſt from the reflection he once made on the anſwer of two Cardinals [*F*]. The want of gravity was not his greateſt fault; for it is declared that he ſometimes would be profane and blaſphemous in his diſcourſe, as, when he apologized for his fire and paſſion, by inſtancing the anger which God expreſſed againſt Adam for an apple [*G*]. During the Conclave in which he was elected, ſome of his letters were intercepted; whereby it was

ſaid that this favourite, though ſo very ugly, was a new Ganymedes. This the Pope did not make a myſtery of; but would ſometimes tell the Cardinals ſome ſtories of this boy's laſcivious tricks. *Romæ fama erat & libellis quoque perſcriptum fuit, à Jove Ganymedem foveri, licet deformem: ſed nec ipſe Pontifex hoc ad reliquos Cardinales diſſimulare, & per jocum fertur aliquando commemorare, quam ſit laſcivus adoleſcens & importunus* (10). I ſhall ſpeak further of the adventures of this man in the remark [*M*].

(10) Sleidan, *Hiſt.* lib. 21. folio m. 609, *verſo.*

[*E*] . . . . *and made a whimſical anſwer, when he was told how unworthy a choice he had made.*] I will borrow the words of John Bodin. "A Prince who "exalts an unworthy man above men of virtue and "merit, or who ranks them with the greateſt perſons, "in doing good to one does an injury to all the "reſt: as it was repreſented by the Conſiſtory of Cardinals to Pope Julius del Monte, when he beſtowed "the Cardinal's hat he had worn on a young boy he "loved; that it was a great diſhonour to admit a perſon who had neither virtue, knowledge, nobility, "poſſeſſions, nor any other quality, as theſe ſaid, "that deſerved being raiſed to ſo exalted a ſtation. But "the Pope, who was a facetious man, directing himſelf "to the other Cardinals; what virtue, ſays he, what "nobility, what knowledge, what honour, did you find in "me, to raiſe me to the Pontificate (11)?" Was not this laughing at the Sacred College? And might one not apply to this Pope the following exclamation of Cato; *What an odd ſort of Conſul have we! Adjungit Plutarchus eum* (Ciceronem) *cum Murænam Conſul defenderet, quem accuſaſſet Cato, ſcite exagitaſſe ſententias & præcepta Stoicorum in Catone, unde riſus ingens à corona pervenerit ad ſubſellia, ſubriſiſſe porro ipſum Catonem leviter, atque ad conſeſſum dixiſſe, quam ridiculum, Judices, habemus Conſulem* (12). Some relate Pope Julius's anſwer as follows, *What, pray, did you find in me, to do me the honour of making me Pope undeſervedly? But let us raiſe this young man, and he'll deſerve it* (13). Theſe laſt words are a pretty ſmart jeer, and reprove a fault that is found every where. The inſtant a man is raiſed to an employment, a thouſand flatterers ſtart up, and ſay that he very well deſerved it. Montagne ſays ſomewhere (α), that Antiſthenes one day made the Athenians ſenſible of the abuſes that were committed in the beſtowing of public employments: *He adviſed them to order, that their aſſes ſhould be made to plough no leſs than their horſes:* it was anſwered, that the beaſt in queſtion was not formed for ploughing: *No matter for that,* replied he, *all depends on your decree; for the moſt ignorant, and moſt unqualified perſons, on whom you beſtow the command in your wars, become nevertheleſs inſtantly extremely worthy of them, becauſe they are employed by you.*

(11) Bodin. *de la Republique,* liv. 5. chap. 4. pag. m. 748.

(12) Vavaſſor, *de Ludicra Dictione,* pag. 329.

(13) Jean Creſpin, *de l'eſtat de l'Egliſe, ad ann.* 1550, pag. m. 551. *ex Paulo Vergerio.*

§ (α) Liv. III. Chap. VI. See, on this occaſion, in Feneſte, Liv. IV. Chap. VII. a ſmart ſaying by la Renardiere, a native of Britany, to Henry IV. REM. CRIT.]

[*F*] *The reflection he one day made on the anſwer of two Cardinals.*] They found him in the court of his palace in a very indecent poſture; he having thrown off his clothes, and walking only in his drawers, becauſe of the heat. He obliged them to do the ſame, and then aſked what the people would ſay of them, ſhould they go and ſhew themſelves in the field of Flora and the ſtreets of Rome? They would take us, ſaid he, for ſo many raſcals, and ſo throw ſtones at us. We therefore, ſays he, are obliged to our clothes, for preventing our being looked upon as raſcals; are we therefore not prodigiouſly obliged to our clothes? *Cum aliquando exutis veſtibus, diploide & caligis tantùm indutus, in aula, quòd ferveret tempeſtas, obambularet, venerunt Cardinales duo, collocuturi cum ipſo. Quos ipſe ad expendas veſtes ſuas, & deambulandum ſecum urgebat, mox autem nudos interrogabat: Quid ſi in Campo Floræ, aut per plateas nudi ſic deambularemus, quid oro populum exiſtimatis de nobis judicaturum? Reſponderunt: Judicarent nos eſſe nebulones, & conjicerent in nos rudera atque lapides. Excepit Pontifex: Ergo quòd non habemur pro nebulonibus, id acceptum ferre debemus noſtris veſtibus. Quantum igitur, ô fratres, debemus illis noſtris veſtibus* (14)?

(14) Bullinger, in *Vita M. S. Julii III, apud* Heideggerum, *Hiſt. Papatus,* pag. 235.

[*G*] *He apologized for his fire and paſſion, by inſtancing the anger which God expreſſed againſt Adam for an apple.*] This particular is related thus by John Creſpin (15). "He loved, among other meats, hogs "fleſh and peacocks; but as his Phyſician had earneſtly adviſed him to refrain from eating of pork, "becauſe it was bad for the gout with which he was "often afflicted, and yet he would not abſtain from "it, the Phyſician privately admoniſhed the Clerk "of the Kitchen, not to order any more pork for the "Pope's table. As therefore it was omitted for ſome "time, and the Pope took notice of it, he aſked the "Clerk of the Kitchen where was his diſh of pork. "The Clerk anſwered, that the Phyſician had ordered that none ſhould be ſerved up at his table; upon "which the Pontif cried, bring, bring me my diſh, "in ſpite of God (*al diſpetto di Dio*). . . . Seeing one "day a peacock at dinner, and none of the gueſts "having eat of it: keep, ſays he, this peacock cold "for my ſupper; and let a table be ſpread for me in "the garden, for I ſhall have company to night. As "afterwards he ſaw, as he ſat at ſupper, hot peacocks "brought to table, but not the cold one which he "ordered ſhould be kept, he flew into a terrible paſſion, "and uttered a moſt horrible blaſphemy againſt God. "Then ſome of the Cardinals who ſat at table with "him, ſaying, we beſeech your Holineſs not to be "ſo much exaſperated for ſuch a trifle, Julius replied, "If God was ſo angry about an apple, that he drove "our grand parent Adam out of paradiſe on that account, why may not I be allowed (I who am his "Vicar or Lieutenant) to be angry for a peacock, ſince "a peacock is of much more value than an apple?" Thoſe who ſhould be deſirous of reading this incident in two languages, may gratify their curioſity by reading what follows (16). *Sæpiſſimè nequiſſimus iſte homo blaſphemiis illis uſus fuit, quæ impuriſſimis lenonibus aliiſque deſperatæ malitiæ hominibus tunc temporis frequenter in ore fuerunt, ad quas animus totus quantus exhorreſcit, vid.* Al diſpetto di Dio, in contemptum (17) Dei, & Potta di Dio, i. e. ad vulvam Dei *&c. exemplum hujus rei proponit Auctor libri cui titulus,* Lectura ſuper Canone de conſecr. diſt. 3. (β) *ajens:* "Intellexi, "portatam fuiſſe in Civitatem Paduæ quandam hiſtoriam, impreſſam Latine, Italice, Germanice, & "Gallice, in qua narratur, quod Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter Papa Julius III proximis diebus valde "fuit iratus cum Epiſcopo Arimenſe, ejus Magiſtro "domus, propter certum pavonem, & quum ſua præ"libata Sanctitas bis blaſphemaſſet, primo dicendo, "Potta di Dio, deinde, Al diſpetto di Dio, quod fecit "tanquam Johannes Maria de Monte, & ſic tanquam "homo, non tanquam Julius III Papa, & Vicarius "Chriſti, de quo ſupra dixi. Et quum unus Cardinalis illi dixiſſet, quod non deberet iraſci propter "unam tam parvam rem, id eſt, propter unum pavonem, tunc ſanctiſſimus D. Papa reſpondit: Si Deus "fuit totus turbatus, & in magna ira & colera, propter unum pomum, & tanta mala fecit omnibus hominibus; quare non poſſum ego, qui ſum ſuus Vicarius in terris, iraſci cum meo Magiſtro domus "propter unum pavonem?"

(15) *Eſtat de l'Egliſe, ad ann.* 1550, pag. 553.

(16) Joan. Zuingerus, *in Tractatu Hiſtorico Theologico de Feſto Corporis Chriſti,* pag. 146.

(17) The word *contemptus,* that is *contempt,* does not expreſs the ſtrength of the Italian *diſpetto:* It ſhould be *invito Deo.*

§ (β) Two burleſque pieces, writ in the ſixteenth century, bear this title. The firſt, intitled *Lectura ſuper Canonem de Conſecr. Diſt. 3. De aqua benedicta, ſpectabilis viri, Lamperti de Nigromonte. Ad ſacræ Theologiæ Magiſtros noſtros D. Joh. Eckium, & Joh. Cochleum Eccleſiæ Catholicæ ſynceriſſimos defenſores* was publiſhed at Wittemberg in 1543 (*). The ſecond, which is the piece in queſtion, was publiſhed eleven years after, and the author *D. D. Geraldus Buſdragus de Luca,* there ſtiles himſelf Doctor in Decree, Biſhop of Naples, of Romania, and Suffragan of Padua. REM. CRIT.

(*) *Antiqua Literarum monumenta autographa &c. Brunſwic.* 1690, tom. 1. pag. 448.

was conjectured that the Pope they were going to elect would be of a lewd diſpoſition, thoſe letters being filled with the moſt abominable obſcenities [*H*]. It is thought that his money fruſtrated the election of Cardinal Pole, which had been concluded on, and the publication whereof had been deferred for no other reaſon than for fear that the notifying it in the night ſhould be of an ill omen. *Poſt longam Cardinalium in conclavi diſceptationem, cùm, teſte in Muſæo Hiſtorico Johanne Imperiali, ὁμοψήφως Papa jam electus eſſet Reginaldus Polus, eamque electionem promulgare nocte appetente inauſpicatum duxiſſent iidem; nocte tranſacta & mutatis rationibus aureis Julius Papa ſubitò emerſit* (*a*). The medal which he cauſed to be ſtruck after the death of Edward King of England, had for its motto a paſſage of Scripture, the application whereof ſoon proved falſe [*I*]. This Pope died the 20th of February 1555, being about ſixty eight years of age (*b*). He had feigned an indiſpoſition [*K*]; and the better to impoſe on the world, he had confined himſelf to a regimen, that brought a real diſtemper upon him of which he died. It is related, that there was ſo great an intimacy between our Pope and Cardinal Creſcentio, that they had miſtreſſes in common, and maintained the children they had by them at a common expence [*L*], for want of knowing who was the genuine father. Each of them alſo

(*a*) Heidegg. *Hiſt. Papatus*, pag. 233.

(*b*) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1555, num. 43. *but* Palavicin. *Hiſt. Concil.* lib. 13. cap. 10. num. 10. *ſays he was ſeventy years old.*

[*H*] *Thoſe letters being filled with the moſt abominable obſcenities.*] They were writ the 26th of January 1550 to one Hannibal Contin, by Camillo Oliva a Conclaviſt of the Cardinal of Mantua, together with a little poem, in which the author deſcribed very obſcenely his paſſion, and the burning deſire he had to be again with his friend. It is John Sleidan who relates theſe particulars. *Dum in Conclavi res agitur, interceptæ fuerunt literæ, quas ex Cardinalis Mantuani familiaribus, quidam, Camillus Olivus, ad quendam ſuum Annibalem Continum, Januarii die XXVI ſcripſiſſe ferebatur, & ſimul carmen lingua populari ſcriptum, ubi de ſua locutus affectione, & abſentis deſiderio, tam pudendis utitur verbis, ut ſine flagitio vix ea recitare liceat. Hinc jocus illorum, qui Pontificem dicebant aliquem obſcœnum prænunciari, qui proditurus eſſet ex eo Conclavi, quod ejuſmodi literas daret* (18). An author before cited does not relate this paſſage without ſaying what follows. *Vir Doctus anonymus* in Epiſt. ad amicum *narrat, ex eo Conclavi, in quo creatus eſt Julius, interceptas fuiſſe literas alicujus ex Conclaviſtis, i. e. ex illis, qui ſolent aſſidere Cardinalibus, Papam electuris, quibus quidem literis non putet ulla memoria unquam ſcriptas fuiſſe ullas obſcœniores, ſceleratioreſque. Nudis enim nefandiſſimiſque verbis illic agi cum cinædo, ſalvo honore. Has, fateri, ad ſe primum in Germaniam fuiſſe miſſas, ſed dare typis excudendas (ut multi voluiſſent) nunquam quidem ſe voluiſſe.* Paulo poſt addit, *Julium III valde male audire in hoc obſcœniſſimo genere,* (Sodomitici nim. criminis) *ita ut neque a Cardinalibus abſtineat* (19).

(18) Sleidanus, *Hiſt.* lib. 21. folio m. 609 *verſo.* It is alſo in Thuanus, Frankfort edit. of 1625, lib. 6. pag. 121.

(19) Joan. Zuingerus, *in Tractatu de Feſto Corporis Chriſti*, pag. 146.

[*I*] *The medal which he cauſed to be ſtruck, had for its motto a paſſage of Scripture, the application whereof proved falſe.*] There was extraordinary joy at Rome for the death of young King Edward, becauſe Princeſs Mary who ſucceeded him, reſtored England to the obedience of the Holy See; but the motives which occaſioned that joy ceaſed in a little time; for Queen Elizabeth reſtored the reformation, and made that iſland one of the moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms in all Chriſtendom, ſo that the prediction of the medal proved a mere chimæra. *Eo inſaniæ Julius pervenit, ut in perpetuam rei memoriam excudi curaverit monetam, cujus altera pars ejus imaginem tricorniferam oſtentavit, altera inſcriptionem ejuſmodi habuit:* Gens & Regnum, quod non ſervierit tibi, peribit. *Sibi ſtolide vendicans; quod Chriſto Eſaias. Sed diuturnum & ſtabile gaudium neutiquam fuit* (20). i. e. "Julius became ſo "mad, that he cauſed a medal to be ſtruck to perpe- "tuate the remembrance of that particular. On one "ſide of this medal was a figure with three horns, and "the other the following inſcription; *The people and "Kingdom, which ſhall refuſe to ſerve thee, ſhall periſh,* "ridiculouſly arrogating to himſelf what Iſaiah applied "to Chriſt. But this joy was very ſhort-lived."

(20) Heidegger. *Hiſt. Papatus*, pag. 238.

[*K*] *He had feigned an indiſpoſition.*] The reaſon of this was, his diſcovery that the Cardinals would refuſe to conſent to the demand, which his brother urged him to make to them. His brother had a paſſionate deſire to poſſeſs himſelf of a city, and was for ever importuning the Pope on that account. Julius therefore, in order that he might have a pretence not to hold a conſiſtory, feigned to be ſick. To carry on this trick with the greater art, he was obliged to eat little or nothing, and to make choice of ſuch aliments as are fit for ſick people: now it is ſaid that this change of diet brought upon him the ſickneſs of which he died (21). This puts me in mind of Cælius in Martial.

(21) Spondan. *ad ann.* 1555. num. 4. pag. 556. *ex* Onuphrio Panvinio. Thuanus relates this, lib. 15. pag. m. 306.

Diſcurſus varios, vagumque mane,
Et faſtus, & ave potentiorum,
Cum perferre patique jam negaret;
Cœpit fingere Cælius podagram.
Quam dum vult nimis approbare veram,
Et ſanas linit obligatque plantas,
Ineditque gradu laborioſo;
(Quantum cura poteſt, & ars doloris!)
Deſit fingere Cælius podagram (22),

(22) Mart. Epig. 39. lib. 7.

The ſenſe is,

"Cælius quite tired with waiting on the great;
"Their haughtineſs, and ever fruitleſs viſits,
"Reſolves to feign the gout, and feigns ſo well;
"So artfully anoints and ſwathes his feet,
"And limps ſo long, till he no longer feigns,
"But has the fell diſeaſe, and is a cripple."

Some ſay that his ſickneſs was indeed owing to his change of food; but not that he grew abſtemious purpoſely to impoſe on the world: they ſay that he hoped thereby to get rid of the intolerable pains of the gout. Others aſſert that his death was owing to an old diſtemper; and they own that he was very fond of pleaſures, and that he was much more deſirous of enjoying them than of exerciſing the Pontificate: he ſpending his whole time in building voluptuous receſſes, therefore devoted himſelf more to luxury than to buſineſs. *Sunt etiam qui dicant, eum veterano interiiſſe: cum, ut idem etiam auctor narrat, externa quæque parum curans, fruendo potius quam regendo Pontificatui incumberet, totuſque eſſet in extruenda elegantiſſima ad voluptarios receſſus extra portam Flaminiam Villa Julia; cujus inſanire ſtudio videbatur; in qua conviviis potius quam publicæ procurationi vacabat* (23).

(23) Spond. *ad ann.* 1555, num. 4. pag. 556. *ex* Onuphrio Panvinio.

[*L*] *It is related . . . that our Pope and Creſcentio . . . had miſtreſſes in common, and maintained the children they had by them at a common expence.*] Thomas Eraſtus informs me of theſe particulars. *Julius III Pontifex,* ſays he (24), *& Creſcentius fere omnes meretrices communes habuerunt, propriiſque ſumtibus neutr, ſed communibus aluerunt, atque ut breviter dicam, omnium ſcelerum ſocii extiterunt. Suſceperunt ex quadam muliere, honeſti viri Viterbienſis, filiam, quam, quod neuter ſuam eſſe dicere credereque poſſet, ut matrem, ita filiam quoque communibus ſumtibus educandam tradiderunt, nuptuique dederunt nobiliſſimo hujus urbis adoleſcenti, & inter Principes hujus urbis, qui ſunt* 40, *conſtitutum voluerunt.* i. e. "Pope Julius III, and Cardinal Creſcentio had "the greateſt part of the proſtitutes in common, and "maintained them at a common expence; to ſay all "in a word, they were companions in all kinds of "wickedneſs. They had a child by a certain wo- "man, the daughter of a gentleman of Viterbo, and "as neither of them could ſay or believe that it was "his, becauſe they had enjoyed the mother in com- "mon, they brought up the daughter at a mutual ex- "pence, and married her to a moſt noble youth in "this city; and would have ranked him among the "Princes or chief men, who are forty in number, of "this city." We here have a ſurprizing inſtance of a freedom from jealouſy, and what is rarely ſeen in that country.

(24) *Apud* Hottinger. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. 5. pag. 574.

alſo paid his quota towards the ſupport of thoſe miſtreſſes. Cardinal Palavicino extenuates to the utmoſt of his power the faults of this Pope; but he does not refute what Fra-Paolo ſays of him [*M*]. I forgot to take notice, that the Court of France offered this Pope's nephew a Princeſs of the blood, but that this alliance was refuſed [*N*].

[*M*] *Cardinal Palavicino extenuates ... faults of this Pope; but he does not refute what Fra-Paolo ſays of him.*] He owns this Pope loved to divert himſelf; but adds, that he was as fond of applying himſelf to buſineſs. *Pronus ad laxamenta, ſed æque etiam ad negotia* (25). He grants that he died without being much loved or eſteemed. *Æſtimatione tenui, nec majore benevolentia mortuus eſt* (26); but Palavicino pretends, that this was owing to his acting with a little too much freedom and familiarity; becauſe, by his not attracting the veneration of the public, it was concluded that he was not a worthy Pontif. The author adds, that this judgment was not juſt; and that if the faults of Julius III were more conſpicuous than his good qualities, they perhaps were not of ſo much conſequence as his virtues: *Nihilominus, ut mea fert opinio, hæc de illo exiſtimatio fuit iniqua: ipſius quippe vitia majora quidem ad ſpeciem erant quam virtutis, ſed non fortaſſe ad pondus* (27). With reſpect to the promotion of the lad, he only ſays (28), that it reflected diſhonour in the firſt days of his Pontificate. He acknowledged that the man in queſtion was ſo meanly deſcended, that no one has yet been able to ſay from whence he ſprung; but he pretends that the friendſhip which Cardinal del Monte had for him, was grounded on his conſidering him as the ſon of his judgment, the meaning whereof is this. Whilſt the Cardinal was Legate at Piacenza, he was ſtruck with the pretty pranks of a little boy, who was often about his table. The Legate looking upon this as an indication of genius and good ſenſe, reſolved to bring up this young plant at his own expence; and finding the boy made a great progreſs, he loved him more and more; was pleaſed with his happy conjecture; and conſidered him as a ſon of his judgment, a ſort of creature whom we value more than a bodily child. *Oblectatus ex eo herus, ſibique plaudens, quod ſua quaſi perſpicacia plantam eximiam, adhuc minutulam & in luto, diſcreviſſet, majori in puerum benevolentia incaluit, qua illum proſequebatur veluti ſui judicii prolem, cujus filii pluris quam corporis ſoboles æſtimantur* (29). He would have his brother adopt him; and the inſtant he was elected Pope he honoured him with the purple, the 30th of May 1550. He had made him reſide till that day in a village a day's journey from Rome. He ſettled twelve thouſand crowns a year upon him, but did not then intruſt him with the adminiſtration of affairs. This new elected Cardinal was hardly ſeventeen years of age. He behaved in ſuch a manner as ſhewed him to be altogether unworthy of the honour to which he was raiſed; inſomuch that the ſucceeding Pontifs were obliged to puniſh him for his riotous exceſſes. This is all that Palavicino takes notice of. He cautiouſly forbore to animadvert on Fra-Paolo, who has ſhewn very plainly, that the public conſidered this creature of Julius as his catamite; prudence ſuggeſting that it would not be proper to revive the memory of thoſe ideas. For this reaſon Palavicino does not accuſe Fra-Paolo of maliciouſly collecting ſlanders; but is content with ſaying, that he is miſtaken with reſpect to the time of his adoption (30), and the place where this young man firſt captivated the Pope (31). Here follow Father Paul's words (32). "Julius ſoon gave a ſpecimen "of what his future government would be, by ſpending whole days in walking in his gardens; in projecting the building of country-houſes: in diſcovering a ſtrong propenſion to pleaſures, and very little "inclination to buſineſs (†), eſpecially thoſe which "were found difficult. Mendoza the Embaſſador having obſerved this turn of mind in the Pope, "wrote to his ſovereign, and told him, that it would "be an eaſy matter to ſucceed in negotiations of every "kind with this Pope, who, as he was ſtudious of "nothing but joy and pleaſures, might, by being put "in fear, be made to turn any way. The opinion "which was entertained, viz. that he would prefer "his private intereſt and affections to the public welfare, was ſoon confirmed by the promotion he made "the 31ſt of May of a Cardinal, on whom he beſtowed his hat, purſuant to the cuſtom of the "Popes. When he was but Archbiſhop of Siponto, and "governed the city of Bologna, he took into his "houſe a young boy, born in Piacenza, whoſe original is not yet diſcovered. He took an affection "for him, as though he had been his own ſon; and "took him to Trent, where a grievous fit of ſickneſs "had like to have deprived Julius of him: but ſending him, by the advice of Phyſicians, to Verona, "for the change of air; Innocent (for ſo was this minion called) recovered his health there, and returned ſome time after to Trent. The day he was to "arrive, the Legate came out of the city, as if to "take a walk, accompanied by a great number of "Prelates; and meeting him, received him with "prodigious teſtimonies of joy and tenderneſs: which "occaſioned much ſpeculation, whether it were an accidental meeting, or deſigned purpoſely to take him "in the way. The Legate uſed to ſay, that he loved "him as the author of his fortune (†), inaſmuch as "the Aſtrologers had predicted great wealth and exalted dignities to the boy in queſtion, which could "never happen but by his exaltation to the Pontificate. Scarce was he made Pope, but Baldwin del "Monte, the brother, adopted him for his ſon; and "after the Pope's beſtowing many benefices upon him, "honoured him with the Purple as was before obſerved. This occaſioned Paſquinades, and gave "courtiers an itch to ſpeak out the real cauſe of ſo "ſurprizing an action, by ſeveral conjectures drawn "from paſt accidents."

[*N*] *The Court of France offered this Pope's nephew a Princeſs of the blood, but this alliance was refuſed.*] The Pope anſwered, that marriages between perſons of ſo different a rank could not be happy; and that as he acknowledged the Royal Family in France to be the nobleſt in the world, he acknowledged his own to be the meaneſt and moſt deſpicable upon earth. Nevertheleſs the Pope did not give the true reaſon of this refuſal; for the circumſtance which prompted him to refuſe ſo glorious an alliance was, his deſire of marrying his nephew to the Grand Duke's daughter; which would be of more advantage to him, in order for the putting in execution a project he had in view in favour of his family. Thuanus informs us of theſe artful particulars. *Julius*, ſays he (33), *ad ſcurrilitatem uſque feſtivus, & alienam ab innata deceſſoribus Pontifícibus ambitione mentem præ ſe ferens, cum tam interea Coſmi, ut proximi & ſuorum rebus utiliſſimi principis adfinitatem ultra modum expeteret, & Camertium principatum Fabiano deſtinaret, ut conditionem tam amplam eluderet, ſic Lanſacum urgentem dimiſit, ut diceret, quam ex nobiliſſima omnium, quæ uſquam fuiſſent, familia rex prognatus eſſet, tam ſe ac ſuos omnium, qui viverent, mortalium ignobiliſſimos agnoſcere, proinde nuptias, quæ inter pares melius coirent, inter inæqualeis adeo perſonas commode contrahi non poſſe.* i. e. "Julius, who was "facetious even to buffoonery, and of a caſt of mind "different from the ambition of his predeceſſors; as "he ardently ſollicited the alliance of Coſmo, a Prince "who lay neareſt to him, and was moſt likely to be "of ſervice to his intereſt, and as he intended to "make Fabian Prince of Camercio; in order to "get rid of the importunity of Lanſac, told "him, that as the King ſprung from the nobleſt family in the world, ſo he owned himſelf and his "family to be the moſt ignoble among mortals; and "therefore that marriage, which is beſt when contracted by equals, could not conveniently be ſolemnized between perſons whoſe condition was ſo very "unequal." It is to be obſerved that one of the daughters of Coſmo Duke of Florence was betrothed to Fabian del Monte, who was Baldwin's ſon, and not yet marriageable. See the thirteenth book of Thuanus. Palavicino, in the place above cited, obſerves that he was Fabian's baſtard.

(25) Palavicin. *Hiſt. Concil. Trid.* lib. 13. cap. 10. num. 8.

(26) Idem, ibid.

(27) Idem, ibid.

(28) Idem, lib. 11. cap. 7. num. 4.

(29) Idem, ibid.

(30) Palavicin. lib. 11. cap. 7. num. 4. ſays that it appears by the *Journal of Maſſarellus*, Secretary of the Council, that the young lad in queſtion was adopted, as he was acting in a dramatic Paſtoral, the 2d of March 1549.

(31) Palavicino, ibid. ſays that it was not at Bologna, as Father Paul will have it, but in Piacenza.

(32) Fra-Paolo, lib. 3. *ad ann.* 1550, pag. 281. of Amelot's Tranſlation.

(†) *Qui occupationibus totus intentus Cardinalis, veluti furtim, voluptates ſequebatur, Pontifex factus, votorum jam omnium compos, abdicata rerum cura, hilaritati & genio ſuo nimium indulſit.* Onuphr. *in Vita.*

(†) Onuphrius relates that Julius uſed to ſay, that he owed his exaltation to the Pontificate, for the good he had done that child. *Affirmans ſe ad tanti honoris decus evectum, ob ea beneficia quibus illum puerum afeciſſet.*

(33) Thuan. lib 14. *circa init.* pag. m. 280. *ad ann.* 1554.

JUNCTIN (FRANCIS) or rather GIUNTINO according to his Italian name, one of the moſt famous Mathematicians and Aſtrologers of the ſixteenth Century, was born

born in Florence, but ſpent a good part of his life in Lyons (a), and publiſhed many books there [A]. Though he was a Doctor of Divinity (b), he nevertheleſs was extremely fond of judicial Aſtrology in which he was extremely credulous. I know not the year in which he died. He was fifty ſix when he publiſhed a Commentary on the *Sphere* of Sacroboſco in the year 1557 (c); whence the reader may infer the year in which he was born. Junctin would ſometimes deſcend from the ſkies to divert himſelf with human reſearches; he compoſing a diſcourſe on the æra of Petrarch's amours (d). I have ſpoke elſewhere (e) of his Horoſcope of Luther. The reader will find below the particulars of his life, as publiſhed by Poſſevin [B].

(a) *See* La Croix du Maine, pag. 101.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathemat.* pag. 194.

(d) See the title of it in the remark [A].

(e) In the remark [B] of the article LUTHER.

[A] *He publiſhed many books at Lyons.*] He there publiſhed in 1570 his *Tractatus judicandi revolutiones nativitatum, in* 8vo. Three years after he publiſhed his *Speculum Aſtrologiæ quod attinet ad judiciariam rationem nativitatum atque annuarum revolutionum, cum nonnullis approbatis Aſtrologorum ſententiis* (1). This work was in 4to, but in the edition of 1581 he ſwelled it to a folio by the Commentaries he added *in duos poſteriores Quadripartiti Ptolomæi libros innumeris obſervationibus referta* (2), *& certiſſimis Aphoriſmis (quatenus ex ſiderum poſitione liceat Chriſtiano more aliquid conjicere) ex probatiſſimorum Aſtrologorum ſcriptis depromptis, inſignita.* His Latin Commentaries on John de Sacroboſco's *Sphere* were publiſhed in 1577 (3). There was printed at Colen in 1580, a book intitled, *De Divinatione quæ ſit per aſtra diverſum ac diſcrepans duorum Catholicorum ſacræ Theologiæ Doctorum judicium, ſcilicet Franciſci Junctini ac Joannis Lenſæi.* There are two French tracts of Junctin, viz. *A large Diſcourſe on the things with which the Comet that appeared in November* 1577 *threatens many Princes, Countries and Nations of Chriſtendom.* Printed in Paris by Gervais Mallot 1557 (4), and at Lyons by Francis Didier 1578, in 8vo (5); and *A Diſcourſe on the Reformation of the Year made by our Holy Father Pope Gregory XIII; together with the Cauſes of his taking away ten days of the Golden Number.* At Lyons 1582, 8vo. He printed in the ſame city in 1580, 8vo, *Diſcorſo ſupra il tempo dello inamoramento del Petrarca. Con la ſpoſitione del Sonetto, Gia fiammegiava l'amoroſa ſtella* (6).

(1) Epitome of Geſner's *Bibliotheque.*

(2) This word refers to *Commentaria.*

(3) Printed at Lyons, *apud* Jo. Tornæſium. Voſſius mentions only this edition. Du Verdier Vau-Privas ſpeaks only of that of 1578, *apud* Symphorianum Beraud.

(4) La Croix du Maine, pag. 101.

(5) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 404.

(6) *See* Du Verdier Vau-Privas, *Bibliotheque Françoiſe*, pag. 404, 405.

[B] *The reader will find below the particulars of his life, as publiſhed by Poſſevin.*] I knew him in France, ſays he (7), where he lived in exile, and devoted himſelf to the pernicious ſpeculations of aſtrology. He was a fugitive apoſtate. He had been a Carmelite, and raiſed to the Prieſthood, and even appointed Provincial; after which he forſook his vows, his profeſſion, and the Romiſh religion; but by the charitable counſels of ſome devout perſons he was brought back, in ſome meaſure, into the right path. He publickly abjured the heretical principles he had imbibed in the Church of the Holy Croſs at Lyons; and gave people room, for ſome time, to think that he intended to labour for the advantage of the Catholic Church. However, he was far from retracting the works he had writ upon prognoſticating impieties; *Non vidimus eum libros ſuos de impietate divinatrice retractaſſe* (8). He was one of thoſe who putting their hand to the plough, and looking back, are not fit for the Kingdom of Heaven. He traded in bills of exchange; he put out money to intereſt, and by thoſe methods gained ſixty thouſand crowns, no part of which could be found after his death. He had bequeathed a legacy of three thouſand livres to the Junti, whoſe corrector of the preſs he had been. However, this teſtimony of his friendſhip proved of no ſervice to them. *Juntis honeſtiſſimis Typographis (in quorum ædibus ſæpe librorum correctionibus operam Lugduni poſuerat) mille aureos nummos cum moriens legaſſet, ii mihi faſſi ſunt, eos uti reliquos evanuiſſe; nimirum omnia perdita fuiſſe, quæ perditus ille anxie hinc inde corraſerat* (9).

(7) Poſſevin. *Biblioth. Selectæ*, tom. 2. pag. m. 245.

(8) Idem, ibid.

(9) Idem, ibid.

JUNGERMAN (GODFREY) made himſelf known by his learning in the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century. He was born in Leipſic, where GASPAR JUNGERMAN his father [A] was Profeſſor of the Civil Law. His mother was daughter of the famous Joachim Camerarius of Bamberg (a), alſo Profeſſor at Leipſic. Godfrey Jungerman was perfectly well ſkilled in the Greek tongue. The public is indebted to him for firſt publiſhing *Cæſar's Commentaries* in Greek [B]. He had already publiſhed his Latin Tranſlation of the Paſtoral of Longus with Notes (b). He printed in 1609 remarks on the Treatiſe *De Equuleo* [C], which Magius had wrote during his impriſonment. Some of his Letters have likewiſe been printed. He died the 16th of Auguſt 1610 (c) at Hanaw, where he had long been Corrector of the Preſs to the heirs of Wechel [D].

(a) *Bapenbergenſis.* I add this title, to diſtinguiſh this *Camerarius* from his ſon *Joachim Camerarius*, who is ſurnamed *Norimbergenſis.*

(b) The reader will ſee in the remark [A] of the article LONGUS an error of Moreri with regard to *Jungerman.*

(c) *Diarium Biograph.* Henning. Witten.

[A] GASPAR JUNGERMAN *his father.*] It is he very probably who is the author of ſome diſputations on certain points of the Civil Law, which Draudius (1) mentions: and of a poem *de Cuſtodia Angelica*, mentioned by Draudius abovementioned (2) and by Simler (3).

[B] *The public is indebted to him, for firſt publiſhing* Cæſar's Commentaries *in Greek.*] He added to that verſion, aſcribed by ſome to Planudes, the manuſcript whereof which was in Petavius's library, had been communicated to him by Bongarſius (4); he added to it, I ſay, not only his own remarks on the Greek tranſlator, but alſo thoſe of ſeveral learned critics on *Cæſar's Commentaries.* This edition printed at Francfort in the year 1606, in 4to is greatly eſteemed.

[C] *He printed in* 1609 *remarks on the treatiſe* de Equuleo.] The Journal *des Savans* (5) ſpoke contemptuouſly of thoſe remarks; *as though the greateſt part of them were upon trifles*; as for inſtance, *whether we ought to ſay* equuleus *or* eculeus; but we can aſſure our readers, that this cenſure is a little too haſty; for though Jungerman has enquired ſomething too minutely into this little article of orthography, yet the Journaliſt ought not to have judged of all the remarks from this, which beſides is not uſeleſs to the ſubject, and may pleaſe many.

[D] *He had been corrector of the preſs to the heirs of Wechel.*] This we find by the letters he uſed to write to Goldaſt (6). We there ſee alſo that he was writing on Julius Pollux; but this was known before by the preface to his edition of Herodotus. He added a great many curious pieces to that edition, and among others ſeveral fragments of Cteſias. Chevillier might have put him in the catalogue of learned men who have been correctors of the preſs (7).

(1) *Bibliotheca Claſſica*, pag. 716.

(2) Ibid. pag. 1507.

(3) *Epitome Bibloth. Geſneri*, pag. 258.

(4) See the *French Epiſtles wrote to Scaliger*, pag. 368.

(5) Of March 2, 1665, pag. m. 182. Dutch edit.

(6) See the *Collection of Letters to Goldaſt*, printed at Frankfort in 1688, and *Gudius's Letters*, publiſhed at Utrecht in the year 1697.

(7) *Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, pag. 195, 196.

JUNGERMAN (LEWIS) born at Leipſic the 4th of July 1572, and brother of the foregoing, was an excellent Boraniſt. He applied himſelf early to the knowledge of Plants, and acquired ſo great a reputation, that he was offered, in England, the employment of the celebrated Matthias Lobel, who died in London in the year 1616; but he choſe rather to live in Germany. He had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by having a great

great ſhare in a work intitled, *Hortus Eyſtettenſis*, comprehending the figure and deſcription of all the Plants in the Biſhop of Eichſtet's garden; and he had drawn up a catalogue of all thoſe that grow in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg, which was printed under the direction of Gaſpar Hoffman in 1615. He was appointed Profeſſor of Phyſic at Gieſſen in the year 1622 [*A*], after having raiſed a garden there, which had greatly contributed to the improvement of the Students. He paſſed three years in this Profeſſorſhip; and afterwards had ſuch another beſtowed upon him, together with that of Botany, at Altdorf in 1625. He continued in them till his death, which happened the 7th of June 1653; and during the twenty eight years he paſſed in thoſe Profeſſorſhips, he took ſo much care of the Phyſic Garden, that the fame of it ſpread even to foreign countries. He had the more time to ſpend in this employment, becauſe he was never married, nor ever engaged in an amour; whence it was ſaid that his continence could could not be applauded, ſince he had had no occaſion for women; for continence is a virtue, which, in the opinion of Ariſtotle, ought to occaſion a conflict, of which there did not appear any ſigns in Jungerman's life. *In quo* (cœlibatu) *non eſt neceſſe continentiam prædicari, qua nulla in ipſo opus erat, virtus enim eſt cum luctâ, Ariſtotele cenſore, conjunctâ, cujus indicium nulla quæ unquam in hoc genere emicaret flamma, præbere animadverſa eſt* (*a*). A man who was to write a Panegyric on a Friar, would have given quite another turn to this affair. This Profeſſor bequeathed his Library to the Univerſity of Altdorf. I muſt not omit that he took an extreme pleaſure in writing Anagrams [*B*]. I know not whether he devoted himſelf to judicial Aſtrology; but in the programma whence I extract this article, it is obſerved very ſeriouſly that the humours of a St. Anthony's Fire, ſtopping on a ſudden when Mars was retrograde, occaſioned a ſcorbutic gangrene in the extremity of his feet [*C*]. Godfrey and Lewis Jungerman had a brother named Gaspar who was a learned man. See Godfrey Jungerman's Notes on Chapter IV *de Equuleo*.

(*a*) Abdias Trew, *Matheſ. & Phyſ. Prof. & Rector Univerſitatis Altdorfinæ, in Programmate, apud* Henning. Witten, *Memor. Medicorum.*

[*A*] *He was appointed Profeſſor of Phyſic at Gieſſen in the year* 1622.] The Rector or Principal of the Univerſity of Altdorf has perplexed the chronology a little in his *Programma*. He declares that Jungerman had gained ſo great a reputation, whilſt he was Profeſſor at Gieſſen, that he was invited into England, to be ſucceſſor to Lobel that very famous Botaniſt. But this is confounding the times; for Lobel died 1616, and Jungerman was not Profeſſor of Gieſſen but from the year 1622 till 1625. What likelihood is there, that the Engliſh ſhould have ſuffered Lobel's employment to be vacant ſix or ſeven years? They doubtleſs nominated Jungerman to it ſoon after it became vacant. He therefore had acquired, before he was Profeſſor at Gieſſen, the reputation that procured him thoſe great teſtimonies of eſteem, which the Engliſh had entertained for him. Paul Freherus, who has given (1) the ſubſtance of this *Programma*, has, on one hand, ſpecified the dates better; but on the other, this ſerves only to ſhew more evidently the error of his calculation. He ranks the dates as follow. *Doctor Med. creatus, & ad Profeſſionem Med. publicam promotus eſt A.* 1622. *Hinc* (2) *per triennium ea nominis celebritate præfuit, ut in* Angliam *quo celeberrimi Botanici* Matthiæ Lobelii *ſucceſſor fieret invitaretur A. C.* 1616; *ſed ille* Germaniæ *conditiones prætulit. Ad deſcriptionem etiam* Horti Eichſtettenſis *tota* Germania *celebris laudabilem nec vulgarem operam contulit.* i. e. "He was created Doctor of Phyſic, and appointed "Profeſſor in that ſcience in the year 1622. He acquired ſo great a reputation three years after, that "he was invited in 1616 to England, to ſucceed Mat"thias Lobel that very eminent Botaniſt; but he choſe "rather to live in Germany. He gave an excellent "deſcription of the garden of Eichſtett, ſo famous "throughout all Germany." This Hortus Eichſtettenſis was printed in the year 1613; whence the reader may judge whether the particulars are ranked here according to their proper periods. It is ſuppoſed in Witten's *Diarium Biographicum*, that our Jungerman was Profeſſor at Leipſic, and afterwards at Altdorf. The reader may not ſcruple to correct this, by putting *Gieſſenſi* inſtead of *Lipſienſi*.

(1) *Theatri*, pag. 138.

(2) One would conclude that the particle *Hinc*, which anſwers to the word *Cui* of the *Programma*, was, by an error of the preſs, put for *Huic*. But this error of the Printer has not put the order obſerved by the author in a worſe condition.

[*B*] *He took an extreme pleaſure in writing anagrams.*] He publiſhed a collection of theſe at Gieſſen in the year 1624, intitled *Aulæum Academicum* in 4to. There are two other works of his, viz. the catalogue I mentioned in the body of this article, and ſuch another catalogue entitled *Cornucopiæ Floræ Gieſſenſis &c*; *Gieſſæ* 1624 in 4to.

[*C*] *It is obſerved . . . that the humours of a St. Anthony's Fire . . . occaſioned a ſcorbutic gangrene.*] Here follow the words of the *Programma*. *Cujus* (ereſipelatis) *fluxus conſueti ſubito ſubſiſtentes, gangrænam ſcorbuticam ante trimeſtre* (*circa motum Martis in loco Lunæ natalitio oppoſito tardum & retrogradum*) *in extremitate pedum pepererunt.* The Phyſicians at that time uſed, in diſcourſing on diſtempers, to aſcribe much to the influence of the ſtars.

JUNIUS (ADRIAN) born at Horn in Holland [*A*] the firſt of July 1511,

Errors of Moreri, and of a Tranſlator of Thuanus.

[*A*] *Junius . . . born at Horn in Holland.*] Moreri, in the article of Adrian Junius, ſays, that vulgarly his name was *Jonghe* or *Du John*; and afterwards when he ſpeaks of Francis Junius Profeſſor at Leyden, he only makes his vulgar name to be *Jonghe*. But this is no ways accurate; for, in the firſt place he ſhould have ſaid *de Jonghe*, and have ſaid it only with regard to Adrian Junius; ſince it is falſe that his name, in the Flemiſh tongue, could have been indifferently either *de Jonghe* or *du Jon*. Secondly, it is falſe that the vulgar name of Francis Junius was any other but *Du John*. It is aſſerted in the tranſlation of Thuanus (1), that Horn the native place of Adrian Junius, *is a village of Gueldres*. This is a notorious blunder which I do not find in the Francfort edition of Thuanus, printed in 1625. If the tranſlator made uſe of an edition in which was ſuch an error, he may be excuſed; but here follows another particular that deſerves cenſure. He ſays that Junius, having left Haerlem on account of the ſiege, went to *Armuyden near Mildeburg, where having employed, to no purpoſe, his utmoſt care and diligence, in order to give redreſs to the calamities of that beſieged city, the change of air was ſo pernicious to him &c.* It is pretty plain that this *beſieged city* does not refer either to Middleburg, or to Armuyden, but to Haerlem. Now it is abſolutely falſe to aſſert that Junius thought in any manner to relieve that *beſieged city*, when he was at Armuyden; he not going thither till after the taking of Haerlem. *Ad Armuydam juxta Mildeburgum in Mattiacis ſe contulerat, ubi cum fruſtra conſilio & diligentia ſua concivibus laborantibus opem ferre conatus eſſet, ex cœli mutatione . . . in letalem morbum incidit* (2). Now Thuanus cannot be well excuſed for this miſtake; for though a perſon who writes in Latin, is not obliged to clear a period according to the ſtrictneſs of the French Grammar, he yet would never have expreſſed himſelf as he did, had he imagined that Junius did not go into Zeland, till after the taking

(1) *Apud* Teiſſier, *Addit. aux Eloges*, tom. 1. pag. 479.

(2) Thuan. lib. 62.

1511 [B], was one of the moſt learned men of the age in which he lived. He was ſon to a burgomaſter of great merit [C], and ſtudied firſt at Haerlem, afterwards at Louvain and Paris, and laſtly at Bologne in Italy, where he was admitted Doctor of Phyſic. After his return to his native country, he went to England in the year 1543 (a), and was Phyſician to the Duke of Norfolk there, and afterwards to a great Lady. He compoſed books in that country, and among others a Greek and Latin Lexicon, to which he had added above 6500 words. He dedicated it to young King Edward in the year 1548; and becauſe he gave him the title of King, he was proſecuted for it a long time after at the Court of Rome. He was ſtrongly affected with this proſecution; for we find by ſome of his Letters (b) to Lindanus Biſhop of Ruremond, and to Cardinal Granvelle, that he paſſionately wiſhed to be freed from the ignominy with which he found himſelf branded, ever ſince the Cenſors had put his works in the *Index expurgatorius*. For this purpoſe he wrote, by the advice of Arias Montanus, to the Pope; and prepared an apology, where, at the ſame time that he proteſted he had always been a good Catholic, he ſhewed that he was under an indiſpenſible neceſſity of beſtowing the title of King on Edward (c). Being a very good Poet he publiſhed in 1554, an Epithalamium on the marriage of Philip II with Queen Mary (d). This perhaps would have been a conſiderable fortune to him, had England continued in a peaceable ſtate; but he left it during the troubles [D], and confined himſelf in Horn; but the King of Denmark made him ſoon leave it, in order to make him tutor to the Prince his ſon (e). Junius not being able to reconcile himſelf [E] either to the climate or the genius of the inhabitants, left the country ſo very abruptly, that he did not ſo much as take leave of the King. It is very probable that this was in 1564 (f). He ſettled in Haerlem [F]; practiſed Phyſic there, married and was principal of the college or great ſchool in that town. The States of Holland gave him a commiſſion in order for writing the Hiſtory of the Province; a taſk he would have performed worthily, and with greater accuracy than he has done, could he have given the finiſhing ſtroke to his work, which was publiſhed after his death under the title of Batavia (g). When the Spaniards had beſieged the city of Haerlem, he found means to get out of it, in order to go to the Prince of Orange, who wanted to make uſe of his preſcriptions. The city being taken in 1573, his Library was

(a) See his Apology among his *Letters*, pag. 392. where he ſays that he went thither when Charles V beſieged Landreci.

(b) Pag. 388, 469.

(c) See his *Letter to Vulcanius*, pag. 124. where he boaſts that he deſpiſed this diſgrace.

(d) Ibid. pag. 214.

(e) See the remark [E].

(f) See his *Letters*, pag. 385.

(g) Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathem.* pag. 259. Pontus Heuter. lib. 2. *de Vet. Belgio*, cap. 25.

of Haerlem. It cannot be ſaid that he ſpeaks there either of the ſiege of Middleburg or of Armuyden, ſince thoſe two towns were not beſieged whilſt Junius lived in Zeland. Melchior Adam has copied Thuanus's error. Theſe ought to have known that our Phyſician made ſome ſtay at Delft, after the taking of Haerlem, before he went into Zeland.]

[B] *The firſt of July* 1511.] This we are told in the Life of Junius prefixed to his epiſtles; *vitam hanc orditur Kalendis Junii, anni* 1511. Some pages after we read, that he died *die* 16 *Junii anno* 1575, *cum* EXPLEVISSET *annum ætatis* 63 *qui magnus climacterinus annus Medicis vocatur*. i. e. "He died the 16th "of June 1575, when he had compleated his ſixty "third year, which Phyſicians call the great Climac- "teric." By this we refute Thuanus and Melchior Adam, who ſay that he died in his Climacterical year: but as this Life of Junius is not very accurate, and as the edition of the epiſtles (3) to which it is prefixed, is ſaid to have been printed in 1552, tho' it includes the author's epitaph who died in 1575, and ſome of his letters dated in 1574, I would not too rigorouſly condemn the chronology of Meurſius, who fixes the birth of this learned man to the year 1512 (4). The reaſon why I ſay his life (5) is not accurate is, that beſides the two dates abovecited, I there find his epitaph which ſays that he lived ſixty three years. If the author of that life thought the epitaph was right, he did wrong to fix Junius's birth-day to the 1ſt of July 1511, and to aſſert that, the ſixteenth of June 1575, he had compleated the ſixty third of his age. On the other ſide, when a man is full ſixty four years of age within a fortnight, that writer would be extremely negligent who ſhould ſay that he is ſixty three of age, or is paſt his ſixty third year. But whether there be much or little negligence in this, it is very certain, that Moreri, Freherus, Melchior Adam, Sir Thomas Pope Blunt, and thoſe who fix Junius's birth to the year 1513, are thereby refuted. The edition of his letters is not very correct; and beſides they are not ranked in the order in which they were writ; and no care has been taken to ſearch for and ſupply the dates when they are wanting, which is very often the caſe. Theſe two defects are but too common in collections of that kind.

(3) I make uſe of an edition printed at Dort, *apud* Vincentium Caimax, 12mo.

(4) Valerius Andreas, *Bibliotb. Belg.* & Bullart, *Academ. des Sciences* have followed it.

(5) I know not whether it be that which Beverwyck promiſes in a *Letter to Voſſius*, dated the 12th of June 1626. See *Letters wrote to Voſſius*, num. 78. pag. m. 47.

[C] *He was ſon to a Burgomaſter of great merit.*] Our Junius's father had not only been Secretary, and afterwards five times Burgomaſter of Horn, but alſo twice deputed to the Court of Denmark, and once to Sweden and other places. He was a ſcholar; and wrote a Latin work which has not been printed, containing an account of the origin and increaſe of Horn (6).

(6) Boxhornius, *Theat. Holland.* pag. 373.

[D] *He left it during the troubles.*] I have followed, for want of a better guide, the Life of Junius prefixed to his Letters, although I am ſenſible that it will not be accurate to make this author live in England, from the firſt time he went thither, till the troubles that broke out after the marriage of Mary with Philip II; for I find ſome of his letters (7) dated from Haerlem or Horn in 1552, and the beginning of 1554, which ſpeak of a man that led a pretty ſedentary life. Many of thoſe who have writ Lives were in great want of good advice.

(7) Pag. 339, 345, 348.

[E] *Not being able to reconcile himſelf.*] This appears from page 385 of his letters, where he ſpeaks thus to Sambucus. *Liberet mihi Polydori exemplo erumpere in hæc verba, adſum profectus Danica è caligine, niſi longinqui ac moleſti itineris ceu partus recordationem obliteraſſet jucundus amicorum reduci quotidie gratulantium. . . occurſus.* i. e. "I might, in imitation of "Polydore break into the following words; I am here "emerged out of Daniſh gloom; in caſe the grateful "meeting of my friends, who are every day congratu- "lating me on return, did not obliterate the re- "membrance of a tedious and troubleſome journey, "as of child-birth." He adds ſeveral reaſons why he threw up the ſalary, which was conſiderable enough (1), and which he might enjoy at Copenhagen. He declares in another letter (9), that both himſelf and his wife abhorred that country. In another he deſires to have his ſalary increaſed. I there find that he had been invited to be the King's Phyſician, but not to be tutor to the young Prince.

(8) It was a ſalary of four hundred Rix Dollars, pag. 409.

(9) Ibid.

[F] *He ſettled in Haerlem.*] The author of his life has not well diſtinguiſhed the periods. He does not ſettle him in Haerlem or marry him till after his return from Copenhagen. Now I have proved (10) that he returned from thence in 1564; and it appears from a letter (11) which he wrote in 1559, that he had then been ſettled ſome time in Haerlem, and was married to a handſome young Gentlewoman, who had brought him a good fortune. The dedication of his treatiſe *de Anno*, that of the treatiſe *de Coma*, and that *Animadverſorum*, are dated from that city anno 1556.

(10) See citation (f) above.

(11) Pag. 179. See concerning his miſtreſs, pag. 109.

was plundered, wherein he had left a great many works which had coſt him much labour, and whereby he had hoped to eternize himſelf. A circumſtance that added to his affliction was, they were almoſt fit for the preſs. He went to Zealand, where, by the Prince's recommendation, a public ſalary was decreed him, for practiſing Phyſic in Middleburg; but the air of the country did not agree in any manner with his health; and he there contracted ſome diſtempers which, added to the grief which he felt for the loſs of his Library, brought him to his end the 16th of June 1575, he being threeſcore and four years old wanting a few days. His body was carried from Armuyden to Middleburg, where he was honourably buried by his eldeſt ſon, who alſo wrote his epitaph [*G*]. He is author of ſeveral books [*H*]. I ſhall make ſome mention of them in the laſt remark. There was a deſign to give him a Profeſſorſhip in Leyden [*I*], the Univerſity whereof was but juſt riſing when he died. I have not yet had time to examine fully whether he at laſt turned Proteſtant [*K*].

(*b*) Epiſt. pag. 387.

It appears by one of his Letters (*b*), that he flew into a violent paſſion, upon his hearing that one of his pupils had accuſed him of ordering his boarders not to go to Church. So far from this, he proteſts that he obliged them to go on holidays; and laid a heavy forfeit on thoſe who ſhould neglect on theſe occaſions. We ſee, in another place (*i*), that he complains of his poverty; and that being over head and ears in debt, and obliged to equip himſelf, he had not a penny in the world.

(*i*) Ibid. pag. 149. *See alſo* pag. 254.

☞ We

[G] *His eldeſt ſon . . . . wrote his epitaph.*] Boxhornius having added an appendix to his *Theatrum Urbium Hollandiæ*, for the omiſſions which he thought it neceſſary to ſupply, inſerted, amongſt other particulars, this epithet in great letters, but he let three faults creep into it, *velint* inſtead of *meruit*; 67 inſtead of 63, and 15 inſtead of 16: *Vixit ann. LXIIIX. obiit die XV. &c.*

[*H*] *He is author of ſeveral books.*] The chief of theſe, excluſive of thoſe I have already mentioned (12), are, *Animadverſorum libri ſex. Commentarius de Coma. Adagiorum ab Eraſmo omiſſorum Centuriæ octo cum dimidia* (13). *Appendix ad Epitheta Textoris. Copiæ cornu, ſive Oceanus Enarrationum Homericarum ex Euſtathii Commentariis collectus in unum volumen.* A *Nomenclator. Commentarius de Anno & Menſibus.* Latin verſes (poems) of ſeveral kinds. The tranſlation of Eunapius *de Vitis Sophiſtarum*; thoſe of Heſychius Mileſius, of Plutarch's Table Talk (14); Caſſius's *Iatroſophiſta*, compoſed and printed at Paris in 1541, which I believe was the firſt of his works. I omit a very great number of authors which he has illuſtrated with notes, as Nonius, Marcellus, Plautus, Seneca, Pliny (15), Virgil, and Horace (16). He had employed a great deal of time on Suidas; and he even intended to dedicate it to the ſon of the Prince of Orange, as he tells an Engliſh Nobleman (17), whoſe good offices he implores with reſpect to the Prince, in order to get a preſent beforehand; for our Junius underſtood as well as any man, how to make advantages of a Dedication.

(12) In the text of this article.

(13) The Bodleian Catalogue ranks this book among thoſe of Francis Junius, Profeſſor of Divinity in Leyden.

(14) Biſhop Huet, *De claris Interpretibus*, ſpeaks very contemptuouſly of theſe verſions.

(15) See his *Life*, prefixed to his *Epiſtles*, and Melchior Adam.

(16) See his *Letters*, pag. 5, 6.

(17) *Epiſt.* pag. 173. *See alſo* pag. 116.

I have ſomething to obſerve concerning three of his works. I. The author of his Life ſays, that the *Animadverſorum Libri ſex* was loſt at the taking of Haerlem. I do not very well underſtand what he means; they being publiſhed by the author himſelf, and dedicated to Anthony Perenot, Biſhop of Arras, in the year 1556. Gruterus has inſerted them in Vol. IV of his *Theſaurus Criticus* (*). II. With regard to the *Appendix ad Epitheta Textoris*, it may be affirmed that Junius treated this ſubject with much greater erudition than Textor, who committed ſome very groſs faults in it, ſome whereof are found in Junius's Letters (18). He looked upon it as a moſt uſeful and at the ſame time a very laborious work (19). III. His *Nomenclator* is an excellent work in its kind. The choice of expreſſions and terms in eight languages, proves at the ſame time the learning and indefatigable patience of our Junius. It is ſaid (20) that he was maſter of eight languages, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spaniſh, German, Engliſh and Flemiſh. His travels had been of great ſervice to him on that account. I find he had been in France, Italy, Germany, and England; but not in Spain, as is affirmed by Valerius Andreas (21), Moreri and Freherus. Colomeſius has publiſhed (22) a little ſtory that Iſaac Voſſius told him, which would prove that Junius did not neglect any thing that might contribute to the improvement of his *Nomenclator*, and that he condeſcended to drink with Carmen, in order to learn the terms uſed by them in their buſineſs. I believe it appears from one of his Letters (23), that Junius would not have thought it a great crime, to have drunk a great quantity, if he could do it without intoxicating himſelf.

(*) It has borne three impreſſions, or more. See the remark [*A*] in the Additions to this article.

(18) Pag. 406.

(19) Pag. 116.

(20) Meurſius, *Athen. Batav.*

(21) *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 12.

(22) *Opuſculor.* pag. m. 132.

(23) It is wrote to a Biſhop, pag. 460.

When I ſay that Junius's *Nomenclator* is an excellent work in its kind, I will not deny but that there are ſome groſs errors in it (24); all I mean is, that the good things in it very much exceed what is commonly publiſhed on that ſubject. Now in works of this kind, in which it is impoſſible not to commit ſome errors, perfection does not require an author to be free from all faults. It is in theſe as in man; the moſt perfect is he who has the leaſt defects.

(24) *See what* Crenius, *Animadverſ. Phil. & Hiſt.* Part 1. pag. 33, *& ſeq* quotes Gronovius, &c.

Nam vitiis nemo ſine naſcitur, optimus ille eſt
Qui minimis urgetur (25).

(25) Horat. Sat. 3. lib. 1. ver. 68.

[*I*] *There was a deſign to give him a Profeſſorſhip in Leyden.*] It is Meurſius informs me of this. *Sub mortis tempus*, ſays he (26), *Academiæ naſcenti inter primos Profeſſores deſtinatus, ſed inter ipſa initia morte abreptus inchoare munus non potuit.* Freherus (27), tranſcribing this without adding what Univerſity is meant, throws his reader into the dark, or miſleads him; and as he had juſt before ſpoke of Middleburg, they may imagine that an Univerſity was newly riſen there. I ſhall obſerve on this occaſion, that nothing cauſes a greater obſcurity in books, than the not taking the pains to add the proper ſupplements to what is taken out of other authors. A thouſand particulars are clear in the originals, which become quite unintelligible, when jejunely tranſplanted into another place.

(26) *Athen. Batav.* pag. 93.

(27) *Theatr.* pag. 1270.

[*K*] *I have not yet had time to examine fully, whether he laſt turned Proteſtant.*] The circumſtance which keeps me in ſuſpence, is a Letter (28) which he wrote to the Biſhop of Haerlem in 1573, to inform him of the endeavours he had uſed, in order to keep that Prelate's houſe from being plundered. He tells him that he preſerved this truſt as long as he poſſibly could; and that he would not have abandoned it to the plunderers, had he not been overpowered; a piſtol having been put to his breaſt, and himſelf threatned with immediate death. He adds, that as theſe wicked attempts were carried on with impunity, he found himſelf obliged to deſire leave to quit the city, which was granted him. It is certain that he complained in very ſtrong terms to the Magiſtrates, of the violence that had been done to him (29); and told them, that the Spaniards would hardly proceed to ſuch violent methods, were they maſters of the city. What I do not very well underſtand is, his telling this Prelate, that, in order to preſerve his houſe, he had been forced to drive the French out of it, who profaned all things with a cruel rage, *excludendo barbaram & crudelem Gallorum omnia profanantium rabiem* (*a*). I do not look upon his being called in the *Index Librorum prohibitorum & expurgandorum* (30) a Calviniſt, and an author *damnatæ memoriæ*, as a convincing proof of his being a Proteſtant.

(28) Pag. 497.

(29) Pag. 381.

(30) Pag. 476. edit. of 1667, folio.

§ (*a*) Theſe in all probability were ſome of the ſcattered remains of the Proteſtant troops, which being defeated in 1571, had followed Genlis into the Netherlands (*). Theſe were no longer thoſe Proteſtant ſoldiers who, in the firſt civil war, had appeared ſuch enemies to vice and every kind of violence. REM. CRIT.]

(*) Thuanus, lib. 51.

☞We ſhall add ſome particulars to this article of Mr. Bayle [*A*].

[*A*] *We ſhall add ſome particulars to this article of Mr. Bayle.*] Adrian Junius had a great memory, which enabled him to treaſure up a vaſt deal of learning; for beſides his ſkill in Phyſic, which was his profeſſion, he was an Hiſtorian, Poet, Philoſopher; and underſtood perfectly eight languages, as has been ſeen (†). His works make up twenty four articles, as appears by the catalogue of them (‡). Huetius ſpeaks very unfavourably of our Junius's tranſlations in general. "Although, *ſays that learned writer*, Junius was well "ſkilled in Philoſophy, he yet did little ſervice to the "public by his tranſlations, moſt of which are bad: "for he often miſtakes his authors, and conſequently "tranſlates them falſely. There are a thouſand errors "in his verſion of *Eunapius de vitis Philoſophorum & "Sophiſtarum* (*)." But here follows a work of our author's which is very much applauded: *Animadverſa & de Coma Commentarius. Baſileæ* 1556 *in* 8*vo.* It. *Francofurti* 1604 *in* 8*vo. eadem ab auctore innumeris in locis emendata & inſignibus ſupplementis locupletata. Accedit Appendix Hadriani Junii ad animadverſa ſua, nunc primum ex Cl. V. Autographo in lucem edita ex bibliotheca Cornelii Van Arckel. Rotterodami* 1708 *in* 8*vo. npp.* 632. "The ſix books of Obſervations in-"cluded in theſe volumes, relate to various points of "criticiſm. Junius herein proves himſelf to be deeply "ſkilled in antiquities both Greek and Roman; his "criticiſms are equally delicate and judicious, his dic-"tion is polite; and every part of this work ſpeaks "the candid and modeſt writer, who ſincerely endea-"vours to find out truth. The treatiſe *de Coma* is "very curious, and abounds with erudition (‡)."

(†) Niceron, *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom 7. pag. 401.

(‡) Idem, ibid. pag. 401, *& ſeq.*

(*) Idem, ibid. pag. 404.

(‡) Idem, ibid. pag. 406, 407.

JUNIUS (*a*) (FRANCIS) Profeſſor of Divinity (*b*) at Leyden, was born at Bourges the 1ſt of May 1545. He was of a noble family [*A*]. His father, who was of the long Robe, was expoſed to many perſecutions, on account of his being ſuſpected to be a Lutheran [*B*]. He expoſed his wife to moſt horrid calumnies, by her proving with child,

(*a*) The name he commonly went by was *Du Jon*, and not *Jonghe*, as Moreri ſuppoſes.

(*b*) And not a Civilian, as is ſaid by Father Jacob, *Bibliotheca Pontificia*, pag. 460.

[*A*] *He was of a noble family.*] WILLIAM du Jon his grandfather, Lord of Boſſardiniere near Iſſoudun, was ennobled for his good ſervices in the expedition of Navarre, when endeavours were uſed to reſtore John d'Albret, diſpoſſeſſed unjuſtly of his Kingdom by Ferdinand of Arragon. He alſo had been in the King's houſhold (1). He left three ſons, the youngeſt of whom named DENYS, or Dionyſius, ſtudied Civil-Law, and had a Diploma at Toulouſe. He made no progreſs in his ſtudies (2), for being very courageous, he always engaged in the quarrels of the ſtudents. In ſhort, he was a mighty Duelliſt. He was appointed King's Counſellor at Bourges, by way of recompence for a bold action he had performed. This action will be ſeen in the following remark. He had nine children, one whereof was our Francis Junius (3).

(1) *In cuſtodia & equili ... Ludovici XII. miniſtravit.* Franciſcus Junius, *in Vita ſua*, tom. 1. *Oper.* pag. 6. col. 1.

(2) *Hinc ab avo ſolennis literarum quas Dionyſio filio mittebat, & falſa inſcripto*, Dionyſio dilecto filio miſſo ad ſtudendum, *pro eo quod alii vulgo inſcribunt* ſtudenti. Idem, ibid.

(3) Extracted from *Junius's Life.*

[*B*] *His father .... was expoſed to many perſecutions, on account of his being ſuſpected to be a Lutheran.*] The Father Guardian or Superior of the Franciſcans of Iſſoudun preached in ſo impudent a manner againſt Margaret Queen of Navarre, Ducheſs of Berri, and ſiſter of Francis I, as to ſay that, becauſe ſhe was a Lutheran, ſhe deſerved to be tied up in a ſack and toſt into the river. The Magiſtrates of the place exhorted him not to be thus wanting in the reſpect which was due to that Princeſs; but he laughed at their advice, and continued to ſermonize in the ſame ſtrain; upon which informations were taken out againſt him, and ſent to the King. This Monarch being reſolved to inflict on him the ſame puniſhment, to which he had judged the Queen, gave orders to have that Monk in queſtion brought before him; but the Queen of Navarre, interceding for the guilty Friar, prevailed ſo far as to have the puniſhment mitigated. The difficulty was, how to ſeize upon this Friar, he having the common people on his ſide; ſo that the Magiſtrates of Iſſoudun were afraid of executing his Majeſty's order. Denys du Jon, who was returning from the ſchools where he had fought ſo often, declared, that if the King would give him a commiſſion to ſeize the perſon of the Monk, he would execute it punctually. Accordingly, ſuch a commiſſion having been iſſued in his name, he put himſelf at the head of the ſheriff's Officers; and in ſpite of the oppoſition made by the common people, he forced out of his monaſtery the Friar, who was ſent to the gallies for two years. Du Jon ingratiated himſelf indeed, by this action, into the favour of Francis I, and of the Ducheſs of Berry; but he incurred the hatred of the people and the Franciſcans, and drew upon himſelf a numberleſs multitude of calumnies, and menaces, and involved him in proſecutions, which at laſt ended in the cruel maſſacre committed on his perſon. *Hæc prima fuit actio, quæ in gratiam Regis, ſororiſque Reginæ inſinuavit patrem: ſed apud illam inconſultam plebeculam & Franciſcanorum ordinem odia perpetua conciliavit: indigniſſimaſque calumnias, minas, criminationes, perſecutiones, damna, cruentam denique cædem patri apportavit* (4). He was accuſed of being a Lutheran, and his ſervant-maid was ſuborned, to atteſt that he did not keep faſt-days. *Et Franciſcanorum arte, & plebis imprudentia odioque maximo preſſus eſt ſub religionis ſpecie & Lutheraniſmi .... accuſatus, ſubornata ad eam rem ancilla quæ domi ſerviverat. Ea patrem à ſe viſum, quum diebus vetitis carnes ederet, pro teſtimonio dicebat falſo, ut matrem ſæpe audivi confirmantem* (5). Junius fled away, being not willing to venture himſelf among people who were ſo much governed by their paſſions. His goods and chattles were all ſeized; and the Queen of Navarre was obliged to ſupply him, for almoſt a twelvemonth, wherewith to ſubſiſt. However, the accuſations, by the King's authority, were at laſt brought to nothing, upon which du Jon got a Counſellor's place, &c. *Liberatus ab accuſatione pater auctoritate Regis, patrium ſolum repetit, atque immigrat in Biturigum metropolin, ubi cum laude ad exitum uſque vitæ Conſiliarii Regii & pro Tribuno militum honoribus à Rege collatis defunctus eſt: præter alia commoda honoraria, quæ à Regina ſorore illius & Biturigum Duce acceperat* (6). i. e. "His "father being freed from the accuſation by the autho-"rity of his Majeſty, returns to the place of his birth, "and goes to Bourges the capital of Berry, where he "acquitted himſelf, till he died, with honour, in the "employments of Counſellor and Colonel, which the "King had beſtowed upon him; excluſive of ſeveral "other honorary advantages that were conferred on "him by the Queen, that Monarch's ſiſter, and the "Duke of Berry." Here follows the manner of his being killed. On Corpus-Chriſti day the Roman Catholics of Iſſoudun, regardleſs of the treaty of peace that had been concluded juſt before, committed a thouſand outrages againſt the Proteſtants. The King then iſſued out a commiſſion to Denys du Jon to enquire into that ſedition, and puniſh the authors of it. Du Jon went to Iſſoudun accompanied only by three Sheriff's Officers; and poſted the reſt in various places before he entered into the city, it being neceſſary to act with prudence in ſo delicate an affair. However, his precautions were of no ſervice to him; the common people gueſſed the motive of his coming, upon which they ſeized the gates, and beſieged the Commiſſioner's houſe. They entered it by force, killed du Jon, threw his body out of the window, dragged it through the ſtreets, flung it to the dogs, and publickly forbid (7) it burial (8). The King's Council conceived a due indignation againſt this inſolence, and gave orders for demoliſhing the walls of Iſſoudun; but Cipierre and ſome other Lords cauſed this arret to be changed; and that chiefly becauſe the murdered Commiſſioner had been ſuſpected of being a Lutheran above twenty four years. The widow of the deceaſed, by her attempting to revenge this murder, incurred the hatred of many perſons, and conſumed her eſtate. *Hæc cædes conſilium Regis commovit plurimum: & decretum de labefactandis muris totius oppidi in eo factum propter atrocitatem ſceleris, & periculoſiſſimum exemplum illius. Sed poſtea converſa*

(4) Idem, ibid. col. 2.

(5) Idem, ibid.

(6) Extracted from the *Life of Junius*, pag. 7. col. 1.

(7) Nevertheleſs a woman buried him in the night. Idem, ibid.

(8) Extracted from the *Life of Franciſcus Junius*, pag. 14.

child, at a time when the world imagined that he had fled from his country [C]; and it was not known that he had come once ſecretly to ſee her. Our Francis Junius was carefully educated, and became a very learned man, to which his innate modeſty, added to great ambition [D], did not a little contribute. He began to ſtudy the Law under Hugo Donellus at thirteen years of age. Some years after he was ſent to Lyons, in order to meet the Embaſſador whom the King of France was ſending to Conſtantinople; but as the Embaſſador was ſet out before Junius's arrival, he ſtopt at Lyons, and applied himſelf to ſtudy with incredible vigour. Bartholomew Aneau [E], who was principal of the College in that city, gave him excellent inſtructions with regard to the right method of ſtudying (*). The young man ſaw himſelf expoſed to two temptations of a very

(*) See note [A] in the additions to this article.

verſa eſt factionibus tota ratio conſilii: tum propter Sipierrii Gubernatoris & nonnullorum ex nobilitate procerum inveterata odia, tum propter religionis Pontificiæ Zelum, cujus odio indeſinenter flagraviſſe inde ab annis amplius viginti quatuor criminabantur patrem. Itaque cædem illam neceſſe habuit mater in Regis conſilio perſequi ex eo tempore: quo facto, cum ipſa in ſe multorum concitavit odia, tum omnia ferme commoda quæ ex bellica licentia, furtis, rapinis, graſſationibuſque reſtabant ipſi, in hac perſecutione occupavit (9).

(9) Idem, ibid.

An important reflection on the effects of falſe zeal.

I do not ſuggeſt to any one here, to wonder at the evil effects of a religious zeal. Thoſe who are poſſeſſed with it, muſt approve of murders, and condemn the conduct of a woman, who deſires to have the murderers of her huſband brought to condign puniſhment. But I beg my readers to attend to one thing. Religion, which is univerſally looked upon as the firmeſt ſupport of the Supreme Authority, and which would really be ſo, if it were rightly underſtood and well practiſed, is commonly the thing that moſt enervates that very authority. Nothing could be more juſt than the arret of Francis I againſt the preacher of Iſſoudun, for his inſolence in treating ſo ignominiouſly in the pulpit, his Sovereign's own ſiſter. Nevertheleſs, not one Magiſtrate dares to execute the orders of his King againſt that ſeditious wretch; and when a Gentleman has the courage to put them in execution, he makes himſelf obnoxious to a thouſand perſecutions; and incurs ſuch odium, that his murderers are openly protected. The Queen of Navarre was the firſt who adviſed the Gentleman in queſtion to leave his country, ſince the putting in execution his Prince's very juſt orders would make him be the object of the hatred of bigots. *Felicius certe utiliuſque politicos honores geſturo, & Remp. adminiſtraturo, ſi poſt tam forte auſum honeſta & cauta migratione, quam ſæpe fieri Navarrena Regina & nonnulli Proceres cupiverunt, ut alibi Reip. inſerviret pater, ſibi proſpexiſſet* (10): an evident proof that the Court did not believe itſelf powerful enough to protect its good ſervants when perſecuted by the Eccleſiaſtics. It is generally ſaid, that the Goſpel Miniſtry *eſt ipſis Angelis tremendum*, (is formidable even to Angels); and we may add, *& ipſis quoque Regibus*, (and likewiſe to Kings themſelves). Whoever reads the Hiſtory of the Church of Rome attentively, will find that the greateſt Princes in the world had more reaſon to dread the paſſions which devotees raiſe, than the arms of Infidels; thus that which ought to form the ſupport of the State, and its grandeur and Majeſty, is frequently the mightieſt obſtacle, which Sovereigns meet with in the execution of their orders (11).

(10) Idem, ibid. pag. 6. col. 2.

(11) Compare what has been ſaid in the article ABDAS, remark [B].

[C] . . . . *he expoſed his wife to moſt horrid calumnies, by her proving with child, at a time when the world imagined he had fled his country.*] It is imprudent for a woman to venture the being ſo, when her huſband is a fugitive; for if he ſhould die in his abſence, before her delivery, and without owning himſelf the father of the child (three things that might very eaſily happen) how could a woman clear her reputation with regard to the public? But farther, are we to conſider as nothing the furniſhing a handle to ſlander, as du Jon's wife did? It will be anſwered, that it is very eaſy for a perſon to ſay this, when he ſpeaks of it cooly, and does not put himſelf in the place of perſons in love. After ſome months abſence, their flames rage to ſuch a degree, that no conſideration can check them. paſſion hurries them along, and they will not liſten to the voice of reaſon:

(12) Virg. *Georg.* lib. 1. ver. 514.

Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas (12).

" So four fierce courſers ſtarting to the race,
" Scower thro' the plain, and lengthen ev'ry pace;
" Nor reins, nor curbs, nor threatning cries they fear,
" But force along the trembling charioteer.

DRYDEN.

However this be, our du Jon's mother was ſlandered, which pierced her to the heart. *Profugus pater clam ad matrem ſemel redierat, hinc gravida facta mater proſcindebatur à vulgo, tanquam ſi proſtituta fuiſſet pudicitia illius. Utroque hoc incommodo ſanctæ illius fœminæ animus oppugnabatur, objicientibus maligne quam plurimis tum Franciſcani illius reverſionem, tum graviditatem, ut agebant, impudicam* (13).

(13) Junius, in *Vita ſua*, pag. 7. col. 1.

[D] *His innate modeſty, added to great ambition.*] Theſe two paſſions do not ſeem to be formed for one another, and yet they ſometimes are united. Junius is an example of this. He confeſſes that, from his childhood, he had an immoderate deſire of being honoured and applauded; and that it was intolerable to him to hear others praiſed. *Natura me puerum ad honoris & laudis appetentiam plus ſatis accendente. Sic enim mala radix illa* τῆς φιλοτιμίας *in me germinabat, ut nec alienam laudem iſta ætate æquo animo ferre poſſem miſer, nec in mea exiſtimatione illa conquieſcere, quam mihi conciliabam pertinaciſſima diligentia.* On the other hand, he confeſſes that he was of ſo fearful a nature, and ſo baſhful, that even when he was near fifty he could not ſpeak to his own wife without bluſhing; and that he ſcarce dared to command his own ſervants. *Pudor ſummus, qui me ad hanc uſque ætatem ſic preſſit, ut ruſticus magis ad omnia quam urbanus merito haberi poſſim. . . . Quid dicam niſi impudentem ferme pudorem eſſe, qui me tantopere impeditum diſtinet, ut vix ſine pudore uxori res vulgareis enunciem, vix jam domi ſervitio imperem.* He declares that this baſhfulneſs had been of great advantage to him; becauſe the diffidence he had of himſelf made him apply with much greater aſſiduity, in order to improve by what he both heard and ſaw. *Ex pudore hæc conſequuta ſunt inde à puero quod mihi ſemper ſim diffiſus, quod aliorum factis audiendis, ſermonibus obſervandis & advertendis in uſum meum ſtuderim* (14). He declares, that he would not have informed his readers of his infirmity, had he not thought that it would be a moſt uſeful leſſon, with reſpect to modeſty, for youth. *Hoc eo libentiùs prædico de infirmitate mea, ut juventus ab exemplo meo præceptum hauriat* ταπεινοφροσύνης *atque modeſtiæ, ut certum fructum peritiæ certo judicio aſſequatur. Id enim teſtor, nihil mihi ſecundum benedictionem Dei tam commodaviſſe in rebus omnibus, quàm illam de me ipſo diffidentiam ex conſcientia infirmitatis & pudoris mei, & ſtudioſam aliorum, quibuſcunque adfui, obſervantiam.* One cannot too much applaud the modeſty, and that rare humility, which makes a man diſtruſt his own abilities; but it is very certain that it is a very bad quality for one, who would make his fortune in the world; and I would adviſe any father, who is deſirous that his children ſhould attain to dignities, to inſpire them with vanity and preſumption rather than a diſtruſt of their merit. Junius is perhaps the only man, who with reſpect to worldly advantages, was not the worſe for his modeſty. I don't pretend to eſtabliſh it as a maxim, that arrogance is always uſeful; it ſometimes ruining young people, and preventing their riſing in the world; I ſpeak of this only in general, without having any regard to exceptions.

(14) Idem, ibid. col. 2.

(15) In the article ALCIATUS (Andrew) remark [M].

[E] *Bartholomew Aneau.*] I have ſpoke elſewhere (15) of his Commentary on Alciatus's *Emblems*. He was called in Latin *Annulus* or *Anulus*. He was born in Bourges and publiſhed ſeveral books (16). He loſt his life in a miſerable manner in the tumult on a religious account, wherein Junius had like to have loſt his life. His wife would have met with the ſame fate, had not the Prevot of Lyons ſaved her, by throwing her into priſon (17).

(16) *See* La Croix du Maine, pag. 32. *and* Du Verdier Vau-Privas, pag. 110, 111.

(17) See *Junius's Life*, pag. 10. col. 2.

a very different kind, that of love and that of impiety. He reſiſted the firſt with great vigour, he giving a ſtout box on the ear to a girl who offered to careſs him [*F*]; but he was ſo far overpowered by the ſophiſtry of a Libertine, that he became a perfect Atheiſt [G], after liſtening to him ſome days. However, he did not continue long in that unhappy condition; a tumult on account of Religion, which obliged him to fly to ſave his life, gave him an opportunity of returning to his firſt faith. His father recalled him to Bourges; and diſcovering ſome of the principles which his ſon had imbibed, he gave him excellent inſtructions; and brought him, in an eaſy and inſenſible manner, to the peruſal of the new Teſtament. The firſt words (*c*), which Junius fell upon there, affected him ſo ſtrongly [*H*], that he ſoon had a diſtaſte for every thing wherein piety was not concerned. He went, in the beginning of the civil wars, to Geneva, to ſtudy the Languages there. As he had brought but little money with him, and did not receive any remittances, he was reduced to extreme neceſſity [*I*]. However, he at laſt got wherewithal

(*c*) The beginning of St. John's Goſpel.

[*F*] *He gave a ſtout box on the ear to a girl who offered to careſs him.*] This is an incident, that is much more to be wondered at than the action of Theagenes (11); this being hiſtorical, whereas that of Theagenes is a mere fiction. Junius was ſo much devoted to his ſtudies that he little thought of making love, upon which he was cenſured for ſhewing ſo little gallantry, and aſſured that he would never learn good breeding and politeneſs, unleſs he got him a miſtreſs. But as theſe exhortations had no influence upon his conduct, ſome of his acquaintance expoſed him to the careſſes of three or four wenches, who attacked him in an impudent manner; flinging themſelves upon him, and uſing their utmoſt endeavours to get the better of his modeſty. At laſt he grew out of all patience, and gave one of them a box on the ear, which occaſioned a great noiſe in the houſe. The girl who had been thus aſſaulted, perceiving by the air of our young man, that he had not given the blow in jeſt, began to cry and roar; which made the people laugh at her and at Junius alſo, a circumſtance that made him odious to many. Here follow his own words: *Dies & noctes appetebant canes illæ promiſcuè, neſcium quid ſibi vellent, & gravitatis honeſtatiſque illius, quam in domo paterna videram, ſubinde recordantem. Neque id ſeorſim tentabant ſingulæ, verumetiam ternæ aut quaternæ ſimul conſertis manibus in me irruebant immodeſtiſſimè, ut perducto ad ſuam impuritatem animo meo de ſpoliis pudoris mei triumpharent. Tandem verò adeò me puduit illarum impudentiæ, ut quum una multis ſpectantibus me amatoriè eſſet adorſa palpo, ego contrà colaphum gravem ei impegerim: quem illa addubitans utram in partem acciperet, defixis oculis attenta reſpexit ad me, aliquantiſper obſervans aliquam mei animi ſignificationem; ut autem rem ſeriam à me eſſe vidit, tum illa vociferationibus & ejulatibus implevit domum, omniumque riſum imprudens in ſeſe, ſtultorum odia in me concitavit* (19). Junius was ſo tired with theſe temptations, that he a thouſand times had formed a reſolution to return to his father's, without taking leave of the people of the houſe, where his chaſtity met with ſuch frequent attacks; but he was afraid of their reſentment, and the ſlanders they might employ, in order to injure him with regard to his own family.

(18) See remark [C] of the article HELIODORUS.

(19) Junius *in ſua Vita*, pag. 9. col. 2.

[*G*] *He was ſo far overpowered by the ſophiſtry of a Libertine, that he became a perfect Atheiſt.*] Junius, by the advice of Bartholomew Aneau, had read Cicero *de Legibus*, and made collections out of it. During this interval, he was viſited by a certain perſon, who maintained with ſo many arguments what Cicero alledges concerning Epicurus's rejecting a Providence, that he gave way the more eaſily to that impious doctrine, as it was ſpoke of every day at table, [and all the houſe rung with it. *Iſta horribili impietate conſtrata erat quotidie menſa, perſonabat domus, circumſtrepebant omnia aureis meas, adeo ut jamque ad alia omnia obſurdeſcerem. Nam quum omnibus horis aliquid atrociter fieri videmus, aut audimus, inquit Tullius, etiam qui natura mitiſſimi ſumus, aſſiduitate moleſtiarum ſenſum omnem humanitatis ex animis amittimus: quum impie fieri aut dici, pietatis ſenſum* (20) ... *Memini, quum libros M. Tullii de legibus per illud tempus, auctore & ſuaſore Anulo (de quo ante dixi) expenderem, & notas quaſdam in eos animadverſionesque colligerem, venire hominem ad me, & illa Epicuri verba, quæ libro primo exſtant* (21), *nihil curare Deum nec ſui, nec alieni, multis quàm diligentiſſimè confirmare: ad quæ ego non ratione judicioque certe reſpondebam: ſed aſſenſionem paulatim adhibens, ſentiebam venenum ſerpens, quod imbiberam, confirmari in me: & cum auctoritate hominis, tum argutiis dictorum ejus præceps eò deferebar, ut meus animus in iſto malo hærens occalleſceret, totuſque fieret* ἀναισθητός (22).

(20) Idem, ibid. pag. 10. col. 1.

(21) Here Junius's memory failed him, he miſtaking the firſt book, *De Natura Deorum.*

(22) Junius *in Vita ſua*, pag. 10. col. 1.

[*H*] *The firſt words which Junius fell upon* in the New Teſtament *affected him.*] This incident is ſo edifying, and ſo well adapted to imprint a due ſenſe of the efficacy of God's word, that I muſt not retrench any part of it. *Hic ergo novum illud teſtamentum divinitus oblatum aperio: aliud agenti exhibet ſe mihi aſpectu primo auguſtiſſimum illud caput Joannis Evangeliſtæ & Apoſtoli, In principio erat Verbum, &c. Lego partem capitis, & ita commoveor legens, ut repente divinitatem argumenti, & ſcripti majeſtatem auctoritatemque ſenſerim longo intervallo omnibus eloquentiæ humanæ fluminibus præeuntem. Horrebat corpus, ſtupebat animus, & totum illum diem ſic afficiebar, ut qui eſſem, ipſe mihi incertus viderer eſſe. Recordatus es mei, Domine Deus mi, pro immenſa miſericordia tua, ovemque perditam in gregem tuum recepiſti. Ex eo tempore, quum in me Deus tam potenter Spiritus ſui virtute irruiſſet alia frigidius & negligentius legere & tractare cœpi: de his vero quæ ad pietatem pertinent cogitare amplius, & ardentius in eis verſari* (23). i. e. "Here I therefore "open the New Teſtament that was brought from "Heaven, and at firſt ſight fall unexpectedly on that "auguſt chapter of St. John the Evangeliſt, *In the "beginning was the word &c.* I read part of the "chapter, and am ſo ſtruck with what I read, that I "inſtantly perceived the divinity of the ſubject, and "the authority and majeſty of the Scriptures to ſurpaſs "greatly all human eloquence. I ſhuddered in my "body, my mind was confounded; and I was ſo "ſtrongly affected all that day, that I hardly knew "who I myſelf was. But thou, my Lord God, didſt "remember me in thy boundleſs mercy, and receive "a loſt ſheep into thy flock. From that time, when "the Almighty had granted me ſo great a portion of "his Holy Spirit, I began to read and treat other "books more coldly and negligently; and to reflect "more upon, and be much more converſant in ſuch "things as are relative to piety."

(23) Ibid. pag. 11. col. 2.

[*I*] *He was reduced to extreme neceſſity.*] He gives a long detail of this, whereof I will obſerve only the two following things. Being poſſeſſed, at the approach of winter, of only a little doublet and a little cloak, he reſolved to imitate Cleanthes, that is, to earn ſomething by the labour of his hands. *Certum deliberatumque erat hebdomade proxima ſequutura ... alternos dies in egerenda terra ad foſſam urbis, & in ſtudiis conſumere, Cleanthis exemplo, ut levarem inopiam meam* (24). He was reſolved to put himſelf out to hire, and to work as a pioneer in the trenches of Geneva; but met with a young countryman of his, who gave him ſome aſſiſtance. However, as he ſtood longer in need of his friend, than he had flattered himſelf he ſhould, he was afraid of growing troubleſome, and thence was prompted to make but one ſlender meal every day. He continued this abſtemious courſe four months, whereby he became ſo weak and thin, that he ſcarce was able to bear his ſhirt on, and would have died in a ſhort time, had not his friends been urgent with him to eat a little more. *Ultro ad menſes quatuor jejunium ipſe indixi mihi, & horam prandii in ambulatione, legens & memoriam colens, meditans, orans occupavi: veſpere autem cœna frugali uſus ſum, plurimum ſorbens bina ova, & mediocrem vini cyathum hauriens. Sed ex diuturna*

(24) Idem, ibid.

withal to free himſelf from his miſery, and to pay his debts; and hearing of his father's tragical end (*d*), he reſolved to gain his livelihood by inſtructing youth. He accordingly followed that way of life in Geneva, till ſuch time as he was ſent into the Low-Countries (*e*), to be Miniſter of the Walloon Church in Antwerp. He diſcharged the miniſterial functions in the midſt of ſeveral dangers; for although he oppoſed the indiſcreet zeal of thoſe who, without any lawful authority, broke to pieces images, and plundered the Churches; he yet was conſidered as the fomenter on thoſe occaſions, for which reaſon attempts were frequently made to impriſon him; but he always was ſo happy as to get timely notice, by which means he avoided being taken. It was thought proper that he ſhould go into the territory of Limburg, where he continued his miniſterial functions with great ſucceſs; till ſuch time as the dangers to which he found himſelf expoſed, made the Magiſtrates reſolve to adviſe him to retire into Germany. The curioſity of a ſilly old man deſerves to be told [*L*], it being perfectly well adapted to ſhew the knavery of perſecutors and the ſtupidity of the common people. Junius was received very graciouſly at Heidelberg by the Elector Frederic III, and went and viſited his mother at Bourges, whence being returned to the Palatinate, he was there Miniſter of a ſmall Church (*f*). Some time after the Elector ſent him to the Prince of Orange's army, during the unfortunate expedition of the year 1568. He was Chaplain to this Prince till the troops had got back into Germany; when he returned to his Church in the Palatinate, and there acquitted himſelf of his eccleſiaſtical functions till the year 1573, after which the Elector Palatine ſent for him to Heidelberg, to tranſlate the old Teſtament (*g*). He was ſent to Neuſtad in 1578, and at the end of fourteen months to Otterburg, where he ſtaid eighteen months; after which he returned to Neuſtad, and read public Lectures, till Prince Caſimir, Adminiſtrator of the Electorate, ſent for him to Heidelberg, to be Profeſſor of Divinity. He returned to France with the Duke of Bouillon, and paid his reſpects to Henry IV, who ſent him back to Germany to execute ſome affairs. He thought proper to go through Holland, before he went to give an account of his commiſſion to Henry IV; and being invited to be Divinity Profeſſor at Leyden, he accepted of the offer, having firſt obtained the conſent of the French Embaſſador (*h*). He diſcharged the duties of that employment with great ability, till the year 1602, when he was ſnatched away by the plague. He had borne an averſion to women; but, as he himſelf confeſſes, heaven puniſhed him for this, by his marrying four wives [*L*]. He left

(*d*) See the remark [*B*].

(*e*) In the year 1565.

(*f*) *Scænovienſis Eccleſia.*

(*g*) Tremellius joined with him in writing that work.

(*h*) Extracted from his *Life*, written by himſelf, and publiſhed by Merula in the year 1595, and afterwards prefixed to his works. Melchior Adam has given a large extract of it. Moreri is miſtaken in citing *Merula in Deſcripti Vitæ Junii.*

diuturna iſta & pervicace inedia paulatim me invaſit tabes, & ita exedit graviter, ut vires omnes exhauſtum corpus deficerent. Quod malum tum demum ſenſi, quum inſtantibus amicis & tabem meam ex vultu recognoſcentibus, ad majorem cibi copiam ſumendam veni, & vivere inſtitui liberalius; nam vel induſii ſolius onere prægravati mihi eſſe humeri videbantur (25). i. e. "I "enjoyned my ſelf a voluntary four months faſt, and "paſt the hour of dinner in walking, reading, recol-"lecting things, contemplating and praying. In the "evening I eat a ſlender ſupper, which conſiſted ge-"nerally of two eggs and a moderate glaſs of wine. "But this long obſtinate abſtemiouſneſs threw me into "a conſumption, which waſted me to ſuch a degree "that I loſt all my ſtrength. This I was ſenſible of, "when at the urgent intreaties of my friends, who "diſcovered my diſtemper by my aſpect, I eat a "greater quantity and lived more freely; for my "ſhoulders ſeemed to be quite burthened with the "ſingle weight of my ſhirt."

(25) Ibid. pag. 13. col. 2.

[*K*] *The curioſity of a ſilly old man deſerves to be told.*] He had been made to believe that Junius an heretical Preacher had cloven feet; and was not undeceived till after he had ſurveyed him from head to foot. This was in preſence of a great number of people, who were met in hopes of hearing a diſpute between Junius and a Franciſcan. The time and place for the conference had been pitched upon; but the Franciſcan had gone back, upon pretence of his having forgot ſomething. I had heard ſuch ſtories a hundred times, but never found them ſupported by ſo authentic a teſtimony, and that too in print. For this reaſon I will here tranſcribe Junius's own words. *Ridiculum eſt quod dicam, ſed tamen indicium horum ſimplicitatis, & mendaciſſimæ illorum impudentiæ. Quum in campo eſſemus, Franciſcani illius adventum exſpectantes, vir quidam ſenex frequentiam illam maximam quæ tum aderat perrumpens, copiam ſibi fieri videndi mei poſtulavit. Audito ſtrepitu rogabam quid rei eſſet. Cognito hominem eſſe mei videndi cupientem, monui ut daretur homini ad veniendum locus. Tum ille demiſſo vultu inde a pedibus ad verticem uſque obſervans diligentiſſime conſtitutionem meam, erupit in hæc verba: ebo, jamjam video non eſſe id verum, quod mihi de te fuerat enunciatum. Me autem dicente, quid ergo illud eſt? tibi, inquit, pedes fiſſos eſſe* (26). i. e. "The incident I ſhall here "relate is ridiculous, but it is an example of the ſim-"plicity and moſt lying impudence of thoſe perſons. "When we were come to the place of controverſy, "waiting for the arrival of that Franciſcan, a cer-"tain old man forcing his way through the great "croud, deſired to ſee me. Hearing a noiſe, I en-"quired what the matter was; and being informed "that one deſired to have a ſight of me, I bid the "people make way for him Then he, throwing "his eyes to the ground, ſurveying me very dili-"gently from head to foot, broke into the follow-"ing words. I now have ocular demonſtration, that "what was told me concerning you is not true; and "upon my enquiring of him what this was: I was "told, *replied he*, that you had cloven feet."

(26) Ibid. pag. 20. col. 2.

[*L*] *He had borne an averſion to women; but, as he himſelf confeſſes, Heaven puniſhed him for this by his marrying four wives.*] I ſhould be afraid of ill tranſlating the following words, and I therefore will only tranſcribe them. *In conjugiis varie me duriterque exercuit Dominus. Nam quatuor uxores duxi hactenus: addeo me (qui prius propter canum impiarum ſcelera a fœminis abhorrebam, & functionis meæ ſtudio conjugium refugiebam pervicaciſſime) caſtigavit Dominus; præpoſterum judicium meum tacite exprobravit, & perjucunda optimarum fideliſſimarumque conjugum conſuetudine evicit peccatum, indignamque de ſexu fœmineo toto opinionem meam* (27). He obſerves that he loſt his firſt wife by the ignorance of a midwife, who, in delivering her of twins, ſpoilt her uterus (28). *Harum primam injuria obſtetricis e vita ſuſtulit, quum ita corruptus in obſtetricatu fuiſſet illius uterus, ut annos amplius ſeptem indeſinente ſanguinis defluvio afflicta ſit atque exhauſta, incredibili cruciatu ipſius & labore meo* (29). The conſequences of this delivery were very grievous, not only for the wife, but alſo for the huſband, viz. ſhe being continually afflicted with a bloody flux for above ſeven years. His ſecond wife died, being with child, of a fever the fifth day. The third died of a dropſy; and the fourth was alive when he wrote this, about the year 1592, but afterwards died of the plague.

(27) Junius, in *Vita ſua*, pag. 21. col. 2.

(28 Who did not live. *Ex prima*, ſays he, *gemelli vix viderunt lucem.*

(29) Junius in *Vita ſua*, pag. 22. col. 1.

left ſome children [*M*], and publiſhed a great many books [*N*]. Thuanus is greatly miſtaken in what he relates concerning him [*O*]. In all probability the Memoirs of Scaliger, who hated Junius, prejudiced that celebrated Hiſtorian [*P*]. Junius did not deſerve

[*M*] *He left ſome children.*] By his ſecond wife, daughter of John Cornput, Secretary and Burgomaſter of Breda, he had, among other children a daughter that was married to the learned John Gerard Voſſius, and a ſon named JOHN CASIMIR JUNIUS (30), who ſtudied Divinity, and was, by his father, deſigned for Hebrew Profeſſor, but did not ſucceed. He quitted letters for the ſword, at the ſollicitation of his uncle John Cornput (31), who made him lieutenant of his company. He died in Gertrudenberg. He had publiſhed, in the Flemiſh tongue, an apology for the ſpeech of Sir Dudley Carlton, King James's Embaſſador. This was writ by way of anſwer to James Taurin, an Arminian Miniſter at Utrecht, who had refuted (32) that ſpeech. He left a ſon named FRANCIS JUNIUS, born at Embden the 20th of September 1624, who was Law Profeſſor in the univerſity of Groningen (33). I ſhall treat in the following article of another FRANCIS JUNIUS, whom our Leyden Profeſſor had by a third wife.

(30) Godſon to Prince John Caſimir, Adminiſtrator of the Palatinate.

(31) He was Governor of the Citadel of Groningen. Meteren ſpeaks of him. *Vitæ Profeſſ. Groning.* pag. 224.

(32) His piece is intitled, *Statera Orationis Carletoni*, &c.

(33) See *The Lives of the Profeſſors of Groningen*, pag. 224, 225.

[*N*] *He publiſhed many books.*.] His Theological works, collected into a body make two volumes in folio, and contain among other things: I, a commentary on the three firſt chapters of Geneſis, with an anſwer to the twenty two objections made by Simplicius (34) to that ſacred book. II. An analyſis of the Pentateuch: An explication of the prophecies of Ezekiel, Daniel and Jonas. III. Sacred parallels, and notes on the Revelations, and the epiſtle of St. Jude. IV. Obſervations againſt Bellarmin; and on the excommunication of Gebhard Truchſes, Archbiſhop of Colen, by Gregory XIII. He alſo wrote criticiſms on profane authors, he publiſhing notes on Manilius and Tully's epiſtles, as alſo on Tertullian, and a work on George Codinus Curopalates. He likewiſe gave ſome verſions from the Latin; that of Bodin's Demonomania, John du Tillet, Arnauld's plea againſt the Jeſuits, &c. He drew up an anſwer (35) in French to Francis Charron's *Trois veritez contre tous Athées &c.* i. e. "Three Truths, againſt all Atheiſts &c. I muſt not forget that he underſtood Greek and the Oriental tongues. He was the firſt who publiſhed George Codinus's book *de Officialibus Palatii Conſtantinopolitani, & Officiis magnæ Eccleſiæ*, to which he added a Latin tranſlation and notes. He publiſhed two editions of this work, the firſt in 1588. to which he prefixed his name in Hebrew, viz. *Nadabus Agmonius* (36), and dedicated it to the Magiſtrates of Francfort. He dedicated the ſecond to Marquardus Freherus, who had procured him ſome manuſcripts which enabled him to fill up ſeveral chaſms of the former edition. He prepared a third, which would have been free from part of the faults that had eſcaped in the two former, and which have been criticized by Gretſerus the Jeſuit (37). The obſervations which Voſſius makes on this critic are very juſt. He does not deny that Gretſerus's work abounds with erudition; but he thinks that the good ſervices which Junius had done to the Republic of Letters had not been ſufficiently conſidered. Gretſerus has applied himſelf to nothing but the pointing out his errors, which indeed, ſays he, is the epidemical diſtemper of the Literati. *Multa in iis ſunt, quibus etiam doctiſſimus doceat* (Gretſerus). *Nec pauca tamen, quæ pro Junio poſſim reponere. Sed hic eruditorum morbus eſt epidemicus: ut non tam cogitent, quantum boni aliquis præſtiterit: quale eſt hic, quod primus eum ſcriptorem Junius ſua lingua ediderit, Latine verterit, etiam illuſtrarit Notis; in quibus humani aliquid ſubinde, in tam arduo negotio, perpeſſum fuiſſe, nec ipſi negamus. Sed, ut dici ſolet, inventis aliquid ſuperaddere; vel quando omnes ſumus homines, etiam errores obſervare, non eſt uſque adeo difficile* (38). i. e. "There are many "particulars in them, wherein Gretſer may teach "thoſe who boaſt the greateſt learning; and not a few "which I can return in favour of Junius. But this "is the epidemical diſeaſe of the Literati, that they "do not ſufficiently reflect on the good things which "a perſon may have done, ſuch as, Junius's being "the firſt who publiſhed that author in his own "language, tranſlated it into Latin, and even illuſ-"trated it with notes; in which arduous undertaking "I will confeſs he now and then commits errors. "But, as is frequently ſaid, to improve upon diſcove-"ries that have been made, and to point out faults to "which all men are liable is no very hard taſk." Junius had tranſlated the three books of Gelaſius Cyzicenus, concerning the Council of Nice, and illuſtrated them with notes (39), all which Voſſius promiſed to get printed (40). I do not ſay Junius tranſlated out of Greek into Latin the books that are called Apocryphal; and from the Arabic the Acts of the Apoſtles, and St. Paul's Epiſtles to the Corinthians. He tranſlated, in conjunction with Tremellius, all the books of the Old Teſtament out of the Hebrew.

(34) And not *Symmachus*, as is ſaid by Melchior Adam, in *Vita Junii*, pag. 201.

(35) It was printed at Leyden, in 4to, in the year 1599.

(36) And not *Aymonius*, as Placcius, *de Pſeudonymis*, ſays, pag. 229. who a little after puts *Cornelius* inſtead of *Codinus*, and *apprehend it* inſtead of *reprehend it*.

(37) *See* Voſſius, *de Hiſtoricis Græcis*, pag. 368.

(38) Voſſius, ibid.

[*O*] *Thuanus is greatly miſtaken in what he relates concerning him.*] His words are as follow. *Vir deſultorio ingenio, qui multa conatus, an adſecutus ſit quod moliebatur, doctorum erit judicium. Lugduno Batavorum ubi diu profeſſus eſt, ob rerum ſuſpicionem ab Ordinibus Belgii exactus, novarum ſicuti ſuo loco diximus, & Altorfii ubi defecit, a Norimbergenſi Rep. honorifico ſtipendio invitatus* (41). i. e. "A man of a roving diſpoſition, "who attempted many things, but whether he ſuc-"ceeded in them, the learned will judge. Baniſhed by "the States from the city of Leyden where he had "been Profeſſor many years, upon a ſuſpicion of en-"gaging in factions, as I ſaid in its place; and in-"vited to Altorf, where he died, by the republic of "Nuremberg, who at the ſame time offered him an "honourable ſalary." I ſhall not examine, whether Thuanus had reaſon to ſay, that Junius was of a roving or fickle diſpoſition and undertook too many things, Voſſius his ſon-in-law having cleared him ſufficiently with reſpect to that point (42): I ſhall obſerve after him (43), that Thuanus is ſtrangely miſtaken, in ſuppoſing firſt, that Junius was baniſhed by the States of Holland upon a ſuſpicion of his engaging in cabals. Secondly, That he accepted of an invitation made by the Magiſtrates of Nuremberg, and died in Altorf. Thirdly, That Thuanus has ſpoke of his exile under the proper year. To begin with this laſt error; I ſay that Thuanus has not ſpoke of Junius, but of Donellus, when he deſcribes the cabal that was diſcovered in 1587 (44). Junius was then in the Palatinate, and did not come to Leyden till five years after. It is univerſally known that he was Divinity Profeſſor of Leyden from the year 1592, till his death. It was Donellus who retired to Altorf, and died there (45).

(39) Ibid. pag. 264.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Thuan. lib. 127. *ſub fin. ad ann.* 1602.

(42) Voſſius, *in præf. de Hiſtoricis Latinis.*

(43) Ibid.

(44) Thuan. *Hiſt.* lib. 88. pag. 147.

(45) Idem, lib. 100. pag. 405.

[*P*] *In all probability the memoirs of Scaliger ..... prejudiced* Thuanus.] This is Voſſius's conjecture (46), and it may very probably be true. Scaliger's hatred and paſſion againſt Junius appeared both in his converſations (47) and letters. But this is not ſo manifeſt to every one in his letters, becauſe Heinſius (48) who publiſhed them in 1627, put ſtars in all thoſe places where Junius was injuriouſly treated, and ſuppreſſed the proper names; but the invectives therefore are not the leſs real for it. *Hocce anno Heinſius noſter in lucem edidit Epiſtolas Scaligeri, in quibus non urbanatim ſed ruſticatim Junium tanquam Cumanum aſinum tangit, homo cætera magnus, ſed nimis malignus* (49). i. e. "Our country-"man Heinſius publiſhed this year Scaliger's epiſtles, "wherein that author, who otherwiſe is a great man "but too ſpiteful, jokes, not in a polite but clowniſh "manner, on Junius, whom he calls the Cumean "aſs." Theſe are Voſſius's words. He had ſaid juſt before, that there were found in ſome of Junius's printed works, a great number of very injurious expreſſions, written with Scaliger's own hand. What are not thoſe authors capable of who go ſuch lengths? *Memor eram qualia ſuperſtes evomuerit adverſus Junium, cum totus in fermento jaceret. Et meminiſſe ipſe potes. Adhuc in noſtris, & aliorum manibus verſantur codices Juniani, Scaligeri manu oppleti bellis illis elogiis, ſimia, aſinus, cojone, & aliis id genus convitiis, βεμβολόγω* (ſcurra) *non Scaligero dignis* (50). i. e. "I remember "in how injurious a manner he treated Junius in his "life-time, and with how much fury he wrote, and "you

(46) In Præfat. *de Hiſt. Latinis.*

(47) See the *Scaligerana.*

(48) *See* Voſſius's *Letter to Grotius*, among thoſe of the Arminians, num. 448. pag. 726.

(49) Voſſius, *in eadem Epiſtola.*

(50) Ibid.

deſerve to be treated in ſo contemptuous a manner by Scaliger; the injuſtice of it is very palpable; and when we conſider the elogiums which a numberleſs multitude of great authors have beſtowed upon him (*i*), we find our ſelves more inclined to pity than indignation with reſpect to that injuſtice. He was a learned and honeſt man; and ſo far from running into extremes, that it was his opinion people may be ſaved in the Romiſh Communion [Q]. He never was more ſenſible of the deficiency of his knowledge, than when he knew moſt (*k*), which was an indication of a right underſtanding.

(*i*) *See* Colomeſius, *Gallia Orient.* pag. 95, & *ſeq.*

(*k*) See the remark [Q] citation (59).

☞ We

" you yourſelf may remember it. There are ſtill extant ſome of Junius's printed books, wherein are writ, with Scaliger's own hand, the fine elogiums following; ape, aſs, ſcoundrel and ſuch like ſcurrilous expreſſions, worthy of a buffoon and not of Scaliger." It may be obſerved by the way, that Scaliger nevertheleſs beſtowed very great elogiums on Junius's herſe (51); ſo true it is that poems writ on the death of perſons, are a ſcene of the grand farce that is playing in the world. I alſo obſerve, that Junius had drawn the hatred of this great man upon him, by his taking the liberty to contradict him ſometimes in matters of chronology &c. Some young people threw a great deal of oil into the fire, by reporting after an invidious manner, what Junius uſed to ſay of the other, either in his lectures or converſation. *Scis quale fuerit illud maximi Scaligeri ingenium. Non ferebat diſſentientem. Itaque ſemper eo nomine offenſior Junio fuit, quod in quibuſdam ad ſacram χρονολογίαν pertinentibus, ac credo in aliis etiam nonnullis a ſe diſcreparet. Offenſam eam unus & alter diſcipulorum alebant, maligne interpretantes apud Scaligerum, quæ vel publice docuiſſet Junius, vel privatim dixiſſet* (52). However this be, this is what made Voſſius (53) conclude, that Scaliger's letters had prejudiced Thuanus againſt Junius. This reflection kept him in ſuſpence at firſt, whether or no he ſhould draw up an apology for his father-in-law, in oppoſition to Thuanus: for he foreſaw that the ſon of that great hiſtorian would juſtify his father, by producing thoſe letters of Scaliger that were injurious to Junius; and in this caſe Voſſius would have been obliged to write againſt Scaliger, but he thought it more proper to throw a veil over the faults of that great man, than to make them known. At laſt he took the method that may be ſeen in the preface (54) I have cited. *Si calamum adverſus Thuanum ſtringam, periculum video, ne filius Thuani, juvenis eruditus, & ut genere, atque opibus pollens, ita multis in Galliis carus, & maximis honoribus deſtinatus, quæ de imperitia Junii modeſte Parens ſcripſerit, ea aperte, & ſine circuitione prodita, oſtendat a Magno Scaligero Reip. literariæ dictatore, cui doctior orbis lubens eruditionis faſces ſubmittit. Hinc mihi nova cura, etiam tuendi eum adverſus Scaligeri calumnias, incumbet. Quem ego virum laudavi ſemper, ac porro laudare decrevi: non quia ejus impotentiam animi, aut maledicentiam ignorem; aut quaſi neſciam, quam multis in locis aliquid humanitus patiatur: ſed quia tantæ virtutes, præclaraque adeo merita ſunt, erga hiſtoriam ac bonas literas, ut propterea, quæ peccavit, cenſeam ei condonari, & æterna oblivione ſepeliri oportere* (55). i. e. " In caſe I ſhould " write againſt Thuanus, I am afraid leſt Thuanus's " ſon, a learned youth, and not only rich and well-" born, but alſo beloved by many in France, and de-" ſigned for the higheſt honours, ſhould ſhew that the " mighty Scaliger, Dictator of the Republic of Let-" ters, whom the Literati willingly conſider as their " monarch, declared openly, and without diſguiſing " the matter, what his father obſerved only in mo-" deſt terms with regard to Junius's unſkilfulneſs. " This will cut out a new taſk for me, even of de-" fending him in oppoſition to the ſlanders of Scali-" ger, a perſon whom I have ever applauded, and " will ſtill applaud: not that I am ignorant of his " violent temper or faculty of ſlandering, and that he " himſelf miſtakes on ſeveral occaſions; but becauſe I " am of opinion that his great talents and deſerts, " with reſpect to hiſtory and polite literature, ought " to atone for his faults, and bury them in eternal " oblivion," He ſpares Scaliger's name in the preface, but not his perſon; it is true indeed that he ſtabs him in a very reſpectful manner. His words are as follow. *Acerbe adeo ut ſummus vir* (Thuanus) *pronuntiaret, fecit amicus ejus, vir cætera egregius; ſed, quod in aliis damnat, præſidens, planeque ἰδιογνώμων, καὶ αὐθάδικας, ſæpe etiam turgens loliginis ſucco, ac ſi quis non per omnia aſſentiret, vehemens alieni nominis obtrectator: quo vitio non mediocriter fædabat egregias, imo admirandas animi dotes. Non me ariolari hic, ſed certiſſima promere, multis poſſim indiciis comprobare: ſed ea ſunt viri illius merita, ut quædam ſatius ſit honoris cauſa taceri* (50). i. e. " So very bitterly, that " that very great man (Thuanus) pronounced, his " friend did it, otherwiſe an excellent man; but, " what he condemns in other people, very confident, " ſelf-conceited, and ſevere; fired often with envy, " and inveighing againſt thoſe who did not aſſent to " him in all things, a vice which threw a deep ſhade " over his excellent parts. This is not conjecture, but " ſtrict truth, as I can prove by many marks; but ſo " ſo great is this man's merit, that the veneration I " have for it obliges me to be ſilent with regard to " ſome things." No man could write with more moderation.

(51) See in the Preface to Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Latinis*, the Latin Verſes made by Scaliger on Junius's death.

(52) Voſſius, *Epiſt.* 65. pag. 105. edit. Loudin. 1693.

(53) See his *Letter to Gomarus*, it is 65th.

(54) *Operis de Hiſtoricis Latinis.*

(55) Voſſius, *Epiſt.* 65. pag. 106.

[Q] *It was his opinion that people may be ſaved in the Romiſh Communion.*] He nevertheleſs called her, as other Proteſtant Miniſters did, the whore mentioned in the Revelations; but he ſaid ſhe ſtill was the ſpouſe of the ſon of God: a ſpouſe whoſe infidelity Chriſt bears with, and has not yet divorced her. This did not pleaſe Theodore Beza, a mighty ſtickler for the monarchy of the *Solipſi*; a name by which I beg leave to diſtinguiſh thoſe communions, which think that themſelves only are in the right way of ſalvation; but Junius allowed a conſiderable extent to the true Church, a circumſtance that perhaps was unknown to Mr. Nicole (57). *Doctiſſimus ſocer Junius cum nollet ab iis diſcedere, qui Romanam Eccleſiam cenſent eſſe meretricem Babylonicam, & tamen ſtatueret ſalvari in ea innumera millia, ajebat eſſe vivum corpus, ſed ulceribus obſitum: meretricem eſſe, ſed adhuc ſponſam Chriſti, vel conjugem, quia Chriſtus necdum ei miſerit libellum repudii. Sed non eo ſatisfecit Genevenſibus: qui illam dicerent idololatricam, ac proinde neminem in ea ſalvari. Narravit mihi aliquando doct. Anthonius Thyſius, cum primum Genevam veniſſet, & ſoceri mei nomine multam ſalutem diceret D. Bezæ illum continuo ſubjeciſſe*; Et quomodo valet cariſſimus frater Junius, vir eſt egregie de Eccleſiis noſtris meritus: quanquam in uno capite diſſentiat a nobis. *Id caput erat de Eccleſia, quam Junius negabat tam arctis limitibus concludi, ut multi volunt* (58). i. e. " My moſt learned father-in-law " Junius, when he did not care to diſſent from thoſe " who look upon the Church of Rome as the whore of " Babylon, and yet was of opinion that numberleſs " multitudes are ſaved therein, ſaid ſhe was a living " body, but quite full of ſores; that ſhe was a whore, " but ſtill the ſpouſe or wife of Chriſt, becauſe he had " not ſent her a bill of divorce. However, this did " not ſatisfy the Genevois, who ſaid that ſhe was ido-" latrous, and therefore that no one ſhould be ſaved in " her. I once was told by the learned Anthony Thy-" ſius, that at his firſt coming to Geneva, when he " had complimented Beza in my father-in-law's name, " he inſtantly replied: *And pray how does my moſt " dear brother Junius? He deſerves exceedingly well of " our Churches, notwithſtandiag that he diſſents from " us in one article.* Now this article related to the " Church, which Junius was not for including in " ſuch narrow limits as many do."

(56) Voſſius, Præfat. *de Hiſtoricis Latinis.* See alſo his *Letter to Gomarus.* It is the 65th.

(57) See the Preface to his Treatiſe *Of the Unity of the Church*, wherein he ſpeaks of ſome Proteſtant Miniſters, who believed that the true Church is to be found in different communions.

(58) Voſſius, *Epiſt. ad Hugon. Grotium.* It is the 571ſt in the *Epiſt. Eccleſ. & Theolog.* of the folio edit. pag. 818.

This is what Voſſius relates. He ſays in another place, that Junius being much freer from prejudices than people generally are, ſaid very frequently in his later years: the longer I live, the more I diſcover my ignorance. *Socer meus Fr. Junius tanti cum a multis retro annis nominis foret, poſtremis tamen annis crebro illud in ore habebat, magis & magis ſe in dies videre, quam multa ſe fugerent. Ita ille, qui cum novellis Doctoribus ſociarat antiquos; qui etiam partium ſtudio non paulo minus laborabat quam vulgo fieret ſolet* (59).

(59) Idem, *apud* Colomeſium *Galliæ Oriental.* pag. 96.

☞ We ſhall add ſome particulars to this article [*A*].

[*A*] *We ſhall add ſome particulars to this article.*] Our Junius was ſo very ſickly in his childhood that his parents were often in danger of loſing him. At five years of age his father began to teach him to read, but afterwards got a tutor for him. At twelve he was ſent to the public ſchools, where he ſoon made a great progreſs. Junius was ſo unhappy as to meet with ſevere and unreaſonable maſters, who were for ever beating him; but what would have quite diſheartened another made no impreſſion upon him; his fondneſs for learning making him bear their cruel treatment with patience (*). The occaſion of Bartholomew Aneau's counſelling Junius with regard to his ſtudies was this (†). Junius, abandoning himſelf to the inclination he had to gratify his curioſity, uſed to read all ſorts of books that came in his way; and without fixing to any ſcience in particular, was perpetually ſhifting from one ſcience to another: when Aneau aſſured him that this was the way for him not to know any one well; and that he ought to have, in his ſtudies, one fixed point to which every thing ſhould be directed. This advice made ſuch an impreſſion on Junius, that he followed it, and found himſelf greatly benefited thereby (§). The reaſon of his leaving the Walloon Church at Antwerp (‡) was, upon an order being made there, that thenceforward only two Proteſtant Miniſters ſhould belong to it, who were born in that city, whereby our Junius was excluded, upon which he went to Limburg (*). One of the reaſons of Scaliger's hatred of Junius has been already told (†); and the other was this: Scaliger inſiſting upon having the precedency over all the other Profeſſors of Leyden, was oppoſed by them; and Francis Junius, who was the firſt, ſpoke againſt Scaliger, and by that means prevented his ſucceeding in his deſign (**). But notwithſtanding the ſtrong averſion, which Scaliger had for Junius in his life-time, he yet made the following panegyric upon him, after his death, wherein he obſerves, that Junius, who had ſo lately dealt his excellent inſtructions to crouded audiences, was unhappily ſnatched away by the plague. That his ſcholars bewailed his death; the widowed Church lamented him as her parent, and the whole world as its inſtructor. That they did not weep for him as the vulgar do, who are not ſenſible of the value of a thing till they have loſt it: but that every one knew the great merits of Junius in his life-time; and therefore they were not more ſenſible of his value by his death, but were the more grieved.

Juni, quem modo literis potentem
Pleni Gymnaſii frequenti cœtu,
Cingebat docilis corona pubis
Docti pendula differentis ore:
At nunc, ô ſeries iniqua rerum!
Tactus ſidere peſtilentis auræ
Sol pallentibus occidit tenebris!
Te mœrens ſchola flet ſuum Magiſtrum,
Orba Eccleſia te ſuum parentem,
Doctorem gemit orbis Univerſus.
Flent, flent, non uti vulgus imperitus,
Quem morbus docet ipſe, quid valere eſt,
Quanti eſt filius, orbitate diſcit,
Qui nec denique quid potitus olim eſt,
Sed quid perdideret, ſolet putare.
In te longe alia eſt viciſſitudo;
Nec quantum fueris, carendo diſcit,
Qui vivi meritum æſtimavit olim,
Et nunc conſcia publicæ querelæ,
Poſtquam triſtia te tulere fata,
Et clarum Jubar abſtulere mundo,
Nos quid perdidimus, quid & dolendum eſt,
Non ſcimus magis, at magis dolemus (*).

(*) *Hommes Illuſtres*, du Pere Niceron, tom. 16. pag. 175.

(†) See the text of this article, a little after [*E*].

(§) *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 16. pag. 176, 177.

(‡) See the text of this article, between [*I*] and [*K*].

(*) *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 6. pag. 179, 180.

(†) In the notes of this article, a little after citation (51).

(**) *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 6. pag. 186.

(*) Voſſius, *de Hiſtoricis Latin. in Præfat.*

The author who gives us theſe verſes adds, that Scaliger writ under them, that he had compoſed them in bed, at two in the morning; a time in which the mind ſeems to have a greater aſcendant over the paſſions than in the day. Beſides, it was a very mournful ſeaſon, the plague having ſnatched away, in a month's time, two ſhining ornaments of the univerſity of Leyden, Junius and Trimellius, and making dreadful havock in Holland; and the gloomy reflections which that calamity inſpired, doubtleſs made Scaliger write the abovementioned verſes in the ſincerity of his ſoul; and conſequently we are not to believe all the injurious reflections he has caſt on Junius, and at the ſame time we muſt ſubſtract ſomething from the extravagant encomiums that have been beſtowed on him by others. "It will be doing juſtice, *ſays du Pin* (†), to acknow- "ledge that he was a man of very extenſive erudition, "an able critic and moſt ſkilled in languages; and "that his notes and reflections are pretty juſt: ne- "vertheleſs he can paſs for no more than a good "Grammarian and but a tolerable Divine." His works conſiſt of forty four articles, the particulars whereof may be ſeen in father Niceron (‡).

(†) *Bibliotb. des Auteurs Heritiques*, tom. 1. pag. 596.

(‡) Tom. 16.

JUNIUS (FRANCIS) ſon of the preceding (*a*) was born in Heidelberg in the year 1589. He at firſt deſigned to devote himſelf to a military life; but the truce that was concluded in 1609 for twelve years made him take a different reſolution, which was to apply himſelf to ſtudy. He went into France, and from thence into England in the year 1620. He was taken into the Earl of Arundel's family, and continued thirty years in it; after which he returned to Holland, and there continued a ſtudy which he had very much cultivated in England, I mean that of the northern tongues [*A*], in which he made

(a) By his third wife, Jane, daughter of Simon l'Ermite, Lord of Betinſart, Echevin of Antwerp, and a relation of Daniel L'ERMITE, whom we ſhall ſpeak of in his place.

[*A*] *He continued the ſtudy . . . of the northern tongues.*] Having met in England with ſeveral Anglo-Saxon books, he reſolved to make an advantage of them; and perceiving, by the knowledge he acquired in the Anglo-Saxon language, that it would be of ſervice to him for diſcovering many etymologies for clearing up the Flemiſh, Engliſh, and German tongues; he therefore devoted himſelf wholly to that ſtudy, and afterwards learnt the antient language of the Goths, Franks, Cimbri, and Friſons; whereby he diſcovered the etymology of ſeveral Italian, French, and Spaniſh words; for the Goths, Vandals, French, Burgundians and Germans ſpread their language in the provinces they conquered, of which ſome footſteps are left (1). He devoted himſelf entirely to the compoſing of Gloſſaries; *Totus erat in contexendis Anglo-Saxonicis, Francicis, & Cimbricis Lexicis ac Gloſſariis, & explanandis antiquiſſimis harum gentium ſcriptoribus* (2). And here follows the pedigree which he diſcovered *His omnibus linguis imbibendis cum ſatis diu inſudaſſet, vidit, quod & privatim apud omnes, quibus cum agebat de hac doctrina, tum publice teſtatus eſt, Gothicam eſſe matrem omnium cæterarum Teutonicarum linguarum, ex qua profluxerit vetus Cimbrica, monumentis Runarum poſteris tradita, nec non Suecica, Danica, Norwegica, Iſlandica, quibus illius plagæ homines iſto tempore ſuas animi cogitationes explicant. Ex Anglo-ſaxonica, quæ & ipſa aut propago eſt Gothicæ, aut illius ſoror germana, & ejuſdem matris filia, manavit Anglica, Scotica, Belgica, Friſica vetus. Ex Gothica & Saxonica orta Francica, quæ Germanicæ ſuperioris parens eſt. Harum veterrimarum linguarum, & dialectorum, quæ ex illis ducta ſunt, cognitionem invicto ſtudio, & incredibili aſſiduitate non primus tantum aſſecutus eſt, ſed & ſolus, viam ſecutus nullius ante tritam veſtigiis* (3). That is, "After he had applied himſelf ſufficiently for the "learning of all theſe languages, he diſcovered, as he "declared both privately to all thoſe with whom he "diſcourſed on this matter, and alſo publickly, that "the Gothic was the mother of all the Teutonic lan- "guages; whence ſprung the old Cimbrian, tranſ- "mitted to poſterity by the remains of the Runæ; as "likewiſe the Swediſh, Daniſh, Norwegian, Iſe- "landiſh, in which the inhabitants of that country ex- "preſſed their thoughts at that time. From the An- "glo-Saxon, which itſelf is either a branch of the "Gothic, or its ſiſter, and daughter of the ſame mo- "ther, ſprung the Engliſh, Scotch, Belgic, and the "old language of Frieſland. From the Gothic and "Saxon

(1) Extracted from his *Life*, written by Græ- vius, prefixed to the folio edit. *de Pictura Veterum.*

(2) Græv. ibid.

(3) Idem, ibid.

made a very great and extraordinary progreſs. He was ſo paſſionately fond of this ſtudy, that being informed there were ſome villages in Frieſland wherein the antient language of the Saxons was preſerved, he went and lived two years in that country. He returned to England in 1675; and after ſpending two years in Oxford, he retired to Windſor at the houſe of Iſaac Voſſius his nephew, and died there within the ſpace of a year. The Univerſity of Oxford, to which he bequeathed his manuſcripts, erected a very handſome monument to his memory (*b*). We ſhall ſpeak of the works he publiſhed [*B*]. He was not only maſter of very great erudition, but likewiſe led an excellent life. He was not obſerved to have any vicious paſſion. He did not thirſt after worldly riches or honours; his books were his only care; and perhaps no man ever ſtudied more without prejudicing his health [*C*]. I ſhall tranſcribe a paſſage from Colomeſius [*D*].

(*b*) Extracted from his *Life*, written by Græ-vius, and prefixed to his work, *De Pictura Veterum*, in folio.

When I ſpoke of his ſtay in Oxford, and of the time when he died, I followed the account given by Grævius, but it is not accurate. I rectify it here, by obſerving that Junius retired to Oxford in October 1676; that he left it in Auguſt 1677, in order to viſit Voſſius, in whoſe houſe, near Windſor, he died the 19th of November 1677. He lay ill but a few days, and was buried in St. George's chapel in Windſor (*c*).

(*c*) Extracted from *Athenæ Oxonienſes*.

" Saxon languages ſprung that of the Franks, which " is the mother tongue of Upper Germany. Ju- " nius was not only the firſt man, but the only one, " who, ſtriking into a path never trod before, with " invincible pains and aſſiduity, attained to the know- " ledge of thoſe moſt antient languages, and the dia- " lects that flow from them."

[*B*] *We ſhall ſpeak of the works he publiſhed.*] In 1637 he publiſhed a treatiſe *de Pictura Veterum*, which abounds with admirable literature. He afterwards enlarged it ſo much, that the ſecond edition of it (4) is a pretty thick folio; whereas the firſt is but in quarto, and conſiſts of 318 pages. Very few particulars have eſcaped our Junius's reſearches, in the Greek and Latin authors with regard to painting and the antient painters. In 1655 he publiſhed remarks on the Francick paraphraſis (5) of the Canticles, written by Abbot Willeram, and firſt publiſhed by Paul Merula. Being returned to Holland after paſſing two years in Frieſland, he met with the old Gothic manuſcript called the Silver One, becauſe the four Goſpels are there writ in ſilver Gothic letters: *Qui argenteus dicitur, quoniam quatuor Evangelia literis argenteis Gothicis in illo fuerant deſcripta* (6): Junius devoted his whole ſtudy to the explication of it, which he compleated in a little time. He therefore publiſhed this Gothic paraphraſe of the four Goſpels, corrected from good manuſcripts, and illuſtrated with notes by Thomas Marſhal or Mareſchal. This is but a very ſmall part of his works; thoſe which continue in manuſcript being vaſtly more conſiderable. His Gloſſary in five languages, wherein he ſearches for and explains the original of the northern languages, contains eleven (7) vol. in manuſcript, which Biſhop Fell cauſed to be tranſcribed, in order for their being printed. His commentary on the harmony of the four Goſpels by Tatian is very large. I take no notice of a great many other books which he illuſtrated with notes (8). Conſult the catalogue of the manuſcripts which he bequeathed to the univerſity of Oxford, annexed to his Life.

(4) At Rotterdam, for Reinier Leers, 1694.

(5) *Francica Paraphraſis.*

(6) Grævius, *in Vita F. Junii.*

(7) There are 11 in *Junius's Life*; but it is 9 in the catalogue of the manuſcripts which Junius bequeathed to the Univerſity of Oxford.

(8) Extracted from his *Life*.

[*C*] *No man ever ſtudied more without prejudicing his health.*] He uſed to riſe at four in the morning both winter and ſummer, and ſtudy till dinner time which was at one, and after dinner he uſed to employ himſelf, for his health ſake, till three, in ſome bodily exerciſe, or walk or run. *Hora prima prandebat, ſequente corpus exercebat vel in area ſubdivali ambulando contentius, aut etiam ſubſultim non nunquam currendo, aut, ſi id non ferret aſperior tempeſtas, per omnes ſcalas in cœnaculum aſcendendo valetudinis tuenda cauſſa* [9]. He returned to his ſtudies at three, and did not leave them till eight, when he went to ſupper, and then to bed. He very ſeldom went abroad, and that never but when affairs obliged him to it. Notwithſtanding this he enjoyed a perfect ſtate of health, and was never once ſick. *Firma fuit valetudine, ut proſperrima per omnem ætatem ſine ulla corporis offenſione uteretur, quamvis totos dies à ſummo mane uſque ad noctem incumberet literis, & rariſſime, nec unquam niſi negotiorum ratio id ei quaſi imperaret, prodiret in publicum* (10). Tho' he ſpent ſo long a ſeries of years in this ſolitary manner, poring upon barbarous books and wild words, and in making five Gothic or Teutonic lexicons, it yet did not any ways leſſen the gaiety of his temper, not even in his extreme old age. He was ever free from peeviſhneſs; and affable to thoſe who viſited him, tho' he did not like to be interrupted. Grævius deſcribes this in beautiful words. *In aſſiduitate tanta licet invitus admodum avocaretur ab his, quibus inſudabat, curis, tam longe tamen aberat omnis moroſitas ingeniique triſtitia, quæ ſolet eſſe propria iis, qui a luce hominum & celebritate alieniores omne tempus & operam domi ſuæ in doctrinæ & litterarum ſtudiis conſumunt, præcipue ſenes, ut nihil ſene noſtro fieri poſſet ſuavius & facilius* (11). People who do not love ſtudy cannot think but Junius muſt have been unhappy. Theſe would chooſe as ſoon to be ſentenced to the gallies, as to ſpend their lives, as he did, among his deſks, without taſting the pleaſures of converſation, wine, women, or gaming. *How will it be poſſible*, ſay theſe, *to paſs the day without the bottle, and the night without the fair?* But they are in an error if they think themſelves happier than he. He doubtleſs was one of the happieſt men upon earth, unleſs he had the weakneſs which others have, viz. of being diſturbed about trifles. For as ſome people who, tho' they have no cauſe to be merry, do yet find out chimerical pleaſures that amuſe them (12); there are on the contrary, others, who tho' unmoved with the moſt juſt cauſes of diſcontent, are yet troubled from ſilly and ridiculous motives, which they would be aſhamed to complain of.

(9) Grævius, *in Vita Franciſc. Junii.*

(10) Idem, ibid.

(11) Idem, ibid.

(12) *Dum cares veris gaudia falſa juvant.* Ovid. *Heroïd.* Epiſt. 13. ver. 108. Compare *Dacier on Horace*, lib. 1. Epiſt. 8. pag. 406, 410, 411.

[*D*] *I ſhall tranſcribe a paſſage from Colomeſius.*] " I " knew, at the Hague, the learned Mr. Junius, ſon " to the famous Francis Junius, who was Divinity " Profeſſor in *Leyden*. He is about fourſcore years of " age, but ſtill very vigorous. He ſtudies thirteen or " fourteen hours every day, and lately publiſhed the " four Goſpels in the Gothic language, with a very " elaborate Gloſſary. He made me a preſent of that " noble work; and ſaid that he would ſoon reprint " his work *de Pictura Veterum*, with the names and " works of all the painters of antiquity. It will be " dedicated to the preſent Earl of Arundel, who was " his pupil when he was Librarian in England to his " father. I muſt not omit, to the honour of our Ju- " nius, that Grotius beſtows great encomiums on his " book of painting, in a letter which you will find " here (13)." This letter has been prefixed to the new edition of our Junius's works.

(13) Colomeſius in his *Opuſcula*, pag. 116. Utrecht edit. 1669.

☞ JUNIUS (FRANCIS). We ſhall make ſome additions to Mr. Bayle's article of this learned man. After he came firſt to England, he made frequent excurſions to the Univerſity of Oxford, for the advantage of the Bodleian and other Libraries, and converſation with the learned men there (*a*). In 1638 he publiſhed at London in 4to an Engliſh Tranſlation of his book *De Picturâ Veterum*, with additions and alterations [*A*]. A catalogue

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 602. 2d edit. 1721.

[*A*] *In* 1638 *he publiſhed at London in* 4*to an Engliſh Tranſlation of his Book* de Picturâ Veterum *with additions and alterations.*] It was printed under the following title: *The Painting of the Antients in three books:*

A catalogue of the manuſcripts, which he gave to the Univerſity of Oxford, may be ſeen in the note [*B*]. Propoſals (*b*) for printing his *Etymologicon Anglicanum* have been lately publiſhed by Edward Lye, M. A. Vicar of Little Houghton in Northamptonſhire [*C*]. Gerard John Voſſius ſtiles him (*c*) *omnifariâ Doctrinâ & Generis ſplendore ornatiſſimus.* Several of his Letters are publiſhed in *Gerardi Joannis Voſſii & Clarorum Virorum ad eum Epiſtolæ: collectore Paulo Colomeſio Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Preſbytero.* London

(*b*) Dated at Hart-Hall in Oxford, Sept. 10, 1736.

(*c*) *De Origine & Progreſſu Idololatriæ*, lib. 3. cap. 5.

books: declaring by hiſtorical obſervations and examples the beginneſſe, progreſſe, and conſummation of that moſt noble art; and how thoſe antient artificers attained to their ſtill ſo much admired excellencie. Written firſt in Latine by Franciſcus Junius, F. F. and now by him Engliſhed, with ſome additions and Alterations. It is dedicated to *the Right Honourable the Counteſſe of Arundell and Surrey, his ſingular good Ladie and Miſtreſſe.* The dedication is dated from Arundel Houſe, March 28 1638; and in it he writes thus: "As the ſweet and "glorious harmony of your heroicall vertues in ſo "high a birth (1), moſt happily conjoyned and "matched with the moſt illuſtrious Lord your huſ-"band, the very patterne of true nobilitie, enforceth "the world farre and neere with honour and admira-"tion to behold and renowne you: ſo doth my con-"dition require, that I within this little *Britain* world, "in which wee live, ſhould unto your publick glory "adde my particular teſtimony of your bountie and "munificence, whereby I am engaged, above any of "your ſervantes, to ſeeke any means both to intimate "my humble dutie, and to profeſſe my thankfull "mind to your noble familie. Neither needed I goe "farre to find my occaſion and ſubject, but even to "make uſe of that, which in your ſervice, and within "the walls of your own houſe, I had produced; I "meane, my obſervations of the manner of painting "in uſe among the antients. For ſeeing your Ladi-"ſhip, upon the firſt ſight of my Latine copie, was "pleaſed to expreſſe your deſire of having it Engliſh-"ed, there ſeemed a way to be opened unto me of "effecting that my ſerviceable intent; and the rather, "becauſe ſome things having paſſed therein, which "(as one day teacheth another) in the review and "more mature cogitation I wiſhed might be altered, "I thought beſt to begin that correction in this pre-"ſent edition. Nor doe I ſo much overween, but "that I ſee and confeſſe, that this tranſlation befitteth "rather the native fluency of one in-bred, than the "forced ſtile of a forrainer; &c."

(1) The Counteſs of Arundel was daughter of Gilbert Earl of Shrewſbury.

[*B*] *A catalogue of the manuſcripts which he gave to the univerſity of Oxford, may be ſeen in the note.*] I. *Gloſſarium quinque Linguarum Septentrionalium.* This was cauſed to be tranſcribed in nine volumes, in order to have been printed by the care of Dr. John Fell, Biſhop of Oxford. II. *Notæ illuſtrantes totam Hiſtoriam Eccleſiaſticam vener. Bedæ.* III. *Collatio Chronologiæ Saxonicæ cum MS. & Additone trium Schedarum auctior.* IV. *Guielm. Lumbardi Verſio & Notæ ad antiquas Leges Anglorum & Saxonum correctæ, ac variis Notis illuſtratæ.* V. *Quædam in Seldeni notis ac Spicilegio in Eadmerum emendata.* VI. *Spelmanni Pſalterium Saxonicum interlineare collatum cum MS.* VII. *Marginal Notes on Douglas's Tranſlation of Virgil.* VIII. *Geoffrey Chaucer's Poems illuſtrated throughout with certain Notes.* IX. *Cædmonis Paraphraſis, cum conjecturis extemporaneis in Indiculo.* X. *Variæ Lectiones ex MSS. in Gul. Somneri Lexicon Saxonicum.* XI. *Multi Scriptorum Anglo-Saxonicorum veteres Codices, ut & multorum Apographa, quæ ipſe Junius manu ſuâ ex veteribus membranis excerpſit & deſcripſit, in Bibl. publ. Oxon. cuſtodiuntur, quorum indices habes in Appendice clar. Hickeſii ad Grammaticam Iſlandicam, p.* 139. *& ſequentibus.* XII. *In Willerami Paraphraſin Cantici Canticorum Notæ longè auctiores.* XIII. *Tatiani Monoteſſeron cum Præfatione Victoris Epiſcopi Capuæ, cum Annotationibus ampliſſimis Junii, in quibus comparantur cum Francicâ, Gothica, & Anglo-Saxonica.* XIV. *Vocabularius, qui inſcribitur Teutoniſta, Edit.* 1475. *fol. interſperſis per totum Notis Junii.* XV. *Ejuſdem Auctarium Notarum in Tatianum, juſtum Volumen in 4to.* XVI. *Otfridi Evangeliorum Liber, nitidiſſime ſcriptus, cum Indice Capitulorum à Junio parante novam Editionem.* XVII. *Annonis Archiepiſcopi Colonienſis Vita, Rythmice.* XVIII. *Gloſſarium Theotiſco Latinum, cum Notis ſecundum Litteras Alphabeti in diverſis Faſciculis, &c.* XIX. *Dictionarium Francicum mutilum, carens initio A. B. C.* XX. *Dictionarium alterum Francicum. Hæc duo in Faſciculis ſunt. Alterum etiam plenum.* XXI. *Plures alios veteres Francicos Libros manu ſuâ deſcriptos, & Friſicos reliquit Junius Bibl. Oxon.* XXII. *Leges Friſiorum, Cod. MS. cum Notis quibuſdam in margine Junii.* XXIII. *Liber Legum Friſicarum impreſſus, in fine mutilus, cui ex Ubbone Emmio Junius nonnulla præmiſit, cum ejuſdem Notis adſperſis paſſim margini.* XXIV. *Jus comitatus Friſiæ ex Cod. Werneri Emmen, & aliæ Leges Friſicæ ex Simonis Gabbamæ MSS. cum Notis Junii.*

[*C*] *Propoſals for printing his* Etymologicon Anglicanum *have been lately publiſhed by Edward Lye, M. A. &c.*] Mr Lye obſerves, that "our Author's uncom-"mon ſkill in the northern languages gave him a "thorough inſight into the Engliſh, and enabled him "to ſet its original in ſo clear a view, that as this "work of his cannot but give the greateſt pleaſure "and ſatisfaction to the reader, ſo it may juſtly chal-"lenge the preference to any of the like kind, that "hath ever yet been publiſhed: The ingenious Me-"nage is very deſervedly extolled by his countrymen; "but nevertheleſs I take the liberty to aſſert, that upon "a juſt compariſon he will be found to fall ſhort of "Junius; and indeed it could not be otherwiſe. For "without a tolerable knowledge of the northern lan-"guages it is impoſſible to make a complete Etymo-"logiſt either in Engliſh or French, ſince the greateſt "part of our words, and no ſmall number of the "French, have been derived down to us through thoſe "channels. This book, as it contains a Gloſſary of "the Engliſh words, whether now in uſe, or by "length of time grown obſolete, will be of great ad-"vantage to thoſe, who are deſirous to read our old "authors; aud by the many quotations interſperſed "from the Gothic, Saxon, and Francic writers of no "leſs ſervice to all ſuch as ſhall ſtudy thoſe languages: "It will alſo be of uſe to explain great variety of "words in the High and Low Dutch, Daniſh, Iſlandic, "French, Italian, and Spaniſh, the true originals of "which are in vain to be ſought for in the *Etymologicums*, which have been hitherto publiſhed of thoſe "languages." Mr. Lye tells us, that there will be large Additions from Junius's other manuſcripts, Dr. Hickes, Skinner, &c. which will be either put at the bottom of the Page, or diſtinguiſhed from the text by the Authors names affixed to them; and that the abbreviations ſhall be explained, and the alphabets of the northern languages printed at the beginning of the book. Dr. Hickes ſpeaks of this work of Junius in the following terms (2): *Certe egregium opus eſt* Skinneri Etymologicon, *quamvis in quibus lapſus clariſſimus auctor, hic illic offenderint Matricium periti; qui e ſcriniis Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ jam avidiſſimè expectare cœperint* Fr. Junii Etymologicon Anglicanum, *quod tandem aliquando editum morositatem iſtorum plus ſatis redarguet, qui ſe ſuaque ſtudia nimium mirantes, (neſcio ſub quâ gravitatis ſpecie) Gloſſographos & Etymologiſtas planè quaſi pædagogaſtros faſtidioſè contemnunt.* And the ſame writer in another place (3) writes thus: *Exemplum habentes, quod ſequantur, Fr. Junium F. F. qui linguarum Anglo-Saxonicæ & Franco-Theotiſcæ in primis gnarus, ad Scano-Gothicæ & Mæſo-Gothicæ Studium adpulit animum, quibus omnibus præclare eruditus, erat ſanè idoneus, qui ad linguæ Anglicanæ Etymologicum conſcribendum linguâ Anglicanâ dignum accederet. In quo opere quidem id genus omnium longe præſtantiſſimo, vocum noſtrarum Etyma è propriis ſuis fontibus, ſcilicet Anglo-Saxonicis, Dano-Saxonicis, & Normanno-Saxonicis, tam peritè & perſpicuè hauſit, ut non tam Etymologicum linguæ Anglicanæ, quam ejus ex cauſis ſcientifica notitia dici mireatur. Illius MS. codicem à ſe in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ diligentur verſatum adeo miratus eſt doctiſſimus quidam Suecus, ut Dictionarium Menagii Etymologicum, quem adeo Galli prædicant, ne comparandum quidem ad*

(2) *Præfat. Grammat. Anglo-Saxon.*

(3) *Diſſert. Epiſt.* tol.

London 1690 in fol. [*D*], and one to Mr. John Greaves, dated at Amſterdam May the 24th 1652, New Stile, is publiſhed in a late edition of Mr. Greaves's works (*d*), printed at London 1737 in two volumes in 8vo, which, as it was not publiſhed, when we wrote the article of GREAVES, we ſhall here give the title of, viz. *Miſcellaneous Works of Mr.* John Greaves, *Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in the Univerſity of Oxford: many of which are now firſt publiſhed.* I. Pyramidographia; *or a Deſcription of the Pyramids in Egypt. With a great many additions and alterations from a copy corrected by the author.* II. *A Diſcourſe of the Roman Foot and* Denarius; *from whence, as from two Principles, the Meaſures and Weights uſed by the Antients may be deduced.* III. *Tracts upon various Subjects, Letters, Poems, and Obſervations in his Travels in Italy, Turky, and Egypt.* IV. *A Deſcription of the Grand Seignor's Seraglio. To which are added,* I. *Reflections on the* Pyramidographia, *written by an anonymous author, ſoon after the publication of that book.* II. *A Diſſertation upon the* Sacred Cubit *of the Jews, and the* Cubits *of the ſeveral Nations; in which, from the Dimenſions of the greateſt Egyptian Pyramid, as taken by Mr.* Greaves, *the antient* Cubit of Memphis *is determined. Tranſlated from the Latin of Sir* Iſaac Newton, *not yet publiſhed. Adorned with Sculptures. To the whole is prefixed, An Hiſtorical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of the Author. Publiſhed by* Thomas Birch, *M. A. F. R. S. and Member of the Society of Antiquaries, London.*

(d) Vol. 2. pag. 468, 469.

ad præſtantiſſimum illud opus F. Junii vocem tollens dixerit. Mr. Humphrey Wanley (4) ſtiles it *Opus elaboratiſſimum & utiliſſimum*; and Biſhop Kennet obſerves (5), that "the want of a new edition of *Somner's Dictionary* would be ſuperſeded, could the world at laſt "enjoy the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, compleated by "Fr. Junius in two volumes, and that author's incomparable Lexicon of five northern languages."

(4) *Catalog. Scriptor. Anglo-Saxon.*

(5) *Life of Mr. Will. Somner.*

[*D*] *Several of his letters are publiſhed in* Gerardi Voſſii & clarorum virorum ad eum epiſtolæ &c.] The firſt letter of Junius in that collection is dated in 1608; the ſecond at Middleburg Octob. 20th 1615; the third at Paris Auguſt 12th 1620; the fourth from that city Septemb. 18th 1620; the fifth from that city Decemb. 12th 1620; the ſixth at London Auguſt 18th 1621 old ſtile; the ſeventh there Decemb. 1ſt 1621 old ſtile; the eighth from the Biſhop of Norwich's houſe at Ludham Auguſt 8th 1622; the ninth from Arundel-Houſe at London April the 19th 1628; the tenth from the ſame place February 28th 1629; the eleventh April 17th 1630; the twelfth from Arundel-Houſe May 6th 1630; the thirteenth from the ſame place November 15th 1634; the fourteenth from the ſame place the ſame ſame year; the fifteenth is dated there April 1ſt 1635; the ſixteenth is dated there May 22d 1635; as alſo the ſeventeenth dated May 12th 1636. and the eighteenth dated Feb. 18th 1637. T.

JUNO, ſiſter and wife of Jupiter, was the daughter of Saturn and Rhea. Her father being fully determined to devour his children, for fear they ſhould one day dethrone him, did not ſpare her any more than his two daughters (*a*) whom he had already ſwallowed; but he had been forced to diſgorge them ſome years after; a potion having been given him, which forced him to vomit up all the children whom he had been ſo inhuman as to devour (*b*); and thus it was that Juno returned into the world. The particulars of her marriage with Jupiter are variouſly related. According to a tradition, they had a paſſion for each other, and lay together unknown to their parents [*A*]; and it does not appear that Juno kept her lover long in ſuſpence; but others ſay that ſhe withſtood the ſollicitations of Jupiter, like a maid of virtue and honour [*B*]; and to free her ſelf from him, flew into a cavern. They add, that ſhe met with a man there, whoſe arguments ſwayed her ſo much in favour of Jupiter, that ſhe conſented to crown his

(a) *Veſta & Ceres*, Juno's elder ſiſters. Apollodor. lib. 1. pag. 4.

(b) Apollodor. ibid.

[*A*] *According to a tradition, Jupiter and Juno . . . lay together unknown to their parents.*] Thoſe who deſire an authentic proof of this incident, will find it in the following lines of the Iliad (1).

(1) Lib. 14. ver. 294.

Ὡς ὃ ἴδεν, ὡς μιν ἔρως πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν.
Οἷον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμισγέσθην φιλότητι,
Εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε, φίλας λήθοντε τοκῆας.

"The God, whoſe lightning ſets the heav'ns on fire,
"Thro' all his boſom feels the fierce deſire;
"Fierce as when firſt by ſtealth he ſeiz'd her charms,
"Mix'd with her ſoul, and melted in her arms.
POPE.

Homer ſpeaks here of a time when Jupiter, who had been married many ages to Juno, felt, as he ſpied her by accident, the ſame paſſion and fire as when he enjoyed her ſecretly the firſt time. To the above teſtimony of the Greek Poet I will add that of a Latin Poet. It is a lover who ſpeaks; a lover, I ſay, who had met his fair one in the critical minute (2); and who is vexed that many had been ſecretly indulged that pleaſure before him.

(2) *Et mecum tenera gaviſa eſt ludere in herba Purpureos flores, quos inſuper accumbebat, Candida formoſo ſupponens brachia collo.* Valerius Cato, *in Dir.* pag. 61. *Catalectorum veterum Poetarum.*

Iſtius atque utinam facti mea culpa magiſtro
Prima foret: lethum vita mihi dulcius eſſet.
Non mea, non ullo moreretur tempore fama,
Dulcia cum Veneris furatus gaudia primus
Dicerer, atque ex me dulcis foret orta voluptas.
Nam mihi non tantum tribuerunt impia vota,
Auctor ut occulti noſter foret error amoris.
Jupiter ante ſui ſemper mendacia furti,
Cum Junone prius conjux quam dictus uterque eſt,
Gaudia libavit dulcem furatus amorem (3).

(3) Valer. Cato, ibid.

"I wiſh my crime had taught her firſt the joy,
"Then, in her arms, I could have died with rapture,
"My fame had been immortal, and late ages
"Had ſung how I firſt ſtole the luſcious bliſs;
"Firſt taught bleſs'd mortals the delicious pleaſure.
"But oh my impious wiſhes were not crown'd,
"Nor I firſt fir'd her ſoul with the ſoft paſſion.
"Great Jove enjoy'd, in private, charming Juno,
"Before ſhe was his conſort.

[*B*] *Others ſay, that ſhe withſtood the ſollicitations of Jupiter like a maid of virtue and honour.*] According to ſome writers, Juno was ſo very virtuous, that had not Jupiter found out a remedy in the room of that which ſhe refuſed to grant him, he would not have known what to do. But he uſed to go and ſeat himſelf on a mountain (4) whenever he was in the tranſport of his paſſion, and uſed to ſooth it in that manner. Ὁ Ζεὺς ἀεὶ ἱρῶν Ἥρας ἱρχόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ κίτρῃ ἐκαθίζετο, καὶ ἀνεπαύετο τῷ ἔρωτι (5). *Jovem ſemper Junonis amore captum ad ſaxum hoc acceſſiſſe, atque ei inſidendo amoris impotentiam ſedaſſe.* The author who furniſhes me with this incident, does not ſay whether Jupiter was married then to Juno. And indeed there was no occaſion to ſpecify any thing on that ſubject; for the moſt ſtupid readers will eaſily underſtand that he was not married, and that Juno refuſed to indulge his wiſhes.

(4) *Leucate.*

(5) Ptol. Hephæſt. *apud* Photium, *Cod.* 190. pag. m. 492.

his wiſhes that moment (*c*). Others perhaps would own, that this was the firſt time that Jupiter enjoyed her, but not the firſt time ſhe taſted the amorous bliſs; for they pretend that before Jupiter made his addreſſes to her, ſhe had been enjoyed by Eurymedon, a fickle, lewd giant, who, by the ſame token, had a ſon by her called Prometheus [*C*]; but Jupiter did not know this incident till after their marriage, and wreaked his revenge on this baſtard on other pretences. There were ſome other occaſions in which his wife's chaſtity appeared to him extremely dubious [*D*]. Jupiter well deſerved this treatment, as his amours were ſo frequent. There are few animals whoſe form he did not aſſume in order to get maidenheads. It is univerſally known that he metamorphoſed himſelf into a cuckoo, purpoſely to enjoy Juno [*E*]. This Goddeſs preſided over marriages (*d*), but

(*c*) See the article ACHILLES.

(*d*) See the remark [*Z*].

[*C*] *Eurymedon . . . . had a ſon by her called Prometheus.*] The reader may find this relation in the Scholiaſt on Homer. Ἥρην τρεφομένην παρὰ τοῖς γονεῦσιν εἰς τῶν γιγάντων Εὐρυμιδόντα βιασάμενον ἔγκυον ἐποίησεν. ἡ δὲ Προμηθέα ἐγέννησε (6). Jupiter's reſentment did not break out leſs againſt the father of the baſtard than the baſtard himſelf; for as Prometheus was put in chains, Eurymedon was hurled down into hell. I know not upon what pretence it was that Jupiter treated Eurymedon in this manner; but we may be perſuaded that he concealed the true cauſe of his anger, he having too much ſenſe to throw a diſgrace upon himſelf by his revenge. The pretence he made uſe of was, that the baſtard ſtole the celeſtial fire. The Scholiaſt (7) whom I quote borrows this from Euphorion.

(6) Schol. in Iliad. lib. 14. ver. 295.

[*D*] *Juno's chaſtity appeared, to him, extremely dubious.*] As a commentary to this text I will employ the words of a modern author, who in order to prove that *Jupiter was a notorious cuckold*, expreſſes himſelf as follows: "Eurymedon the Giant had firſt been favoured, in an amorous way, by Juno his wife (*); and not to mention the iſle of Samos, which the unchaſt amours of that Goddeſs rendred famous, is it not known that Jupiter, finding a few days after his marriage, that Juno would be delivered of a child which was not his; ſhe nevertheleſs wheedled him ſo well, that he was ſoon perſuaded that it was poſſible for her to conceive without the aſſiſtance of a male, and had completely preſerved her virginity. Another time ſhe made him believe, that ſhe had conceived by eating wild lettice: ſo that, though the horns which were fixed on his ſtatue in Lybia, had not ſignified that he was a cuckold; did not he deſerve that they ſhould have this ſignification, and to give riſe to thoſe forms of ſpeech, which, by the conſent of all nations, have ſo long been uſed (8)?"

(7) Idem, ibid.

(*) *Didy. in Homer. Il.* 14. Euſtath. ibid.

(8) Girac, *Replique à Coſtar*, Sect. 64. pag. m. 545.

[*E*] *Jupiter metamorphoſed himſelf into a cuckoo, purpoſely to enjoy Juno.*] To relate ſuch particulars as are moſt curious on this ſubject, I need but follow the diſpute between Coſtar and Girac. Here follows the foundation of it. "Jupiter was no leſs forgetful "on ſeveral other important occaſions. Pallas com"plains, in Homer, that he did not think of ſage "Ulyſſes. Another upbraids him that, in the ſettle"ment of his houſhold, he had not thought of cuckol"dom, which had been of ſuch great ſervice to "him (9) (α)." Theſe are Coſtar's words, to which his adverſary replies, that this reproach was extremely unjuſt; "for honeſt Jupiter, *ſays he* (10), to ſhew the "high eſteem in which he held cuckoldom, and the "deſire he had to be a cuckold, metamorphoſed him"ſelf into a bird of that name, when he courted his "wife Juno. And ſince, to ſhow his gratitude, he "commanded the Argivi to make a fine cuckoo of "gold, and to fix it on the ſceptre of Juno's ſtatue, "at which that great Goddeſs did not take the leaſt "umbrage; ſhe having reaped as many advantages, "at leaſt, from cuckoldom as her huſband had done. "And even near the city of Hermione, there are two "little mountains, one whereof is called the cuckoo "mountain, on which was ſeen, in Pauſanias's time (†), "the temple of Jupiter; and over againſt it, on the "other mountain, that of Juno. In Lybia the ſtatue "of Jupiter Ammon had large horns on the head of "it; a circumſtance which was ſo pleaſing to this "God, that though ſtatues were ſet up in his honour "in all parts of the world, he delivered oracles only "through this (11). He was ſo well pleaſed with his "horns, that he obliged his beſt beloved friends to "wear horns in imitation of him. Bacchus (‡) and "Pan, the Satyrs, the Gods of Rivers, and many "others, did not fail to imitate him. Juno herſelf "did the ſame, to ſhew that ſhe ſometimes was com"plaiſant to her huſband; and there are ſeen to this "day ſeveral medals of this Goddeſs with horns. Di"ana and Venus likewiſe wore horns, as being a "very beautiful ornament to a handſome face." There is a great deal of learning in this anſwer, but it is falſe; for we do not find any thing in it that proves the incident in queſtion. The ſtate of the queſtion is this: whether Jupiter honoured the ſtate and condition of thoſe huſbands whoſe wives had gallants? Though it ſhould be proved ever ſo fully, that he greatly honoured the bird which we call *cuckoo*; that he would have horns fixed on his ſtatues, and that the reſt of the Gods imitated him in that particular; yet this is nothing to the purpoſe, becauſe in that age, the word cuckold and horns were not taken in the ſenſe that has been ſince, and is to this day given them. Farther, for a perſon to diſguiſe himſelf in the form of a cuckoo, in order to ſucceed in his enterprizes, would not be an indication, even in this age, that ſuch a one was deſirous of marrying a gay lady. My readers will naturally imagine, that Coſtar could not but perceive the inſignificancy of the anſwers that were made him: but ſhould ſome perſons doubt this, I will ſoon undeceive him by tranſcribing his words. They will ſee that the affectation of making too great a parade of his erudition, makes him intermix certain particulars in his anſwers that hurt his cauſe. He begins with the metamorphoſis of Jupiter *into the bird called Cuckoo*, and ſays of it as follows (12).

(9) Coſtar, *Defenſe des Ouvrages de Voiture*, pag. m. 116.

(10) Girac, *Reponſe à la Défenſe de Voiture*, Sect. 26. pag. 194.

(†) *In Corinth.*

(11) Coſtar, *Suite de la Défenſe*, pag. 382. *refutes this by the following words:* Ariſtotle relates ſome where in his Rhetoric, that Hegeſippus, being returned from Elis, whither he went to conſult the Oracle of Jupiter, would alſo conſult that of Delphi, where he asked Apollo, in the moſt familiar manner, the following queſtion; *Will you be of the ſame opinion with your father? Dare you contradict him?* But Girac, in his Anſwer, pag. 551. complains that his words have been falſified. He proves that he knew very well that Jupiter gave anſwers in other places, but gave none through his ſtatue, except in Egypt.

(‡) *Cic. I. de Natur. Deorum.*

(12) Coſtar, *Suite de la Défenſe*, pag. 380.

[§ α 'Twould be to no purpoſe to ſeek for this tale in the writings of the antients. 'Tis told by Rabelais, book III. chap. xxxii; but the foundation of it is in Plutarch, N. 17. of his conſolation to Apollonius on the death of his ſon. REM. CRIT.]

"This old Woman's ſtory, this ridiculous invention "of a grammarian, who abuſes his leiſure (a great "writer (*) ſpeaking of him as follows: *Equidem vix "credo hanc fabulam apud veteres inveniri, ſed ſuſpicor "ab otioſo quoniam grammatico fuiſſe confictam: adeo ſa"pit anile quiddam.)* This ſtory, I ſay, is borrowed "from a ſcholiaſt on Theocritus, who relates that "Juno having left her female companions, to meditate "alone and undiſturbed; after walking a long way, "laid herſelf down in a delightful part of mount Thro"nax. Jupiter, who ſaw her at that time, was ſo "charmed with the Goddeſs that he was ſmit with a "violent paſſion for her; and being no longer able to "live without ſoothing it, he aſſumed a cuckoo's form "and plumage, and raiſing an extreme cold in the "air, he flew trembling and frozen, into the arms of "the Goddeſs, and then reſuming his uſual form, and "promiſing her marriage, he obtained his wiſhes. "The cold which Jupiter raiſed on that occaſion, was "not more intenſe than that of the inſipid raillery of "our learned author. And indeed it appears that it "was not a love for cuckoldom that made Jupiter a "cuckold; ſince neither among the Gods, nor "among men, the name of that bird ſignified then "a huſband, whoſe conjugal bed his wife violated; "at leaſt we do not find any footſteps of this among "the antients. So far from this, ſome women in Plautus "call their huſbands, whom they catch in adulterous "acts, *cuckold*; and Juvenal (**) gives the name of *hedge-ſparrow* to a poor fellow whoſe wife was unfaithful "to him, doubtleſs becauſe the hedge-ſparrow feeds "the cuckoo's young ones, that bird laying them in "the hedge-ſparrow's neſt." Coſtar proceeds afterwards

(*) Eraſmus.

(**) *Tu tibi nunc curruca places, fletumque labellis Exorbe*, Sat. 6. ver. 276.

but ought not to have had that province allotted to her. This was inauſpicious, ſhe leading a bad life with her huſband; and notwithſtanding all the ſtrong reaſons which prompted him to bear with her, after the many juſt occaſions ſhe had given him to be jealous

wards to the conſideration of the horns, and expreſſes himſelf as follows (13). *Has Mr. de Girac ſeen ſome old manuſcript which proves very manifeſtly, that in thoſe times horns were indications of cuckoldom? And you,* SIR (14), *who know all things, could you ſhew me that thoſe forms of ſpeech,* to wear horns, and plant horns, *in the ſenſe wherein we employ them, were of much greater antiquity than Artimedorus who flouriſhed under Adrian? The horns of Jupiter Ammon were not thoſe of a cuckold, but of a great ram, propheſying on the ſands of Lybia, to ſpeak after our Ronſard.* He examines very circumſtantially the horns of certain deities whom Girac had mentioned; and plainly ſhews they bore no relation to the condition of thoſe huſbands whom we call cuckolds, and that they were not wore out of complaiſance to Jupiter; and here follow his concluſions (15). *If out of all this, Mr. de Girac can make any thing that may be ſerviceable to his deſign, I am not reſolved to oppoſe him; but I am greatly miſtaken if he will ſucceed in it; and ſhall force me to acknowledge that Jupiter, when he ſettled his houſhold, did not forget cuckoldom which had always been of ſo much ſervice to him.* This is a good concluſion; for it is bringing back things to the ſtate of the queſtion and that is the center in which all the lines ought to terminate.

Let us examine the reply. Girac thinks it very ſtrange, that *Coſtar ſhould treat this matter with a ſcholaſtic ſtrictneſs, and after a ſerious manner* (16). *He requires me to prove by demonſtration and authority,* that it was the love of cuckoldom that made Jupiter a cuckold. *He will not be ſatisfied, unleſs I ſhew him* manuſcripts, which prove very evidently that from that age horns were an indication of cuckoldom. *Is not this man unjuſt? He does nothing but banter in all his writings; he himſelf owns that he cannot ſay one word without the aſſiſtance of his dear irony; and yet he will not permit me to joke once...* Though my raillery *ariſe out of my ſubject, and is ſupported by noble antient teſtimonies; for was not Jupiter a notorious cuckold, ſince Eurymedon the giant firſt obtained favours of his wife Juno in an amorous way?* The reader will find the ſequel of this paſſage above (17). It would be to no purpurpoſe to tranſcribe it here: the paper it would take up will be better employed in the two following remarks. The one is, that though a writer is allowed to jeſt in a criticiſm, he yet is not permitted to reaſon wrong in it. A writer may joke if he pleaſes; may ſpeak either in jeſt or earneſt, as his ſubject may require: but then he muſt be aware of employing a falſity; and never pretend that in joking on a falſe ſuppoſition, or in raiſing ſtrokes of wit on a miſtake of ignorance, he either will form good objections or ſolid anſwers to an objection (18). My ſecond remark is, that the adventures or the giant, and the infidelities of Juno come too late. The author had ſaid nothing about them in his anſwer, ſo that they can make nothing againſt Coſtar, who was not obliged to direct his meaſures by what his adverſary ſhould ſay one day. They cannot bring de Girac off; for beſides that he did not make uſe of them to enforce his criticiſm, they can no ways prove the affair in diſpute. Though Juno ſhould have been engaged an hundred times in acts of gallantry, does this prove that Jupiter remembered cuckoldom when he ſettled his houſhold? It is plain to every one, that my firſt remark quite deſtroys Girac's cauſe, ſince that whatever he cites is grounded on a falſe ſuppoſition. He might be reduced to this troubleſome dilemma. If you were ignorant that, in the time that Jupiter transformed himſelf into a cuckoo, thoſe huſbands who were diſcovered by the infidelity of their wives were not called cuckolds and cornuto's, your raillery is very impertinent; for according to your own rules, *raillery is bad, when grounded on the ignorance of things which a writer is under an obligation of knowing* (19). But in caſe you knew, that, in this age, people did not affix the ſame ideas to words as at this time, you are very much in the wrong for employing proofs which you knew to be falſe. Let us ſee the ſequel of his reply.

Notwithſtanding all this, ſays he (20), *our Sophiſt is urgent with me to ſhew him, that when the father of the Gods aſſumed the cuckoo's form and plumage, the name of that bird ſignified a huſband, whoſe wife was unfaithful to him. I promiſe and engage my word to ſatisfy him, when he ſhall have proved to me, by good authorities,* that it was antiently reproached to Jupiter, viz. that in ſettling the affairs of his houſhold he had not thought of cuckoldom. *With regard to horns, that word, in the ſignification I have given it, is more antient than is generally thought! Nicetas informs us, that Andronicus the Emperor, to ridicule the inhabitants of Conſtantinople, and reproach them with the lewdneſs of their wives, uſed to cauſe to be ſet up, in the places of public reſort of that great city the fineſt and largeſt ſtag's horns that could be met with; and Artemidorus, who lived above fifteen hundred years ſince, employs* (††) *the expreſſion,* to plant horns, *as a proverb that was common, and did not begin in his time.* (21). *It would be trifling away time to ſearch for the origin of it, and to enquire whether it was uſed in the time of Jupiter Ammon. However this be, my antagoniſt, who pretends to be ſo very ſubtle, did not perceive this time that I only laughed at him.* It is plain from this paſſage, that Girac has loſt his cauſe. He is not able to prove what is denied him, and without which a criticiſm is of no force; and he boaſts that he deſigned to ridicule his adverſary. There is no writer but may employ ſuch ſubterfuges when he is nonpluſſed. We ſhall now ſee Coſtar a little puzzled: his knowledge forſook him when he quoted the authority of Eraſmus in a thing where Eraſmus was in the wrong (22). What was it to him if Jupiter did not metamorphoſe himſelf into a cuckoo? How was it poſſible for him not to perceive that this metamorphoſis is full as credible as ſo many others we meet with in Ovid? Does he not ſhew by his anger at thoſe who have related it, that he conſiders it as an incident which may be of advantage to his adverſary? And does not he groſly deceive himſelf to his enemy's advantage? Accordingly Girac did not fail to take advantage of it. Weigh well all the following paſſage which is copied from Girac (22). "Being unable to "deny, that I very properly mentioned the metamor- "phoſes of Jupiter into a cuckoo; he has taken it "into his head to call this fable, *an old woman's ſtory,* "*and a ridiculous invention*; as though the metamor- "phoſis of the ſame God into a ſwan, a bull and an "eagle, had ſomething in it more ingenious and "better: as though all fables in general were not "equally trifling; and that this, like the reſt, had "not its allegory and mythological application. But "when Mr. Coſtar aſſerts, *that it is the invention of* "*a Grammarian who trifled away his time; that it is* "*borrowed from a ſcholiaſt on Theocritus*; and that he "proves by the authority of Eraſmus *that it is not found* "*in any author of ever ſo little antiquity*; what does "he but ſhew that he is ignorant with others; and "that he reads authors with no other view but to learn "their errors? And indeed, I do not find that any "fable has been celebrated by a greater number of "famous writers than this. And even the ſcholiaſt "who is mentioned by Coſtar (ſo great is this man's "ſtupidity!) affirms, that he borrowed it from a trea- "tiſe (*) which Ariſtotle had made in the temple of "Hermione. Plutarch likewiſe mentioned it in his "book concerning rivers; Pauſanias ſpeaks of it in "ſeveral places of his Corinthiaca; and Didymus, "upon the fourteenth Iliad, relates it from Euphorion "a very antient author; not to cite the ſcholiaſt on "the Greek epigrams; nor a numberleſs multitude "of others, the catalogue whereof would be too te- "dious." I omit the other particulars on which Girac animadverts upon him in a juſt and learned manner, on the ſubjects of horns and the cuckoo. The great number of good authors, who have mentioned this metamorphoſis of Jupiter, gives me pain out of kindneſs to Eraſmus. It were to be wiſhed that he, for his glory, had not touched the old ſcholiaſt. He had better have been aſleep, than writ ſuch a thing as this. Had he not read what Pauſanias (24) ſays concerning mount Thornax (25), which was named *Coccygius*, or *Coccyx*, after that Jupiter, under the form of a cuckoo, had kiſſed Juno? It is a mountain of Laconia. The ſame author ſays, that the reaſon why the

(13) Coſtar, *Suite de la Defence*, pag. 381.

(14) He ſpeaks to Menage.

(15) Coſtar, *Suite de la Défenſe*, pag. 386.

(16) *Replique à Coſtar*, Sect. 64 pag. 544.

(17) In the remark [D].

(18) Compare in the remark [C] of the article COLOMIES.

(19) Girac, *Reponſe à la Defenſe de Voiture*, Sect. 26. pag. 190. *See* Coſtar, *Suite de la Défenſe* pag. 381.

(20) Girac, *Replique*, pag. 545.

(††) Liv. 2. chap. 2.

(21) *See* Menage's *Origines Françoiſes*, in folio, under the words *Horns* and *Cuckold*.

(22) The paſſage of Eraſmus cited by Coſtar, is in the Explication of the Adage *ſcit quomodo Jupiter duxerit uxorem.* It is the 23d of the 4th Century of *Chiliad* 4. pag. m. 914. He obſerves that the *Scholiaſt on Theocritus*, relates this on the authority of one Ariſtotle: *Adjungit fabulam quam retulerit Ariſtoteles neſcio quis*; whence it appears that he did not believe, like Girac, that Ariſtotle, the Tutor of Alexander the Great, related that incident. Several Ariſtotles have wrote books. *See* Jonſius, *de Hiſt. Philoſoph.* pag. 61.

(*) Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑρμιόνης ἱερῷ ἰδιώτερον περὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας γάμου, &c. Schol. Theocr. *in illum Verſ.* Eid. 15. Πάντα γυναῖκας ἴσασι, καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς Ἥρην.

(23) Girac, *Replique*, pag. 546.

(24) Pauſan. lib. 2. pag. 78.

(25) So it ſhould be called, and not Θρόναξ, *Thronax*, as it is in the *Scholiaſt on Theocritus*. We owe this correction to Meurſius, *Miſcel. Lacon.* pag. 310. Coſtar follows Eraſmus exactly, who had ſaid *Thronax*.

jealous, their quarrels roſe to ſuch a height that they ended in a divorce [*F*] ; and I believe that Jupiter, before he carried matters to ſuch extremities, had endeavoured to reform her by the cudgel. He once ſuſpended her for ſome time between heaven and earth [*G*]. If, on one hand, ſhe preſided over marriages and nuptials ; ſhe had, on the other, the management of the natural conſequences of them ; I mean that ſhe preſided over child-births, and ſeveral things dependant on them [*H*]. Montagne was not well acquainted

the Juno of Argos (26) bore a ſcepter with a cuckoo upon it, was becauſe Jupiter had aſſumed the form of that bird to enjoy Juno. I do not believe this, adds Pauſanias, but I nevertheleſs, adds he, thought it would not be proper to omit it. Κόκκυγα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθῆσθαί φασι, λέγοντες τὸν Δία, ὅτε ἥρα παρθένου τῆς Ἥρας, ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆναι, τὴν δὲ ὥστε παίγνιον θεᾶσαι. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, καὶ ὅσα ἐοικότα εἴρηται περὶ θεῶν, ἐκ ἀποδεχόμενος γράφω, γράφω δὲ οὐδὲν ἧσσον. *Cuculum vero avem idcirco ſceptro ajunt impoſitum, quod virginis Junonis amore captus Jupiter, in eam ſe avem verterit, quam puellæ tanquam ludicrum captarit. Hæc ego, & quæ his ſunt ſimilia de diis vulgata, etſi vera neutiquam exiſtimo, non putavi tamen negligenda* (27).

(26) This is a work of Polycletus, *Pauſan.* lib. 2. pag. 59.

(27) Idem, ibid.

[*F*] *Their quarrels roſe to ſuch a height, that they ended in a divorce.*] Pauſanias (28) relates, that there were three temples of Juno at Stymphalum a city in Arcadia. The firſt was called the temple of the virgin Juno ; the ſecond, the temple of Juno the wife ; and the third of Juno the widow. Theſe three temples had been built in her honour by Temenus, under whom ſhe had been brought up. The laſt mentioned was built at the time that ſhe lived in Stymphalum, whither ſhe had retired after her divorce. The reader may ſee in the Dictionary of Charles Stephens augmented by Lloyd (29), in what manner Jupiter cauſed Juno to return back to him He made a report to be ſpread, that he was going to marry the daughter of Aſophus, which made a ſtronger impreſſion on the heart of that exaſperated Goddeſs, than all the intreaties of Jupiter. See the remark [*Q*], in that part where I ſpeak of the bringing forth of Typhon.

(28) Idem, lib. 8. pag. 253.

(29) *He cites* Phylarchus, lib. 19. but Natalis Comes, *Mythol.* lib. 2. cap. 4. pag. m. 133. *cites* Dorotheus in lib. 2. *Narrationum fabuloſarum.*

[*G*] *He once ſuſpended her for ſome time between heaven and hell.*] It was becauſe ſhe had raiſed a ſtorm againſt Hercules. Jupiter made her call to mind that time, when he was informed of the trick ſhe had played him during the ſiege of Troy. Juno had the art of charming him to ſuch a degree, and lulling him in her arms, that Neptune had all the time he wanted, in order to prejudice the affairs of the Trojans. I ſhall ſpeak at large of this artifice in the following remark. Jupiter who had ſaid ſo many tender things to her, and procured her ſuch exquiſite pleaſures, no ſooner heard of the prejudice which had accrued to the Trojans, whilſt he was enjoying her, but he reprimanded her in very ſevere terms. He threatened to whip her (30) ; and aſked whether ſhe had forgot the time when he faſtned an anvil to both her feet, and had ſuſpended her between heaven and earth in the ſight of all the Gods, who endeavoured, but in vain, to unlooſe her ; he hurling from heaven to earth as many of them as he could catch.

(30) Καί σε πλημμύρῃσιν ἐμάστιον. *Et te verberibus cædam.* Homer, *Iliad.* lib. 15. ver. 17.

Ἦ ῥ μέμνῃ ὅτε τ' ἐκρέμων ὑψόθεν, ἐν δὲ ποδοῖιν
Ἄκμονας ἧκα δύω, πειρὶ χερσὶ δὲ δεσμὸν ἔηλα
Χρύσεον, ἄρρηκτον ; σὺ δ' ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσιν
Ἐκρέμω, ἠλάσσετο δὲ θεοὶ κατὰ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον.
Λῦσαι δ' οὐκ ἐδύναντο παραιφάσσαντες ὃν δὲ λάβοιμι,
Ῥίπτασκον τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ, ὄφρ' ἂν ἵκηται
Γῆν ὀλιγηπελέων.

(31) Ibid. ver. 18.

" Haſt thou forgot when bound and fix'd on high,
" From the vaſt concave of the ſpangled ſky,
" I hung thee trembling in a golden chain,
" And all the raging Gods oppoſed in vain ?
" Headlong I hurl'd them from the Olympian hall,
" Stunn'd in the whirl, and breathleſs with the fall.
POPE.

It was Juno's buſineſs to be ſubmiſſive ; ſhe excuſed herſelf by falſe oaths, and promiſed to comply with her huſband's deſires. The quarrel was carried no farther at that time. I muſt not omit that Juno occaſioned the wars of the Titans. She prompted them to dethrone her huſband (32), and to reſtore Saturn whom Jupiter had dethroned. Jealouſy was then more powerful than ambition ; for the indignation ſhe conceived when ſhe found that a Kingdom was beſtowed on Epaphus (33), made Juno chooſe rather to be a dethroned Goddeſs, provided her huſband might alſo be dethroned, than to reign with him. But perhaps ſhe might propoſe to herſelf ſuch a vengeance as might be no check to her ambition. She might flatter herſelf with the hopes, that in preferring the intereſt of her father, who had been unjuſtly driven from his throne, to that of her huſband who was an uſurper, ſhe might ſhare in the government under her father when he ſhould be reſtored ; and be ſeparated eternally from Jupiter. The reader will ſee below (34) another plot in which ſhe engaged againſt her huſband.

(32) Hygin. cap. 150.

(33) He was one of Jupiter's baſtards. Hyginus, ibid.

(34) In the remark [*F*] of the article JUPITER.

I cannot think of Juno ſuſpended between heaven and earth, without propoſing to my readers a paſſage which I do not underſtand. Hyginus (35) relates that Vulcan having made golden ſhoes for Jupiter and the reſt of the Gods, Juno was no ſooner ſeated, but ſhe found herſelf ſuſpended in the air. Vulcan was told of this, in order that he might come and unlooſe his mother ; but he anſwered, I have no mother. He had been hurled from heaven, and he was ſtill exaſperated at the treatment he met with on that occaſion. Here follows Hyginus's Latin. *Vulcanus Jovi cæteriſque Diis ſoleas aureas ex adamante cum feciſſet, Juno, cum ſediſſet, ſubito in aere pendere cœpit. Quod cum ad Vulcanum miſſum eſſet, ut matrem quam ligaverat ſolveret, iratus quod de cœlo præcipitatus erat, negat ſe matrem ullam habere.* I applaud thoſe critics who have made ſuch learned remarks on the firſt words of Hyginus (36) ; but I wiſh they would have informed me how, by the means of a pair of ſhoes, a woman the inſtant ſhe ſits down, finds herſelf ſuſpended in the air. I do not ſee even how a chair or a throne can have ſuch an effect, and eſpecially with regard to a perſon who is bound. Methinks we might juſtly ſay that the hiſtorian wanted judgment on this occaſion. Could he think that his readers would be ſatisfied with ſo mutilated and falſified a relation ? Why did he not ſay, that as ſoon as Juno was ſeated, the celeſtial floor ſplit aſunder ; and that her chair being thus unſupported, fell towards the clouds, and ſtopt in the ſpaces ſituated between heaven and earth ? This would have preſented an intelligible image to the reader. Servius relates this incident better ; he ſaying that Vulcan made a chair, on which Juno being ſeated, ſhe could not riſe from it notwithſtanding all her efforts (37), till ſhe had granted Vulcan's requeſt, which was to know thoſe, to whom he owed life. *Alii dicunt quod cum Vulcanus parentes ſuos diu quæreret, nec inveniret : ſedile fecit tale, ut cum eo qui ſediſſet ſurgere non poſſet ; in quo cum adſediſſet Juno, nec poſſet exſurgere ; Vulcanus negavit ſe ſoluturum omnino, niſi prius parentes ſuos ſibi monſtraſſet, atque ita factum eſt ut in Deorum numerum reciperetur* (38). i. e. " According to other wri-
" ters, when Vulcan had long ſought his parents,
" and could not find them, he made ſuch a chair,
" that whoſoever ſate in it could not riſe up from it.
" Now Juno ſeating herſelf in it, and not being able
" to get up, Vulcan declared he would not releaſe
" her, unleſs ſhe firſt ſhewed him his parents, and by
" this means he was received in the number of the
" Gods." The reader may conſult Pauſanias, who informs us that Vulcan, to revenge himſelf of Juno, ſent her a golden throne, in which, the inſtant the Goddeſs had ſeated herſelf, ſhe found herſelf faſtened (39). Bacchus only was able to perſuade Vulcan to return back into the heavens (40) ; and he was forced to make him drunk before he could prevail with him to undertake that journey. The Athenians had a picture repreſenting Bacchus leading Vulcan back to heaven (41) ; and there was a piece of ſculpture in Lacedæmonia, which repreſented Vulcan unlooſing his mother (42).

(35) Hygin. cap. 166.

(36) To enquire whether we ought to read *ſolia*, or *ſoleas* : If one can ſay *aureas ex adamante* ; and whether it be not better to ſay *ſolia aurea annexa adamante*, or *ſolia ex auro & ex adamante*. *See* Hyginus, Amſterdam edit. of 1681.

(37) Compare what is ſaid of Theſeus, in the 6th book of the Æneid, *Sedet æternumque ſedebit Infelix Theſeus* ; and what Commentators ſay of the ſeat wherein he was placed. *See* du Rondel on the *Chenix of Pythagoras*, pag. 95, & *ſeq.*

(38) Servius, in *Eclog.* 4. Virg. ver. 62.

(39) Pauſan. lib. 1. pag. 18.

(40) Idem, ibid.

(41) Idem, ibid.

(42) Pauſan. lib. 3. pag. 99.

[*H*] *She preſided over childbirths, and ſeveral things dependent*

acquainted with the origin of an adventure which he takes from Plato, and expreſſes a little too wantonly [*I*]. Authors are not agreed concerning the place where Juno was brought

dependent on them.] When Terence ſuppoſes that Glycerium the Courtezan, when juſt going to be delivered, makes uſe of the following prayer, *Juno, Lucina, fer opem, ſerva me obſecro* (43). i. e. "Help, Juno, "Lucina, ſave me, I beſeech thee," he ſhews plainly that Juno was the Goddeſs who preſided at childbirths. She was called (44) *Opigena* and Lucina, when in that character, *ſive te Lucinam quod lucem naſcentibus tribuas ac Lucetiam convenit nuncupari* (45). i. e. "Whether "we ought to call thee Lucina or Lucetia, becauſe "thou giveſt light to thoſe who are born." Other particular names were beſtowed upon her, according to the various ſervices that were expected from her in thoſe conjunctures; for ſhe was called *Fluonia*, becauſe ſhe could prevent too great a flow of blood. *Fluoniam Junonem mulieres colebant, quod eam ſanguinis fluorem in conceptu retinere putabant* (46). She was called *Februa*, from her preſiding at the ceremony of the purification of lying-in women. Theſe are the limitations which Martianus Capella gives to the ſurnames *Fluonia* and *Februa*; for he introduces Philology who declares, that being a virgin, ſhe has no need to invoke the Goddeſs Juno on thoſe two accounts; *Nam Fluvoniam Februalemque ac Februam mihi poſcere non neceſſe eſt, cum nihil contagionis corporeæ ſexu intemerata pertulerim* (47). She might have had occaſion for her in another reſpect, ſince St. Auſtin affirms that Varro had related, that Juno preſided over the flowing of the menſtrual blood. *Ibi eſt & Dea Mena, quæ menſtruis fluoribus præeſt, quanvis Jovis filia, tamen ignobilis. Et hanc provinciam fluorum menſtruorum, in libro ſelectorum deorum ipſi Junoni idem autor aſſignat, quæ in diis ſelectis etiam regina eſt; & hic tanquam Juno Lucina cum eadem Mena privigna ſua eidem cruori præſidet* (48). I am not ignorant that the Goddeſs who preſides over child births, was, according to ſeveral authors, different from Juno; for ſome aſſerted that Lucina was her daughter (49), and others affirmed that Diana was appointed to aſſiſt women in labour (50). But without inſiſting on the hypotheſis, that Lucina, Ilithya, Diana, Luna and Juno were the ſame Deity (51); I ſay it is very probable that Juno was looked upon as the principal in this function or office, and as having deputies and ſubſtitutes in various places (52). If therefore my readers will not acknowledge her directly and immediately for the Goddeſs Levana, who cauſed new-born children to be owned by their fathers (53); nor for the Goddeſs *Rumina*, who preſided over the action of giving them ſuck; nor for the Goddeſs *Cunina*, who preſided over their cradles; nor for the Goddeſs *Nundina*, who preſided over the naming of them; nor for the Goddeſs *Vaticana*, who preſided over their cries (54); nor for the Goddeſs *Fabulina* who preſided over the firſt looſning of their tongues, that is, over the firſt words they ſpoke; let, I ſay, my readers believe, that all theſe Goddeſſes were ſo many ſubdelegates to Juno, the intendant-general. The ſame may be ſaid with regard to the Goddeſs *Proſa* and the Goddeſs *Poſtverta*, who were worſhiped, to prevent infants from throwing themſelves into a diſadvantageous poſture, at their coming into the world. *Quando contra naturam forte converſi* (pueri) *in pedes: brachiis plerumque diductis retineri ſolent, ægriuſque tunc mulieres eniituntur. Hujus periculi deprecandi gratia aræ ſtatutæ ſunt Romæ duabus Carmentibus: quarum una Poſtverta nominata eſt, Proſa altera; a recti perverſique partus & poteſtate & nomine* (55). i. e. "When infants lie "in an unnatural poſture in the womb, women bring "forth with greater difficulty; to ward off which dan"ger, there are two altars in Rome dedicated to the "two Carmentas, one whereof is called Poſtverta, and "the other Proſa, from the power and name of a right "birth, or ſuch a one as is otherwiſe."

(43) Terent. *Andr.* Act. 3. Scen. 1.

(44) Feſtus, pag. m. 139.

(45) Mart. Capella, *de Nuptiis Philologiæ*, lib. 2. pag. m. 37.

(46) Feſtus, pag. m. 63.

(47) Mart. Capella, *de Nuptiis Philologiæ*, lib. 2. pag. 37.

(48) Auguſt. *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 7. cap. 2. pag. m. 618.

(49) Heſiod. in *Theog.* See Meziriac, on Ovid. pag. 638, & *ſeq.*

(50) Catullus, *in Epig.* 35. Horat. *Od* 22. lib. 3. & *multi alii.*

(51) *See* Meziriac, on Ovid. pag. 638.

(52) *See* Kippingus in *Antiq. Romanis*, lib. 1. cap. 1. num. 15. pag. m. 24, 25.

(53) This was done by taking up the child which the midwife had laid on the ground

(54) *See* Aulus Gellius, lib. 16. chap. 17. where he ſays after Varro, *Deus Vaticanus.*

(55) Aulus Gellius, lib. 16. cap. 16.

[*I*] *Montagne . . . . expreſſes himſelf a little too wantonly.*] "It was from ſome hungry poet, who was "very greedy of this ſport, that Plato borrowed "the following ſtory; that Jupiter being one day fired "with a very hot fit of love, and ſo very impatient, "that he could not hold till ſhe was come into bed "to him, he threw her on the floor, and thro' "the extaſy of the pleaſure, forgot the mighty and "important reſolutions he had juſt before taken with "the reſt of the Gods in his celeſtial court; boaſting "that this bout was as agreeable to him, as when he "firſt defloured Juno unknown to her parents (55)." Theſe are Montagne's words. But he is miſtaken in aſcribing this idea to ſome poet, who was greedy of the amorous ſport, ſince Homer, the author of this tale, has manifeſtly declared, that he did not believe it probable, that a huſband could be fired with ſuch a tranſport for his wife. 'Tis in this view he ſuppoſes (57), that Juno was not ſatisfied with putting on her beſt attire, but alſo had the policy to borrow Venus's girdle, an infallible charm, a philter, that never failed to produce its effect. 'Tis to this borrowed aſſiſtance that he aſcribes the power, which Juno had to inſpire her husband with ſo violent a fit of love. Several other things might be anſwered in the above paſſage of Montagne (58), had he not been ſo prudent as to cite Plato. We therefore muſt not impute to him the faults, which that Philoſopher committed, but apply ourſelves to Plato.

'Tis certain that it does not give a juſt and faithful Relation after Homer. His words are as follow. Ἡ Δία καθευδόντων τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὡς μόνος ἐγρηγορὼς, ἃ ἐβουλεύσατο, τούτων πάντων ῥᾳδίως ἐπιλανθανόμενον, διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμίαν; καὶ ἔτως ἐκπλαγέντα, ἰδόντα τὴν Ἥραν, ὥστε μηδ' εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐλθεῖν, ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ βουλόμενον χαμαὶ ξυγγίγνεσθαι, καὶ λέγοντα ὡς ἔτως ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας ἔχεται, ὡς οὐδ' ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐφοίτων πρὸς ἀλλήλας — φίλας λήθοντε τοκῆας (59). i. e. "Jupiter, the reſt of the "Gods as well as men being aſleep, through a ſtrong "deſire for the luſcious pleaſure, forgot all his reſolu"tion; and was ſtruck ſo forcibly by the ſight of "Juno, that he could not ſtay till he got home, but "would ſport with her that inſtant on the ground, "ſaying that he was enflamed with a yet ſtronger "guſt, than when they uſed to embrace unknown to "their parents." Plato's meaning is, that one of the reaſons for which Homer's Poems ought to be read is, that we there find, that whilſt the other Gods and men are taking their reſt, Jupiter tempted by looſe thoughts, cannot ſleep, and forgets all the reſolutions he had taken; and that the ſight of his wife fires him with ſo ardent a paſſion, that he is determined to enjoy her that moment, without ſtaying till ſhe can get to bed &c. I again repeat it, Plato alters the ſtory, for Homer does not ſay that the reſt of the Gods ſlept, nor that men were taking their reſt: He ſays on the contrary, that the Greeks and Trojans fought with great vigour, and that Neptune was in action againſt the Trojans. Nor does he ſay that Jupiter forgot his reſolutions. He ſuppoſes Jupiter had poſted himſelf on the ſummit of mount Ida; and that Juno ſpying him there, formed a deſign of firing him with a deſire of lying with her. He ſuppoſes that, to execute her project in the beſt manner poſſible, ſhe went and waſhed herſelf with Venus's girdle. By this he undertakes to deſcribe Jupiter as a very amorous God, ſince the moſt powerful charms were contained in that girdle.

(56) Montagne, *Eſſais*, liv. 1. chap. 29. pag. m. 309.

(57) Iliad. lib. 14.

(58) See the citations (62) and (63) below.

(59) Plato, *de Republ.* lib. 3. pag. m. 612, A.

. . . . Ἔνθα δὲ οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο.
Ἔνθ' ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἵμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστὺς,
Παίφασις ἥτ' ἐκλεψε νόον πύκαπερ φρονεόντων (60).

(60) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 14. ver. 215.

That is,

"In this was ev'ry art, and ev'ry charm,
"To win the wiſeſt, and the coldeſt warm;
"Fond Love, the gentle vow, the gay deſire,
"The kind deceit, the ſtill-reviving fire,
"Perſuaſive ſpeech, and more perſuaſive ſighs,
"Silence that ſpoke, and eloquence of eyes. POPE.

I don't pretend to excuſe him, and I confeſs that Plato cenſures him very juſtly; for in ſhort 'tis very ſcandalous, for an author to ſport in this manner with the chief of all his Gods. By the way, Jupiter's eagerneſs and paſſion were not ſo violent, but that they allowed him time to repeat a long catalogue of his miſtreſſes. Some criticks are of opinion that Homer has not placed this ſtory with propriety. It is not, ſay theſe, prudent in a husband who is addicted to gallantry, to inform his wife of the intrigues he may have had with other fair ones; this is not a good way to coax her.

(e) See the remark [K].

brought up; ſome ſay in Samos (e), and others in the Sea [K]. There was no city in which greater honours were paid her than in Argos [L]. She likewiſe was in high veneration

her. Others juſtify Homer, from this reflexion, that it muſt naturally give vaſt pleaſure to a woman, to hear her husband declare, that he is fired with a ſtronger paſſion for her, than when he firſt enjoyed ſuch and ſuch miſtreſſes. This is what Jupiter's declaration amounted to.

Νῶϊ δ' ἄγ' ἐν φιλότητι τραπείομεν εὐνηθέντε,
Οὐ γὰρ πώποτέ μ' ὧδε θεᾶς ἔρος οὐδὲ γυναικὸς
Θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περιπροχυθεὶς ἐδάμασσεν,
Οὐδ' ὁπότ' ἠρασάμην Ἰξιονίης ἀλόχοιο, &c. (61).

(61) Homer, *Iliad.* lib. 14. ver. 314.

That is,

" Let ſofter cares the preſent hour employ,
" And be theſe moments ſacred to all joy.
" Ne'er did my ſoul ſo ſtrong a paſſion prove,
" Or for an earthly, or a heavenly love;
" Not when I preſs'd Ixion's matchleſs dame &c.

POPE.

I add that Homer has obſerved a decorum with reſpect to Juno. He makes her repreſent to her huſband the indecency there would be in caſe any God ſhould happen to ſee them lying together on mount Ida, and go and inform the reſt of it; however, ſays ſhe to him, ſince you have a fancy for it, lets go up into the chamber. But Jupiter did not approve of this expedient, and found out another, which was, to raiſe ſo thick a cloud round his wife, that even the ſun could not pierce it; and 'twas under this cloud that he indulged his fierce paſſion. He *did not throw his wife on the floor*, as Montagne ſays; but on the bare ground, in the open air. The earth indeed ſhot forth, inſtantly, graſs and flowers (62), which ſerved them very well for a quilt. Neither Homer nor Plato make Jupiter ſay, as Montagne does, that he had *found that bout as tranſporting as when he firſt deflowered her unknown to their Parents*. Homer ſays only (63), that Jupiter ſpying Juno, was fired with as ſtrong a paſſion for her as when he firſt enjoyed her beauties. I am willing it ſhould be ſaid, in order to excuſe Montagne, that he did not think there was much difference between theſe two things.

(62) Idem, ibid. ver. 347.

(63) His words may be ſeen in remark [A] citation (1).

[K] *Some ſay . . . Juno was brought up . . . in Samos, and others in the ſea.*] She herſelf affirms the latter in her ſpeech to Venus when ſhe borrowed her girdle (64). She tells her that ſhe ſtood in need of it, to reconcile Ocean and his wife Tethys, who had not bedded together a long time. Her gratitude on account of the good education ſhe had received from them, prompted her to take a voyage in order to reconcile them; and ſhe does not doubt of being dear to, and revered by them eternally, in caſe ſhe can perſuade them to cohabit together again.

(64) See alſo what ſhe ſays to Ocean and Tethys, in Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 2. when ſhe deſires them to exclude the conſtellation of the Bear.

Δοὺς νῦν μοι φιλότητα καὶ ἵμερον, ᾧ τε σὺ πάντας
Δαμνᾷ ἀθανάτους ἠδὲ θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους·
Εἶμι γὰρ ὀψομένη πολυφόρβης πείρατα γαίης.
Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν,
Οἵ μ' ἐν σφοῖσι δόμοισιν ἐὺ τρέφον ἠδ' ἀτίταλλον,

. . . . . .

Τὰς εἶμι ὀψομένη, καὶ σφ' ἄκριτα νείκεα λύσω,
Ἣ δὴ γὰρ δηρὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλων ἀπέχονται
Εὐνῆς καὶ φιλότητος, ἐπεὶ χόλος ἔμπεσε θυμῷ &c.

(65) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 14. ver. 198. Juno repeats this on Mount Ida, when Jupiter asks her whither ſhe is going. Ibid. ver. 301.

That is,

" Then grant me, ſaid the Queen, thoſe conquering charms,
" That power which mortals and immortals warms;
" That love, which melts mankind in fierce deſires,
" And burns the ſons of heav'n with ſacred fires!
" For lo! I haſte to thoſe remote abodes,
" Where the great parents (ſacred ſource of Gods!)
" Ocean and Tethys their old empire keep,
" On the laſt limits of the land and deep.

. . . . . .

" For ſtriſe, I hear, has made the union ceaſe,
" Which held ſo long that antient pair in peace,
" What honour, and what love ſhall I obtain,
" If I compoſe thoſe fatal feuds again?

POPE.

Had Juno been allotted Venus's Girdle, that ſo very effectual charm to work a change in married people who have ſeparate beds, ſhe had very juſtly been made to preſide over marriages; but ſhe has occaſion to borrow the pacific method, and powerful inſtrument of reconciliation: Why was not this employment given to the Goddeſs from whom the girdle was to be borrowed? I leave it to perſons who have leiſure to enquire into the reaſon of this.

With regard to her education in Samos, conſult Pauſanias, who ſays that the inhabitants of this iſland aſſerted, that Juno was born there under a little tree which they ſtill ſhewed (66). The temple of that Goddeſs was very antient (67). There is no one but remembers the following words of the Æneid.

(66) Pauſan. lib. 7. pag. 209.

(67) Idem, ibid.

Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
Poſthabita coluiſſe Samo (68).

(68) Lib. 1. ver. 15.

" Beloved by Juno more
" Than her own Argos, or the Samian ſhore.

DRYDEN.

The iſland was named Parthenia, becauſe Juno had been brought up there whilſt a virgin (69). There alſo her nuptials with Jupiter were ſolemnized, whence ſhe was repreſented in her temple as a maiden who is marrying, and the anniverſary of her feſtival was ſolemnized as a wedding. *Inſulam Samum ſcribit Varro prius Partheniam nominatam, quod ibi Juno adoleverit, ibique etiam Jovi nupſerit: Itaque nobiliſſimum, & antiquiſſimum templum ejus eſt Sami, & ſimulachrum in habitu nubentis figuratum, & ſacra ejus anniverſaria nuptiarum ritu celebrantur* (70).

(69) Scholiaſt. *Apollonii*, in lib. 4. He ſays, on ver. 187. of book 1. that the *Imbreſus*, a river of Samos, was called Παρθένιος, becauſe Juno, when a virgin, had been brought up there.

[L] *There was no city in which greater honours were paid her than in Argos.*] The Argives pretended, that the three danghters of the river Aſterion had brought up Juno. One of them called Eubœa, had her name given to the mountain on which Juno's temple was built; and Eupolemus a native of Argos was the architect of it. In the porch of it were the ſtatues of all the Prieſteſſes of the Goddeſs (71): their office was very conſiderable, as I obſerved, when I ſpoke of the unhappy Prieſteſs who occaſioned the burning of the temple (72). Pauſanias ſays (73) that ſhe eſcaped to the altar of Pallas in Tegea; and that notwithſtanding the indignation of the Argives, they nevertheleſs ſuffered her ſtatue to ſtand. He ſays that the moſt antient ſtatue of that Goddeſs was made of a wild pear-tree, and it was kept with great care. Piraſus the ſon of Argus had carried it to Tyrinthus; but the Argives having demoliſhed that city, brought it back to the temple of Juno (74). See Benedictus on Pindar (75), concerning the games that were ſolemnized at Argos in honour of that Goddeſs. See alſo the commentators of Horace on the following words of Ode VII. Lib. I.

(70) Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 17. pag. m. 54. *See alſo* St. Auguſt. *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 6. cap. 7.

(71) *Ex* Pauſania, lib. 2. pag. 59.

(72) See the article CHRYSIS.

(73) Pauſan. lib. 2. pag. 159. *See alſo* lib. 3. pag. 86.

(74) Idem, ibid.

(75) Pag. 142, 628.

Plurimus in Junonis honorem
Aptum dicit equis Argos.

" To honour Juno, Argos ſome proclaim,
" Renown'd for horſes."——

Silius Italicus, ſpeaking of the love which Juno has for the city of Carthage, ſays that ſhe prefers it to Argos and Mycene.

Hic Juno ante Argos (ſic credidit alta vetuſtas)
Ante Agamemnonium, gratiſſima tecta Mycenem
Optavit profugis æternam condere ſedem (76).

(76) Silius Italic. lib. 1. ver. 26.

" Here Juno wiſh'd, as antient Bards relate,
" To fix the exiles in a laſting ſeat:
" A ſeat which ſhe, to Argos and Mycene
" Preferred."——

According to Homer (77) the three cities which Juno loved beſt were Argos, Lacedæmonia and Mycene. It is ſtrange he ſhould ſay nothing of Samos, the only place mentioned by Virgil, where he ſpeaks of the preference which Juno gave to Carthage.

(77) Iliad. lib. 4. ver. 51.

Let us ſay ſomething of the founder of the temple which Juno had in Argos; for thereby we ſhall diſcover the antiquity of the edifice. It was built by Phoroneus,

ration at Carthage [*M*], and in Olympia. In this laſt city ſixteen Ladies were appointed as overſeers over the Games which were ſolemnized in Juno's honour every five years. Three claſſes or bands of young maidens uſed to diſpute there for the prize in the race; came down to run in the Olympic Games, and uſed to take up almoſt the whole time they laſted. Such Ladies as were victorious received an olive crown; and uſed to make a *Peplus* (*f*), which they conſecrated to that Goddeſs every five years (*g*). By the way the conjugal infidelities of Jupiter were ſo much the more inexcuſable, as Juno had the ſecret of becoming a virgin every year [*N*]. The love ſhe had for Jaſon has not been much talked of [*O*]; and ſhe freed herſelf with honour from the ſnares which Ixion had laid

(*f*) A kind of robe or veil.

(*g*) *Ex* Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 16. pag. m. 417.

roneus, the ſon of Inachus, and he was the firſt who gave arms to that Goddeſs, in recompence whereof he was the firſt who reigned. *Phoroneus Inachi filius templum Argis Junoni primus fecit.* Hyginus ſays this in his CCXXVth Chapter. *Phoroneus Inachi filius*, ſays he in his CCLXXIVth Chapter, *arma Junoni primus fecit, qui ob eam cauſſam primus regnandi poteſtatem habuit.* Some critics will have us read, inſtead of *arma*, *aram* or *ſacra*; but others inſiſt on the common reading, and confirm it by a paſſage of Caſſidorus, in Chapter XVIII of Book VII *Variorum*. See the commentators of Hygynus in the Amſterdam edition of 1681. With regard to the antiquity of Phoroneus, ſee Scaliger's notes page 19 on Euſebius's Chronicon. It is ſufficient to remember that Phoroneus was cotemporary with Abraham, or wanted but little of being ſo.

[*M*] *She likewiſe was in high veneration at Carthage.*] I imagined for a very long time, that Virgil made uſe of a poetical licence, without paying any regard to hiſtory, when he repreſented Carthage as Juno's favourite city (78); and I did not think myſelf obliged to change my opinion, on reading in Ovid and Silius Italicus, the confirmation of Virgil's aſſertion; for no one can reaſonably doubt but that he was the occaſion why Ovid makes Juno ſpeak thus,

(78) Æneid. lib. 1. *circa init.*

Pœniteat quod non fovi Carthaginis arces,
Cum mea ſint illo currus & arma loco (79).

(79) Ovid. *Faſt.* lib. 6. ver. 45.

" I ſore repented that I frown'd on Carthage,
" That city where my arms and chariot lie.

and yet Silius Italicus aſſerted what was ſeen above (80): but having examined other paſſages of various authors, I began to think that Virgil's hypotheſis was grounded on tradition. Pſyche's prayer is not of the leaſt force with me: *Magni Jovis germana*, ſays ſhe (81), *& conjuga: ſive tu Sami, quæ querulo partu vagituque & alimonia tua gloriatur, tenes vetuſta delubra; ſive celſæ Carthaginis, quæ te virginem vectura leonis cælo commeantem percolit, beatas ſedes frequentas: ſive prope ripas Inachi, qui te jam nuptam Jonantis, & reginam dearum memorat, inclytis Argivorum præſides mœnibus: quam cunctus oriens Zygiam veneratur, & omnis occidens Lucinam appellat: fis meis extremis caſibus Juno Soſpita, meque in tantis exantlatis laboribus deſeſſam, imminentis periculi metu libera.* i. e. " Thou ſiſter " and wife of mighty Jove; whether thou dwelleſt in Sa- " mos, which glories in giving thee birth, and bringing " thee up in thy infancy; or whether thou frequenteſt " the bliſsful ſeats of lofty Carthage, which worſhips " thee, as a virgin, drawn by lyons from the ſkies; or " near the banks of Inachus, who now commemo- " rates thee, conſort of the Thunderer, and Queen of " the Goddeſſes, thou preſideſt over Argos's renowned " walls; whom the whole eaſt adores by the name of " Zygia, and every part of the weſt calls Lucina: " be thou to me, (O Juno) in the extremes to which " I am reduced, a preſerver; and free me, exhauſted " with theſe toils, from the fear of impending danger." This relates directly, and without the leaſt ambiguity, to Juno. The paſſage in Herodian with regard to Urania (82) of Carthage does not appear to me equally ſtrong; for it would incline one to think, that this Urania was not Juno but Luna. Now I do not here conſider the Theology of thoſe, who reduce many of the Heathen Deities to one; but keep only to the notion generally received, viz. that Juno was worſhipped as the ſiſter and wife of Jupiter; and as an object different from Minerva, Diana, Luna, Proſerpine, &c. By the way, I cannot reflect on the worſhip that was paid to that Goddeſs in ſo many places (83), and with ſo much pomp; I cannot, I ſay, reflect on it, without thinking that there was mixed with it, I know not what impreſſions of the cuſtom that is obſerved with reſpect to women. When a woman ſhares in the government, ſhe is much more waited upon, honoured and reſpected, than a man is who has the like authority. Conſider only how much court is paid to the wives of Governors of Provinces, when they are known to have great credit and authority. Greater honours are paid to them than to their huſbands. This is the practice upon earth, and it is carried into heaven. Jupiter was attended upon and ſerved as a King; and Juno as an ambitious, haughty, revengeful Queen, who ſhared the government of the world with him, and aſſiſted in all his councils.

(80) In the preceding remark, citation (76).

(81) Apulei, lib. 6. *Metam. circa init.*

Οὔτέ ποτ' εἰς εὐνὴν Διὸς ἤλυθε μητιόεντος,
Οὔτε ποτ' εἰς δῶκεν πολυδαίδαλον, ὡς τοπάρος περ,
Αὐτῷ ἐφιζομένη πυκινὰς φραζέσκετο βουλάς (84).

Nunquam ad cubile Jovis venit conſiliarii,
Nunquam ad thronum varium, ſicuti antea,
Cum ipſo ſedens, ſapientia conſultans conſilia.

(84) *See* Homer's *Hymn to Apollo*, when he ſays that Juno, on account of Minerva's birth, left her husband for a year.

I dare be ſo bold as to ſay, that the extravagancies into which Chriſtians have run with reſpect to the Virgin Mary; extravagancies which ſurpaſs every thing the Heathens could invent in honour of Juno, flow from the ſame ſpring; I mean from the cuſtom eſtabliſhed of honouring women, and paying court to them with much more aſſiduity and reſpect than to the other ſex. We cannot live without women, either in religious or civil life. Whoever ſhould take from the Romiſh communion its devotion for ſhe-ſaints, and eſpecially for her who therein is called Queen of Heaven, and Queen of Angels, would leave a dreadful chaſm in it; the reſt would fall to pieces, and be *arena ſine calce, ſcopæ diſſolutæ*. Eraſmus cenſuring the cuſtom of ſaluting the Virgin Mary in the pulpit, after the opening or beginning of the ſermon, ſays, " That it is contrary to the example of all the an- " tients, who ought rather to be imitated than I " know not what people, who, perhaps to pleaſe wo- " men, have followed the Heathens in that parti- " cular (85)."

(85) Eraſmus, *in Eccleſiaſt. apud* Colomeſ. *Rome Proteſtante*, pag. 25.

[*N*] *Juno had the ſecret of becoming a virgin every year.*] For this purpoſe ſhe needed but waſh herſelf in a fountain (86). " Juno was very aſſiduous, *ſays the* " *author of a Dictionary* (87)) in waſhing herſelf an- " nually in the fountain or ſpring of Canathus, near " Nauplia, called at this time Napoli di Romania, " where ſhe always received her maidenhead, a cir- " cumſtance that endeared her to Jupiter. *Pauſan.* " lib. 8." Now Pauſanias does not obſerve, that this circumſtance endeared Juno to her huſband; all he ſays is, that the Argives ſpoke of this reſtoration of Juno's virginity, and grounded what they ſaid on this occaſion, on the practice of their occult ceremonies in the myſteries of that Goddeſs. Many writers, in quoting an author, commit this fault, viz. that they make him ſay all that, according to them, he ought to have ſaid. Hence it was that the writer in queſtion ſuppoſes Pauſanias to ſay, what he really did not. The author who thus aſcribes falſely, probably had his thoughts full on what he had before related. " Die- " go de Tourez, in his hiſtory of the Cherifs or Ze- " rifs, ſays, that among the felicities, which the " Turks hope to enjoy in the life to come, they ima- " gine that their wives will bring them new maiden- " heads, *cap.* 74." The vertue of the fountain of youth, ſo greatly celebrated by our old Poets, and writers of romances, was not to be compared to that of Canathus.

(86) Called Canathus; it was in Peloponneſus. *See* Pauſan. lib. 2. *ſub fin.* pag. 80.

(87) Cæſar de Rochefort, *Diction. général. & curieux*, pag. 612, 613.

[*O*] *The love ſhe had for Jaſon has not been much talked of.*] According to ſome authors, Jaſon owed entirely

(82) It was pretended that her ſtatue had been conſecrated by Dido when ſhe built Carthage. *See* Herodian, lib. 5. cap. 6.

(83) I ſhall take ſome notice in the remark [Y] of the temples ſhe had in Italy.

laid for that Goddeſs [*P*]. If ſome authors may be credited, ſhe had no children by her huſband; and ſhe never conceived but after a moſt extraordinary manner [*Q*]; but ſhe had milk as women uſually have in thoſe caſes; and this muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed, ſince ſhe is ſaid to have ſuckled one of her huſband's baſtards. He was forced to employ a ſtratagem in order to prevail with her to do it; and then, as we are told, was formed in the ſkies, what was called the Milky Way [*R*]. Some of thoſe authors who

tirely the kindneſs and protection which that Goddeſs indulged him, to the good ſervice he had done her, without knowing who ſhe was. Juno, diſguiſed under the form of an old woman, deſired him to carry her over a river; which he accordingly did, and loſt one of her ſhoes as he was doing her that office; but others ſay that he was obliged to his beauty for the favour ſhe ſhewed him. Juno, not being able to reſiſt ſuch a blaze of charms, fell diſtractedly in love with this lovely youth. Ὅθεν ὁ εὐπρεπὴς ἦν ὁ Ἰάσων δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἥραν καλά τινας αὐτῷ ἐπιμανῆναι (88). *Jaſonem fuiſſe perpulchrum hinc patet, quod juxta quoſdam ipſa Juno inſano amore eum proſecuta fuerit.* Theſe are the authors who ſpeak of the other ſtory. *Pelias . . . . . forte vidit Jaſonem nudo pede veniſſe, qui dum Junonem tranſmutatam in anus ſpeciem credens mortalem petentem per vadum fluminis tranſferret, alteram ex caligis in limo amiſerat* (89). i. e. "Pelias . . . . . by chance "ſpied Jaſon coming with one foot bare, who, whilſt "he was carrying Juno diſguiſed in the form of an "old woman, and ſuppoſing her to be a mortal, over "a river, loſt one of his buſkins in the mud." The reader will find this incident related more at large in Hyginus (90), with the teſtimonies of gratitude which Juno gave on that account. Valerius Flaccus ſuppoſes that it was extreme bad weather when ſhe received this ſervice; and he adds, that Jaſon knew her to be a Goddeſs by the dread with which ſhe was ſeized, becauſe ſhe knew that thunder to be the voice of Jupiter who called her. She was there flying away; ſhe had left her huſband, and did not care much to return home to him.

(88) Scholiaſt. Pindari in Pyth. Od. 4. *apud* Meziriacum, *Not. in Epiſt. Ovidii*, pag. 540.

(89) Servius, *in Eclog.* 4. Virgilii, ver. 34.

(90) Hygin. cap. 22. *See alſo* cap. 13. Apollon. Rhodius, lib. 3. ver. 66.

Omnipotens regina, inquit, quam turbidus atro
Æthere cæreleum quateret cum Jupiter imbrem,
Ipſe ego præcipiti tumidum per Enipea nimbo
In campos & tuta tuli, nec credere quivi
Ante deam, quam te tonitru nutuque repoſci
Conjugis, & ſubita raptam formidine vidi (91).

(91) Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 1. ver. 81.

"O Queen omnipotent, whom when ſtormy Jove
"Deſcended from the gloomy ſkies, I bore
"In a ſubſtantial cloud, thro' ſwift Enipeus;
"Nor did think thee a Goddeſs, till I ſaw thee
"In dread diſmay at thy dire conſort's thunder.

[*P*] *She freed herſelf with honour from the ſnares which Ixion had laid for her.*] Ixion, guilty of a parricide (92), from the guilt of which he could not find any perſon to abſolve him, at laſt received this good office from Jupiter himſelf. He retained ſo deep a ſenſe of gratitude on that account, that he endeavoured to cuckold his benefactor; he being inflamed with a paſſion for Juno, and earneſtly intreating her to comply with his wiſhes. However, the Goddeſs refuſed, and complained to Jupiter, who reſolved to try whether this accuſation were juſtly grounded, formed a cloud in the exact ſhape of his wife, and left it to Ixion's diſcretion, who being ſtrongly fired with love, made exactly the ſame uſe of it as he would have done of the Goddeſs, and hence ſprung the Centaurs. He afterwards boaſted his having had an affair of gallantry with Juno; and it was then, as we are told, that Jupiter loſing all patience, hurled him down to hell, and ſentenced him to the puniſhment of the wheel (93). He did not behave like a jealous huſband; for what Italian would permit his wife's gallants to ſatiate their paſſion on her form or figure? He would prevent, if poſſible, their diverting themſelves with her in imagination or in a dream.

(92) He had killed his wife's father, in a treacherous manner.

(93) *Extracted from* Natalis Comes, *Mytholog.* lib. 6. cap. 16. A few circumſtances excepted, all this is to be found in Diodorus Siculus, lib. 4. cap. 71. *See alſo* Lucian, *in Deorum Dialogis*, pag. 132, & *ſeq.* tom. 1.

[*Q*] *She always conceived after a moſt extraordinary manner.*] According to the moſt common opinion, ſhe was mother only of three children, viz. Mars, Vulcan, and Hebe. As to Mars, ſhe conceived him by touching a flower which Flora pointed out to her. She was endeavouring to revenge herſelf on her huſband, who had brought forth Minerva without her aſſiſtance; and to ſhew him that ſhe could do as much without the aſſiſtance of a male.

Protinus hærentem decerpſi pollice florem,
Tangitur, & tacto concipit illa ſinu.
Jamque gravis Thracen & læva Propontidos intrat,
Fitque potens voti, Maxſque creatus erat (94).

(94) Ovid. *Faſt.* lib. 5. ver. 255.

"The flower I gather'd, when lo, ſo great its power,
"She touch'd it, and immediately conceiv'd.
"Then enters Thrace, and the Propontic coaſt;
"And, all her wiſh indulg'd, brought forth God
"Mars.

As for Vulcan, ſhe conceived him by the wind, by an influence directly like to that of the Spaniſh mares (95). Ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἄθυσιν ἄνευ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὁμιλίας ὑπηνέμιον αὐτὴν παῖδα γεννῆσαι τὸν Ἥφαιστον (96). i. e. "The like incident is likewiſe told of "Juno, viz. that having conceived by the wind, "without the aſſiſtance of man, ſhe brought forth "Vulcan." She conceived of Hebe, by eating greedily of lettuces. This maiden was the Goddeſs of Youth, and ſerved as Cup-bearer to the Gods till the following misfortune happened to her in a grand entertainment. She fell, and ſo diſcloſed to the Gods whatever was hid under her petticoats, by which accident ſhe loſt her employment (97). I am not ignorant that other authors declare her to be daughter of Jupiter and Juno, after the common way.

(95) See the article HIPPOMANES, at the end of this work.

(96) Lucianus, *de Sacrificiis*, pag. 352. tom. 1.

(97) Servius, *apud* Lloyd, *Voce* Hebe.

I muſt here refute Natalis Comes, who probably has miſguided ſome Lexicographers. He ſays that Juno, exaſperated at the birth of Minerva, beſought heaven and earth, and the celeſtial and infernal Gods, to cauſe her to bring forth without the conjunction of a male. She ſtruck the earth with her hand, and at the expiration of a certain term the earth brought forth Typhon. *Quæ cum manu humum percuſſiſſet, ſequenti poſtea tempore natus eſt ex ea terra Typhon, &c.* (98). To prove this he quotes ſome Greek verſes, which manifeſtly ſignify that Juno brought forth Typhon. How well does he underſtand what he alledges?

(98) Nat. Comes, *Mythol.* lib. 6. cap. 22. pag. m. 644. The ſame is found in Lloyd's Dictionary.

Ὄν ποτ' ἄρ' Ἥρη ἔτικτε χολωσαμένη Διὶ παιδί.
Αὐτὰρ ἄρα δὴ Κρονίδης ἐρικυδέα γείνατ' Ἀθήνην
Ἐν κορυφῇ.

"Offended Juno brought forth monſtrous Typhon,
"When, from Jove's head, renown'd Minerva ſprung.

Homer, in the Hymn to Apollo, relates this ſtory ſo clearly, that it is ſurprizing ſo many authors ſhould have taken one for the other. He ſays that Juno having invoked heaven and earth, and all the infernal Gods, in order that ſhe might bring forth a ſon without the aid of Jupiter, ſtruck the earth and made it tremble, and took this earthquake for a good omen, and lived apart from her huſband during a year, at the end of which ſhe brought forth a ſon, who did not reſemble either men or Gods; and this was Typhon.

Ἣ δ' ἔτεκε, οὔτε θεοῖς ἐπαλίγκιον οὔτε βροτοῖσι,
Δεινόν τ' ἀργαλέον τε Τυφάονα, πῆμα βροτοῖσιν (99).

(99) Homer. *Hymn. in Apoll.* ver. 351.

Hæc autem peperit neque diis ſimilem, neque mortalibus,
Gravemque difficilemque Typhaona, damnum mortalibus.

[*R*] *Then . . . . was formed in the ſkies, what was called the milky way.*] She gave ſuck to Hercules; but that child, whoſe ſtrength was at that time prodigious, ſqueezed and pulled her nipple with ſo much violence, that ſhe could not bear it; whereupon drawing back her nipple in a forcible manner, ſome of her milk was ſpilt; and this it was that formed the circle that was called

who put the word *regina* among the epithets beſtowed on Juno, are guilty of a childiſh error [*S*]; though, under that name, ſhe was protectreſs of the Veientes (*b*), and placed on one of the ſeven mountains in Rome. I queſtion whether thoſe who aſſert, that ſhe did not begin to favour the Romans till the ſecond Punic War [*T*], ſay true. She was honoured

(*b*) See the remark [*U*].

called by the Greeks γαλαξία, and by the Latins *orbis lacteus*, *via lactea*, &c. (the milky way) (100). The Poet Manilius has touched upon this fable:

(100) Achilles Tatius, *in Iſagoge*, *ex* Eratoſthene *in Catameriſmo*, *apud* Lloyd, *voce* Juno.

Nec mihi celanda eſt famæ vulgata vetuſtas
Mollior; è niveo lactis fluxiſſe liquorem
Pectore Reginæ Divum, cœlumque colore
Infeciſſe ſuo. Quapropter lacteus orbis
Dicitur, & nomen cauſſa deſcendit ab ipſa (101).

(101) Manilius, lib. 1, pag. m. 24.

" Nor muſt I omit the fable, that a liquor,
" Milk-white, flow'd faſt from Juno's breaſts, and
" ſtain'd
" The heavenly dome, whence milky way 'tis call'd;
" The name ariſing from the fabled cauſe.

Some ſay that the milk which formed this way, fell from Hercules's mouth, upon his ſeizing upon Juno's nipple too greedily (102). Theſe fictions ſuppoſe Juno to be at that time in heaven; but the Thebans did not allow this; they ſhowed the place where that Goddeſs, deceived by Jupiter, gave Hercules ſuck (103).

(102) *See* Philoponus, *in I Meteor. apud* Philippum Cæſium *in Cælo Aſtronomico-Poetico*, pag. 15.

(103) Pauſan. lib. 9. pag. 300.

[*S*] *Some of thoſe authors who put the word* Regina *among the epithets beſtowed on Juno, are guilty of a childiſh error.*] For they, as a proof of it (104), quote a paſſage from Virgil, where there is no particular epithet.

(104) Franciſ. Pomey, *in Pantheo Mythico*, pag. m. 92.

Aſt ego, quæ Divum incedo regina, Joviſque
Et ſoror & conjux (105).

(105) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 46.

" But I, who walk in awful ſtate above,
" The Majeſty of heaven, the ſiſter-wife of Jove.
DRYDEN.

The father of the people, the magnificent, the great, the juſt, the wiſe, &c. are epithets or titles of diſtinction appropriated to certain Princes; but this cannot be ſaid of the title of King of France: nor can it be ſaid of the title of Queen of France. Now Juno in the above-mentioned verſe of Virgil is called Queen of the Gods, in the ſame manner as Anne of Auſtria, wife of Lewis XIII, was called Queen of France. Juno was the wife of Jupiter, King of Gods and men, *Divum pater atque hominum Rex* (106), as ſhe herſelf ſtiles him in the Æneid (107). In another place (108) ſhe tells him, that he reigns over all the Gods, σὺ δὲ πᾶσι μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσεις. Had proofs been ſought for in Livy, good ones would have been found. See the following remark, where I relate what he ſays of Camillus, concerning the taking of Veii. The following words of Juvenal,

(106) Ariſtotle, lib. *de Morib.* Θ, ſhews that Homer, by the following words, πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, which denote Jupiter, declares him King of Gods and Men. See the *Virgil Variorum* of Leyden 1680. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 65.

(107) *Æn.* lib. 1. ver. 65.

(108) *Iliad.* lib. 4. ver. 61.

——— *niveam Reginæ cædimus agnam* (109).

(109) Sat. 12. ver. 13.

" A ſnowy lamb, in honour of the (‡) Queen,
" Will now be ſlain."

(‡) Juno.

Theſe words, I ſay, would have furniſhed a much better proof, than theſe which are to be found in the firſt book of the Æneid.

[*T*] *She did not begin to favour the Romans, till the ſecond Punic War.*] Camillus, preparing to ſtorm the Veientes, offered the tenth part of the plunder to Apollo; and beſought Juno, protectreſs of the beſieged, to abandon them, in order to go to Rome, where a temple worthy of her ſhould be built. *Tuo ductu*, *inquit*, (Dictator) *Pythice Apollo, tuoque numine inſtinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Vejos: tibique hinc decimam partem prædæ voveo. Teſimul, Juno Regina, quæ nunc Vejos colis, precor ut nos victores in noſtram tuamque mox futuram urbem ſequare: ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat* (110). After the ſacking of the city was ended, they proceeded to the removal of the Gods, and behaved with great reſpect on that occaſion. Some one aſked the ſtatue of Juno, whether ſhe was willing to come to Rome; whereupon ſhe made a ſign that ſhe was; and it is even pretended that ſhe ſaid *yes*. It was no trouble to remove her; and one would have thought that ſhe moved herſelf in order to follow the victors. Camillus conſecrated a temple in her honour on mount Aventinus, purſuant to the promiſe he had made her. *Tum Junoni Reginæ templum in Aventino locavit dedicavitque Matutæ matri* (111). Livy's words are ſo beautiful and remarkable, that the perſons who underſtand Latin, will be well pleaſed to read them, without having the trouble to ſtir out of their places. *Cum jam humanæ opes aſportatæ egeſtæque à Veiis eſſent, amoliri tum Deum dona ipſoſque Deos, ſed colentium magis quam rapientium modo, cœpere. Namque delecti ex omni exercitu juvenes, pure lotis corporibus, candida veſte, quibus deportanda Romam Regina Juno aſſignata erat, venerabundi templum inire, primo religioſe admoventes manus: quod id ſignum more Etruſco niſi certæ gentis ſacerdos attrectare non eſſet ſolitus. Deinde quum quidam, ſeu ſpiritu divino tactus, ſeu juvenili joco,* Viſne Romam ire Juno? *annuiſſe cæteri Deam conclamaverunt: inde fabulæ adjectum eſt, vocem quoque dicentis,* Velle, *auditam. Motam certe ſede ſua parvi molimenti adminiculis, ſequentis modo accepimus levem ac facilem tranſlatu fuiſſe: integramque in Aventinum æternam ſedem ſuam, quo vota Romani dictatoris vocaverant, perlatam; ubi templum ei poſtea idem, qui voverat, Camillus dedicavit* (112). i. e. " When the riches of Veii were " all carried away, they began to carry off the gifts " of the Gods, and the Deities themſelves, but in a " manner that reſembled worſhippers rather than plun- " derers. For a band of youths ſelected out of the " whole army, having waſhed their bodies, and be- " ing cloathed in white garments, and whoſe employ- " ment was to carry the Goddeſs Juno to Rome, went " into the temple in a reverent manner, firſt touching " her religiouſly; for only a Prieſt of a certain fa- " mily (according to the cuſtom of Hetruria) was per- " mitted to touch that ſtatute. At laſt one of them, " whether by inſpiration, or out of a juvenile frolick, " ſaying, *Juno, will you go to Rome?* the reſt cried " aloud that the Goddeſs nodded; whence a fable " was added, that a voice was alſo heard, which " ſaid *yes*. It is certain, that the removal of her " gave very little trouble, and that ſhe was carried " entire to mount Aventinus, her eternal ſeat or reſi- " dence, to which the vows of the Roman Dictator " had called her, and where the ſame Camillus af- " terwards conſecrated a temple in her honour." Plutarch makes Livy ſay, that Camillus, upon his deſiring Juno to come to Rome, touched the ſtatue of that Goddeſs; and that ſome anſwered that ſhe conſented, and would willingly follow him. Λιβιος δὲ φησιν εὔξασθαι μὲν τὸν Κάμιλλον ἀπόμενον τῆς θεᾶ καὶ παρακαλεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ τινας τῶν παρόντων ὅτι καὶ βούλεται καὶ συγκαλαινεῖ, καὶ συνακολουθεῖ προθύμως (113). *Livius tradit inter precandum attrectaſſe Camillum Deam & invitaſſe: inde velle & annuere ac ſequi libentem reſpondiſſe ex adſtantibus nonnullos.* Compare this with Livy's words, and it will appear very evidently that Plutarch did not underſtand them in any manner; or rather that he cites them without looking into that author, and that he has adulterated the circumſtances; and as he probably truſted to his memory on a numberleſs multitude of occaſions, I am afraid that, with regard to a great number of incidents, we find in Plutarch's writings, not what he had really read; but the idea which the hiſtories he had read, left in his imagination. The prayers which Livy aſcribes to Camillus, with reſpect to Juno, was before the taking of Veii; how then could he ſay that Camillus offered up his prayers, with his hands fixed on the ſtatute? What follows comes nearer to my text.

(110) T. Liv. Dec. 1. lib. 5. cap. 21.

(111) Idem, ibid. cap. 23.

(112) Idem, ibid. cap. 22.

(113) Plutarch. *in Camillo*, pag. 132, *A*.

Plutarch adds, that thoſe who aſſert that Juno's ſtatue ſpoke, either by ſigns or by words, that ſhe granted Camillius's prayers, have a very powerful argument to alledge, I mean the proſperity of Rome; for that city, ſays he, having been ſo ſmall, could not have raiſed itſelf to ſo exalted a pitch of power, had it not been perpetually favoured with the preſence of a God. Οἱ δ' ἰσχυριζόμενοι καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ βοηθεῖσθαι, μεγίστην μὲν ἴσχυσι συνήγορον τὴν τύχην τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἀπὸ σμικρᾶς καὶ καταφρονουμένης

honoured at Rome, under other titles, as that of Moneta [*U*], of Sospita, &c.] The Romans did not only join with the inhabitants of Lanuvium in the year 416, in worshipping that Goddess under this last title (*i*); but they also built a temple to her in the *Forum Olitorium*, or Herb Market, in 560. Caius Cornelius Cethegus, who had devoted it four years before, when, being Consul, he was engaged in war against the Insubres (*k*), consecrated it in quality of Censor (*l*). This temple was repaired in 663, and that on account of a dream which a woman had (*m*). The worship of Juno in Rome was of remote antiquity [*X*]. Very great honours were paid her in other cities of Italy,

(*i*) Livius, lib. 8. cap. 14. See the beginning of the remark [*Y*].

(*k*) Idem, lib. 32. cap. 29.

(*l*) Liv. lib 34. cap. 53.

(*m*) Cicero, *de Divinat.* lib. 1. *init.* fol. 304, B. and folio 311, B.

καλαφρονουμένης ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ μέσα δέξης καὶ δυνάμεως προιλθεῖν; δίκα θεᾶ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἐπιφανείαις ἑκάστοτε συμπαρόντος, ἀμήχανον (114). *Cæterum hoc miraculum adstruentibus & defendentibus fortuna magnopere suffragatur urbis, quæ ex parvo & humili exordio, sine numinis perpetuo ex multis & magnis signis præsentis favore, evadere ad eam gloriam & potentiam haudquaquam potuisset.* He therefore thinks that Juno, being removed from Veii to Rome, favoured the Romans, and procured them that series of victories which made them so formidable: and therefore Jupiter's prediction, viz. that Juno would at last favour the Roman people, must have been fulfilled the year of Rome 359 (115).

(114) Idem, ibid.

Quin aspera Juno,
Quæ mare nunc terrasque metu cœlumque fatigat,
Consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
Romanos rerum Dominos gentemque togatam (116).

(115) In which the town of Veii was sacked.

" Ev'n haughty Juno, who, with endless broils,
" Earth, seas, and heav'n, and Jove himself turmoils;
" At length aton'd, her friendly pow'r shall join,
" To cherish and advance the Trojan line.
" The subject world shall Rome's dominion own,
" And, prostrate, shall adore the nation of the gown.
DRYDEN.

And nevertheless, because some Poets have taken it into their heads to remove this æra to the (117) second Punic war (118), the Commentators depend on this fiction more than on the credit and authority of Historians. I here observe, that Juno, besides the temple which she had on mount Aventin, shared the temple of the Capitol with Jupiter and Minerva (119). The temple of Juno *Moneta*, which I shall mention in the following remark, furnishes me with a good proof.

(116) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 279.

(117) Who began to reign the year of Rome 535.

(118) *Quia bello Punico secundo, ut ait Ennius, placata Juno cœperit favere Romanis.* Servius in hunc locum Virgilii. *See* Silius Italicus, lib. 12. pag. m. 520. Horace, lib. 2. Ode 1.

[*U*] *She was honoured at Rome . . . under . . . the title of . .* Moneta.] It appears from several passages of the antients (120), that the epithet *Regina* was appropriated to the Juno, whom Camillus removed to Veii, and in whose honour he built a temple on mount Aventine. As to Juno Moneta, her seat was in the capitol. Valerius Maximus is perhaps the only author, who has confounded her with that Juno, in whose honour Camillus the Dictator built a temple on mount Aventine. I do not doubt but this is one of the numerous mistakes which are found in Valerius Maximus. *Nec minus voluntarius*, says he (121), *Junonis in urbem nostram transitus. Captis a Furio Camillo Vejis, milites jussu Imperatoris simulachrum Junonis Monetæ, quod ibi præcipua religione cultum erat, in Urbem tralaturi, sede sua movere conabantur. Quorum ab uno per jocum interrogata Dea, an Romam migrare vellet, Velle se respondit. Hac voce audita, lusus in admirationem versus est. Jamque non simulachrum, sed ipsam cœlo Junonem petitam portare se credentes, læti in ea parte montis Aventini, in qua nunc templum ejus cernimus, collocaverunt.* i. e. " Nor was the removal of Juno to our " city, less voluntary; for Veii having been taken " by Furius Camillus, the soldiers being ordered by " the Generalissimo to convey the statue of Juno Moneta, to which particular adoration was there paid, " to Rome, they accordingly set about removing it. " One of the persons who were employed on that occasion, asking the Goddess in a joking way, whether she would go to Rome, she answered yes. " The hearing her speak in this manner turned " their jesting into admiration: so that now imagining they were not carrying a statue, but the Goddess herself, they placed her joyfully in that part of " mount Aventine where her temple is now seen." Valerius Maximus's own words are sufficient to shew how strangely he confounds things; for he relates in another book (122), that the temple of the Goddess *Moneta* was on the capitol, in that part where Manlius's house had stood. Now Livy says, that the temple which was built where the house in question had stood, was devoted to Juno *Moneta* during the war of the Arunci; and it was consecrated the year after, i. e. the year of Rome 413 (123). Ovid, in the sixth book of the Fasti, agrees exactly in that particular with Livy. The verses where he mentions this informs us, that this temple was devoted by Camillus; upon which a critic observes (124), that nevertheless Plutarch does not say in any manner that Camillus had made such a vow; and relates only, that Manlius's house was razed with the ground; and that the temple of the Goddess *Moneta* was built on the same spot where the house in question stood. Doubtless this critic thought that the Camillus whom Ovid speaks of is the same whose life is written by Plutarch; he, I say, who exerted himself so strenuously in order to get Manlius punished. I do not think that Ovid is so grosly mistaken. The person who devoted the temple of Juno *Moneta* was the younger Camillus. We therefore must not wonder that the historian of Camillus the father should take no notice of that vow; but he may be blamed for relating so negligently the fate of the house of this Manlius. He says (125), that the Romans having demolished it, built on the same spot the temple of the Goddess *Moneta*, and enacted that thenceforward no Patrician should live in the capitol. No reader but would conclude, from such relations, that these three things were done at the same time. Who would imagine that this temple was not devoted till above forty years after the execution of Manlius? There is a circumstance in Cicero which perplexes a little here, viz. that Juno, who had a temple on the capitol, was sirnamed *Moneta*, because she had advised the Romans to sacrifice a sow big with young. *Scriptum a multis, cum terræ motus factus esset ut sue plena procuratio fieret, vocem ab æde Junonis ex arca exiisse, quocirca Junonem illam appellatam Monetam* (126). i. e. " It is " related by many authors, that an earthquake happen- " ing, a voice issued from the shrine in Juno's temple, " commanding an expiation to be made by sacrificing " a sow big with young, whence that Juno was called " *Moneta*." According to this, we should say that there was a temple of Juno on the capitol, before that the younger Camillus the Dictator devoted the temple of Juno *Moneta*; or we should say that he only devoted a temple to Juno; but that in after-ages this Goddess got the surname of *Moneta*, because of the counsel she gave in that temple. The first of these two hypotheses has no foundation in any author; and the second would prove historians to be guilty of an extreme negligence, since they observe expressly that this Camillus the Dictator devoted a temple to Juno *Moneta*, which was built on the same spot where Manlius had lived. Perhaps this obscurity might be removed, if it were supposed that the place whence Juno gave the advice or counsel, was the chapel which had been built in her honour on the capitol (127). From that time she might have been (128) sirnamed *Moneta*, without having a particular temple built to her under that epithet; but during the war of the Aurunci, Camillus would have built a temple in her honour, under that sirname which she had already. This would be a proof that she had advised the Romans before the year 413, and consequently that her favour for Rome preceded the second Punic war. Rosinus (129) makes Cicero say, that the earthquake which was the occasion of Juno's advising the sacrifice of a sow big with young, happened before the Gauls took Rome. But Rosinus is mistaken, Cicero not having writ any such thing.

(119) *See* Dausqueius on *Silius Italicus*, lib. 10. pag. 435.

(120) *Decretum est Junoni Reginæ in Aventino Junonique Sospitæ Lanuvii majoribus hostiis ut sacrificaretur.* Liv. lib. 22. *init. See also* lib. 27. cap. 37. where he describes the ceremonies that were observed in honour of *Juno regina in Aventino*. A hymn was sung composed by the Poet Livius. *Carmen in Junonem reginam . . . illa tempestate forsitan laudabile rudibus ingentis, nunc abhorrens & inconditum si referatur.*

(121) Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 8. num. 3.

(122) Lib. 6. cap. 3. num. 1.

(123) Livius, lib. 7. cap. 28.

(124) *See* Valerius Maximus *Variorum* published by Thysius, lib. 1. cap. 8. num. 3. pag. 105.

(125) Plutarch. *in Camill.* pag. 148, C.

(126) Cicero, *de Divinat.* lib. 1.

[*X*] *The worship of Juno in Rome was of remote antiquity.*]

(127) *See* Dion. Halicarnass. lib. 4. cap. 69. Dausqueius, *in Silium Italicum*, lib. 10. pag. 435. cites several authorities.

(128) It appears by Livy, lib. 3. pag. m. 79. that the Juno of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was surnamed *Regina*.

(129) *Antiquit. Rom.* lib. 2. cap. 6.

Italy [Y], and ſhe uſed to work a great many miracles in them. She had a temple in Falerii before Rome was built. It was like that of Argos, and the ſame ceremonies were uſed

antiquity.] Tatius the collegue of Romulus had eſtabliſhed the honours which were paid to Juno *Quiritia* or *Quiritis* (130). It appears that under the reign of Tullus Hoſtilius, the Pontifs being conſulted with regard to the expiation of involuntary murthers, cauſed two altars to be ſet up, and there performed the ceremonies which they thought requiſite, in order for the purifying of Horace who had killed his ſiſter. One of theſe altars was conſecrated to Juno (131) and the other to Janus (132). It is related that (133) before this time there ſtood in Rome a temple of Juno built by Numa Pompilius; and that this Prince being deſirous of gaining the favour of that Goddeſs, *forbid, by an expreſs law, all looſe women from entering into that temple . . . or even touching it. Theſe are the very words of the law.* Pellex ædem Junonis ne tangito: ſi tangat Junoni agnum fœminam demiſſis crinibus cædito. *This was the reparation they were obliged to make, by ſacrificing a lamb in her honour, their hair hanging looſe.* In a word it may be ſaid, that it was not by too bold an hyperbole, that Virgil introduced Jupiter promiſing his wife, that the deſcendants of Æneas ſhould ſerve her with greater devotion than any other nation. This dialogue is not the leaſt beautiful paſſage in the Æneid; it contains Juno's reſolution not to perſecute Æneas any longer, and the favour ſhe aſked in recompence for her deſiſting on that occaſion. I would adviſe my readers to conſult Virgil; but I my ſelf will only tranſcribe the four lines following:

Hinc genus, Auſonio miſtum quod ſanguine ſurget,
Supra homines, ſupra ire Deos pietate videbis.
Nec gens ulla tuos æque celebrabit honores.
Annuit his Juno, & mentem lætata retorſit (134).

" From blood ſo mix'd, a pious race ſhall flow,
" Equal to Gods, excelling all below.
" No nation more reſpect to you ſhall pay,
" Or greater off'rings on your altars lay.
" Juno conſents, well pleas'd that her deſires
" Had found ſucceſs, and from the cloud retires."

DRYDEN.

[Y] *Very great honours were paid her in other cities of Italy*] She was worſhipped under the title of *Soſpita*, with great devotion at Lanuvium, near Rome in the Via Appia. The Romans were ſo fond of this worſhip that the Conſuls at the beginning of their conſulſhips, were obliged to go and pay homage to that Juno. *Nolite à ſacris propriis Junonis ſoſpitæ, cui omnes Conſules facere neceſſe eſt, domeſticum & ſuum Conſulem potiſſimum avellere* (135). When the inhabitants of Lanuvium were made citizens of Rome, it was enacted, that this worſhip ſhould be common to them with the Romans. *Lanuvinis civitas data, ſacraque ſua reddita cum eo ut ædes lucuſque Soſpitæ Junonis communis Lanuvinis Municipibus cum populo Romano eſſet* (136). There was a treaſure in the temple of that Goddeſs, out of which Auguſtus took conſiderable ſums, and promiſed to pay the intereſt (137). 'Tis thought that this temple was founded by the Pelaſgi, who came originally from Peloponneſus; and this opinion is ſupported by Ælian's calling the Juno of Lavinium, *Juno Argolica* (138). Here follows a deſcription of the Goddeſs's dreſs. *Noſtram ſoſpitam . . . tu nunquam me in ſomnis quidem vides, niſi cum pelle caprina, cum haſta, cum ſcutulo, cum calceolis repandis* (139). i. e. " You " do not ſee Jupiter Soſpita, our Goddeſs, even in " dreams, without her goatſkin, her ſpear, her ſhield, " and her ſhoes bent backwards." It is not obſerved in this paſſage, whether the goatſkin had horns, but ſome very learned men do not doubt but it had. " It " is certain that the head of Juno of Lanuvium was " veiled with a goat's ſkin, on which were real horns; " and this is plainly ſeen in Goltzius's Roman me- " dals, and in that mentioned by Vigenere, in his an- " notations on Livy." Theſe are de Girac's words in ſection lxv. page 556 of his reply. In the margin of his book are the following words. *Romani Junonem Soſpitam colebant, cujus caput pellis caprina cum cornibus exornabat* (*). i. e. " The Romans worſhipped " Juno Soſpita, whoſe head a goat's ſkin with horns " adorned." Take particular notice of what follows. The ſerpent of the temple of Lanuvium was ſomething miraculous, it being able to tell whether a girl had loſt her virginity or not. See Ælian (140).

Juno LACINIA, whoſe temple was ſix miles from Crotona, was prodigiouſly famous. This temple was twice as ſpacious as the greateſt temple in Rome (141). It was covered with marble tiles, if I may uſe the expreſſion, part whereof were carried to Rome, to cover the temple of Fortuna Equeſtris, which Quintus Fulvius Flaccus the Cenſor was building; but as he loſt his life in a miſerable manner, the Senate cauſed the tiles to be carried to the ſame place whence they had been taken (142). Hannibal did not execute the deſign that was formed, viz. of carrying off the golden column that ſtood in the temple of this Juno (143). Pliny relates that the aſhes which were left on the altar of that Goddeſs, expoſed to all the inclemencies of the weather, never moved from the place where they had been laid. *In Laciniæ Junonis ara ſub dio ſita, cinerem immobilem eſſe perflantibus undique procellis* (144). Servius relates another miracle; viz. that if any one carved or engraved his name on the tiles of this temple the engraving faded away the inſtant ſuch perſon died. *In hoc templo illud miraculi fuiſſe dicitur, ut ſi quis ferro in tegula templi, ipſius nomen incideret, tamdiu illa ſcriptura maneret, quamdiu is homo viveret qui illud ſcripſiſſet* (145). Livy alſo relates a miracle, viz. that the cattle of all kinds conſecrated to the Goddeſs grazed in the meads belonging to the temple, without any perſon's looking after them; and uſed to retire voluntarily in the evening, for ever unmoleſted with wild beaſts or robbers. *Læta in medio paſcua habuit* (Lucus) *ubi omnis generis ſacrum Deæ paſcebatur pecus ſine ullo paſtore, ſeparatimque egreſſi cujuſque generis greges, nocte remeabant ad ſtabula, nunquam inſidiis ferarum, non fraude violati hominum* (146). He intimates plainly enough, that he would not ſwear this was true; and that the ſtory concerning the immoveable aſhes was no leſs doubtful. Somes miracles, ſays he, are generally aſcribed to theſe ſorts of places. *Miracula aliqua affinguntur plerumque tam inſignibus locis. Fama eſt aram eſſe in veſtibulo templi, cujus cinerem, nullus unquam moveat ventus.* No people underſtand this better than the Chriſtian Monks. He adds that this temple was not only famous for its holineſs but alſo for its riches. *Inclytum divitiis etiam non tantum ſanctitate fuit* (147).

It is no wonder that opinions have been divided with reſpect to the founder of this temple, and the occaſion of its foundation; for all nations are prompted to invent a thouſand pretty particulars on thoſe ſubjects. See Servius (148) who relates, among other opinions, that King Lacinius built it in honour of Juno, becauſe ſhe hated Hercules whom he had refuſed to entertain in his palace. But if we ought not to wonder at the variations in this reſpect, we nevertheleſs cannot but wonder that authors ſhould not be agreed concerning the ſituation of this edifice. Livy fixes it at ſix miles diſtance from Crotona. *Sex millia aberat ab urbe* (149) *nobile templum ipſa urbe nobilius, Laciniæ Junonis ſanctum omnibus circa populis* (150). i. e. " At ſix miles diſtance from the city, was a noble " temple erected to Juno Lacinia, which boaſted " greater magnificence than the city itſelf, and was " held as ſacred among all the people." But Valerius Maximus fixes it at Locri, and this is not the only point in which he differs from Livy. Here follow his words: *Q. Fulvius Flaccus impune non tulit quod in cenſura tegulas marmoreas ex Junonis Laciniæ templo in ædem Fortunæ Equeſtris, quam Romæ faciebat, tranſtulit. Negatur enim, poſt hoc factum, mente conſtitiſſe: quin etiam per ſummam ægritudinem animi expiravit, cum ex duobus filiis in Illyrico militantibus, alterum deceſſiſſe, alterum graviter audiſſet affectum. Cujus caſu motus ſenatus tegulas illico Locros reportandas curavit: decretique circumſpectiſſima ſanctione impium opus cenſoris retexuit* (151). i. e. " Q. Fulvius " Flaccus, who during his Cenſorſhip had carried " away the marble tiles belonging to the temple of " Juno Lacinia, and put them in that of Fortuna " Equeſtris, erected by him in Rome, ſuffered greatly " on that account; for it is ſaid that he was for ever " diſordered

(130) Dion. Hal. lib. 2. cap. 52.

(131) *Overſeer of the ſiſters, ſays* Dionyſ. Halicarn. *but ſhe is ſurnamed* Sororia *in* Feſtus, *quem vide* pag. m. 262. *Voce* Sororium tigillum.

(132) Idem, Dionyſ. lib. 3. cap. 28.

(133) *See* Du Boulay, *Thréſor des Antiquitez Romaines*, pag. 149.

(134) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 12. ver. 838.

(135) Cicer. *Orat. pro Muræn. ſub fin.*

(136) Liv. lib. 8. cap. 14.

(137) Appian. lib. 6. *de Bello Civil.* pag. m. 399.

(138) Ælian. *Hiſt. Animal.* lib. 11. cap. 16.

(139) Cicero, *de Natur. Deor.* lib. 1. cap. 29.

(*) Lud. Nonnius, *in Goltzii Græc.*

(140) *Hiſt. Animal.* lib. 11. cap. 16. *See alſo* Propert. Eleg. 8. lib. 4.

(141) See the following column citation (152).

(142) Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 1.

(143) Cicero, *de Divinat.* folio m. 307. *D.* See the article SILENUS.

(144) Plin. lib. 2. cap. 107 Val. Maxim lib. 1. cap 8. *in Exempl. extern.* num 18. ſays the ſame thing. See Livy below.

(145) Servius, *in Æn.* lib. 3. ver. 552.

(146) Liv. lib. 24. cap. 3.

(147) Idem, ibid. *See alſo* Strabo, lib. 6. pag. m. 180.

(148) Servius, *in Æneid.* lib. 3. ver. 552.

(149) In Thyſius's *Valerius Maximus*, pag. 27. Livy is made to ſay, *In urbe nobile templum, ipſa urbe erat nobilius.*

(150) Livius, lib. 24. cap. 3.

(151) Valer. Maxim. lib. 1. cap. 1. num. 20.

used in it as the Argives had consecrated to her worship. This we are told by Dionysius Halicarnasseus in the twenty first chapter of his first book.

I should be glad to know, whether any of the Sages among the Heathens took notice of a circumstance, which methinks occurs very naturally, viz. that no one participated less of a happy life, a state that is very essential to the Divine Nature (*n*), than the greatest of all the Goddesses. It is scarce possible to figure to one's self a more wretched state than that of Juno. I do not infer this from the nature of her employments, how laborious and disagreeable soever they might be [Z]; and though they have so

(*n*) *Quæ nobis natura informationem Deorum ipsorum dedit, eadem insculpsit in mentibus ut eos æternos & beatos haberemus.* Cicero, *de Nat. Deorum*, lib. 1. cap. 17. *See also* Aristot. *de Repub.* lib. 7. cap. 1. pag. m. 321, E. *See also* rem. [N] of the article SPINOZA, num. 5.

disordered in his senses after this action; nay, that extreme sorrow killed him, when news was brought that, of two sons who served in the wars at Illyricum, the one was dead, and the other very sick. The Senate being struck with this action caused the tiles to be carried back immediately to Locri; and, by the most circumspect sanction of a decree, took down the Censor's impious work." I have followed the relation above with regard to the motive which prompted the Senate to restore the tiles; but I reserved to my self the right of rectifying particulars, as occasion might require, from the account which Livy gives. The reader therefore is to know, that this grave Historian observes that Fulvius Flaccus the Censor used his utmost endeavours, in order that the temple which he was building might not be inferior to any temple in Rome, with regard to magnificence and grandeur. He imagined that a marble roof would greatly heighten the splendor of this edifice, and therefore he half uncovered the temple of Juno *Lacinia*. *Profectus in Brutios, ædem Junonis Laciniæ ad partem dimidiam detegit, id satis fore ratus ad tegendum quod ædificaretur* (152). This was enough for his purpose. Having removed those marble tiles to Rome, he was far from blabbing whence he had taken them; however, it was publickly known, which occasioned such murmurings, that the Consuls were forced to consult the Senate on that affair. The Senate then sent for Flaccus; and having suffered him to be some time exposed to the most bitter taunts of every kind, they made an unanimous resolution, that the tiles should be carried back to Juno's temple; and that the Goddess should be appeased by those things which the ceremonies prescribed. Livy's words have inchanted me to such a degree, that I fancy they will be very agreeable to most of my readers, the expressions being charming, and the thoughts very elevated. *Postquam censor rediit, tegulæ expositæ de navibus ad templum portabantur: quanquam unde essent silebatur, non tamen celari potuit. Fremitus igitur in curia ortus est: ex omnibus partibus postulabatur, ut consules eam rem ad senatum referrent. Ut verò accersitus in curiam censor venit, multo infestius singuli universique præsentem lacerare*: Templum augustissimum regionis ejus, quod non Pyrrhus, non Annibal violassent, violare parum habuisse, nisi detexisset fœde ac prope diruisset. Detractum culmen templo, nudatum tectum patere imbribus putrefaciendum. Censorem moribus regendis creatum, cui sarta tecta exigere sacris publicis & loca tuenda more majorum traditum esset; eum per sociorum urbes diruentem templa, nudantemque tecta ædium sacrarum vagari, & quod, si in privatis sociorum ædificiis faceret, indignum videri posset, id Deûm immortalium templa demolientem facere, & obstringere religione populum Romanum, ruinis templorum templa ædificantem: tanquam non iidem ubique Dii immortales sint, sed spoliis aliorum alii colendi exornandique. *Quum, priusquam referretur, appareret quid sentirent Patres: relatione facta in unam omnes sententiam ierunt, ut hæ tegulæ reportandæ in templum locarentur, piacularia*que *Junoni fierent* (153). i. e.

(152) Tit. Liv. lib. 42. cap. 3. It was this made me say, above, after Cluverius, *Ital. Antiquæ*, lib. 4. cap. 15. that the temple of Juno *Lacinia* was twice as spacious as the greatest temple in Rome.

(153) Livius, ibid.

"After the Censor's return, the tiles were carried "from the ships into the temple; and though endeavours were used to conceal the place whence they "came, yet this could not be done. Upon this a "murmur broke out in the Senate; all insisting to "have the Consuls lay that affair before the Senate. "But when the Censor, upon his being summoned, "came in, all the assembly attacked him with still "greater violence: *Was it not*, said these, *sufficient, "that he did not scruple to violate the most august temple in all that country, which Pyrrhus as well as "Hannibal had spared; but he must shamefully uncover it, and almost pull it down; that when the roof "was taken from the temple, it was exposed to the inclemency of the weather: that a Censor, elected in "order to superintend the morals of the people; and to "whom, pursuant to the custom of our ancestors, the "care of repairing places devoted to public worship is "committed; this Censor, I say, marched up and down "the cities of the allies, uncovering and beating down "their temples; and behaving with that indignity towards the temples of the immortal Gods, which, if done "to the private houses of our allies, would be thought "shameful: that he had laid a burthen on the consciences of the Romans, raising temples with the ruin of temples; as if the immortal Deities were not the same in all "places, but that some were to be adorned and embellished with the spoils of others.* The opinion of the "Fathers being given before the question was put, "they all unanimously declared, that the tiles in "question should be carried back to the temple, and "offerings made to Juno, in order to appease that "Goddess." The decree made by the Senate was not executed in all respects; for those persons who were commanded to see the roof repaired, declared, that no workman had been able to fix the tiles again in their places, and therefore they had been left in the court of the temple. *Quæ ad religionem pertinent cum cura facta: tegulas relictas in area templi, quia reponendarum nemo artifex inire rationem potuerit, redemptores nuntiarunt* (154). Flaccus did not leave off building; he compleated, consecrated it, and exhibited the Ludi Scenici for four days, and the Circensian Games for one day. *Fulvius ædem Fortunæ equestris, quam Proconsul in Hispania dimicans cum Celtiberorum legionibus voverat, annos sex postquam voverat, dedicavit, & scenicos ludos per quatriduum, unum diem in circo fecit* (155). Here then is a notable difference between Livy and Valerius Maximus, and which shews that the latter of these two authors has done great injury to the Roman Senate; he supposes that they did not think of repairing the damage, till after they had seen the grievous punishment which heaven had inflicted on Flaccus the Censor. But Livy informs us, that the Senate was prompted to this action of piety and justice, from the bare consideration of the incident, and without having seen any traces of the wrath of heaven. He does not deny the fatal end of this Censor, and even represents it more fatal than Valerius Maximus has done; for he says that Fulvius Flaccus hanged himself; and adds, that it was a saying among the common people, that Juno had deprived him of his senses. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus pontifex, qui priore anno fuerat censor . . . . . fœda morte periit. Ex duobus filiis ejus qui tum in Illyrico militabant, nunciatum alterum decessisse, alterum gravi & periculoso morbo ægrum esse. Obruit animum simul luctus, metusque: mane ingressi cubiculum servi, laqueo dependentem invenere. Erat opinio, post censuram minus compotem fuisse sui: vulgo Junonis Laciniæ iram ob spoliatum templum alienasse mentem ferebant* (156). The incident with respect to the taking away the marble tiles from the temple of Juno, is fixed to the year of Rome 579.

(154) Idem, ibid.

(155) Idem, ibid. cap. 12.

(156) Idem, ibid. cap. 28.

[Z] *The nature of her employments, how laborious and disagreeable soever they might be.*] She superintended marriages, and the consequences of that State. See the Commentators on Virgil on the following words:

Mactant lectas de more bidentes,
Legiferæ Cereri, Phœboque patrique Lyæo:
Junoni ante omnes, cui VINCLA JUGALIA CURÆ (157).

(157) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 4. ver. 57.

"A chosen ewe of two years old they pay
"To Ceres, Bacchus, and the God of day;

"Preferring

ſo juſtly given occaſion for turning the theological ſyſtem of the Heathens into ridicule [*AA*]; but I infer it from the neceſſity ſhe was under of perplexing and infeſting her

" Preferring Juno's power; for Juno ties
" The nuptial knot, and makes the marriage joys."
DRYDEN.

They mention a hundred ſuch paſſages, and ſpeak of the epithets *pronuba*, *jugalis*, ζυγία, γαμηλία, παράνυμφος, &c. which were appropriated to the conſort of Jupiter, becauſe ſhe preſided over matrimonial contracts. See the following remark. This office or employment required great care and aſſiduity; there were a numberleſs multitude of things to do, and it was exceedingly difficult to diſcharge it with honour. Had ſhe had no other buſineſs but to join people together in wedlock, the difficulties would not have been ſo conſiderable; the diſpoſition of the parties and the inclination which nature inſpires, might have ſaved the ſuperintendant-general much trouble; but a Goddeſs of the firſt rank was prompted from the motives of her honour and glory, to take care that people ſhould marry happily; I mean that conditions and tempers ſhould be ſo matched as to form an indiſſoluble bond of friendſhip and concord; and hence all marriages that were ill ſuited and unhappy, muſt neceſſarily give her uneaſineſs; they being as ſo many blots to her reputation, and ſo many juſt occaſions of reproaching her, that the care which had been taken to invoke her, and to honour her on the nuptial day, was all loſt labour. All thoſe who ſhould be inclined to ſlander her, had a fine handle; for in ſhort, either Juno uſed her utmoſt endeavours to procure happy marriages, or ſhe did not. If the former, people had reaſon to conclude, that ſhe was very miſerable, in having an employment wherein ſhe exhauſted all the efforts of her ſtrength and induſtry, and yet could not help being unſucceſsful on a thouſand occaſions. The numberleſs experiments, wherein the unſucceſsfulneſs of her endeavours appeared, was a proof, either that the ſubject ſhe had to work upon was very difficult, or that her power was greatly limited. In the firſt caſe, her ill fortune, or the deplorable rigour of her fate, or her imprudence were manifeſt; for, if ſhe was not allowed to reſign an imployment, wherein, tho' ſhe uſed her utmoſt endeavours, ſhe yet could not help being unſucceſsful on a thouſand occaſions, her fate merited compaſſion. But on the other ſide, if ſhe were allowed to reſign her office, and yet ſhe was reſolutely determined to keep it, her judgment and prudence might juſtly be called in queſtion (158); and ſhe continued unjuſtly in an office, that was above her abilities, and which ſhe diſcharged to her diſhonour. It would have been a trifling excuſe for her to ſay, that her good intentions were traverſed by the whim and caprice of another Goddeſs.

(158) *Metiri ſe quemque ſuo modulo ac pede verum eſt.* Horat. *Epiſt.* 7. lib. 1. ver. *ult.*

Sic viſum Veneri, cui placet impares
Formas, atque animos ſub juga ahenea
Sævo mittere cum joco (159).

(159) Horat Od. 33. lib. 1.

" Thus Venus ſports, the rich, the baſe,
" Unlike in fortune, and in face,
" To diſagreeing love provokes;
" When cruelly jocoſe,
" She ties the fatal nooſe,
" And binds unequals to the brazen yokes.
CREECH.

This would have been to acknowledge the limitation and dependence of her power; a confeſſion that would have been inexpreſſibly mortifying, with regard to a Goddeſs of ſo haughty a diſpoſition as Juno. This is what might be ſaid upon the ſuppoſition that ſhe diſcharged the duties of her office to the beſt of her power; but if it had been ſuppoſed that ſhe could have acquitted herſelf better in it, ſhe would have been thought guilty of extreme negligence or malice; and conſequently as very unworthy of the honours that were paid her, and the employment with which ſhe was inveſted. Such are the reflexions which the heathens ought to have made naturally. Now the reſult of theſe ideas is, to judge that her condition was unhappy, either by reaſon of the great pains her employment required, or becauſe of the ill ſucceſs it was attended with. Her rank and her ſex made her extremely affected with contempt and diſgrace; and it might naturally be ſuppoſed that ſhe had ſenſe enough not to be ignorant of what things might be cenſured in her adminiſtration; and to imagine that the reſt of the Gods blamed her for it (160); and that if they had the complaiſance not to do it in her preſence, or not to inform her of the diſadvantageous things which were ſaid of her, they nevertheleſs aſperſed her behind her back, or at leaſt thought diſadvantageouſly of her. This was enough to afflict a captious, haughty, ambitious perſon; and 'tis a ſufficient mortification to ſuch a one, to be ſenſible that her faults are known to the world.

(160) The Heathens imagined that the Deities were ſuſceptible of jealouſies, quarrels, diviſions and ſuch like irregularities.

All the reflexions abovementioned, might be made with regard to Juno, as the Goddeſs who preſided over child-births. How troubleſome muſt that office be! 'twas the way not to enjoy a moment's reſt, and to be obliged to labour in a thouſand places at the ſame time. This employment is obnoxious to many unpleaſing accidents. In ſpite of all the art of the ableſt ſurgeons, yet many children who, at their coming into the world, lie croſſwiſe, ſome one way and ſome another, loſe their lives with their mothers. Theſe misfortunes were ſo many ſubjects of reproach for the cenſurers of Juno, who had been fruitleſsly invoked under particular and ſpecific names, according to the diverſity of the caſes (161). I am ſenſible it may be aſſerted with great probability, that we muſt not reduce to Juno ſingly, but variouſly named, all the Deities who preſide over marriages, childbirths &c; but on the other ſide it is very probable, that thoſe Deities ought to be conſidered as ſo many Subſtitutes or Deputies of the Superintendant-General; whence it follows that the diſorders and misfortunes might very juſtly be imputed to the Goddeſs Juno, in like manner as the male-adminiſtration of the Governours of provinces is aſcribed to a Prince when he does not apply a remedy to it. Beſides, Juno's having ſo many Subſtitutes ſhews, that her employment was thought too laborious. Now thoſe ſeveral ideas or reflexions include ſuch a judgment as is diſadvantageous to her. We muſt add to all this, that the Goddeſs was diveſted of her two moſt glorious employments; for the care of reconciling married perſons was committed to another Deity *Viriplaca* (162) by name; and the care of the converſion of wives, whoſe unchaſte conduct had gained them the ill-will of their husbands, was committed to Venus *Verticordia* (163). Now was it not a ſignal affront to Juno, to diveſt her in this manner of part of her ſuperintendance over marriage?

(161) See the remark [*H*].

(162) *See* Valerius Maximus, lib. 2. cap. 1. num. 6. pag. m. 135.

(163) *See* Ovid, Book 4. of *Faſti* pag. m. 74.

[*AA*] ... *and though they have ſo juſtly given occaſion for turning the theological ſyſtem of the heathens into ridicule.*] The ſurnames of *Pronuba*, *Jugalis*, &c, which the reader may have ſeen above (164), were not the only ones which were peculiar to Juno, as the Goddeſs who preſided over marriages: ſhe alſo had particular ſurnames, grounded on her *preſiding over the behaviour and conduct of brides, over their huſband's houſe... and over the anointing which the bride made on the door-poſts of her huſband's houſe... and becauſe ſhe aſſiſted the bridegroom in looſing the virgin zone* (165). The reader will find theſe ſurnames in the following Latin paſſage, extracted from a prayer offered up to Juno (166): *Interducam*, or *Iterducam*, *& Domiducam*, *Unxiam*, *Cinctiam* (167) *mortales puellæ debent in nuptias convocare, ut earum & itinera protegas, & in optatas domos ducas, & cum poſtes ungent, fauſtum omen affigas, & cingulum ponentes in thalamis non relinquas.* It was not expected that ſhe ſhould ſtop at the door of the nuptial chamber; her aſſiſtance was likewiſe deſired in the nuptial bed, ſhe entring it under the title of *Dea mater Prema*, and of *Dea Pertunda*, accompanied with *Deus pater Subigus*. It is upon this that St. Auſtin has ridiculed heatheniſm; and as it was ſcarce poſſible to employ only grave expreſſions on ſuch a ſubject, he has ſhewed the impertinence of it after a pretty free as well as gay manner. I ſhould expoſe myſelf to the cenſure of all thoſe who ſet up for ſcrupulous judges of ſtyle, and of all readers of a ſerious caſt of mind, ſhould I tranſlate exactly into French the words of that father, and for that reaſon I ſhall give them in Latin (168). *Cum mas & fœmina conjunguntur,*

(164) At the beginning of the remark [*Z*].

(165) Du Boulay, *Thréſor des Antiquitez Romaines*, pag. 149, 150.

(166) Mart. Capell. *de Nuptiis Philologiæ*, lib. 2. pag. m. 37, 38.

(167) Here follows a paſſage of Feſtus Pompeius, pag. 35. *Cinxiæ Junonis nomen ſanctum habebatur in nuptiis, quod initio conjugii ſolutio erat cinguli quo nova nupta erat cincta.*

(168) Auguſtin. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 6. cap. 9. pag. m. 599.

her husband's mistresses and bastards, merely to sooth the jealousy with which she was tortured. She was as strongly affected with this passion as could be expected from her haughty and imperious humour, which her characters of sister and wife to the greatest of all the Gods inspired. This sensibility made her tortures less supportable, and prompted her to hurry over land and sea, to procure the pleasure that arises from revenge. She did not omit any thing to satiate it, and was restless; but she never had the satisfaction of a complete and perfect success [*BB*], and she was for ever obliged to begin

junguntur, adhibetur deus Jugatinus. Sit hoc ferendum. Sed domum est ducenda, quæ nubit, adhibetur deus Domiducus. Ut maneat cum viro, additur dea Manturna. Quid ultra quæritur? Parcatur humanæ verecundiæ: peragat cætera concupiscentia carnis & sanguinis procurato secreto pudoris. Quid impletur cubiculum turba numinum: quando & paranymphi inde discedunt? Et ad hoc impletur, non ut eorum præsentia cogitata major sit cura pudicitiæ, sed ut fœminæ sexu infirmæ, novitate pavidæ, illis cooperantibus sine ulla difficultate virginitas auferatur. Adest enim dea Virginensis, & deus pater Subigus, & dea mater Prema, & dea Pertunda, & Venus, & Priapus. Quid est hoc? Si omnino laborantem in illo opere virum ab diis adjuvari oportebat: non sufficiebat aliquis unus, aut aliqua una. Nunquid Venus sola parum esset, quæ ob hoc etiam dicitur nuncupata, quod sine ejus vi fœmina virgo esse non desinat? Si ulla est frons in hominibus, quæ non est in numinibus? Nonne cum credunt conjugati tot deos utriusque sexus præsentes, & huic operi instantes, ita pudore afficiuntur, ut & ille minus moveatur, & illa plus reluctetur? Et certe si adest Virginensis dea, ut virgini zona solvatur: si adest deus Subigus, ut viro subigatur; si adest dea Prema, ut subacta ne se commoveat, prematur, dea Pertunda ibi quid facit? Erubescat, eat foras, agat aliquid & maritus. Valde inhonestum est, ut quod vocatur illa, impleat quisquam nisi ille. Sed forte ideo toleratur, quia deæ dicitur esse, non deus. Nam si masculus crederetur, & Pertundus vocaretur, majus contra eum pro uxoris pudicitiæ pesceret maritus auxilium, quam Fœta contra Silvanum (169). *Sed quid hoc dicam, cum ibi sit & Priapus nimis masculus, super cujus immanissimum & turpissimum fascinum sedere nova nupta jubebatur more honestissimo & religiosissimo matronarum?* These objections are prodigiously strong; and I do not see how it would be possible for the ablest apologists for the heathen religion to evade them well. The censure, which St. Austin grounds on the unnecessary multiplication of Deities, was alone sufficient to confound them. Was it not the utmost diffidence of human strength to imagine that Venus stood in need of the succour of three or four other Deities? We only conceive that an apologist might have answered, that St. Austin was in the wrong to object, as an useless circumstance, and which left nothing for the husband to do, the joyning of the Goddesses *Pertunda*, and *mater Prema*; for according to this detestable system of theology, the one was not less or more necessary than the other, and neither of them excluded the efforts of the bride and bridegroom. There therefore was some little inaccuracy in this part of St. Austin's objections. Perhaps the common answer of the heathens at that time was to say, that the multiplication objected to, was only a multiplication of the names of the same Deity. But this would have been a poor answer; the books of the heathens themselves suggesting the refutation of it.

(169) St. Austin had observed just before, that some Deities were appointed to look after lying-in women, in order that the God Sylvanus might not come and torment them. *Mulieri fœtæ post partum tres Deos custodes commemorat* (Varro) *adhiberi, ne Sylvanus Deus per noctem ingrediatur & vexet.*

It may be observed transiently that those Philosophers who undertook to answer the Christian Doctors, had a very hard task. They were punished for the folly of others. The antient Priests had committed the fault, by ridiculously transplanting the vile fictions of the Poets into the public worship; and the Philosophers were obliged many ages after, to bear all the ignominy of these fopperies; and to torture their brains day and night, to parry thrusts that pierced them through. If those who invented so ridiculous a worship, had been attacked by as dextrous and powerful adversaries as St. Austin, they would have been more circumspect, and not have given such a loose to their impostures; and this is one disadvantage that results from the unity of religion. It must be owned that the diversity of religions has also its inconveniences, and even such as may be very justly dreaded; but then it hinders depravity and corruption from making a certain progress, and obliges the members of the several religions to stand in awe of one another.

[*BB*] *Her jealousy ... prompted her to hurry over land and sea, to procure the pleasure that arises from revenge ... but she never had the satisfaction of a compleat and perfect success.*] Consider the journey she took from heaven to earth, the instant she suspected that a cloud which she spied, might serve as a veil under which her faithless husband was clasped in the embraces of some damsel. Juno was not mistaken, Jupiter being at that time with Io. He transformed her into a heifer, to prevent his wife from catching him in the act. Juno requested to have this heifer, and had it watched by Argus; and afterwards tormented her with a fury which made her run up and down to every part of the earth; and at last was forced to let Io resume her first shape, and become the Goddess Isis (170). Consider also the supplications which Juno went and made to Tethys and Oceanus, after she had spied the same Calisto among the stars which she had changed into a bear. She had treated this mistress of Jupiter in a most outrageous manner; had taken her by the hair of her head, and thrown her upon the ground.

(170) *See* Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 2.

...Arreptam prensis a fronte capillis,
Stravit humi pronam (171).

(171) Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 2. ver. 477.

" ... Her hand within her hair she wound,
" Swung her to earth, and dragg'd her on the
" ground."

ADDISON.

But let us hear her doleful lamentations. Nothing can be more dismal. She is afraid of being hereafter the butt for all affronts, since the efforts she employs to satiate her vengeance, terminate only in the glory of her enemies.

Est vero, cur quis Junonem lædere nolit,
Offensamque premat, quæ prosum sola nocendo?
O ego quantum egi! quam vasta potentia nostra est?
Esse hominem vetui; facta est Dea: sic ego pœnas
Sontibus impono; sic est mea magna potestas (172).

" And who shall now on Juno's altars wait,
" When those she hates grow greater by her hate?
" I on the nymph a brutal form impressed,
" Jove to a Goddess has transformed the beast.
" This, this was all my weak revenge cou'd do &c.

(172) Idem, ibid. ver. 519.

ADDISON.

Juno was once in such extreme grief, because she could not satiate her vengeance, that she took a journey to the lowest abysses of hell, to request succour from the three furies.

Nil poterit Juno, nisi inultos flere dolores?
Idque mihi satis est? Hæc una potentia nostra est (173)?

(173) Idem, lib. 4. ver. 426.

" Yet shall the wife of Jove find no relief,
" Shall she, still unreveng'd, disclose her grief?
" Have I the mighty freedom to complain?
" Is that my power? Is that to ease my pain."

EUSDEN.

Sustinet ire illuc, cœlesti sede relicta,
(Tantum odiis iræque dabat) Saturnia Juno.
Quo simul intravit, sacroque a corpore pressum
Intremuit limen; tria Cerberus extulit ora,
Et tres latratus simul edidit. Illa sorores
Nocte vocat genitas, grave & implacabile numen (174).

(174) Ibid. ver. 447.

" The Queen of Heav'n, to gratify her hate,
" And sooth immortal wrath, forgets her state.
" Down from the realms of day, to realms of night,
" The Goddess swift precipitates her flight.

" At

begin anew. We muſt conſider as the leaſt of her misfortunes with which her life was checquered, the misfortune ſhe had to loſe her cauſe in a diſpute for the prize of beauty;

" At Hell arriv'd, the noiſe Hell's porter heard,
" Th' enormous dog his tripple head uprear'd:
" Thrice from three griſly throats he howl'd pro-
" found,
" Then ſuppliant couch'd, and ſtretch'd along the
" ground.
" The trembling threſhold, which Saturnia preſt,
" The weight of ſuch Divinity confeſt."

EUSDEN.

If ever ſhe had reaſon to be ſatisfied, it was when ſhe perſecuted the nymph Thalia (175) whom Jupiter had got with child. The only way by which this nymph could poſſibly eſcape, was, to be ſwallowed up in the bowels of the earth; but when her reckoning was out, the two children ſhe went with ſprung forth nevertheleſs, and became afterwards two celebrated deities (176) to whom extraordinary veneration was paid (177); and thus Juno's joy was very ſhortlived. She diſcovered ſo much obſtinacy in perſecuting Hercules, that Porphyrius has compared her to ſuch of the moſt wicked devils, who perſecute perſons of virtue and probity. Τὸς γὰρ Δαίμονας διαγράφων τῷ λόγῳ (ὁ Πορφύριος) λέγει που, τὸς φαυλοτάτους Δαίμονας τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι λόχας καὶ ἐνέδρας καθίζειν, καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καθάπερ ἡ Ἥρα τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ. *Dæmones enim oratione deſcribens* (Porphyrius) *alicubi ait: peſſimos Dæmonas bonis viris inſidias & pericula tendere, exque eos inſidiis aggredi, ut Juno ſcilicet Baccho atque Herculi* (178). But what did ſhe gain by this? Nothing except toil, ignominy and confuſion. She complained of this in the theatres, and in ſuch a manner as might have moved the moſt flinty hearts. Read the following verſes of Seneca; he therein declares that ſhe baniſhes herſelf from heaven, ſince it is filled with nothing but her huſband's whores and baſtards. She expects to ſee Hercules aſcend thither, whom ſhe had ſo often attempted to deſtroy, and who by that means had made himſelf immortal.

(175) Others call her *Ætna*.

(176) They were called *Palici*.

(177) *See* Servius in *Æneid.* lib. 9. ver. 585. Lutatius *in Statium*, Theb. lib. 12. ver. 157. Macrob. Saturn. lib. 5. cap. 19.

(178) Æneas Gazæus *in Theophr.* pag. m. 43.

Soror Tonantis (hoc enim ſolum mihi
Nomen relictum eſt) ſemper-alienum Jovem,
Ac templa ſummi vidua deſerui ætheris;
Locumque, cælo pulſa, pellicibus dedi.
Tellus colenda eſt: pellices cælum tenent (179).
- - - -
- - - -
Non ſic abibunt odia, vivaces aget
Violentus iras animus, & ſævus dolor
Æterna bella pace ſublata geret.
Quid bella? quidquid horridum tellus creat
Inimica; quicquid pontus aut aer tulit
Terribile, dirum, peſtilens, atrox, ferum;
Fractum atque domitum eſt, ſuperat, & creſcit malis;
Iraque noſtra fruitur: in laudes ſuas
Mea vertit odia, dum nimis ſæva impero,
Patrem probavi: gloriæ feci locum (180).

(179) Senec. *in Hercule Furente*, ver. 1.

(180) Idem, ibid. ver. 27.

" The Thunderer's ſiſter (that's the only name
" Now left to me) obnoxious ſtill to Jove;
" From Heav'n repuls'd, I fly its widow'd temples;
" Now leave to harlots my late glorious throne,
" And go to earth, ſince ſtrumpets rule the ſkies.
- - - - - -
- - - - - -
" My hatred ſhall not ceaſe, but rouzing all
" My fury, and inſpired by deadly grief,
" I'll wage eternal war ... You aſk what war?
" Whatever is by air, by ſea or earth
" Created fierce, wild, peſtilent or horrid,
" Is broken, conquer'd, and quite cruſh'd by Jove.
" My anger he enjoys; my keen reſentment
" He turns to fame, and my imperious ſway
" Adds luſtre to his glory."

The ſatisfaction of ſeeing the ruin of Troy was a very inconſiderable conſolation for the torments ſhe had ſuffered during the long reſiſtance made by the Trojans; and ſhe ſoon was forced to toil anew in order to perſecute Æneas, and prevent his landing in Italy. She exerted her utmoſt endeavours on that occaſion; ſhe went to Æolus to requeſt a tempeſt from him; ſhe cajoled him, and behaved with great humility before him (181). Another time ſhe placed herſelf on a very cold cloud (182), and expoſed herſelf to the inclemencies of the weather, whilſt a battle was fighting between the party ſhe protected and the party ſhe hated. But all this was loſt labour. Read what deſpair extorted from her, before ſhe had recourſe to Æolus.

(181) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 1.

(182) *Qua ſpe gelidis in nubibus hæres?* Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 12. ver. 796. *Nec tu me aëria ſolam nunc ſede videres Digna indigna pati.* Idem, ib.d. ver. 810.

Cum Juno æternum ſervans ſub pectore vulnus,
Hæc ſecum: Mene incepto deſiſtere victam?
Nec poſſe Italia Teucrorum avertere regem?
Quippe vetor fatis. Pallaſne exurere claſſem
Argivûm, atque ipſos potuit ſubmergere Ponto,
Unius ob noxam, & furias Ajacis Oilei (183)?
- - - - - -
- - - - - -
Aſt ego, quæ Divûm incedo regina, Joviſque
Et ſoror, & conjux, una cum gente tot annos
Bella gero; & quiſquam numen Junonis adoret
Præterea? aut ſupplex aris imponat honorem! (184)?

(183) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 1. ver. 36.

(184) Idem, ibid. ver. 46.

" When labouring ſtill with endleſs diſcontent,
" The Queen of Heav'n did thus her fury vent.
" Then am I vanquiſh'd, muſt I yield, ſaid ſhe,
" And muſt the Trojans reign in Italy?
" So fate will have it, and Jove adds his force;
" Nor can my pow'r divert their happy courſe.
" Could angry Pallas, with revengeful ſpleen,
" The Grecian navy burn, and drown the men?
" She for the fault of one offending foe,
" The bolts of Jove himſelf preſumed to throw:
- - - - - -
- - - - - -
" But I, who walk in awful ſtate above,
" The majeſty of heav'n, the ſiſter-wife of Jove;
" For length of years, my fruitleſs force employ,
" Againſt the thin remains of ruin'd Troy.
" What nations now to Juno's power will pray,
" Or off'rings on my ſlighted altars lay?"

DRYDEN.

This is only a ſpecimen of the hiſtory of the Goddeſs in queſtion, but it is ſufficient to ſhew that the heathens muſt have been perſuaded that ſhe was one of the moſt unhappy Beings in the univerſe; and as fit to furniſh a picture of extreme infelicity as Prometheus on mount Caucaſus, Siſyphus, Ixion, Tantalus, the Danaides, and the reſt of the mighty offenders delivered over to infernal puniſhments. No words can be truer than thoſe of Horace:

Invidus alterius macreſcit rebus opimis.
Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
Majus tormentum (185).

(185) Horat. *Epiſt.* 2. lib. 1. ver. 57.

" The envious pine at th' fatneſs of their friend.
" The fierceſt tyrants never yet cou'd find,
" A greater rack than envy to the mind."

CREECH.

This ſuits principally with the jealouſy that breaks out between huſbands and wives. What muſt it then be when it is joined to the uninterrupted toils occaſioned from a fruitleſs deſire of ſatiating one's vengeance? The being born immortal ſo far from ſoftning the pangs of this ſad condition, ſerves rather to increaſe it; for the hope of death's putting an end to a perſon's ſorrows and uneaſineſſes adminiſters ſome conſolation.

Nec finire licet tantos mihi morte dolores,
Sed nocet eſſe Deum, præcluſaque janua lethi
Æternum noſtros luctus extendit in ævum (186).

(186) Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 1. ver. 661.

" Oh, were I mortal, death might bring relief;
" But now my Godhead but extends my grief;
" Prolongs my woes of which no end I ſee,
" And makes me curſe my immortality?"

DRYDEN.

The pompous title of Queen of Heaven beſtowed on Juno; her ſitting on a ſplendid throne, holding a ſceptre in her hand, and her head crowned with a diadem;

beauty [CC]; for the reſentment ſhe diſcovered on account of the injury ſhe imagined that Paris, the judge in that conteſt, had done her, was very violent, and attended with numberleſs fatigues and afflictions. This doubtleſs was a more pungent wound than that of the three-pointed arrows, which ſhe received from Hercules in the right breaſt (o). It

(o) *See* Homer, *Iliad.* lib. 5 ver. 392, *& ſeq* who ſays that this wound was extremely painful: Τότε κέν οἱ ἔπειτα ἀνήκεστον λαβέειν ἄλγος.

all theſe things are of no ſervice to the inward maladies of the ſoul. Perſons in the moſt exalted ſtations are even more ſenſibly affected with theſe misfortunes. We may at leaſt ſay, that diſcontent is like a fever, which is not ſooner cured on a ſoft bed than on ſtraw.

Nec calidæ citius decedunt corpore febres
Textilibus ſi in picturis, oſtroque rubenti
Jactaris, quam ſi plebeja in veſte cubandu'ſt (187).

(187) Lucret. lib. 2. ver. 34.

" Whoever heard a fever tamer grown
" In cloaths embroider'd o'er, and beds of down,
" Than in coarſe rags?"

CREECH.

Treaſures do not repel either fevers or uneaſineſſes from the mind.

Non domus, & fundus, non æris acervus, & auri
Ægroto Domini deduxit corpore febres,
Non animo curas (188).

(188) Horat. *Epiſt.* 2. lib. 1. ver. 47.

" Nor houſe, nor lands, nor heaps of plate, or
" gold,
" Can cure a fever's heat, or ague's cold;
" Much leſs a mind with grief or care oppreſt, &c.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE.

It may be obſerved, that if the heathens did not make the reflections diſplayed in the preceding and preſent remark, they are quite inexcuſable; for it was not only from the Poets that they were informed of this unhappy life of Juno; theſe ſtories were taken in as part of the public worſhip, and there were monuments of them in the temples; the conſecrated ſtatues, pictures of devotion, thoſe objects which are called the books of the ignorant, informed every one of the jealouſy of that Goddeſs &c.

[CC] *The misfortune ſhe had to loſe her cauſe, in a diſpute for the prize of beauty.*] Minerva and Venus were her two rivals. It is univerſally known that Jupiter (189) not being willing to ſit as judge in ſo delicate a trial, cauſed theſe three Goddeſſes to be carried on mount Ida, in order to plead their cauſe in that place, and that Paris ſhould decide the controverſy. Juno dreſſed herſelf in the moſt ſplendid manner poſſible, and promiſed Paris mighty things, in caſe he would decree to her the apple, which was to be given to the moſt beautiful of the three Goddeſſes. Both Minerva and Venus dreſſed themſelves to all the advantage in their power, and made the moſt laviſh promiſes to their judge. But the pains they took to trick themſelves up, and make ſpeeches were all loſt; Paris declaring that he would ſee the three competitors naked before he would pronounce ſentence.

(189) *See* Lucian *in Deorum Judicio*, pag. m. 161. tom. 1. Oper.

Car voſtre diſcord giſt a vos formoſitez,
De contempler vos corps, vos naïves beautez.
Prudement diſcerner le choix, l'équipolance,
Laquelle eſt la plus belle en face, & corpulance.
Les Deeſſes alors eurent timidité,
Parce qu'il leur falloit monſtrer leur nudité.
Toutesfois à lombrage un peu ſe retirerent,
En lieu d'une antichambre, ou ſe deſhabillerent
A part l'une de l'autre, ou leurs Nymphes avoient
Qui honorablement en cela les ſervoient.
Quand eurent deffublé eſcoffions & guimples,
Leurs Couronnes tourets, deſtache leurs eſpingles,
Morrion & chappeau, ceintures, fermaillets,
Cheſnes, bagues, carquans, bullettes, bracelets,
Robes, & cotillons, leurs manteaux & cuirace,
Leurs habits pleins d'odeurs, de treſgrande efficace.
Toutesfois retenoient leurs eſcarpins dorez,
Bravement enrichis decoupez & ouvrez,
De peur que l'aigu bout des pointues herbettes
Leurs plantes n'offençaſt fort tendres & douillettes.
Ainſi nues eſtant toutes trois vont marcher
Devant le beau Paris, & droit ſi vont ranger (190).

(190) Chriſtopher Deffrans, Eſq; Lord of la Jalouziere and la Chaſlonniere near Nyort in Poictou, lib. 11. of the *Hiſtoires des Poëtes*, folio 225 *verſo edit. de Nyort* 1595. He here only puts into verſe what Jean le Maire de Belges, *Illuſtrat. de Gaule*, liv. 1. chap. 33. pag. 108. had ſaid in proſe.

" Your mighty diſcord from your beauties ſpring;
" But here reveal your naked charms, and I
" Will then pronounce which fair excells the reſt.
" The Goddeſſes were ſore diſmay'd, to find
" That they muſt all diſplay their naked graces;
" When lo, inſtead of a proud antichamber,
" To ſhady arbourets they trip, and there
" Are ſoon diſrob'd by their attendant nymphs.
" And now the Deities were quite undreſs'd,
" In bright confuſion lay their ſhining crowns,
" Their girdles, ſtomachers, their pins and bracelets,
" Their precious rings, their petticoats and mantles,
" Whence ſcents exhal'd that quite perfum'd the air.
" But wiſely they their gilded ſlippers kept,
" To guard their tender feet from pointed thorns,
" They naked all to lovely Paris move,
" And dart their charms on his admiring eye.

The French Poet who gives us this deſcription, forgot one important circumſtance, viz. that the three Goddeſſes bathed in a fountain. This we are told by Euripides (191), and there are ſome epigrams on that ſubject in the Anthologia (192). Jupiter's wife was therefore forced to ſubmit to very diſagreeable conditions; for, after all, ſhe profeſſed modeſty; ſhe was grave and majeſtic, and knew how to maintain her ſtate; and notwithſtanding all this, ſhe yet was forced to appear ſtark naked before a mortal; and the worſt was, another Goddeſs appeared more beautiful in the eye of the appointed judge, and Venus carried off the golden apple. He did not ſo much as hint, that he ſaw any beauties in the face, ſhape or gait of the three litigants; on the contrary, he had declared, while he ſurveyed them dreſſed, that they appeared equally lovely in his eye. As he therefore gave ſentence againſt Juno, after comparing what their clothes had till then concealed, it was an indication that he diſcovered ſome ſignal imperfections in her. At leaſt this might be ſuſpected, and ſuch a reflection muſt neceſſarily be a cruel mortification to the Goddeſs in queſtion (193), and enough to make her quite frantic. I am ſurprized that Lucian did not exerciſe a little his pointed wit on this ſubject, in his Dialogue on the Judgment of Paris. Conſult the margin (194). Scarron was not ſo diſcreet, he jeſting as follows in his firſt book of Virgil Traveſti.

(191) Eurip. *in Helena*, ver. 682. and in *Andromacha*, ver. 283.

(192) Chap. 19. of book 4. pag. m. 745, 746.

(193) See citation (18) of the article HENRY II.

(194) Lucian. *in Deor. Dial.* pag. 154. tom. 1. did not forget to introduce Juno who ſaid, that the only reaſon why Diana revenged herſelf on Acteon was, her fear leſt he ſhould blab the imperfections he had diſcovered in ſeeing her naked.

Ce que craignant la bonne Dame (195),
Et gardant encor en ſon ame
Le beau jugement de Paris,
Et l'inſupportable mepris,
Qu'en faveur de Venus la belle
Il eût pour Pallas & pour elle;
Outre qu'il avoit revelé,
(Heureux s'il n'euſt jamais parlé)
Qu'elle avoit trop longue mamelle,
Et trop long poil deſſous l'aiſſelle,
Et pour Dame de qualité
Le genoüil un peu trop croté.

(195) i. e. *Juno.*

" The good Lady (Juno) fearing this (*), and retaining deep in her mind, the judgment which Paris had pronounced againſt her; and with what horrid contempt he had treated Pallas and herſelf, for the ſake of Venus the Goddeſs of Beauty; not to mention that he had blabbed (happy if he had never ſpoke) that her bubbies hung down too low; that her arm-pits were too hairy; and that her knee was a little too dirty for a Lady of quality."

(*) i. e. Leſt the Trojans ſhould come and overthrow Carthage.

Here follows another contraſt of this paſſage in Virgil.

" She fearful of this ſad prediction,
" (Which prov'd a true one and no fiction)
" And mindful of her injur'd honour,
" When Paris gave the apple from her, &c.

An

It is related that after her marriage was conſummated, ſhe waſhed herſelf in a ſpring or fountain lying between the Tigris and Euphrates; and that from this incident, the waters of that ſpring diffuſed a moſt agreeable odour, which perfumed the air round about it [*DD*]. Juno was a beautiful Goddeſs, on which account it may be ſaid, that the adulterous

An author who flouriſhed in the beginning of the 16th century, declares that Juno did not ſhew herſelf quite naked. She and Minerva, ſays he (196), *being overcome with ſhame, and not willing to do it*, did not anſwer a word when it was ſignified to them, that they muſt take *the pains to diveſt themſelves of their noble robes, ſince their conteſt related to the compariſon of the beauty of their divine bodies; and in a prudent diſtinction of the choice and preference of their wonderful limbs.* But *Venus, the boldeſt of the three Goddeſſes*, ſaid, *that things were gone ſo far there was no going back*, and thereupon began to unlooſe her girdle. " Juno ſeeing " this, ſpoke thus: Lady Venus, we do not intend " to refuſe this, for fear of being overcome: but I " think it indecent for immortal and chaſte Goddeſſes; " even for Pallas who is a virgin, and me who am " the wife of a King and Emperor, to appear naked " before any mortal man, how little you, who fre- " quent male company with ſo little ſcruple, may " think of it. However, ſince this is a thing that " muſt be done, we will not be the laſt . . . . (197). " Queen Juno, being full of the gravity that becomes " matrons, and decent modeſty, kept none of her or- " naments on, except that ſhe took a fine crape " handkerchief, long, wide, and extremely thin; all " hemmed with gold and ſilk fringes, with which " one of her nymphs was adorned. And ſhe put it " on her left ſhoulder hanging it ſcarf-wiſe, and tied " in a knot on her right ſide. And becauſe the ends, by " their being ſo light, wantoned ſometimes in the wind " more than ſhe would have them do, as ſhe walked a- " long ſhe held one of her hands on her breaſt (*pis*) (198), " and the other lower." Now I fancy that all this is a meer fiction of the author's invention, Lucian not hinting any thing like it. Be this as it will, Juno diſcovers an extreme reſentment for the horrid affront, which ſhe imagined her Judge had put upon her. This was a wound that continued bleeding a long time, and diſquieted her mind all the remainder of her life.

(196) Jean le Maire de Belges, *Illuſtrat. de Gaule & Singularitez de Troie*, liv. 1. chap. 33. pag. 108. Lyons edit. of 1549, folio.

(197) Idem, ibid. lib. 1. chap. 33. pag. 109.

(198) A metaphorical expreſſion is employed in the French.

Nec dum etiam cauſſæ irarum SÆVIQUE DOLORES
Exciderant animo: manet alta mente repoſtum
Judicium Paridis, ſpretæque injuria formæ (199).

" Beſides long cauſes working in her mind,
" And ſecret ſeeds of envy lay behind,
" Deep graven in her heart the doom remain'd
" Of partial Paris, and her form diſdain'd.
DRYDEN.

(199) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 29, &c. *See alſo* ver. 36. of the ſame book; *Cum Juno* ÆTERNUM *ſervans ſub pectore* VULNUS i. e. " When labour- " ing ſtill, with " endleſs diſcon- " tent, the Queen " of heaven." DRYDEN.

I ſhall obſerve by the way, that Macrobius is miſtaken in one of the differences he has obſerved between Virgil and Homer. His words are as follow: *Nullam commemorationem de judicio Paridis Homerus admittit: idem vates Ganymedem non ut Junonis pelicem a Jove raptum, ſed Jovialium poculorum miniſtrum in cœlum a Diis aſcitum refert, velut* Θεοπρεπῶς. *Virgilius tantam deam, quod cuivis de honeſtis fœminæ deforme eſt, velut ſpecie victam Paride judicante doluiſſe, & propter catamiti pelicatum totam gentem ejus vexaſſe commemorat* (200). It is certain that Homer has mentioned the judgment of Paris, and gives it as the cauſe of the implacable hatred which Juno entertained againſt the Trojans (201): it therefore is not true, as Macrobius aſſerts, that Virgil has departed from Homer with regard to that point. It would be to no purpoſe to ſay, here, that Euripides (202) and Coluthus (203) mention this judgment of Paris.

(200) Macrob. Saturn. lib. 5. cap. 16. pag. m. 407.

(201) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. ult. ver. 25, *& ſeq.*

(202) Eurip. *in Troadib.* ver. 924. and in *Helena*, ver. 23.

(203) Coluthus, *de Raptu Helenæ.*

[*DD*] *She waſhed herſelf in a ſpring or fountain . . . and . . . the waters of that ſpring diſperſed a moſt agreeable odour, which perfumed the air round about it.*] It is Ælian relates this incident. He tells us (204) that this fountain was tranſparent quite to the bottom; and that the inhabitants of the country, as alſo the Syrians, had the tradition abovementioned; and attributed to it the agreeable odour that was diffuſed in the neighbourhood of that place. Ἐς νῦν ὁ χῶρος ἡδείαν ἀναπνεῖ, καὶ πᾶς ὁ αὐλὼν κύκλῳ τούτῳ κίρναται (205). *Unde locus etiamnum ſuavem odorem ſpiret, qui in vicinum etiam aerem circumquaque diſtribuitur.* This ſhews the character of a ſuperſtitious and fabulous caſt of mind united. People are eaſily prompted to derive from ſome celeſtial origin, all the ſingular properties they obſerve in certain places of the world; and as the Heathens ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by a chimerical and ſilly tradition of the amours and marriages of the Gods; they fancied that Juno, deſirous to bathe the day after her nuptials, made choice of a very clear fountain for that purpoſe, and left ſome marks of her preſence there. Obſerve that the Deities, according to Turnebus, were diſcovered by the odours they diffuſed (206).

(204) Ælian. *Hiſt. Animal.* lib. 12. cap. 30.

(205) Idem, ibid.

Omnia finierat: tenues ſeceſſit in auras.
Manſit odor: poſſes ſcire fuiſſe Deam (207).

" She ſpake no more, but vaniſh'd into air;
" The fragrancy ſhe left reveal'd the Goddeſs.

(206) Turneb. ad ver. lib. 30. cap. 39. I am not very well ſatisfied with the two proofs he brings, viz. the paſſages of Virgil and Ovid I here tranſcribe.

This is what Ovid ſays, ſpeaking of Flora; and here follows what Ovid ſays of Venus:

(207) Ovid. lib. 5. *Faſtor.* v. 375.

Dixit, & avertens roſea cervice refulſit,
Ambroſiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem
Spiravere (208).

" Thus having ſaid, ſhe turn'd, and made appear
" Her neck reſulgent, and diſhevel'd hair;
" Which flowing from her ſhoulders, reach'd the
" ground,
" And widely ſpread ambroſial ſcents around.
DRYDEN.

(208) Virgil. *Æncid.* lib. 1. ver. 402.

John le Maire de Belges has followed this opinion, he aſſerting (209), *that all terreſtrial beings kept ſilence, and diſcovered a reſpectful admiration, whilſt the Deities revealed themſelves* (210); *they having already perfumed the circumambient air with their divine, ambroſial odours.* The Heathens would eaſily have perſuaded themſelves that the ſpittle, &c. of the Gods, was roſe-water at leaſt. Balzac (211) obſerves that a Poet (212) *makes Jupiter ſpit ſnow:*

(209) Jean le Maire de Belges, *Illuſtrat. de Gaule*, liv. 1. ch. 33. pag. 109.

(210) i. e. of Juno, Minerva, and Venus, naked before Paris.

Jupiter hibernas cana nive conſpuit Alpes.

and that *another Poet declares that as much nectar flowed from this God, as was ſufficient to form the rivers of the golden age.* Balzac adds that, he who is called in Matthieu's hiſtory the Chryſoſtom of France, did not ſcruple to ſay, in a ſermon he preached before Henry IV, *Sir, though your Majeſty ſhould weep pearls, ſhould ſpit emeralds; though rubies ſhould iſſue at your ſneezing, and diamonds when you blow your noſe, &c.* Now it would not have been a very difficult matter to perſuade the Heathens, that the Gods really did all this. Their children are made to believe, that Urganda, for inſtance, or ſome other fairy, whilſt her head is combing, and aſking, *what is it that falls from my head?* heard with pleaſure the following anſwer, *gold and ſilver.* Moſt people who believed this in their childhood, would entertain that belief all their life-time, were they not undeceived when they come to years of diſcretion; or if they found that theſe things were the common opinion in matters relating to faith. By the way, there are many natural properties, which the traditions of Chriſtians aſcribe to miraculous cauſes, in like manner as the Heathens aſcribed to Juno the fragrancy of the ſpring or fountain abovementioned. Do you ſee, (ſaid a perſon to me one day) that ſmall tract of land where the graſs looks ſo pale. It was that way ſuch a martyr went, when he was led from the priſon to the place of execution. The whole way through which he went retains the footſteps of it ever ſince. The corn, the graſs, in ſhort, every thing ſown there has ſome tincture of it, and is never ſo green as what you ſee to the right and left of it. Few pariſhes are without ſuch a tale. I wiſh ſome travellers would give us an ample collection of them. Theſe

(211) Balzac, *Entret.* 5. ch. 2. pag. m. 88. See in the remark [*HH*] of the article MAHOMET; what is related by the followers of that Prophet, with regard to his ſweat.

(212) Furius.

adulterous amours of Jupiter were the more criminal [*EE*]. It would be meer wrangling to animadvert on Arnobius, who has formed that judgment of it. The ſuperſtition of the Romans roſe to that exceſs, that ſome women honoured Juno, by making as though they combed and dreſſed her, and by holding a looking glaſs to her [*FF*]; but others ſtood in little fear of Juno; for they uſed to go and ſeat themſelves in the Capitol, near her huſband, whoſe miſtreſſes they fancied themſelves to be. Read my laſt remark.

content themſelves with collecting thoſe particulars which relate to great cities; but a collection of what concerns pariſhes in villages would alſo be of value. This recalls to my memory what I heard a judicious man ſay, that his taſte was not like that of the antient father of the church, who wiſhed to have ſeen a triumphial entry into Rome. With regard to myſelf, ſaid the gentleman in queſtion, I had rather have been preſent during ſome months at the converſations of the citizens of Rome, and know the manner in which the women practiſed their devotions, and how they ſpoke of Jupiter and Juno; what was their common diſcourſe on a wedding day, on a day of child-birth, a day of a general proceſſion, a day of *Lectiſternium* &c. with regard to the Gods and Goddeſſes, *Subigus*, or *Subiga*, *Fabulinus*, *Pertunda*, and the reſt. Books do not teach thoſe minute particulars, and nothing but converſation can bring us to the knowledge of them.

[*EE*] *Juno was a beautiful Goddeſs, on which account it may be ſaid, that the adulterous amours of Jupiter were the more criminal.*] In this manner Arnobius argued: *Et quid regi Saturnio matrimoniis fuerat cum alienis rei? Non illi fuerat ſatis Juno, nec ſedare impetum cupiditatum in regina poterat numinum, cum nobilitas eam commendaret tanta, facies, oris dignitas, & ulnarum nivei marmoreique candores* (213)? i. e. "What buſineſs had Jupiter to concern himſelf "with the wives of others? Was not Juno ſufficient "for him; and could he not ſatiate his laſciviouſneſs "with the Queen of the Gods, ſo renowned for her "noble air, her beauty, and ſnowy arm?" A cavilling Sophiſter might attack this argument of Arnobius, and ſay that the beauty of women, at the end of a certain period, loſes all its power with reſpect to their huſbands; things being of ſuch a nature, that uſe makes us to be no longer affected with them, *ab aſſuetis non fit paſſio*. He would maintain, that the following political axiom, that thoſe are the beſt methods for preſerving of dominion and power, which were employed for the acquiring them; *Imperium facile iis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum eſt* (214), is falſe with regard to the empire of beauty; for if beauty atchieves conqueſts, it does not preſerve them; a huſband who fell in love with his wife merely for her outward charms, does not continue to be paſſionately fond of her, becauſe ſhe ſtill preſerves her beauty; cuſtom makes him grow obdurate with reſpect to that kind of charm, and he grows more inſenſible every day: ſome become ſooner ſo, and others later; but at laſt all arrive at it; and the fondneſs which may be, and is often perceived in reality, is not grounded on beauty, but on other qualities. Experience ſhews, that ſuch huſbands as have handſome wives, are not generally thoſe whoſe love for them is ſtrongeſt and moſt laſting. We muſt look elſewhere than in beauty for that charm which firſt unites hearts, and afterwards keeps them united.

(213) Arnobius, lib. 4. pag. m. 141.

(214) Salluſt. *in Præm. Belli Catil.*

Hæc res & jungit, & junctos ſervat amicos (215).

(215) Horat. Sat. 3. lib. 1. ver. 54.

"And this I think will get, and keep a friend.

CREECH.

A Sophiſt might produce ſeveral other obſervations of the ſame kind; but after all, he ought to be looked upon as a caviller; for it is certain that Arnobius's remark is grounded on a kind of common notion. A whole neighbourhood ſhall be much more ſcandalized at the amours of a man who has a handſome wife, than at the intrigues of another whoſe wife is ugly. A people, how numerous ſoever they may be, will unanimouſly be more indulgent to the gallantries of their King, when the Queen is deformed and very loathſome, than if he were married to a Princeſs of a rare and exquiſite beauty. Some one has inſerted in the *Scaligerana* a tale that has ſome relation to this. "Por- "thaiſe a famous Preacher, delivering a ſermon in Poic- "tiers, and having heard of the intrigues of one "Lumeau a Phyſician, who, though he had a pretty "handſome wife, went ſometimes aſtray; pointed him "out one day whimſically enough in the pulpit, "when, after having exclaimed againſt that vice in "general, he deſcended to particulars, and ſaid; We "have even heard with concern, that ſome men are "ſo abandoned as to commit adultery, though they "have wives at home who are ſo agreeable, that for "our parts we ſhould be very well ſatisfied with "them (216)."

(216) *Scaligerana*, pag. m. 192.

[*FF*] *Some woman honoured Juno, by making as tho' they combed and dreſſed her, and by holding a looking-glaſs to her.*] What pity it is that we have not that book in which Seneca condemned that baſe ſuperſtition, and many others of the ſame caſt. St. Auſtin has cited it. *In Capitolium perveni*, ſaid Seneca (217), *pudebit publicatæ dementiæ, quod ſibi vanus furor attribuit officii: alius nomina Deo ſubjicit, alius horas Jovi nunciat, alius lictor eſt, alius unctor, qui vano motu brachiorum imitatur ungentem. Sunt, quæ Junoni ac Minervæ capillos diſponant, longe a templo non tantum a ſimulachro ſtantes, digitos movent ornantium modo. Sunt quæ ſpeculum teneant . . . ſedent quædam in capitolio, quæ ſe Jove amari putant, nec Junonis quidem, ſi credere Poetis velis, iracundiſſimæ reſpectu terrentur.* i. e. "I came "ſaid Seneca, into the capitol; you will bluſh at the "publick madneſs, which is idly practiſed under the "notion of honouring the God: One gives him a "catalogue of names; another informs Jupiter what "hour of the day it is; another is a lictor, another "an anointer, who, flouriſhing his arm, imitates "the action of one that anoints. Some are buſied in "diſpoſing the hair of Juno and Minerva, ſtanding "far, not only from the temple, but likewiſe from the "ſtatue; making a motion with their fingers as tho' "they were adorning the ſtatues. Some hold a look- "glaſs . . . . . Some women are ſeated in the capitol, "imagining that Jupiter is in love with them; nor "are terrified, if the poets may be credited, with the "aſpect of Juno, tho' moſt highly exaſperated." This may be confirmed by a paſſage extracted from a work that is ſtill exſtant: *Deum colit qui novit. Vetemus lintea & ſtrigiles Jovi ferri, & ſpeculum tenere Junoni* (218). i. e. "He worſhips a God who knows him. "I forbid towels and ſcrapers uſed in baths to be car- "ried to Jupiter, and the holding a looking-glaſs to "Juno."

(217) *Seneca contra Superſtitiones, apud* Auguſt. *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 6. cap. 10. pag. m. 605.

(218) Senec. *Epiſt.* 95. pag. m. 399.

JUPITER the greateſt of all the Gods in the heathen ſyſtem, was the ſon of Saturn and Cybele. There is no crime that could be named but he was polluted with it; for beſides his dethroning his own father, his emaſculating, and loading him with chains in the loweſt abyſſes of hell [*A*]; he alſo committed inceſt with his ſiſters, his daughters and

[*A*] *He dethroning his own father, and loading him with chains in the loweſt abyſſes of Hell.*] Saturn, on this occaſion, ſuffered the law of retaliation, he having uſurped the empire of the world which his father Cœlus poſſeſſed (1); but Jupiter was nevertheleſs guilty of a dreadful uſurpation, it not being lawful for one crime to be puniſhed by committing another; and no perſon can clear himſelf by imitating the wicked. It is remarkable

(1) Apollodorus, lib. 1. *init.*

and aunts [*B*], and even endeavoured to raviſh his mother. He debauched a numberleſs multitude of maidens and wives; and uſed to aſſume the ſhape of all kinds of beaſts,

markable that Cœlus was betrayed by his own wife; for it was Terra, the wife of Cœlus, who ſtirred up her children to rebellion (2), and put into the hands of the youngeſt (3) a ſickle, with which he mutilated him. Saturn who perpetrated this was treated ſo exactly in the ſame manner, that Jupiter employed, for the lopping of his Pudenda, the very ſame inſtrument with which he had emaſculated Cœlus (4). It is to be obſerved, that Saturn's party made a pretty long reſiſtance, it not being overpowered till after it had ſuſtained a ten years war (5). Saturn being overcome was loaded with chains, and precipitated into Tartarus, the darkeſt and deepeſt dungeon in Hell; and was as far diſtant from the earth, as the earth is from Heaven. Τόπος δὲ ἔντος ἠρεβώδης ἐστὶν ἐν ᾅδου, τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἔχων διάστημα, ὅσον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ γῆ. *Is locus eſt ad inferos tenebroſiſſimus, qui tantum a terra diſtat, quantum a cœlo terram abeſſe ferunt* (6). The chains were not heavy, they being made of wool (7). He was allowed his liberty for ſome days every year during the *Saturnalia*, a ſeaſon in which ſlaves were permitted to do as they pleaſed (8).

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) It was Saturn.

(4) Natalis Comes, *Mythol.* lib. 2. pag. m. 86.

(5) Apollodorus, lib. 1. *init.*

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) Agathonymus *in Perſide, apud* Natal. Comitem, pag. 85.

(8) Horat. Sat. 7. lib. 2. ver. 4.

. . . . *Age, libertate Decembri,*
Quando ita majores voluerunt, utere.

" Go to, and as our antient laws decree,
" Uſe boldly thy December's liberty,
" Speak fairly what thou wilt.

CREECH.

Some ſay that Saturn eſcaped out of priſon, and withdrew to King Janus in Italy; and others relate that his ſon drove him only from his throne. Virgil is of the latter opinion:

Primus ab ætherio venit Saturnus Olympo
Arma Jovis fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis (9).

(9) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 8. ver. 319.

" Then Saturn came who fled the pow'r of Jove,
" Robb'd of his realms, and baniſh'd from above.

DRYDEN.

But Statius is not, ſince he ſpeaks of the liberty that indulged Saturn but once a year;

Saturnus mihi compede exoluta
Et multo gravidus mero December,
Et ridens jocus, & ſales protervi
Adſint (10).

(10) Statius, *Silva* 6. lib. 1.

" Come hither, Saturn, from thy fetters freed,
" And old December quite o'erpower'd with wine,
" With ſmiling Repartee, and wanton wit.

Add to this paſſage the following words from Arnobius (11): *Numquid parricidii cauſa vinctum eſſe Saturnum, & ablui diebus ſtatis, vinculorum ponderibus & levari.* i. e. " That Saturn was bound in chains on " account of the parricide he had committed; and " was waſhed on certain fixed days, and alſo freed " from his bonds." I forgot to obſerve that after the complete victory which Jupiter's party had gained, Apollo ſung, to his lyre, a poem he had compoſed in honour of the conquerors. Tibullus informs us of this particular, in an Elegy which he addreſſes to Apollo (12).

(11) Lib. 4. pag. m. 143.

(12) It is the 5th of book 2.

Sed nitidus pulcerque veni, nunc indue veſtem
Sepoſitam, longas nunc bene pecte comas,
Qualem te memorant, Saturno rege fugato
Victori laudes concinuiſſe Jovi.

" Do thou accept the offering, and be there,
" Conſeſs'd with laurel foliage round thy hair;
" But with illuſtrious pride attend the ſhow,
" And looſely let thy graceful veſtments flow;
" Array'd as when old Saturn fled above,
" You ſang the victor God, the powerful Jove.

DART.

The beſt allegories that can be found to be ſhadowed under theſe fictions, is to ſay that the antients intimated thereby that ambition extinguiſhes all natural affection, and all the duties of friendſhip and alliances. Natalis Comes who is very fond of allegories ſpeaks as follows (13): *Nulla ſunt enim vel naturæ, vel amicitiæ, vel beneficentiæ ſatis firma vincula, ubi majeſtatis & imperandi furioſum deſiderium invaſerit: illa omnia ſiquidem facillime conculcantur & proſternuntur* (13); and to ſay alſo, that poets and orators are ever ready to declare for that party which is victorious.

(13) Pag. 85.

[B] *He alſo committed inceſt with his ſiſters, his daughters and Aunts.*] He lay with his ſiſter Juno before ſhe was his wife, and afterwards married her. This I have mentioned elſewhere (14). He debauched his other ſiſter Ceres, and had Proſerpine by her. He lay with three of his aunts, viz. Themis, Dione, and Mnemoſyne. From his inceſtuous commerce with the firſt ſprung the *Horæ* and *Parcæ*; by the ſecond he had Venus, and the nine Muſes by the third (15). Seeing one day his mother aſleep, he attempted to lie with her inſidiouſly; but ſhe waking, and making reſiſtance, he employed force; and would in all probability have accompliſhed his abominable deſign, had not the ſtruggles he made to overpower his mother, exhauſted his fire (16). Arnobius makes the following juſt exclamation on this occaſion. *O rerum imaginatio indecora, o habitus fœdus Jovis ad obſcœni certaminis expeditionem parati! Ergone ille rex mundi, cum incautus & properus obreptionis eſſet rejectus à furto in impetum ſe vertit: & quum rapere voluptatem inſidioſa fraude non quivit, vi matrem aggreſſus eſt, & apertiſſime cœpit venerabilem ſubruere caſtitatem? Colluctatus ergo diutiſſime cum invita eſt, victus, fractus, ſuperatuſque, defecit: & quem pietas dijugare ab infando matris non valuit appetitu, effuſa libido dijunxit* (17)? i. e. " O unſeemly " image of things! O foul attitude of Jupiter prepared " for the obſcene engagements! And did this monarch " of the univerſe, when he could not extort the bliſs " by inſidious fraud, attempt to raviſh his mother by " force? He ſtruggled long with the reluctant God- " deſs, and being at laſt defeated was forced to de- " ſiſt; and he whom filial piety could not reſtrain " from impiouſly coveting the embraces of his mother, " was prevented from enjoying her by his paſſion be- " ing extinguiſhed." He obſerves that the heathens took the advantage of theſe vain efforts of Jupiter, they ſaying that he impregnated a ſtone, and that it was delivered of a ſon ten months after. *Et ſane hoc loco frugalitatis magnæ viri, & circa res etiam flagitioſi operis parciores, ne ſancta illa ſeminia fruſtra videantur effuſa, ſilex, inquit, ebibit Jovialis incontinentiæ fœditatem. Quid deinde, quæſo, conſecutum eſt, dicite? In ſinu medio lapidis, atque in illa cotis duritie informatus atque animatus eſt infans, Jovis magni futura progenies, &c* (18). Such a kind of propagation was obſerved with regard to the efforts which Jupiter made to lie with his daughter Venus. This maiden, tho' on other occaſions ſo willing to grant the higheſt favours, did nevertheleſs reſiſt Jupiter with great vigour. I explain this in the margin, by the words (which indeed are a little coarſe) of a modern author (19). Arnobius mentions another attempt in which Jupiter was ſucceſsful; but it is according to the opinion of thoſe who ſaid that Ceres was that God's mother. *Quondam Dieſpiter, inquiunt, cum in Cererem ſuam matrem libidinibus improbis atque inconceſſis cupiditatibus æſtuaret, nam genitrix hæc Jovis regionis ejus ab accolis traditur, neque tamen auderet id, quod procaci appetitione conceperat, apertiſſima vi petere, ingenioſas comminiſcitur captiones, quibus nihil tale metuentem caſtitate imminueret genitricem: ſit ex Deo taurus, & ſub pecoris ſpecie ſubſeſſoris animum atque audaciam celans; in ſecuram & neſciam repentina immittitur vi furens, agit inceſtius res ſuas, & prodita per libidinem fraude, intellectus, & cognitus evolat* (20). i. e. " They ſay that once upon a " time Jupiter, burning impiouſly for his mother Ce- " res, (for the people of this country declare that ſhe " was that God's mother) and not daring to indulge " his paſſion openly, thought of a ſtratagem whereby " he might rob the Goddeſs of her chaſtity by ſur- " prize: the God was metamorphoſed into a Bull; and " concealing his bold, inſidious deſigns under the form " of that animal, he ruſhed upon Ceres on a ſudden

(14) In the remark [*A*] of the article JUNO.

(15) Heſiod. *in Theogonia*, Apollodor. lib. 1. pag. 9.

(16) Arnob. lib. 5. pag. 161.

(17) Arnob. ibid. pag. 162.

(18) Arnob. ibid.

(19) Nonnus, lib. 14. *ſays, that the reſt of the Centaurs were begot by Jupiter's ſeed which fell to the earth, when he attempted to lie with Venus who reſiſted his wild paſſion.* Meziriac, on Ovid, pag. 173.

(20) Arnob. lib. 5. pag. 170.

beasts, in order to proceed in his intrigues. He even was guilty of sodomy, he carrying off the beautiful Ganymedes (*a*); and raised him to the employment of cup-bearer to the Gods, in order that he might be ever ready at hand, whenever he wanted to satiate his brutal passion with him. Frauds and perjuries, and in general all actions punishable by the Laws, were very familiar to him (*b*). It is even said that he devoured one of his wives [*C*]. Nothing therefore can be more monstrous than the Religion of the Heathens, according to whom such a Deity was looked upon as the supreme master of all things; and who adapted the religious worship they paid him to that idea. The fathers of the Church have laid great stress on this argument, to prove thereby the falsity of the Religion of the Heathens; and it may be asserted, that this system seemed calculated to deprave

(*a*) See the article GANYMEDES.

(*b*) See the proofs which Natalis Comes brings of this, *Mythol.* lib. 1. cap. 18. *and* Arnobius in the note [*B*].

" when she was unguarded, and perpetrated the incest; " but the obscene action discovering him, he fled a- " way." In vain Ceres was offended, this congress made her pregnant of Proserpine, who, when she was of age to inspire an amorous passion, underwent the same trials as her mother. Jupiter deflowered his daughter Proserpine. *Quam* (Proserpinam) *cum verveceus Jupiter bene validam, floridam, & succi esse conspiceret plenioris, oblitus paulo ante quid malorum & sceleris esset aggressus, & temeritatis quantum, redit ad priores actus: & quia nefarium videbatur satis, patrem cum filia comminus uxoria conjugatione misceri, in draconis terribilem formam migrat: ingentibus spiris pavefactam colligat virginem, & sub obtentu fero, mollissimis ludit atque adulatur amplexibus* (21). i. e. " The lecherous Jupiter observing Proserpine to be " strong, florid, and flushed with health, and for- " getting his rash actions, and the guilt he had lately " perpetrated, returned to his former pranks; and " because it looked as criminal for a father to be- " have towards his daughter as though she were a " wife, he assumed a serpent's dreadful form; he " winded his monstrous folds about the trembling vir- " gin; and under this savage disguise, he clasped and " sported with her in the softest manner." Meziriac (22) quotes several authors, who relate that Jupiter, transformed into a serpent, got his daughter Proserpine's maidenhead, and had by her the first Bacchus surnamed Zagræus. I will conclude this remark with a passage from Arnobius. *Quid tantum, quæso*, says he to the Heathens (23), *de vobis Jupiter iste, quicunque est, meruit, quod genus est nullum probri infame, adulterium nullum, quod in ejus non caput, velut in aliquam congeratis vilem luteamque personam?* i. e. " This Jupiter, whoever he be, how came he to de- " serve so well of you; he who did not scruple to " commit any crime though ever so infamous, nor " any adulterous action, like the meanest and most " abandoned of mortals?" This is quite putting the heathen system to a nonplus.

(21) Ibid. pag. 171.

(22) On Ovid, pag. 419. *He cites* Nonnius, lib. 5 and 6. Arnob. lib. 5. Clem. Alexand. *in Protrept. co.* Tzetzes on *Lycophron.* The Scholiast of Pindar in 7 Isth. The author of *Etymologicon magn.* under the word Ζαγρεύς. The Scholiast of Aristophan. in Ran. Diod. Sicul. lib. 3. Arrian. lib. 2. *de Expedit. Alexandri.* Hygin. cap. 155 and 157. Cicero, lib 3. *de Nat. Deorum.*

(23) Arnob. lib. 5. pag. 171.

[*C*] *It is even said that he devoured one of his wives.*] Hesiod observes, that Jupiter's first wife was called Metis. Ζεὺς δὲ θεῶν βασιλεὺς πρώτην ἄλοχον ἐθέτο Μῆτιν. *Uxorem primam Metim sibi Jupiter addit* (24). Seeing that she was big with child, he devoured her, and by that means was with child himself, and was afterwards delivered of Minerva. *Gravidam factam deglutivit, ut scripsit Joannes Diaconus his verbis:* Καὶ ἔγκυον ταύτην ποιησάμενος, καταπίνει αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ ἄλλος τις τῶν θεῶν ἀποκυηθείη παρ' αὐτῆς ἀναιδὴς καὶ ἀτάσθαλος: quam cùm gravidam fecisset, deglutivit, ne quis alius Deorum nasceretur ex ea impudens ac fatuus. *Ex eo cibo mox ipse Jupiter pro uxore gravidus factus Palladem armatam è capite peperit* (25). i. e. " He devoured her after he had got her with child, " as Joannes Diaconus relates thus; *he devoured her* " *after he had got her with child, to prevent any other* " *impudent and silly God from being born of her.* Ju- " piter himself becoming pregnant by eating of this " food, gave birth, from his head, to the armed " Pallas."

(24) Hesiod in *Theog.* ver. 886.

(25) Natal. Comes, *Mytholog.* lib. 2. pag. m. 90.

Since the first edition of this Dictionary, I have examined this matter with greater accuracy; and find that Natalis Comes does not advance any particular but what is founded on the words of Joannes Diaconus whom he cites. This Diaconus is a Greek author and a Christian, who composed allegories and scholia on Hesiod's Poem, intitled, Θεογονία, *or the generation of the Gods.* He declares in positive terms that Jupiter, having swallowed his wife Metis, brought forth Minerva; καὶ ταύτην καταπιὼν ἀποτίκτει ἐκ τῆς τριτογένειαν Ἀθηνᾶν; he uses, I say, those words, immediately after having employed the words contained in the passages of Natalis Comes above cited; and thereby evidently declares, that he would have it supposed that Minerva sprung from Jupiter's head, because Metis when big with child had been devoured by Jupiter her husband. But Hesiod does not lead us to this thought; nor so much as hints that the tragical end of Metis contributed to Minerva's birth. Here follows the substance of his narration (26). Metis, the first wife of Jupiter, was going to be delivered of Minerva, but Jupiter prevented her, he inveigling and imposing upon her with flattering words, and swallowed her into his belly. Cœlus and Terra had given him this counsel; and told him, that if he did not do this, he should lose his scepter, since the destinies declared that Metis, after being delivered of the wise Minerva, would bring forth a brave boy, who should reign over Gods and Men. Jupiter averted this fatal blow, he swallowing Metis before she became a mother; he shutting her up, I say, in his bowels, in order that she might foretel him good and evil. Ἀλλ' ἄρα μιν Ζεὺς πρόσθεν ἐὴν ἐγκάτθετο νηδύν, ὡς δή οἱ φράσσαιτο θεὰ ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε. *Sed illam sane Jupiter ante in suum condidit ventrem. Ut nempe ei indicaret dea bonumque malumque* (27). He afterwards married Themis, who brought him many children, as did also his mistresses. Eurynome, daughter of Oceanus, brought him the three Graces; after which he lay with Ceres by whom he had Proserpine. He next fell in love with Mnemosyne, and made her mother of the nine Muses. Latona brought him a son and daughter, viz. Apollo and Diana; and lastly, he married Juno by whom he had three children, Hebe, Mars and Lucina; and Jupiter himself gave birth to Minerva, who sprung from his head. It is plain that if Hesiod intended his readers should suppose, that he meant, that this birth of Minerva was the effect of Metis's being shut up in Jupiter's belly, he had done all that was necessary to frustrate his design; he putting between this effect and cause such an interval, as leads our thoughts to a thing quite foreign to his intention. Let us therefore conclude that he had no such intention; or else, that he surpassed every author in the shameful art of giving a wrong account of an incident, and expressing it obscurely. Observe, that if the nineteen verses found in a work of Galen (28) are really Hesiod's, we could not blame that Poet for having been too obscure. We there see very clearly, that the same Pallas who sprung from the head of Jupiter, was concerned in Metis's womb; but it must be observed that she was not conceived in it, till after Metis had been swallowed up by Jupiter. This is a variation that deserves to be taken notice of. I add, that it is no ways probable that the verses in question were written by Hesiod; was he the author of them, there would be, in his Poem on the *Generation of the Gods*, a chasm which has escaped the notice of the critics. Galen deserves censure in some little measure, for not quite putting it out of doubt, whether the pronoun αὐτὸς, *ipse*, before the nineteen verses, refers to Hesiod or Chrysippus. I am of opinion that it refers to the latter; and that this great Philosopher, after citing the verses of Hesiod which relate to Metis, had quoted those of another Poet, wherein the conception of Minerva was described a little differently. If it should be asked, why Chrysippus quoted the verses from Hesiod and the others? I answer, that it was in order to shew, that his opinion with regard to the seat of the rational soul, was not contrary to the tradition concerning Minerva's birth. He supposed the heart to be the seat of the rational soul;

(26) Hesiod. in *Theogon.* ver. 887, & *seq.*

(27) Idem, ibid. ver. 899.

(28) Galenus, *de Hippocrat. & Platonis Placitis*, lib. 3. cap. 8. pag. 131. edit. Paris 1679.

deprave and corrupt mens manners [*D*]. I ſhall take no notice of the fictions which relate to Jupiter's birth or education (*c*). Moreri has taken ſome notice of them; and they are found in a great number of books that are read daily in ſchools. I ſhall ſpeak only of the eagle which carried Nectar to him [*E*], this not being ſo common an incident. Charpentier does not relate faithfully a particular for which he quotes Homer [*F*].

(*c*) I ſhall make ſome mention of this in the article METHYDRIUM.

What the heathens have ſaid with regard to the origin of Jupiter, appeared to me for a long time ſo unaccountable, that the more I reflected on it the more monſtrous it appeared to me; and ſuch, in ſhort, that I concluded it was impoſſible the Philoſophers could have maintained it; but I at laſt diſcovered, that they might be led into this error, by I know not what kind of reaſoning [*G*], the weakneſs whereof it was no eaſy matter

ſoul; and yet Minerva, that is reaſon and wiſdom, ſprung from the brain of Jupiter. This is an objection which Chryſippus examined; he took advantage of the circumſtance of Minerva's being conceived by Metis, after Jupiter had ſwallowed her; and aſſerted that this ſignified, that reaſon was formed in the boſom or breaſt; and that the bringing forth of Minerva, ſignified ſpeech, i. e. that reaſon proceeds from the head, in as much as the mouth is the organ by which the thoughts, conceived in the heart, are brought forth outwardly. Galen (29) thinks it very ſtrange that Chryſippus ſhould ſpend his time in ſo carefully explaining poetical traditions (30). He deſerves the higheſt cenſure for trifling away his time in ſuch a manner.

(29) Idem, ibid. pag. 133.

(30) See the citations (49) and (68) of the article CHRYSIPPUS the Philoſopher.

[*D*] *The ſyſtem... of the religion of the heathens... ſeemed calculated to deprave and corrupt men's morals* (31).] "Chriſtian writers, from theſe infamous "actions committed by Jupiter, have drawn power-"ful arguments to convict the heathens of the falſity "of their Gods, as may be ſeen in ſeveral parts in "Lactantius, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Ar-"nobius and ſeveral others. For not to mention that "ſuch horrid crimes are inconſiſtent with the divine "nature; the heathens might juſtly take a handle "from thence, in order to abandon themſelves to "crimes of every kind... not imagining themſelves "to be criminal ſo long as they imitated their Gods. "This too is what Ion means in Euripides, in a "Tragedy that bears his name.

(31) *See* Arnauld in his *Denonciation du Peché Philoſophique*, pag. 32.

"... Οὐκ ἔτ' ἀνθρώπους κακῶς
"Λέγειν δίκαιον, εἰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν κακὰ
"Μιμεῖσθ', ἀλλὰ τοὺς διδάσκοντας τάδε.

"We muſt not cenſure wicked wretches,
"Who imitate the Deities, but theſe
"For ſetting ſuch examples (32)."

(32) Meziriac, on *Ovid*, pag. 419, 420.

Meziraic makes this remark on a paſſage of Ovid, where Phædra (33) obſerves, that it was fitting the crime of inceſt ſhould be ſcrupled in the rude times under Saturn; but that a woman in the reign of his ſucceſſor, ought to be allowed to lie with her ſon-in-law. Jupiter's marrying, ſays ſhe, his ſiſter gives an entire ſanction to it.

(33) *In Epiſt. ad Hyppolitum.*

Nec quia privigno videar coïtura noverca,
Terruerint animos nomina vana tuos.
Iſta vetus pietas, ævo moritura futuro
Ruſtica Saturno regna tenente, fuit.
Jupiter eſſe pium ſtatuit quodcunque juvaret,
Et fas omne facit fratre marita ſoror.

"Let not mere names, ſtep-mother, ſon-in-law,
"Affright; theſe ſcruples under ruſtic Saturn
"Were good, but baniſhed in politer times.
"Jove bids enjoy whatever we approve;
"And all permits, ſince he his ſiſter married.

Ovid commits a very groſs error on this occaſion (34), ſince Saturn was married to his ſiſter, as certainly as Jupiter was with his. One might add to the paſſage of Euripides cited by Meziriac, an hundred others equally ſtrong. Nothing is more common in the antient Poets, than to read of people who, to excuſe their crimes, aſſert, either that they did but imitate the Gods, or that the Gods excited them to commit evil (35). But not to diſſemble the truth, it muſt be obſerved to the glory of the heathens, that they did not live in conformity to their principles. It is true indeed that the heathens were exceedingly depraved and corrupted in their morals; but then many among them did not follow the example of their falſe Gods, and preferred the ideas of virtue to ſo great an authority. A ſtrange circumſtance is, that Chriſtians, whoſe ſyſtem of religion is ſo pure, ſhould yet fall but very ſhort of the heathens in their vices. It is a miſtake to imagine that the morals of a religion correſpond with its tenets.

(34) Meziriac, pag. 419. makes this remark.

(35) See remark [C] of the article HELENA.

[*E*] *I ſhall ſpeak only of the eagle which carried Nectar to him.*] A woman, Moero by name, author of a poem intitled *Memory* (36), ſays that Jupiter was fed unknown to all the Gods, in a cave in the iſland of Crete, by doves who carried Ambroſia to him, and an eagle who conveyed to him Nectar. The Ambroſia was brought from the ocean, and the Nectar was drawn from a ſtone. Jupiter, after he had dethroned Saturn, made that eagle immortal, and carried it to heaven.

(36) Athen. lib. 15. pag. 490.

Νέκταρ δ' ὲκ πέτρης μέγας αἰετὸς αἰὲν ἀφύσσων,
Γαμφηλῇ φορέεσκε [πετῶν] Διὶ μητιόεντι.
Τὸν ῥ' νικήσας πατέρα Κρόνον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς,
Ἀθανατὸν ποίησε ῥ' ἑαυτῷ ἐγκατίνασσεν.

Nectar vero ex ſaxo ingens aquila ſemper hauriens,
Advolans portabat conſulto prudentique Jovi.
Eam victo patre Saturno Juppiter altiſonus,
Immortalitate donatam, in cælo habitare voluit (37).

(37) Idem, ibid. pag. 491.

[*F*] *Charpentier does not relate faithfully a particular for which he quotes Homer.*] I mean Mr. Charpentier of the French Academy. He expected to make a ſpeech to the King, at the head of the Academy, after the taking of Mons; but that monarch would not be complimented, in a ſpeech, on that occaſion. That of Charpentier was inſerted in the *Mercure Galant* for May 1691. The King is there deſcribed as Homer's Jupiter, againſt whom all the other Gods are united; and who, after upbraiding them with the vanity of their deſign, ſhews them experimentally that his ſtrength is immoveable; and whilſt they all exert their ſtrength in pulling againſt him, he lifts them all up with the globe of the earth and ſea. But with his leave, Jupiter in Homer (38) does not actually do this; he only boaſts and threatens to do it.

(38) See the beginning of Book 8. of the Iliad.

The reſt of the Gods did not think his vauntings to be juſt. They only ſaid, that he would be ſtronger than any of them ſingly; but his menace ſeemed ridiculous to Mars, who remembered that, not long before, Neptune, Juno and Minerva, having undertaken to ſeize and bind Jupiter, filled him with dread; and would certainly have bound him, had not Tethys pitied the God in queſtion, and called Briareus with his hundred arms to his relief (39). Had Charpentier known the ſatyrical turn of mind of our libel-writers, he very probably would have forbore making compariſons and ſimilitudes, and Lucian would have occurred to his memory.

(39) *Extracted from* Lucian, in *Deorum Dialogis*, pag. 173, 174. tom. 1. *See* Homer's *Iliad* lib. 1. ver. 398, & *ſeq.*

[*G*] *They might be led into that error by I know not what kind of reaſoning.*] Let us firſt hear what Heſiod relates concerning the genealogy of the Gods (40). He begins with the chaos which is the firſt being he ſuppoſes. He next brings in earth and love; adds that Erebus and night were begot by the chaos, and that the Æther and the day ſprung from the marriage of Erebus and night; and that the earth, without contracting marriage, begot heaven and the ſea; and afterwards being married to heaven, ſhe procreated the Ocean, Rhea, Themys, Tethys, Saturn, &c. However, this extremely prolific marriage gave but little ſatisfaction and comfort to the earth; Heaven, her huſband,

(40) Heſiod. *de Deorum Generat.* ver. 116.

matter for them to diſcover. They did not think it poſſible for any thing to have been created, and did not admit of ſubſtances wholly diſtinct from extenſion. Now when theſe two hypotheſes are once eſtabliſhed, it is almoſt as eaſy to ſuppoſe that refined or ſubtilized matter could become God, as to believe the ſoul of man material, as moſt Philoſophers believed. See the remark *G*. In Arcadia there ſtood a temple ſacred to the

band, impriſoning all their children, in proportion as ſhe was delivered of them. Upon this, ſhe excited them to revenge, and was ſo ſucceſsful, that Saturn lopped off with a ſingle ſtroke of a ſcythe his father's pudenda, and threw them into the ſea (41). Theſe produced a froth or foam whence ſprung the Goddeſs Venus. The children of Saturn and Rhea were Veſta, Ceres, Juno, Pluto, Neptune and Jupiter (42). This is what I have extracted from Heſiod's poem. There were ſome other genealogiſts (43) who ſaid that Æther and day, children of Erebus and night, were the father and mother of heaven; and that their brothers and ſiſters were love, fraud, fear, labour, envy, fate, old age, death, gloom, miſery, dreams &c. I related above (44), how Carneades employed this genealogy to refute the theology of the Stoics. I ſhall only ſay here, that according to the tree of conſanguinity, there muſt neceſſarily have been ſome God whoſe father was not God: for if, on one hand, it had been granted Carneades, that heaven, the æther, the day, Erebus and night were Deities; it would have been denied him on the other hand, that the chaos, which was antecedent to all thoſe divine beings, was God; and conſequently, thoſe who argued in this manner were forced to ſay, that the Gods had been formed of a matter which was not God, and without an efficient cauſe which had the nature of God. Such an idea certainly contradicts the moſt ſolid and moſt evident notions of natural reaſon; nevertheleſs ſome great Philoſophers have ſuppoſed the generation of the Gods, and have aſſigned them a cauſe of their being, which was not God. *Anaximenes omnes rerum cauſas infinito aeri dedit, nec deos negavit aut tacuit: non tamen ab ipſis aerem factum, ſed* IPSOS EX AERE ORTOS *credidit* (45). i. e. "Anaximenes aſcribed the cauſes of all things to the boundleſs air, "nor did he deny that there were Gods, or was ſilent "with regard to them; yet he did not believe that "the air was created by them, but that THEY SPRUNG "FROM THAT ELEMENT." We underſtand the principles of Anaximenes better by the abovementioned words of St. Auſtin, than by the following ones of Cicero. *Anaximenes aera ſtatuit, eumque gigni, eſſeque immenſum & infinitum, & ſemper in motu* (46). i. e. "Anaximenes thought that the air was God; that it "was procreated; was immenſe and infinite and ever "in motion." In all probability Cicero did not well relate the ſentiment of this Philoſopher; for ſince Anaximenes aſcribed to the air the nature of the principles of all things, and aſcribed to it immenſity and infinitude; we muſt believe that he ſuppoſed it eternal and unproduced; and that if he called it God under that idea, he did not believe the generation of God in that reſpect. When therefore he ſaid that the boundleſs or infinite air was the cauſe of all beings; and that the Gods themſelves had been produced from it, he did not preſcribe to it the name and nature of God, in the ſame ſenſe that he aſcribed it to the Gods who derived their origin and exiſtence from the air. Perhaps he meant this. He was willing, in order to avoid all diſputes about words, to call God the immenſe and infinite air, which he conſidered as the principle of all things; but he did not pretend, that Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Minerva, and the reſt of the Gods whom the heathens worſhipped, were that air, or had produced it: on the contrary, he ſuppoſed that this air was their principle, as well as that of the other beings which compoſe the univerſe. He aſcribed to this principle a perpetual motion, whence we may conclude, that he looked upon it as an immanent cauſe, which produced in itſelf a numberleſs multitude of effects, inceſſantly without end; and he included among theſe effects, not only ſtars and meteors, plants, ſtones and metals, but alſo Gods and men. Such a doctrine was in reality that of Spinoſa; for according to this opinion, the God, or the eternal and neceſſary being of Anaximenes, was the only ſubſtance of which heaven, earth, animals &c. were but modifications. Thales perhaps entertained ſuch an opinion, he who had taught that water was the principle of all things (47). He perhaps had called him God on that account: this was the God he meant, when he ſaid, that God not having been begotten or produced was the moſt antient of all beings. Πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων, θεός. ἀγένητον γάρ, κάλλιστον, κόσμος· ποίημα γὰρ θεοῦ. *Antiquiſſimum eorum omnium quæ ſunt, Deus; ingenitus enim. Pulcherrimum, mundus, à Deo enim factus eſt* (48). He added, that as the world was the work of God, it was the moſt beautiful of all beings (49). Spinoza would acknowledge as much. He does not deny that God is the cauſe of all things, that is, the immanent cauſe, which modifies itſelf a numberleſs multitude of ways, whence reſults all that we call the world, and the whole univerſe in general. If Thales ſaid alſo that the world is animated and filled with ſpirits (50), this perhaps might ſignify that water, the principle of all things, the unproduced or uncreated God, had modified itſelf in ſuch a manner that it had formed a ſoul diffuſed through all bodies, and particular ſpirits like to the Gods, who were worſhipped under the heathen ſyſtem. This would aſſiſt our underſtanding what we have ſeen elſewhere (51), and which doubtleſs is very ſurprizing, viz. that Thales and the other Naturaliſts who preceded Anaxagoras, have explained the generation of the world, without ſuppoſing it to be directed by a divine intelligence. Thales and Anaximenes could not admit it, if the one ſuppoſed that water, the other that air, were the principle of all things, a principle eternal and uncreated; for though, to avoid a contention about words, they called God that univerſal and uncreated principle, they could not conſider it as an intelligent cauſe, antecedently to the particular beings it formed, ſince it produced them in itſelf and from itſelf, as an immanent cauſe, and not as an external cauſe and diſtinct from its matter. But becauſe Anaxagoras was the firſt (52) who acknowledged a ſpirit diſtinct from the matter of the world; a pure ſpirit unmixed with bodies, he muſt have reaſoned in a different manner from the Naturaliſts his predeceſſors; he might ſay, arguing conſiſtently, that the world had been formed by the direction of a ſpirit which diſintangled and put the parts of matter into order. His hypotheſis admitted an intelligence antecedent to the formation of the world; the other hypotheſis ſuppoſed nothing to have exiſted before the world except the chaos, water or air &c: and thus they were to give a beginning to intelligent beings, as well as to the moſt groveling creatures. All things iſſued from the firſt principle by way of generation or production. Jupiter the greateſt of the Gods, his father Saturn, Cœlus, his grandfather Æther, and whatever can be named ſtill more backward, was a particular being, which owed its origin, its birth, its exiſtence to eternal and uncreated matter, the principle of all things, the chaos according to Heſiod, water according to Thales, and air according to Anaximenes. But, will it be ſaid, did not Thales confeſs, that the Gods know the very thoughts of men? Ἠρώτησέ τις αὐτὸν εἰ λήθοι θεὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀδικῶν· Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ διανοούμενον ἔφη. *Interrogatus lateret ne Deos homo male agens: ne cogitans quidem, inquit* (53)? I anſwer, what is that to the purpoſe; all we can conclude is, that he aſcribed a vaſt extent of knowledge to ſome of the beings. which water had generated, and which were called Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Neptune &c. It is to be obſerved that Homer, who gives ſo pompous a deſcription of the power of the Gods, ſuppoſes they all ſprung from the ocean.

Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.

"... the great parents (ſacred ſource of Gods)
"Ocean and Tethys——— (54)." POPE.

The prodigious abſurdity of theſe hypotheſes is to ſay, that the Gods, though endowed with great knowledge, were formed from a principle which knows nothing; for neither the chaos, the air, nor the ſea are thinking beings.

(41) Idem, ibid. ver. 110.

(42) Idem, ibid. ver. 453.

(43) *See* Cicero, *de Natur. Deorum*, lib. 3. cap. 17.

(44) Citat. (87) of the article CARNEADES.

(45) Auguſt. *de Civitat. Dei*, lib. 8. cap. 2. pag. m. 711. See citation (15) of the article DIOGENES of Apollonia.

(46) Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, lib. 1. cap. 10.

(47) Diog. Laert. lib. 1. num. 27.

(48) Diogen. Laert. lib. 1. num. 35.

(49) See the laſt cited Greek paſſage.

(50) Τὸν κόσμον ἔμψυχον καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη. *Animatum mundum ac dæmonibus plenum.* Diog. Laert. lib. 1. num 27. *See alſo* Ariſtot. *de Anima*, lib. 1. cap. 5.

(51) In the remark [*D*] of the article ANAXAGORAS.

(52) See the ſame remark.

(53) Diogen. Laert. lib. 1. num. 36.

(54) Homer, Iliad. lib. 24. ver. 201.

the good God. Pauſanias conjectures that this temple was conſecrated to Jupiter; and for this reaſon, becauſe the epithet juſt mentioned ought to ſuit, by way of eminence, the greateſt of the Gods [*H*]. It is certain that Jupiter's goodneſs was denoted by ſeveral ſurnames under which he was worſhipped; but then he alſo was worſhipped under ſeveral ſurnames, which declared him to be a moſt terrible Deity: nay, his employment of thunderer was denoted by the bare idea of his deſcent upon earth [*I*]. There were ſome

beings. How then was it poſſible for them to be the total cauſe of thoſe divine natures or beings, who, according to the ſyſtem of the Poets and moſt antient Naturaliſts, poſſeſſed ſuch various knowledge? But how falſe and ridiculous ſoever theſe hypotheſes may be, I am no longer ſurprized, as I uſed to be, at their having been admitted by Philoſophers. Moſt of them ſuppoſed that the ſoul of man is material (55). They therefore imagined that it was formed of the moſt ſubtil parts of the blood, or of the ſeed. Now as ſoon as this ſtep is taken, we make great advances in a little time. Set aſide experience, conſult only the ideas of theory, and it will not appear eaſier for matter received in the womb to transform itſelf into a child, who by taking in ſuſtenance, becomes a man of great genius, than for a child to be born of a tree. Thence a heathen thinks it poſſible that men, in the beginning of things, ſprung either from the mud of the earth, or from ſome liquor that fell from heaven (56). The inſtant this ſeems poſſible, people are eaſily prompted to believe what the Poets related concerning the birth of Venus (57). They no longer think it ſtrange that, by the fermentation, which cleared or diſintangled the chaos, or formed various degrees of rarefaction and condenſation in the infinite expanſe, the ſtars ſhould have begun to exiſt in the firmament, and the Gods in heaven, as plants and animals on the globe of the earth. The common difference of the heathens concerning the divine nature, ſuppoſed only a greater or leſs difference between the Gods and men. Now, in conſequence of this nothing prevented their imagining, that the moſt refined and moſt ſubtle parts or particles of matter had compoſed or formed Gods; ſince ſuch parts as were groſs and ſolid, and which, as the lees and ſediment of the whole had formed the earth, were nevertheleſs transformed into men. I am to obſerve the heathens imagined, that ſome ſpirituous particles falling from heaven, were ſufficient to animate theſe groſs terreſtial parts; and hence it is, that Lucretius acknowledges that living bodies have a celeſtial original.

(55) *See* Plutarch, *de Placitis Philoſophorum*, lib. 4. cap. 3. pag. 898. *and* Ariſtot. Book 1. *de Anima.*

(56) See the remark [*B*] of the article ARCHELAUS, the Philoſopher.

(57) See the remark [*C*] of the article DIOGENES of Apollonia.

Denique cæleſti ſumus omnes ſemine oriundi:
Omnibus ille idem Pater eſt, unde alma liquenteis
Humorum guttas Mater cum Terra recepit,
Fœta parit nitidas fruges, arbuſtaque læta,
Et genus humanum, & parit omnia ſæcla ferarum,
Pabula cum præbet, quibus omnes corpora paſcunt,
Et dulcem ducunt vitam, prolemque propagant.
Quapropter merito Maternum nomen adepta'ſt (38).

(58) Lucret. lib. 2. ver. 990.

" Laſtly, we all from ſeed celeſtial riſe,
" Which heav'n, our common parent ſtill ſupplies,
" From him the earth receives enliv'ning rain,
" And ſtraight ſhe bears bird, tree, and beaſt and man,
" And proper food for all, by which they thrive,
" Grow ſtrong, and propagate their race, and live;
" Thence juſtly all the name of mother give."
CREECH.

To theſe we may add the following lines from Book II, beginning at the 325th verſe of Virgil's Georgicks.

Tum pater omnipotens fœcundis imbribus æther.
Conjugis in gremium lætæ deſcendit & omnes
Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fœtus.

" For then almighty Jove deſcends, and pours
" Into his buxom bride his fruitful ſhow'rs.
" And mixing his large limbs with hers, he feeds
" Her births with kindly juice, and foſters teeming ſeeds."
DRYDEN.

From all this it may be inferred, that nothing can be more dangerous or epidemical, than to lay down a falſe principle. It is a bad leaven, which though ſmall, may ſpoil the whole lump. An abſurdity once laid down, draws a great many after it. Should a perſon err only concerning the human ſoul; ſhould he falſely imagine that it is not a ſubſtance diſtinct from the underſtanding; this falſity may lead him to a perſuaſion, that there were ſome Gods who firſt ſprung from fermentation, and afterwards multiplied by marriage. I cannot conclude without taking notice of a particular which quite aſtoniſhes me. Methinks nothing can be grounded on clearer and more diſtinct ideas than the immateriality of every thinking being, and nevertheleſs ſome Philoſophers among the Chriſtians aſſert that extenſion is capable of thinking (59); and they are Philoſophers of very great parts, and very deep meditation. After this, can we lay any ſtreſs or depend on the clearneſs of ideas? But do not theſe Philoſophers ſee, that on ſuch a foundation the antient heathens might err ſo far as to ſay, that all intelligent ſubſtances had a beginning, and that only matter was from all eternity? This was the opinion of Anaximenes the Philoſopher, as has been ſhewn, and it was likewiſe the doctrine of Anaximander his maſter (60). This inconvenience is not got over by the following ſalvo, viz. that matter is made capable of thinking only by a particular gift of God. It would be true nevertheleſs, that in its nature it is ſuſceptible of thought; and that to make it really think, it is enough to put it in motion, or order its parts in a certain manner: whence it follows, that an eternal, unintelligent, but moveable matter, might have produced or given riſe to Gods and men; as the Poets, and ſome heathen Philoſophers have fooliſhly given out.

(59) See the remark [*L*] of the article DICEARCHUS, the diſciple of Ariſtotle.

(60) *Anaximander infinitatem natura dixit eſſe è qua omnia gignerentur* Cicero, *Academ. Quæſt.* lib. 2. folio 211, B. *Anaximandri opinio eſt nativos eſſe Deos, longis intervallis, Orientes, Occidenteſque.* Idem, *de Natura Deorum*, lib. 1. cap. 10.

[*H*] *Pauſanias conjectures . . . . that . . . . the epithet* good *. . . . ought to ſuit . . . . the greateſt of the Gods.*] This reflection of Pauſanias ſeems to me very good, and I thought it would be proper to quote the following paſſage. Ἔστι ὑ τῆς ὁδῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, Ἀγαθῦ Θεῦ ναός. εἰ ὑ ἀγαθῶν οἱ θεοὶ δοτῆρες εἰσὶν ἀνθρώποις, Ζεὺς ὑ ὕπατος θεῶν ἐστιν, ἐπομένως ἄν τις τῷ λόγῳ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην Διὸς τεκμαίροιτο εἶναι (61). i. e. " The temple of the good God ſtands to the left of this way: " but if the Gods are the authors of good to mankind, " and Jupiter is the ſupreme Deity, we may juſtly " conjecture that this name is peculiar to Jove." See in the article PERICLES (62), ſeveral collections relating to the idea which the Heathens had formed to themſelves concerning the Goodneſs of Jupiter and of the other Gods.

(61) Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 36. pag. 673.

(62) In the remark [*K*].

[*I*] *Jupiter's goodneſs was denoted . . . . but then he alſo was worſhipped . . . . nay, his employment of Thunderer was denoted by the bare idea of his deſcent upon earth.*] Theſe two kinds of epithets have been taken notice of by Lucian. Ὦ Ζεῦ φίλιε, καὶ ξένιε, καὶ ἑταιρεῖε, καὶ ἐφέσιε, καὶ ἀστεροπηλᾶ, καὶ ὄρκιε, καὶ νεφεληγερέτα, καὶ ἐρίσθενε. καὶ εἴ τι σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμβρόντητοι ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι (63). *O Jupiter Philie, hoſpitalis, ſodalitie, domeſtice, fulgurator, juramenti præſes, nubicoge, grandiſtrepe, & ſiquod aliud tibi cognomen attoniti poëtæ tribuunt.* We here have Jupiter firſt as protector of friendſhip, as an hoſpitable, familiar, and domeſtic Deity; and afterwards as the God of lightning, thunder, &c. The reader will find in Pauſanias, in what place he was worſhipped under the name of mild μειλιχίῳ (64), the diſtributer of bleſſings, ἐπιδώτης (65) &c. and under the name of thunderer κεραυνίῳ (66). This title of καταιβάτης, is leaſt common both in books and medals. It ſignifies merely *deſcending*, taken grammatically; but cuſtom has determined it to the action of thundering. The reader need but peruſe the diſſertation, which Burman publiſhed at Utrecht in 1700, and he will be convinced that this is the idea under which Jupiter καταιβάτης was honoured. Not that it was thought he never came down upon the earth but only to puniſh and to hurl his thunder; but it at laſt was judged proper to fix the ſignification of it, either becauſe of the maxim *à majori*, or *à nobiliori parte ſumitur denominatio*, or for other reaſons. The French have ſaid in one of their Operas:

(63) Lucian, *in Timone, initio*, pag. 57. tom. I.

(64) Pauſan lib. 1. cap. 37. pag. 90. lib. 2. cap. 9. pag. 132. and cap. 20. pag. 154.

(65) Idem, lib. 8. cap. 9. pag. 616.

(66) Idem, lib. 5. cap. 14. pag. 412.

ſome places where it is ſaid that he required men to be ſacrificed in his honour [*K*]. I ſhall take notice elſewhere (*d*), that in the book intitled, *Cymbalum mundi*, there are many jokes on the actions of Jupiter; but I know not whether it be poſſible to go farther than Arnobius on ſuch a ſubject. The vivacity of his imagination ruſhes on like a flood; and having been but juſt before a profeſſed Rhetorician, he animated his diction with colours and figures of every kind. I have cited ſome of his thoughts in various parts of this Dictionary; the reader may have ſeen elſewhere (*e*) the joke he paſt on the great Jupiter, for employing nine nights in getting a child, when he, in one night, got fifty young women with child. Probably his memory failed him, and he confounded matters. He had read that Jupiter employed nine nights in begetting the Muſes [*L*]; and he applied this to a quite different ſubject, I mean to the adventurers of Alcmena. Authors of a lively fancy are pretty liable to ſuch miſtakes. Jupiter uſed to carry on his amours both in heaven and earth; he took the firſt who fell in his way, whether Goddeſs or woman, it was all the ſame to him. Arnobius did not forget this incident, and obſerved that the bodies of mortals, though quite tranſparent with reſpect to Jupiter's eye, had yet beauties ſufficient to inſpire him with a lewd paſſion [*M*]. It may be proper to obſerve, that the ridiculous ſtories which the Poets had publiſhed concerning this God, ſerved

(*d*) In the article PERIERS.

(*e*) Citation (13) of the article HERCULES.

Jupiter vient ſur la terre
Pour la combler de bienfaits:
Il eſt armé du tonerre;
Mais c'eſt pour donner la paix.

" On earth Jove comes, to ſhed numberleſs bleſſings;
" He's arm'd with thunder, but 'tis to give peace.

I do not know whether they borrowed that idea from antient monuments.

[*K*] *It is ſaid that he required men to be ſacrificed in his honour.*] Few temples of Jupiter were more renowned than that which was built in his honour on mount Lycæus in Arcadia. The tradition of the country declared (68) that he had been brought up on that mountain by three nymphs, one whereof gave her name to a fountain which had a wonderful property; for whenever a long drought waſted the fruits of the earth, a plentiful rain never failed to deſcend, provided the prieſt of Jupiter Lycæus threw an oaken branch on the ſurfaces of that fountain, after the requiſite prayers and ſacrifices (69). On the ſame mountain was a court conſecrated to the God in queſtion, and famous for ſome very wonderful properties; all the men and beaſts that went into it, caſting no ſhade. All perſons were forbid to ſet their feet in it; and if any one was ſo bold as to enter it, notwithſtanding the prohibition, he neceſſarily died before the year was out. Arcas having purſued thither the boar into which his mother had been transformed, both would have been put to death, had not Jupiter taken them away, and lodged them among the ſtars. *In ſilvis cum venaretur* (Arcas) *inſcius vidit matrem in urſæ ſpeciem converſam, quam interficere cogitans, perſecutus eſt in Jovis Lycæi templum: quo & qui acceſſiſſet, mors pœna erat Arcadum lege. Itaque cum utrunque neceſſe eſſet interfici, Jupiter eorum miſertus, ereptos inter ſidera collocavit* (70). The words of St. Auſtin, which I am going to tranſcribe, inform us of thoſe particulars that relate to the ſacrificing of children. *Nominatim expreſſit* (Varro) *quendam Demænetum, quum guſtaſſet de ſacrificio, quod Arcades immolato puero deo ſuo Lycæo facere ſolerent, in lupum fuiſſe mutatum, & anno decimo in figuram propriam reſtitutum, ad pugillatum ſeſe exercuiſſe, & Olympiaco viciſſe certamine* (71). i. e. " Varro has named one Demæne-
" tus, who having taſted of the ſacrifice, which the
" Arcadians uſed to offer up to their God Lycæus,
" ſacrificing a boy, was transformed into a wolf, and
" reſtored to his natural form ten years after; exer-
" ciſed himſelf in boxing, and conquered in the Olym-
" pic game." This ſacrifice muſt have a moſt ſtrange effect, to metamorphoſe thoſe who taſted of it into wolves. Porphyrius (72) obſerves, that the cuſtom of ſacrificing of men in Arcadia, during the feaſt of the Lupercalia, remained in his time. It may be obſerved by the way, that Saturn was not the only Deity who delighted in human victims (73). His ſon Jupiter was not willing to degenerate in that particular.

(68) Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 38. pag. 678.

(69) Idem, ibid.

(70) Hygin. *in Aſtronomico*, cap. 4. pag. m. 362. *See alſo* cap. 1. pag. 357.

(71) Auguſt. *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 18. cap. 17. pag. m. 589.

(72) Porphyr. lib. 1. *de non edend. Animal.*

(73) See *Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes*, num. 69.

[*L*] *Jupiter employed nine nights in begetting the Muſes.*] Mnemoſyne the ſiſter of Saturn, having lain nine nights together with Jupiter her nephew, brought forth the nine Muſes on mount Pierius (74).

(74) Heſiod. in Θεογον. ver. 135.

Τὰς ἐν Πιερίῃ Κρονίδῃ τέκε παῖρι μιγεῖσα
Μνημοσύνη. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Ἐννέα γὰρ οἱ νύκτας ἐμίσγετο μητιόεντα Ζεὺς,
Νόσφιν ἀπ' ἀθανάτων, ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνων·
Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐνιαυτὸς ἔην, περὶ δ' ἔτραπον ὧραι
Μηνῶν φθινυόντων, περὶ δ' ἡμαῖα πόλλ' ἐτελέσθη,
Ἡ δ' ἔτεκ' ἐννέα κούρας ὁμόφρονας, ᾗσιν ἀοιδὴ
Μέμβλεται (75).

(75) Idem, ibid. ver. 53.

" Whom fair Mnemoſyne, by Jove enjoy'd,
" Brought forth on mount Pierius . . .
. . . . . .
" For nine nights Jove, apart from the immortals,
" Climb'd the bright bed, and wanton'd with the
" fair one.
" She, when the ſun had run its annual courſe,
" Gave birth to the nine lovely tuneful ſiſters.

A Scholiaſt on Heſiod declares, that Mnemoſyne was the daughter of Jupiter; but the words of this Poet are not to be underſtood in that manner; and we muſt not ſuppoſe, that they relate that the Muſes ſprung from ſo horrid an inceſtuous commerce. The Scholiaſt in queſtion propoſes a doubt to himſelf; how came it to paſs, ſays he, that Hercules got fifty one ſons in a ſingle night, and that Jupiter required nine days to beget the nine Muſes? He anſwers that Jupiter, not being ignorant that the love and pleaſure of the Muſes are ſlow in attaining to their perfection, was determined to make uſe of a perfect number. If this Scholiaſt does not deſerve praiſe for the ſolidity of his reflections, he at leaſt deſerves applauſe for writing with ſo much brevity on a ſubject, which would have ſuggeſted to an Allegoriſt a numberleſs multitude of obſervations and moral precepts.

[*M*] *Arnobius . . . . obſerved that the bodies of immortals, though quite tranſparent with reſpect to Jupiter's eye, had yet beauties ſufficient to inſpire him with a lewd paſſion.*] His adulterous practices, ſays he, might have been borne with, had they been with thoſe of his own rank and quality, with Goddeſſes; but what could he find worthy of his regard in human bodies? Should he not have abhorred thoſe objects, which lie beneath the ſkin, and are not hid from his piercing eye? Should not the ſight occaſion the ſame diſguſt in him, which the bare imagination can produce in all others? (76) *Et tolerari forſitan maletractatio hæc poſſet, ſi cum ſaltem perſonis conjungeretis comparibus, & adulter à vobis immortalium conſtitueretur dearum. In humanis verò corporibus quidnam quæſo inerat pulchritudinis, quid decoris, quod irritare, quod flectere oculos poſſet in ſe Jovis? Cutes, viſcera, pituita, atque omnis illa proluvies inteſtinorum ſub involucris conſtituta: quam non modo Linceus ille penetrabili acie poſſit horreſcere, verumetiam quivis alter ſola vel cogitatione vitare* (77). O *egregia merces culpæ! ô digna & pretioſa dulcedo, propter quam Jupiter maximus cygnus fieret, & taurus, & candidorum procreator ovorum!* i. e. " O egregious re-
" compence of crimes! O worthy and precious joy,
" for the taſting of which the mighty Jupiter aſſumed
" the form of a ſwan, a bull, and a begetter of ſpot-
" leſs

(76) Arnob. lib. 4. pag. m. 142.

(77) Compare this with the *Tunc animo ſigna quodcunque in corpore mendæ eſt* &c. Of Ovid in *Remedio Amoris*, ver. 417.

ſerved as a foundation to the Religion of the Heathens; and that ſome perſons of a grave character endeavoured to explain them, either by allegories, or by the principles of natural Philoſophy; but their endeavours were as ridiculous as that of the Poets [*N*], and terminated

" leſs ſheep." This objection of Arnobius is not a bad one, and is a thouſand times ſtronger than if a great King was to be cenſured for intriguing and lying with, not only Princeſſes, but alſo with women from among the meaneſt of the populace. I ſhall here relate what Juno ſaid to Thetis, in telling her the reaſons or motives of the friendſhip ſhe had for her.

Οὔνεκεν οὐκ ἔτλης εὐνῇ Διὸς ἰεμένοιο
Λιξασθαι (κείνῳ γὰρ ἀεὶ τάδε ἔρσε μέμηλεν
Ηὲ σὺν ἀθανάταις ἠὲ θνητῇσιν ἰαύειν). (78)

(78) Apollon. *Argon.* lib. 4. ver. 793. pag. m. 453, 454.

" Becauſe you would not yield to Jove's embraces;
" Jove, whoſe affection mortal nymphs and God-
" deſſes
" Long ſhar'd promiſcuous.

[*N*] *Some perſons of a grave character endeavoured to explain* the ſtories which the Poets had publiſhed, *either by allegories, or by the principles of Natural Philoſophy; but their endeavour was as ridiculous as that of the Poets.*] We have ſeen above (79) how Cicero ridiculed Chryſippus the Philoſopher, who had taken great pains to reconcile the fictions of the antient Poets with the theology of the Stoics. The following paſſage will ſerve as a ſpecimen of that attempt. *Hic locus à Zenone tractatus, poſt à Cleanthe, & Chryſippo pluribus verbis explicatus eſt. Nam vetus hæc opinio Græciam opplevit, exſectum Cœlum à filio Saturno; vinctum autem Saturnum ipſum à filio Jove. Phyſica ratio non inelegans incluſa eſt in impias fabulas. Cœleſtem enim altiſſimam, æthereamque naturam, id eſt, igneam, quæ per ſeſe omnia gigneret, vacare voluerunt, eâ parte corporis, quæ conjunctione alterius egeret ad procreandum. Saturnum autem eum eſſe voluerunt, qui curſum, & converſionem ſpatiorum, ac temporum contineret . . . . Saturnus autem eſt appellatus, quòd ſaturetur annis: ex ſe enim natos comeſſe fingitur ſolitus, quia conſumit ætas temporum ſpatia, anniſque præteritis inſaturabiliter expletur. Vinctus eſt autem à Jove, ne immoderatos curſus haberet, atque ut eum ſiderum vinculis alligaret* (80). i. e. " This ſubject was treated by Zeno, afterwards " by Cleanthes, and amply explained by Chryſippus: " for all Greece was anciently of opinion, that Cœlus " was emaſculated by his ſon Saturn, who was bound " in chains by his ſon Jupiter. The prophane fables " include an elegant phyſical meaning; it being in- " timated thereby, that the celeſtial, the higheſt, and " etherial, that is the fiery nature, which produceth " all things by itſelf, is void of that corporeal part, " which requires the conjunction of another, in order " for procreation. Saturn they affirmed to be that be- " ing, which contains the courſe and change or revo- " lution of ſpaces and times. The name (Saturn) is " given him, becauſe he is filled with years; he alſo " is ſaid to devour the children he begets, becauſe " age or time conſumes its various periods, and is " filled with ſuch years as are paſt without being ſa- " tiated. He is bound in chains by Jupiter, to pre- " vent his going immoderate lengths, and to check " him by the bands of the ſtars." This is ſufficient to ſhew the ridiculouſneſs of theſe explications. We cannot read them without having almoſt a contempt for thoſe Philoſophers who employ their time ſo ill; and if we deplore, on one hand, the ill conſequences of the fictions of the Poets, and the unbounded licentiouſneſs with which they treated a ſubject that merited ſo much veneration; we are diverted, on the other hand, with the beauty of their fictions, whilſt we conſider them as witty conceits. But when we ſee Philoſophers who, though of ſo grave and ſerious a character, do nevertheleſs ſeek for myſteries in theſe follies, we can no longer bear with their extravagance, and apply the following ſentence to them:

(79) Citation (49) of the article CHRYSIPPUS the Philoſopher.

(80) Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, lib. 2. cap. 24, 25.

Turpe eſt difficiles habere nugas,
Et ſtultus eſt labor ineptiarum (81).

(81) Martial. *Epigrammat.* 86. lib. 2. cap. 25.

" 'Tis ſhameful to employ our time in trifles,
" Which, the more difficult, are more ridiculous.

The greateſt miſchief is, that whilſt they endeavoured to avoid one impiety, they have fallen into another; for, by rejecting the Gods of the Poets, animated and living Gods, they have ſubſtituted others, who had neither life nor ſenſation or knowledge. Cicero upbraids them with it as follows. *Hic idem* (Zeno) *alio loco æthera Deum dicit eſſe, ſi intelligi poteſt nihil ſentiens Deus, qui nunquam nobis occurrit neque in precibus, neque in optatis, neque in votis. Aliis autem libris rationem quandam per omnem naturam rerum pertinentem, ut divinam, eſſe affectam putat. Idem aſtris hoc idem tribuit, tum annis, menſibus, annorumque mutationibus. Cùm verò Heſiodi Theogoniam interpretatur, tollit omnino uſitatas perceptaſque cognitiones Deorum, neque enim Jovem, neque Junonem, neque Veſtam, neque quenquam qui ita appelletur, in Deorum habet numero; ſed rebus inanimatis, atque mutis per quandam ſignificationem hæc docet tributa nomina* (82). i. e. " The ſame Zeno ſays, " elſewhere, that the æther is God, if we can form " to our imaginations a God wholly inſenſible, who " never occurs to our prayers, our wiſhes, or our " vows. However, in other books, he imagines, " that a certain divine nature is diffuſed over the " whole nature of things. The Philoſopher in queſ- " tion aſcribes the ſame thing to the ſtars, to years, " months, and the changes of years. But when he " would interpret the Theogony of Heſiod, he takes " away all the common and received notions with re- " gard to the Gods; he not permitting Jupiter, nor " Juno, nor Veſta, nor any one ſo called to be ranked " in the number of the Gods; but teaches, that theſe " names are aſcribed, in a certain ſignification, to in- " animate and mute things." They accuſtomed men, by theſe falſe interpretations, to ſuppoſe the azure ſkies over our heads to be Jupiter. *Hunc Ennius nuncupat ita dicens,*

(82) Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, lib. 1. cap. 14.

Aſpice hoc
Sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Jovem,

Planiuſque alio loco idem,

Cui, quod id me eſt, exſecrabor hoc, quo lucet,
quidquid eſt.

Hunc etiam Augures noſtri, cùm dicunt, Jove fulgente, tonante: dicunt enim cælo fulgente, tonante. Euripides autem, ut multa præclarè, ſic hoc breviter.

Vides ſublime fuſum, immoderatum æthera,
Qui tenero terram circumjectu amplectitur:
Hunc ſummum habeto Divûm: hunc perhibeto Jovem (83).

(83) Idem, ibid. lib. 2. cap. 25.

" Ennius mentions this as follows

- - - - - - behold yon azure roof,
" Which all invoke as Jove - - - - - -

" And the abovementioned Poet, ſtill plainer in ano- " ther place.

- - - - - " be, what it will, that ſhines,
" I'll curſe it to the utmoſt of my power.

" This is meant by our Augurs, when they ſay, *Ju-* " *piter lightning, thundring*, ; they ſaying, *the heaven* " or the *ſkies lightning and thundring*. Euripides, as " he deſcribes many things beautifully, ſo he does " what follows with brevity:

" Doſt thou behold yon diſtant, boundleſs æther,
" Which quite ſurrounds this earth; 'tis the ſupreme
" Of Deities, 'tis mighty Jove himſelf.

With regard to Juno, they ſuppoſed her to be the air, as Cicero informs us. *Aër autem, ut Stoici diſputant, interjectus inter mare, & cælum, Junonis nomine conſecratur, quæ eſt ſoror & conjux Jovis, quòd & ſimilitudo eſt ætheris, & cum eo ſumma conjunctio. Effeminarunt autem eum, Junonique tribuerunt, quòd nihil eſt eo mollius,*

terminated very frequently in ſerious impieties. Read the remark [N], where I ſhall ſpeak of thoſe who ſaid that Jupiter was the Air, and Juno the Æther.

(84) Idem, ibid. cap. 26.

lius (84). i. e. " But the air, as the Stoics aſſert, ly- " ing between the ſea and ſky or heaven, is conſe- " crated by the name of Juno, who is Jupiter's wife " and ſiſter, becauſe it reſembles the æther, and is in- " timately united to it. But they effeminated it (if I " may employ that expreſſion) and aſcribed it to Juno, " becauſe nothing can be ſofter than the element of " the air." Whatever they might advance in this ſyſtem, there was no poſſibility of avoiding abſurdities and impious tenets, which I prove by aſking theſe Philoſophers ſome queſtions. You therefore think that the Jupiter of the Poets, and he who is adored in the capitol and all other places, is that vaſt ſpace or expanſe wherein we ſee ſo many ſtars; and that this Juno, Jupiter's ſiſter and wife; that ſo jealous, haughty and powerful Deity, to whom the Argives and other nations paid ſo many honours, is the air which ſurrounds the earth, and gets into the lungs of animals, and where clouds, rain, &c. are formed; but is it not evident that this celeſtial expanſe, and this air are a portion of the matter of the world; and that matter, conſidered as ſuch, does not think? do we not know clearly, that the air is as void of life and ſenſation as ſnow and hail? If then Juno is nothing but the air, it is ridiculous to direct prayers and offer up ſacrifices to it: for it does not hear or underſtand any thing; and therefore your doctrine directly overthrows religion; it is material Atheiſm; you diveſt Juno of all her divinity, you only leave her the vain and empty name of Goddeſs; and you are more abſurd than Epicurus, in worſhipping what is no more than an illuſive and imaginary name. Juno is given here but as an example; but Jupiter and Neptune, and all the reſt of the Deities fall after the ſame manner by the ſtrength of the argument in queſtion. If you ſay that you do not conſider the air as a meer body, when you aſſert that Juno is the air; I muſt intreat you to tell me what other idea you entertain of it. Do you pretend to aſſert, that the air is united to the Goddeſs Juno; that ſhe is the ſoul of it, and that he (the air) is as a body to that Goddeſs; but is not this ſuppoſing a ſort of animal of which we have no idea? Does not the notion or idea of animal imply an aſſemblage of parts which form one entire *continuum?* Does it not exclude what is called *diſcrete quantity?* And is it not certain that the particles of air are perpetually ſeparating one from the other; and that the ſmalleſt ſtone that is thrown breaks that continuity, which, if the earth were an animal, muſt be a grievous wound? To what inconveniencies do you not make Juno's divinity obnoxious, in caſe you make her the ſoul of the air? Is not ſhe inceſſantly receiving a numberleſs multitude of wounds? Should you anſwer, that this Deity is united to the air, not to be its ſoul, but only to give activity or influence to it, you fall into another abſurdity which is equally ridiculous as to ſay that a pilot is a ſhip, and a rider is a horſe. If you anſwer that there is a wide difference between theſe things, ſince a pilot is not joined or united to the ſhip as Juno is to the air, I muſt deſire you to explain what this union is, and obſerve how Ariſtotle puzzles you, when he ſays that it is irrational to conclude that air and fire are animals; but that in caſe they are indued with a ſoul, it is abſurd to ſay they are not ſo. Weigh well the following words: Διὰ τίνα μὲν γὰρ αἰτίαν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, ἢ ἐν τῷ πυρὶ ὄντα ἡ ψυχὴ, ἃ ποιεῖ ζῷον· ἐν ᾧ τοῖς μικτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα βελτίων ἐν τούτοις εἶναι δοκοῦσα; ἐπιζήτησεις γὰρ ἄνλις, καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἡ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ψυχὴ, τῆς ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις βελτίων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀθανατωτέρα. συμβαίνει ὁ ἀμφοτέρως ἄτοπον καὶ παραλέγειν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ λέγειν ζῷον τὸ πῦρ, ἢ τὸν ἀέρα, τῶν παραλογωτέρων ἐστὶ· καὶ μὴ λέγειν ζῶα ψυχῆς ἐνούσης, ἄτοπον (85), i. e. " For which reaſon, if a ſoul be in air, or fire, " why does it not form an animal as it does in mixt " natures, particularly ſince it ſeems to be more excel- " lent in them? Any one may alſo aſk the reaſon, " wherefore that ſoul, which is in the air, is of a more " noble and durable nature, than that with which " animals are informed. Something abſurd and ir- " rational reſults in either of theſe caſes; for to ad- " vance that fire or air is an animal, is no ways ra- " tional; and again, to affirm that they are not ani- " mals, if they are indued with a ſoul, is certainly " extremely abſurd." You are here between two precipices: if Juno be the ſoul of the air, and ſhe and the air do not form one animal, it is an intolerable abſurdity; and if they form one animal, it is a horrid abſurdity and impiety. Carneades, with that ſtrength of reaſon which was his peculiar characteriſtic, refuted invincibly the pretended exiſtence of this ſort of animal (86).

(85) Ariſtotel. *de Anima*, lib. 1. cap. 5. pag. m. 485. tom. 1. *Operum.*

(86) See his Arguments in Cicero, Book 3. cap. 17. *de Nat. Deor.*

I will conclude with an obſervation which Pauſanias furniſhes me with. He relates that he diſputed one day with a Sidonian in a temple of Æſculapius. This man aſſerted, that the Phenicians were much more ſkillful than the Greeks in thoſe ſubjects which relate to the Deity, and in others likewiſe. They ſay, added he, that Æſculapius is the ſon of Apollo, and do not relate that a woman brought him into the world; for he is the air, the fountain of health both for men and beaſts. Apollo, who is the ſun, is directly conſidered as Æſculapius's father, ſince by the viciſſitude of the ſeaſons, which his motion occaſions, he makes the air healthy. Pauſanias granted all this; but he aſſerted that they did not belong to the Phenicians more than to the Greeks; and that it is evident even to children, that the health of men is owing to the ſun's motion (87). By this the reader may judge of the orthodoxy of the Heathens. Thoſe who pretend to be beſt acquainted with theological doctrines, made it appear, when they expreſſed themſelves clearly, that they acknowledged no other Gods but the air, the ſtars, &c. This, in the main, was a real Atheiſm; it was converting the neceſſity of nature into God. I have obſerved a paſſage in Euripides, where Jupiter is invoked, without exactly knowing what he is. It is confeſſed that he governs, by occult methods, all things juſtly; but the perſon who delivers theſe words adds, that it is extremely difficult to know him; and that he cannot ſay whether he be the neceſſity of nature, or human underſtanding. What a faith is this! A follower of Spinoza would ſign it with very few alterations.

(87) *Extracted from* Pauſanias, lib. 7. cap. 23. pag. 583.

Ὦ γῆς ὄχημα, καὶπὶ γῆς ἔχων ἕδραν,
Ὅς τις ποτ' εἶ σὺ δυσόπαστος εἰδέναι
Ζεύς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεως, εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν,
Προσηυξάμην σε πάντα γὰρ δι' ἀψόφου
Βαίνων κελεύθου, καὶ δίκην τὰ θνητ' ἄγεις (88).

(88) *Hecuba apud* Euripidem in Troadibus, ver. 884. pag. m. 107.

The Senſe is,

" O vehicle of earth, reſiding on it,
" Who'ere thou be, inſcrutable to us,
" Neceſſity of nature, or men's minds,
" O Jupiter, I invoke thee; thou who guid'ſt
" Mens actions right, thro' fate's ſtill hidden paths.

JUSTINIANI (AUGUSTINO), Biſhop of Nebbio in the iſland of Corſica, was born at Genoa in 1470. He entered among the Dominicans the 25th of April 1487; and applied himſelf ſo aſſiduouſly to his ſtudies, and learnt under ſuch able preceptors, that he became a very great ſcholar. He was well ſkilled in Philoſophy, the Mathematics, Divinity, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldee. He taught during eighteen years in the Province of Lombardy, to the great edification of his hearers. He was appointed Biſhop of Nebbio the 15th of November 1514, at the recommendation of Cardinal Bandinello Saoli his couſin; and received his bulls before he was informed of the good offices this Cardinal had done him. He aſſiſted at the Lateran Council, and objected to ſome articles of the Concordate agreed upon between the Courts of France and Rome; notwithſtanding which Francis I prevailed with him to come to Paris, and appointed him his Chaplain. He made uſe of the great knowledge of this Prelate, in order to eſtabliſh

eſtabliſh the ſtudy of the Oriental Tongues in the Univerſity of Paris. Juſtiniani being at ſo ſmall a diſtance from England made a voyage thither, and was moſt graciouſly received by Henry VIII. He collected a very fine Library, and left it, by his will, to the Republic of Genoa [*A*]. He made many reparations in his See; increaſed its revenues; and ſo finely embelliſhed his Cathedral, dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin, that Maracci has ranked him among her faithful ſervants. He alſo tranſlated into the vulgar tongue ſome Latin works, the ſtudy whereof might be of uſe to Eccleſiaſticks (*a*). He was caſt away in his paſſage from Genoa to the iſland of Corſica in 1536 (*b*) [*B*]. This Prelate was not only a learned man, but alſo extremely laborious, as appears from the works he compoſed, and thoſe he cauſed to be printed [*C*]. I mention theſe in a note. He intended to publiſh a Polyglot Bible, whereof the Pſalter he publiſhed may be conſidered as a part. He was at great expence for the edition in queſtion; but finding that he could not get his money by the ſale, and that crowned heads did not favour his deſign, he complained of the ingratitude of his age [*D*]. KECKERMAN

(a) *Traſportando ancora da Latino in volgare de' libri per giovamento del ſuo Clero.* Abbot Michaele Juſtiniani, *ubi infra*, pag. 17.

(b) *Extracted from* Abbot Michaele Juſtiniani, *gli Scrittori Liguri deſcritti*, pag. 16, & *ſeq.*

[*A*] *He collected a very fine library, and left it by his will to the Republic of Genoa.*] It was chiefly valuable on account of the great number of antient manuſcripts in all kinds of languages and faculties, which he had collected with prodigious pains and at a very great expence. But ſome had come to him without any expence or trouble, I mean thoſe which Andreolo Juſtiniani, his grandfather, had left him. It is remarkable that this Republic did not receive any advantage by our author's will; theſe manuſcripts being found only in the libraries of ſome private perſons, who to hide their thefts, took out from the frontiſpiece the marks, by which our prelate uſed to diſtinguiſh ſuch pieces as belonged to him. *Benche al preſente non ſi trovi verun veſtigio di eſſi nel Palazzo publico, mà preſto diverſi particolari, che, per non eſſer ſcoperti, gli han levati nel frontiſpicio i contraſegni di quel buon Vecchio* (1).

(1) Michael Juſtiniani, *gli Scrittori Liguri deſcritti*, pag. 18.

[*B*] *He was caſt away . . . . in* 1536.] Abbot Michael Juſtiniani (2) pretends to prove this by the regiſter of the Dominicans at Genoa, and from the Biſhopric of Nebbio's being given to Cardinal Jerom Doria the 15th of November 1536. Voſſius affirms (3), that it is not known whether Juſtiniani was caſt away, or was taken by Pyrates; that it is only certain, that he was never ſeen ſince the year 1530, when he embarked to go from Genoa to his Biſhopric. I do not doubt but that he is miſtaken with reſpect to the year. Paulus Jovius ſays in general, that it was never known whether this Biſhop was ſhipwreck'd, or whether he was taken by the Corſairs of Barbary. *In curſu fluctibus obrutus, aut à Pœnis prædonibus interceptus creditur, quum nullum uſquam naufragii, aut piratarum prædæ veſtigium apparuerit* (4).

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* lib. 3. cap. 12. pag. 681.

(4) Paulus Jovius, *Elog.* cap. 120. pag. 275.

[*C*] *The works he compoſed, and thoſe he cauſed to be printed.*] His *Precatio pietatis plena ad Deum omnipotentem compoſita ex duobus & ſeptuaginta nominibus divinis Hebraicis, & Latinis cum interprete commentariolo*, was printed at Venice anno 1513 in 8vo. He publiſhed there the ſame year *Æneæ Platonici de immortalitate animorum deque corporum reſurrectione aureus Libellus, cui titulus eſt Theophraſtus.* He publiſhed at Paris in 1520, folio, *Chalcidii viri clariſſimi luculenta Timæi Platonis Tranſlatio, & ejuſdem argutiſſima explanatio*; as likewiſe *Victoria Porcheti adverſus impios Hebræos, in qua tum ex ſacris litteris, tum ex dictis Talmud, ac Caballiſtarum & aliorum omnium Authorum quos Hebræi recipiunt, monſtratur veritas Catholicæ fidei*; moreover *Rabi Moſſæi Ægyptii Dux ſeu Director dubitantium aut perplexorum.* He ſpent five years with extreme application in writing a Hiſtory of Genoa, but death prevented his putting the laſt hand to it. It was publiſhed in 1537 (5). It is ſaid that his manuſcript was interpolated in ſeveral places by the perſon who put it to preſs. *Scriſſe gl' Annali della ſua patria, con grandiſſima diligenza, e ottima fedeltà, i quali in molti luoghi dopo la morte di lui furono corrotti* (6). Such is the teſtimony of Francis Zazzera, and here follows a confirmation of it by George Juſtiniani, in an Epiſtle Dedicatory. *Magnum profecto inde me voluptatem cepiſſe fateor, & in eodem plane ſenſu fuiſſe gaudeo ipſius nepotem Auguſtinum Juſtinianum, illum ſcilicet qui poſtea ad Nebienſem Pontificatum evectus, rerum noſtrarum Annales orditus eſt, quos poſt ejus obitum imperitus, omniſque eruditionis expers, horridos ſane & incultos, ut hodie leguntur, ex defuncti ſchedis evulgavit* (7). i. e. "I "own that I received great pleaſure from it, and am "glad that Auguſtino Juſtiniani his grandſon was of "the ſame opinion, the perſon I mean, who being "afterwards made Biſhop of Nebbio, began to write "the tranſactions of our country, which, after his "death, an unſkilful and altogether unlearned man "publiſhed, from the manuſcripts of the deceaſed, in "the barbarous, unpoliſhed dreſs in which they are "now ſeen." Theſe interpolations in the manuſcript gave Paulus Jovius occaſion to cenſure this Hiſtory (8); but he is in the wrong to ſay, that the author was too eager in publiſhing it, it not being publiſhed till after the death of our Juſtiniani. The expreſſions employed by Paulus Jovius are very injurious. *Scribendæ patriæ hiſtoriæ negotium ſuſcepit, adeo ineptis ad id ingenii viribus, ut præcipitatæ editionis, male audiendo, pœnas daret* (9). i. e. "He ſet about writing the "hiſtory of his own country, but had ſuch ſmall abi-"lities for this undertaking, that he injured his repu-"tation by a haſty edition." I ſhall mention below what relates to his Polyglot. Here follows a paſſage extracted from his life written by himſelf, wherein the reader will ſee a ſpecimen of his labours. *Hò fatto imprimere in Parigi dodici opere in utilità de ſtudioſi: hò tradotto piu coſe in materna lingua per utilità di Chierici della mia Dioceſi, che ſono tutti ignari di lettere: hò tradotto l'Economico di Senofonte per inſtruttione di mia cognata, e de miei nepoti: hò deſcritto molto minutamente l'Iſola di Corſica per utilita della patria intitolata al Principe Andrea d'Oria, e meſſa poi la deſcrittione in diſtinta pittura hò donato al magnifico Ufficio di S. Georgio!* 10). i. e. "I have printed at Paris twelve pieces "for the inſtruction of youth: I have tranſlated ſeve-"ral pieces into Italian, for the uſe of the Clergy of "my Dioceſe, who are all unlearned: I have tranſ-"lated Xenophon's Oeconomicks, for the inſtruction of "my kinſwoman and nephews: I have deſcribed very "minutely the iſland of Corſica, for the ſervice of my "country, inſcribed to Prince Andrew d'Oria, and "afterwards preſented that deſcription to the office "of St. George." The laſt work mentioned in the Italian paragraph above is in the library of the Vatican, and is a manuſcript.

(5) At Genoa in folio.

(6) Franceſco Zazzera, *apud* Abbatem Michael. Juſtiniani, *gli Scrittori Liguri deſcritti*, pag. 19.

(7) Georg. Juſtinianus, *in Epiſt. Dedicat. Æneæ Platonici de immortalitate Animæ, apud* Mich. Juſtinian. ibid. pag. 19, 20.

(8) Michel Juſtiniani, ibid. pag. 17.

(9) Paul. Jovius, *Elog.* cap. 120. pag. m. 275.

(10) Aug. Juſtiniani, in his *Life*. It was inſerted in his *Annals of Genoa*. See Abbot Michael Juſtiniani, *gli Scrittori Liguri deſcritti*, pag. 20.

[*D*] *The Pſalter he publiſhed. . . . He complained of the ingratitude of his age.*] It was printed at Genoa anno 1616, in folio, and in eight columns, *Quarum prima habet Hebræam editionem, ſecunda Latinam interpretationem reſpondentem Hebrææ de verbo ad verbum, tertia Latinam communem, quarta Græcam, quinta Arabicam, ſexta paraphraſin, ſermone quidem Chaldæo, ſed literis Hebraicis conſcriptam: ſeptima Latinam reſpondentem Chaldææ, ultima vero, id eſt octava, continet ſcholia, hoc eſt annatationes ſparſas & interciſas* (11). i. e. "The firſt whereof has the Hebrew edition or text; "the ſecond a literal Latin verſion of the Hebrew; "the third the common Latin; the fourth the Greek; "the fifth the Arabic, the ſixth the paraphraſe in the "Chaldee language, but written in Hebrew characters or "letters; the ſeventh the Latin anſwering the Chaldee; "but the eighth or laſt, contains the ſcholia, that is, "ſcattered annotations." The author, in his dedication of this piece to Pope Leo X, tells him that he deſigns to give the whole ſcriptures after that manner; and that he does not doubt but he ſhall compleat his undertaking, provided his Holineſs will but approve of it, and promote the impreſſion. This is the ſenſe of the Latin words following (12). *Quod ſi tu rem ipſam probaveris, & dignam editione duxeris, in promptu erit nobis univerſo operi manum extremam imponere, & utrumque inſtrumentum, iiſdem diſtinctum linguis,*

(11) Geſner, *in Biblioth.* folio 104 *verſo.*

(12) Auguſt. Juſtiniani, *Præf. Pſalter. apud* Geſner. *in Biblioth.* folio 105.

linguis, eademque ſerie & ſtructura tradere impreſſoribus formandum &c. He in informed Cardinal Bendinello Saoli, by letter, that all the New Teſtament was compleated; and that the Old Teſtament would be ſoon ready; and he intreated him to get the whole work printed. *In altera quoque epiſtola ad eundum, novum teſtamentum jam abſolutum eſſe teſtatur, vetus autem brevi futurum paratum, & hortatur ut curet totum opus prælis excudi* (13). He gave leave to Pellican, who was at Rome in 1517, to copy the preface of his New Teſtament in eight languages, with the firſt verſes of St. Matthew's Goſpel (14). Geſner affirms (15) that he ſaw it, and the two letters which Juſtiniani wrote to that Cardinal. He has even inſerted part of this preface in his *Bibliotheque*. This well-meaning Prelate was at a great expence for the impreſſion of the Pſalter; he cauſed two thouſand and fifty copies to be printed of it; and preſented it to all the Princes in the world, both infidel and Chriſtian. He had fifty copies taken off in vellum, Juſtiniani not only flattered himſelf with the hopes of gaining great applauſe, but alſo great profit, which he, beforehand, deſigned to ſet apart for the relief of his relations. He flattered himſelf with the hopes, that the ſucceſs of his ſpecimen would prompt Prelates and Monarchs to contribute towards the impreſſion of the whole Bible; but unfortunately he gained nothing but praiſe. His Pſalter was applauded, but not bought. It was with great difficulty he got the fourth part of his copies ſold; and his circumſtances would not enable him to print the rematnder of his work. Here follows Juſtiniani's complaints. *Feci ſtampare in Genoua alle mie ſpeſe con quel travaglio e con quella ſpeſa, ch'ogni letterato può giudicare due mila volumi del Davidico Pſalterio in le predette cinque lingua Hebrea, Chaldea, Greca, Latina, & Arabica, parendomi di queſt' opera dover' acquiſtare grand laude, e non mediocre guadagno, il quale penſavo eſporre in la ſouventione di certi mei parenti, ch'erano biſognoſi, credendomi ſempre che l'opera doveſſi havere grande uſcita, e che i prelati richi, ò Principi ſi doveſſero movere, e mi doveſſero ajuture in la ſpeſa di far imprimere li reſtante della Bibbia in quella varietà di lingue; ma la credulità mia reſtò ingannata, perche l'opera fù da ciaſchedun laudata, ma laſſata ripoſare, e dormire, perche a pena ſi ſono venduti la quarte parte de i libri, come che l'opera ſia per valent' huomini, e per ingegni elevati, che ſono al mondo rari, e pochi, e con ſtento puoti ricavar i danari, ch' haveva poſte in la ſtampa che furono in buona quantità, perche oltra i dua mila volumi ſtampati in papero, ne feci imprimere cinquanta in carta vitelline, e mandai d'eſſi à libri à tutti i Rè del Mondo, così Chriſtiani, come Pagani.* Paulus Jovius is ſo hard hearted as not to pity Juſtiniani's ill ſucceſs; but even takes a pleaſure in inſulting him on that account; and will not even allow that he was applauded by the public. He declares that our honeſt Biſhop was at a great expence, and did not reap either profit or glory by it. *Gravi quidem ſumptu & tenui cum laude quum impreſſa domi prælta volumina emptores rariſſimos inveni rent, ſic ut temere conceptam ſpem lucri inanes initæ rationes eluſerint* (17).

(13) Geſner. Ibid.

(14) Idem, ibid.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Auguſt. Juſtiniani, in the *Account of his Life*, cited by Lancelot di Perugia, *Hoggidi*, Part 1. *Diſinganno*, 27. pag. 273, 274.

(17) Jovius, *Elogior.* cap. 120. pag. 275.

K.

KECKERMAN (BARTHOLOMEW) a native of Dantzick, was Profeſſor of Philoſophy there about the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century. He had been before Profeſſor of the Hebrew Language at Heidelberg. He wrote a great number of books, in which he ſhews more method than genius [*A*]. He died in 1609, at thirty eight years of age (*a*). His books are full of plagiariſms, and have been well pillaged by plagiaries [*B*].

(*a*) Konig places his birth under the year 1571, his death in 1609. Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathemat.* pag. 262. tells us, that he lived two and forty years.

[*A*] *He wrote a great number of books, in which he ſhews more method than genius.*] He compoſed ſyſtems of almoſt all the ſciences. Here is the judgment, which Voſſius made of him: *Parum idoneè judicat de eo* (Diogene Laertio) *vir cæteroquin eruditus, ſed novellorum ſcriptorum quam antiquitatis ſtudioſior Bartholomæus Keckermannns. Ait ille libro ſuo de Hiſtoriâ, ſcripſiſſe Laertium* languidè & frigidè, ſæpè tamen non inutilitèr. *Quæ frigida profecto laus eſt operis utiliſſimi & auro contra non cari. Quippe ex quo diſcere ſit cum alia tam multa ad hiſtoriam temporum pertinentia, tum præclara tot veterum apophthegmata, quorum Keckermannus, malo ſane exemplo, Eraſmum laudare mavult autorem, quam Plutarchum, Laertium, & ſimiles* (1). i. e. "Bartholomew Keckerman, a man in other reſpects "learned, but more converſant in modern writers "than in antiquity, paſſes a very wrong judgment up- "on Diogenes Laertius. For in his treatiſe concern- "ing Hiſtory he ſays, that Laertius has written *lan- "guidly and coldly, but often uſefully*; which is a cold "commendation of a work of great uſe and value; "ſince we may learn from it many particulars relat- "ing to Hiſtory, and excellent apophthegms of the an- "tients, for which Keckerman, ſetting an ill exam- "ple, chooſes to quote Eraſmus, rather than Plutarch, "Laertius, and other writers of that rank."

(1) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Græcis*, pag. 223.

[*B*] *His books are full of plagiariſms, and have been well pillaged by Plagiaries.*] I have mentioned before (2) the complaint of a Scots writer, who had been pillaged by Keckerman. Another Scots writer (3) did quite the contrary; he pillaged Keckerman: it is Thomaſius, who remarks this in his collection of Plagiaries (4). He accuſes (5) ſome other writers of the ſame crime with regard to Keckerman.

(2) In the remark [*B*] of the article DONALDSON.

(3) Namec Andrew Aidius.

(4) Numero 349. pag. 153.

(5) Ibid. numero 351.

☞KEILL (JOHN), an eminent Aſtronomer and Mathematician in the eighteenth Century, was born in Scotland about the year 1671, and educated in Baliol College in the Univerſity of Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts; and was afterwards invited to Chriſt Church by Dr. Henry Aldrich, Dean of that College. About the year 1709 he went to New England as Treaſurer to the Palatines; and ſoon after his return thence, upon the death of Mr. Caſwel, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in Oxford, he was choſen to ſucceed him. He was likewiſe appointed Decipherer to Queen Anne, and continued in that place under King George I. till about the year 1716. He publiſhed ſeveral works [*A*], and died Auguſt the 31ſt 1721, aged fifty years. He had the degree of

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeverat works.*] I. *An Examination of Dr.* Burnet's Theory of the Earth: *with ſome Remarks on Mr.* Whiſton's New Theory of the Earth. Oxford, 1698 in 8vo. A ſecond edition of this book was publiſhed at London 1734 in 8vo. In anſwer to this there was publiſhed, *Reflections on the Theory of the Earth*; and *A Defence of Mr.* Whiſton's New Theory. This occaſioned our author to publiſh, II, *An Examination of the Reflections on the* Theory of the Earth. *Together with a Defence of the Remarks on Mr.* Whiſton's New Theory. London 1699 in 8vo. In anſwer to this Mr. Whiſton wrote *A ſecond Defence of his* New Theory *from the Exceptions of Mr. Keill and others.* III. *Introductio ad veram Phyſicam: ſeu Lectiones Phyſicæ habitæ in Scholâ Naturalis Philoſophiæ Academiæ Oxonienſis, Anno Dom.* 1700. *Quibus accedunt Theorematum Hugenianorum de Vi Centrifugâ & Motu Circulari Demonſtrationes. Authore* Johanne Keill. *M. D. R. S. S.* Oxford 1701 in 8vo. In the preface he obſerves, that tho' Mechanical Philoſophy was then in repute, and had many followers, yet in moſt of their writings ſcarce any thing was to be found beſides the bare name of it; and that inſtead of it, the Philoſophers had introduced the figures, pores and interſtices of corpuſcles, which they never ſaw; and ſpeak of the inteſtine motion of the parts, of the ſtruggles and conflicts between the *Alkali* and *Acid*, with a variety of ſuch other miraculous effects of the *Materia Subtilis*. He then ſhews the abſurdity of the *Carteſian* hypotheſis about gravitation; and obſerves, that the occaſion of all the errors, which have crept into Philoſophy, has been this, that men wholly ignorant of Geometry have preſumed to turn Philoſophers, and to give an account of the cauſes of natural things. For, ſays he, what can be expected beſides conjectures and amuſements from thoſe men, who have neglected Geometry, the foundation of all Natural Philoſophy, and without knowing the powers of nature, which are only to be eſtimated by Geometry, have yet ventured to explain the operations of it by a method wholly inconſiſtent with the rules of mechaniſm? But though ſo many have embraced the ſhadow inſtead of the ſubſtance of Philoſophy, yet he obſerves, that there are ſome, who beſtowed their labour with great ſucceſs in ſearching out the true laws of nature, and diſcovering the cauſes of things by mechanical principles. Among theſe he reckons Archimedes, Roger Bacon, Cardan, Galileo, Boyle, Wallis, with others, but above all the incomparable Newton. In the firſt lecture he treats of the method of Philoſophizing; and takes notice of ſeveral ſorts of Philoſophers, who have written of Natural Philoſophy; viz. 1. Thoſe, who explained the nature of things by the properties of numbers and Geometrical figures; ſuch as the Pythagoreans and Platoniſts. 2. The Ariſtotelians, who explained natural Philoſophy by matter and forms, by privations, elementary virtues, occult qualities, ſympathies and antipathies, &c. 3. *Experimental Philoſophers*, who have endeavoured by ſenſible repreſentations to make known to us the properties and actions of all bodies; and to the induſtry of theſe, he ſays, Philoſophy is greatly indebted for many advantages. 4. The laſt ſort of Natural Philoſophers are the Mechanical, who undertake to explain the Phænomena of nature by the laws and rules of mechaniſm, ſuch as matter and motion, the various figure and contexture of the parts, ſubtile particles, and the like. From each of theſe ways of Philoſophizing our author takes what is moſt proper for his purpoſe; and in order to avoid all error in treating of Philoſophy, preſcribes himſelf three rules. As firſt, he tells us, it is neceſſary, according to the method of Geometricians, to lay down ſuch definitions as are requiſite for the underſtanding of things. Secondly, in ſearching after truth in Natural Philoſophy, it will be of uſe to conſider the qualities of things only as they are at firſt laid down, abſtracted from all others whatſoever. Thirdly, it will be neceſſary to begin with the moſt ſimple caſes, and when they are once

(1) (2) 1.

of Doctor of Phyſic conferred upon him by the Univerſity of Oxford at the public Act in 1713; and he had been many years Fellow of the Royal Society. He left one ſon by his wife, whom he married about the year 1717. He was the firſt who read Lectures upon Experimental Philoſophy in Oxford. Some have aſcribed to him *An Eſſay*

on

eſtabliſhed, to proceed to thoſe, which are more compounded. In the ſecond lecture he treats of the ſolidity and extenſion of body, which he defines to be an extended, ſolid, and moveable ſubſtance. In the third lecture he treats of the diviſibility of magnitudes; and in the fourth anſwers ſome objections urged againſt it by Epicurus, and his followers, the Atomiſts. In the fifth he diſcourſes of the ſubtilty of matter, and thoſe minute particles, into which matter may be actually divided. In the ſixth he treats of motion, time, and place; and in the ſeventh gives ſeveral definitions concerning motion. The firſt edition of this book contained only fourteen lectures, but in the ſecond edition printed at Oxford 1705 in 8vo he added a fifteenth or ſixteenth, which treat of the motions ariſing from given forces; for what he had ſaid in the former edition related to motion in general. True and genuine Phyſics conſiſting chiefly in the explication of theſe motions, and in giving an account of the Phænomena, which ariſe from thence, our author begins with the ſimpleſt, viz. that force, which is always directed uniformly, and ſtill with the ſame tenor towards the ſame point, ſuch as the gravitating force is commonly ſuppoſed to be. Theſe lectures have been tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed at London in 8vo. IV. *Introductio ad veram Aſtronomiam, ſeu Lectiones Aſtronomicæ habitæ in Scholâ Aſtronomicâ Academiæ Oxonienſis. Authore* Joanne Keill, *M. D. Aſtronomiæ Profeſſore Saviliano, R. S. S.* Oxford 1718 in 8vo. This was tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr. Keill himſelf, and publiſhed with many emendations at London 1721 in 8vo under the following title. *An Introduction to the true Aſtronomy: or Aſtronomical Lectures, read in the Aſtronomical Schools of the Univerſity of Oxford.* In the preface he diſcourſes of the uſes of Aſtronomy, and gives us the hiſtory of it, and obſerves, that as the art of ſailing does, in a great meaſure, depend on the knowledge of the ſtars, ſo the impetuous and ambitious deſires of Kings and Princes to diſcover unknown and foreign countries, inclined them to cultivate Aſtronomy. The firſt and chief of all the ſailors was Neptune, who, upon the account of his ſkill in this art, was celebrated as God of the ocean. His ſon Belus, being an Aſtronomer, by his knowledge therein, carried the inhabitants of Libya into Aſia, where he inſtituted Colleges of Aſtronomers; for Diodorus Siculus (1) writes thus: "It is reported, that the Egyptian Belus, the ſon of "Neptune and Libya, brought a Colony to Babylon, "and there he inſtituted Prieſts, whom the Babylo-"nians call Chaldeans; who, after the manner of "the Egyptians, were to obſerve the Stars." Before his time, there was Atlas King of Mauritania, a great Aſtronomer, who firſt ſhewed the doctrine of the Sphere. And therefore Virgil introduces Jopas ſinging what Atlas had taught mankind;

(1) Lib. 1.

——*Docuit quæ maximus Atlas,*
Hic canit errantem Lunam Soliſque Labores (2).

(2) *Æneid.* lib. 1.

So Uranus, King of the country ſituated on the ſhore of the Atlantic ocean, for his ſkill in Aſtrononomy, is ſaid to have been deſcended from the Gods. Zoroaſter, a Perſian Philoſopher, is celebrated by all antiquity as a ſkilful Aſtronomer. And the dignity of this ſcience was eſteemed ſo great, as to be called the Royal Science, becauſe Kings were moſt delighted with it above all others. For the Kings of Africa and Syria firſt invented and improved it, and that long before it was known in Greece. This Plato acknowledges in his Dialogue called *Epinomis*. *The firſt*, ſays he, *who obſerved theſe things, was a Barbarian, who lived in an antient countrey, where, upon the account of the clearneſs of the ſummer ſeaſon, they could firſt diſcover them, ſuch as Egypt and Syria, where the ſtars are clearly ſeen, there being neither rains nor clouds to hinder their proſpect. And becauſe we are more remote from this ſummer clearneſs of weather than the Barbarians, we came later to the knowledge of theſe ſtars.* So Lucian tells us, "that the Ethiopians firſt took notice of "the heavenly motions, and by finding the cauſes of "the lunations, they knew that the moon had no "proper light of its own, but borrowed it from the "ſun." However, it is certain, that Aſtronomy, from the very beginning, was cultivated and improved by the Eaſtern nations. For if we may believe Porphyry, when Alexander took Babylon, Calliſthenes, at the deſire of Ariſtotle, carried from that city the obſervations of 1903 years, which brings the beginning of theſe obſervations to 115 years after the flood, and 15 years after the building of Babel. Pliny in his *Natural Hiſtory* relates, that *Epigenes* affirmed, that the Babylonians had obſervations of 720 years all ingraven upon bricks. And Achilles Tatius, in the beginning of his Introduction to *Aratus's Phænomena*, informs us, "that the Egyptians were the firſt, who meaſured the "heavens and the earth; and their ſcience in this "matter was engraven on columns, and by that means "delivered to poſterity. Yet the Chaldeans take the "honour of the invention to themſelves, and aſcribe "it to Belus." The Greeks had all their Aſtronomical learning from Egypt; for Diogenes Laertius owns, that Thales, Pythagoras, Eudoxus, and many others went to that country to be inſtructed in the Sidereal ſcience. Theſe men were not only the firſt, but the greateſt Philoſophers whom Greece produced. And from the ſame writer we know, that they, who ſtaid longeſt in that country, were moſt famous for their ſkill in Geometry and Aſtronomy, after they returned home. So Pythagoras, who lived in ſociety, with the Egyptian Prieſts ſeven years, and was initiated into their religion, carried home from thence, beſides ſeveral Geometrical inventions, the true ſyſtem of the univerſe, and was the firſt, who taught in Greece, that the earth and planets turned round the ſun, which was immoveable in the center; and that the diurnal motion of the ſun and fixed ſtars was not real, but apparent, ariſing from the motion of the earth round its axis. At that time no body was eſteemed a Philoſopher, but who was well acquainted with the Mathematical Sciences. But theſe Sciences were ſoon neglected by the Philoſophers, who came after them, and in who much degenerating from their Predeceſſors, had ſo little care and concern for the Mathematical Sciences, eſpecially Aſtronomy, that of all the obſervations of eclipſes for the ſpace of near 2000 years, which were ſent from Babylon by Calliſthenes, Ptolemy could recover but a very few, the reſt being loſt by the negligence and want of ſkill of thoſe men, who ſhould have preſerved them. For theſe pretenders to Philoſophy having no concern for the uſeful parts of it, ſpent their time about trifles and diſputes of no value, and endeavouring to find out ſophiſms, whereby they might impoſe upon their own and the common ſenſe of all mankind; ſuch were Zeno's arguments againſt motion, and moſt of the Philoſophers diſputations againſt the diviſibility of matter *in infinitum*; whereas a little knowledge of Geometry would eaſily have ſolved all the difficulties they could raiſe. But though Aſtronomy was thus baniſhed out of the ſchools of the common Philoſophers, yet it was received and cultivated by ſome, though but a few, eſpecially by the Pythagorean ſect, which flouriſhed in Italy many years; among whom was Philolaus and Ariſtarchus Samius. The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt, were alſo great patrons of learning; they founded an Academy for Aſtronomy at Alexandria, which furniſhed ſeveral great men, the chief of whom was Hipparchus, who, according to Pliny, *undertook a buſineſs, which would have been a great work to a God to perform, that is, to number the ſtars, and leave the heavens for an heritage to all that come after.* This man foretold the eclipſes of both ſun and moon for 600 years; and upon his obſervations is founded that valuable work of Ptolemy, which he calls his Μεγάλη Σύνταξις, or his *Great Conſtruction*; for from them he gathered the preceſſion of the equinoxes, and the theory of the planets. When Egypt was conquered by the Saracens, and Alexandria reduced under their juriſdiction, the conquerors received Aſtronomy, with the reſt of the Liberal Arts, under

their

on the Uſefulneſs of Mathematical Learning, in a Letter from a Gentleman in the City to his Friend in Oxford; printed at Oxford 1701 in 8vo, pagg. 57. But others upon better grounds affirm, that it was written by Dr. John Arbuthnot.

their protection; and took care, that moſt part of the books concerning the liberal arts and ſciences ſhould be tranſlated from the Greek into their own Arabian language. The Saracens paſſing from Africa into Spain, and having a commerce with the weſtern European nations, imparted to them the ſcience of Aſtronomy, which before was almoſt loſt in Europe. So that about the year 1230, at the command of the Emperor Frederic, Ptolemy's *Almageſt*, or his *Great Syntaxis*, was tranſlated from the Arabic into Latin. After that time, Aſtronomy received many improvements from the patronage of the greateſt Princes, and the labours of the moſt celebrated Philoſophers; among whom, in the firſt place is to be named Alphonſus King of Caſtile, who is never to be forgotten on the account of *Aſtronomical Tables* called after his name. Nicholas Copernicus was not only a diligent obſerver, but alſo a reſtorer of the antient Pythagorean ſyſtem. Prince William, Landgrave of Heſſe, who procured quadrants and ſextants much larger than what were formerly uſed, to obſerve the true places of the ſtars, and whoſe obſervations were publiſhed by Snellius. Sir Henry Savile, ſkillful both in Aſtronomy and Geometry, who founded two Profeſſorſhips for thoſe ſciences at Oxford. Tycho Brahe, ſuperior in ſkill to all that went before, who publiſhed a catalogue of ſeven hundred fixed ſtars, which he had diligently obſerved. John Kepler, who by the help of Tycho's labours found out the true ſyſtem of the world, and the laws obſerved by the celeſtial bodies in their motions. Galileo, who firſt applied a teleſcope to the heavens, and by means of it diſcovered the ſatellites of Jupiter, and their motions; the various phaſes of Saturn; the increaſe and decreaſe of the light of Venus; the mountainous and uneven ſurface of the moon; the ſpots of the ſun; and the revolution of the ſun about its own axis. John Hevelius, who has given us a catalogue of the fixed ſtars much larger than Tycho's, compoſed from his own obſervations. Huygens and Caſſini, who firſt ſaw the ſatellites of Saturn, and diſcovered his ring. Gaſſendi, Horrox, Bullialdus, Ward, Ricciolus, Flamſteed, and many other eminent Aſtronomers. "But "we have one here, *adds Dr. Keill*, who on account "of his great merits in Aſtronomy, does excel them "all, that is, the moſt learned Dr. Edmund Halley, "Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry in this Univerſity, "my moſt friendly collegue; to whoſe labours Aſtro-"nomy owes many great improvements. In him "there ſhines out together (which I know not, if they "are to be found in any other perſon to ſuch a de-"gree) the greateſt dexterity in practical Aſtronomy, "and a moſt profound and exquiſite ſkill in Geome-"try; which will appear by his *Aſtronomical Tables*, "which he is ſhortly to publiſh; for they will far ex-"ceed all others, that ever were or perhaps ever will "be publiſhed." He alſo gives a very great character of Sir Iſaac Newton, whom he ſtiles a *genius of a divine nature*. V. Joannis Keill *M. D. & R. S. S. in Academiâ Oxonienſi Aſtronomiæ Profeſſoris, Epiſtola ad Virum Clariſſimum* Joannem Bernoulli *in Academiâ Baſilienſi Mathematum Profeſſorem*. London, 1720, in 4to, pagg. 28. VI. *Of the Laws of Attraction*; printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. 315. VII. *De Legibus Virium Centripetarum:* printed in the ſame *Tranſactions*, No. 317. VIII. *Problematis* Kepleriani *de inveniendo vero Motu Planetarum, Areas tempori proportionales in Orbibus Ellipticis circa Focorum alterum deſcribentium, ſolutio* Newtoniana: *a D.* J. Keill, *Aſtronomiæ Profeſſ. Savil. Oxon. & R. S. S. demonſtrata & exemplis illuſtrata:* printed in the ſame *Tranſactions*, No. 337. IX. Joannis Keill, *M. D.* &c. *Obſervationes in ea, quæ edidit celeberrimus Geometra* Johannes Bernoulli *in Commentariis Phyſico-Mathematicis Pariſienſibus Ann.* 1710. *de inverſo Problemate Virium Centripetarum; & ejuſdem Problematis ſolutio nova:* printed in the ſame *Tranſactions*, No. 340. X. In 1715 he publiſhed at Oxford in 8vo, *Euclidis Elementorum Libri priores ſex, item undecimus & duodecimus; ex verſione Latinâ Frederici Commandini.* To which he added, *Trigonometriæ Planæ & Sphericæ Elementa. Item Tractatus de Naturâ & Arithmeticâ Logarithmorum. In uſum Juventutis Academicæ.*

T.

☞KEILL (JAMES), an eminent Phyſician, and brother of the preceding, was born in Scotland about the year 1673, and having travelled abroad, read Lectures of Anatomy with great applauſe in the Univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, by the latter of which he had the degree of Doctor of Phyſic conferred upon him. In 1700 he ſettled at Northampton, where he had very conſiderable practice as a Phyſician. He publiſhed ſeveral works [*A*], and died at Northampton of a cancer

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral works.*] In 1698 he tranſlated into Engliſh Lemery's Chemiſtry. The ſixth edition of his *Anatomy* was printed at London 1718. In the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. 306, he publiſhed *An Account of the Death and Diſſection of* John Bayles *of Northampton, reputed to have been* 130 *Years old*; and in No. 361, *De Viribus Cordis Epiſtola.* In 1708 he publiſhed at London in 8vo, *An Account of Animal Secretion, the Quantity of Blood in the human Body, and Muſcular Motion.* He afterwards gave a Latin tranſlation of this Book, to which he ſubjoin'd a *Medicina Statica*, with tables, never publiſhed by any Writer before. In the preface to this treatiſe he obſerves, that Diſeaſes being purely diſorders of the Animal Oeconomy, whatſoever can add any new light to our knowledge of this, muſt neceſſarily clear the nature of thoſe, eſtabliſh the practice of Phyſick upon a ſurer foundation, and inable Phyſicians to make truer and more certain judgments in moſt Caſes; and that if the animal oeconomy were perfectly underſtood, and the hiſtory of Diſeaſes exactly known, the right method of curing each diſeaſe might evidently and certainly be deduced. Whence it follows, that when the hiſtory of a diſeaſe is exactly known, if the right method of curing it cannot be deduced, it muſt be becauſe the animal oeconomy is not underſtood. He concludes his Preface with remarking, that the *Vis attractrix*, which he ſuppoſes to take place in animal ſecretion, was aſſerted by the moſt famous antient phyſicians, as Hippocrates and Galen, as well as the gravitation of the heavenly bodies one towards another was known to the beſt antient Philoſophers, as well as to Kepler and Sir Iſaac Newton. Upon the ſubject of Animal Secretion, and in explaining the manner how the fluids of the animal body are ſeparated from the blood, Dr. Keill undertakes to ſhew, 1. How they are formed in the blood, before they come to the place appointed for ſecretion. 2. In what manner they are ſeparated from the blood by the glands. Upon the former Head he ſhews, that the blood conſiſts of a ſimple fluid, in which ſwim corpuſcles of various figures and magnitudes, and endued with different degrees of attractive force. Hence he concludes, that of ſuch Particles as the blood conſiſts of, muſt the fluids be compoſed which are drawn from it; and as in the blood the particles attract one another, and cohere together, ſo likewiſe may the Particles of the fluids, which are ſeparated from it. This he proceeds farther to ſhew to be not only poſſible, but actually ſo, in ſeveral ſecretions, as milk, urine, &c. And if it is not evident in all, he looks upon it to be, becauſe their conſtituent principles are more powerfully attracted by the particles of the fluids in which they ſwim, than by one another, which hinders their ſeparation from that fluid. From this principle, that the blood conſiſts of corpuſcles of various figures and magnitudes, and indued with various degrees of an attractive Power, and that of ſuch particles the fluids ſecerned by the

cancer in the mouth in the year 1719, aged forty ſix years. He was never married.

Glands are compoſed, the Doctor proceeds to ſhew how the corpuſcles, which compoſe the ſecretions, are formed in the blood, before they arrive at their ſecerning glands. But before he comes to this, he lays down and demonſtrates ſeveral Propoſitions relating to the laws of attraction, as fundamental to what he is about to advance; and then determines the force of air upon the blood in breathing, in order to ſhew, that by the preſſure of the air the coheſion of the globules of the blood is diſſolved. After this, he ſhews how the union of the attractive Particles is hindered near the hearts; and that the particles, which unite firſt after the blood is thrown out of the great artery, muſt be ſuch as have the ſtrongeſt attractive Force; and that ſuch as have the leaſt, muſt unite laſt, and all the intermediate ones, according to their reſpective attractive powers. He then deduces the reaſon of the ſituation of the kidneys; and obſerves, that though the gall, which is ſecerned by the liver, and the *Semen* by the *Teſticuli*, ſeem to be two conſiderable Objections againſt his hypotheſis; yet they are ſo far from proving any thing againſt his doctrine of ſecretion, as to be the greateſt arguments, that could poſſibly be urged for the truth of it. This he demonſtrates at large; and then ſhews how ſome fluids may be ſecerned any where, and why the Lympha is ſecerned in ſeveral places, &c. and concludes what he had offered upon the firſt general propoſition relating to ſecretions, with remarking that the knowledge of ſecretions is neceſſary for the underſtanding of the nature of Diſeaſes, as in the diabetes, the rheumatiſm, the gout and the ſtone; and with explaining the operation of medicines by attraction. Under the ſecond general propoſition he ſhews the manner, in which the ſeveral fluids, after they are formed in the blood, are ſeparated from it by the glands; and as this depends intirely upon the figure and ſtructure of the glands, he determines them to be nothing elſe but convolutions of ſmall arteries; ſince all the veſſels in the body, in which the liquors are continually moving, can have no other than a cylindrical or conical form from the very nature of fluids, whoſe preſſure is always perpendicular to the ſides of the containing veſſel, and equal at equal heights of the fluid. As therefore the ſides of theſe veſſels are ſoft and equally yielding every where, they muſt, by the preſſure of the contained fluid, be equally every where diſtended, and conſequently the ſection of ſuch a veſſel perpendicular to its axis, muſt be a right circle, and therefore the veſſel muſt be either a concave cone or cylinder, or at leaſt ſuch a figure, whoſe tranſverſe ſection is a circle. Hence he concludes, that the circular orifices of the glands can only differ in magnitude, and that all ſorts of particles of leſs diameters than that of the orifice of a gland may enter it. The next ſubject he treats of is the quantity of the blood or circulating fluids of what kind ſoever in the human body; in order to determine which he ſuppoſes the whole body to be nothing but tubes or veſſels full of blood or liquors ſeparated from it; and concludes with obſerving, that in a body weighing 160 pounds there muſt needs be 127 pounds of blood; from which quantity, that he may put the matter out of all manner of diſpute, he deducts the weight both of the fat and bones, (though he thinks, that ſome arguments might be alledged to prove, that even the fat circulates, and he had before ſhewn, that there is a fluid in the bones;) and after allowances made for both, concludes, that the fluids in the human body have the ſame proportion to the ſolids as 100 to 60, or 5 to 3. He finiſhes the whole of what he offers about the blood, with a pretty large diſcourſe about its velocity; and obſerves, that when the whole maſs of blood is to be altered, the courſe of Phyſic ought to be continued for a long time, ſince the blood moves ſlower and ſlower, the farther it moves from the great artery; and conſequently it muſt be a great while before the whole maſs of blood can be mixed with the alterative medicine. And that ſince the circulation of the blood through the glands, which receive arteries immediately from a great veſſel, is very quick, they may carry off a great proportion of the medicine in a very little time; and that therefore it is not the taking of great quantities, but the conſtant taking, which can alter the maſs of blood. In his treatiſe of muſcular motion, he defines a muſcle to be a bundle of thin and parallel plates of fleſhy threads and fibres, incloſed by one common membrane, in which all the fibres of the ſame plate are parallel to one another, and tyed together at extremely little diſtances by ſhort and tranſverſe fibres; the fleſhy fibres being compoſed of other ſmaller fibres, incloſed likewiſe by a common membrane, and each leſſer fibre conſiſting of very ſmall veſſels or bladders, into which the nerves, veins, and arteries are ſuppoſed to open. He proceeds then to explain the reaſon of the contraction of the veſicular muſcular fibres, and to demonſtrate into what figure each veſicle is contracted; which he ſhews with Bernoulli againſt Borelli, to be ſpheroidical; any ſection through the axis of each veſicle, where the axis lies in the plane of the ſection, being a plane incloſed in two curves, which are arches of two circles; and any ſection in any part of the veſicle, to which the axis is perpendicular, being a perfect circle. T.

KELLER (JAMES), one of the beſt writers, who appeared among the Jeſuits in Germany about the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Seckingen (*a*) in the year 1568. He became a Jeſuit in 1588, and after he had taught polite Literature, Philoſophy, Moral and Scholaſtic Divinity, he was appointed Rector of the College of Ratiſbon, and afterwards of the College of Munich. He held the firſt of theſe two offices two years, but he continued in the ſecond for ſixteen years ſucceſſively. He was for a long time Confeſſor to Prince Albert of Bavaria and the Princeſs his wife, and was often conſulted and employed by the Elector Maximilian in affairs of importance. He diſputed publickly with the moſt celebrated Miniſter (*b*) of the Duke of Newburg; and if we may believe his brethren, gained the advantage over him [*A*]. He publiſhed

(*a*) It is one of the four Frontier Cities.

(*b*) His name was *James Hailbrunner*.

[*A*] *He diſputed.... with Hailbrunner; and if we may believe his brethren, gained the advantage over him.*] Alegambe and Southwell relate, that James Hailbrunner found himſelf ſo much preſſed in that diſpute, that he was almoſt reduced to ſilence, and fell ſick the night following, or pretended to be ſo, that he might not be obliged to enter the liſts again next day. *Tam fortitèr paſſus eſt, ut tantum non obmutuerit, morbumque reipſa nocte illa contraxerit, vel, ne cogeretur iterum in arenam deſcendere, callidè ſimularit* (1). This conference was very like that between Perron and du Pleſſis Mornai; for it turned upon the charge brought againſt the Lutheran Miniſter of having cited ſeveral paſſages of the fathers with a thouſand falſifications, in a German work intitled *Papatus Acatholicus*. The conference between Keller the accuſer and Hailbrunner the accuſed was held at Newburg in June 1615 (2); and if we believe the Lutherans, the innocence of their Miniſter was proved by the cleareſt evidence imaginable, *Ex inſpectione & examinatione dictorum patriſticorum, innocentia Hailbrunneriana luculenter patuit. Vide Stratem. Theatrum hiſtoricum, p.* 1111. *D. Dorſeb. in Kircher dev. prælim.* 100 *uſque* 106 (3).

(1) Alegambe and Sotuel, in *Bibliotb. Script. Societatis Jeſu.*

(2) Andreas Carolus, in *Memorabil. Eccleſiaſt. Sæculi XVII.* pag. 384.

(3) Idem, ibid. pag. 383.

lished some controversial writings [B], and divers political works upon the affairs of the times. He assumed a disguised name before his political writings [C]. He died at Munich February the 23d 1631 (c). KEN

(c) *Taken from* Nathaniel Southwell's *Bibliotheca Script. Societatis Jesu*, pag. 373, 374.

[B] *He published some controversial writings.*] Here follow the titles of them. *Tyrannicidium, seu scitum Catholicorum de Tyranni internecione adversus inimicas Calviniani Ministri calumnias in societatem Jesu jactatas:* Munich 1601 in 4to in Latin and High Dutch. *Papatus Catholicus, seu Demonstratio fundamentalis veritatis Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Romanæ contra Jacobum Hailbrunner:* Munich 1616, 2 vol. in fol. in High Dutch. *Compendium ejusdem Operis*, in the same place, at the same time in 4to. *Agonia seu Sudor mortalis Jacobi Hailbrunneri, hoc est, Refutatio Hailbrunneri, qui extremam unctionem infectatus fuerat scripto libro:* in the same place in 1618 4to, in High Dutch. *Fasciculus olidus 50 Flosculorum, id est, Absurditas Prædicentium in Colloquio* (4) *Ratisbonensi.* He took the name of Jacobus Silvanus before this book, which was printed in 1604 in 4to (5). He took the same name in a book printed at Ingolstad in 1607, and intitled *Philippica in anonymum quendam Prædicantem, qui Societatem Jesu mendaciis oneravit.* The writers of the Bibliotheques of the Jesuits make no mention of this book of Keller. Placcius (6) informs us, that it was an answer to a German treatise, in which were collected a great many passages extracted from the seditious writings of some of the Jesuits. The author of the collection confuted the Philippic of Keller in 1608: his answer is intitled *Anti Philippica:* it is written in High Dutch, and in it the author compleats his collection of the seditious passages in the writings of the Jesuits (7). The author of these two collections was a Counsellor to the Elector Palatine, and his name was Michael Loeffenius (8). I have read in the third volume of the *Morale pratique*, that our Keller is author of the *Cavea Turturis.* The reader will be pleased to see here the words of Monsieur Arnaud (9). "Gravina... a learned "Dominican having complained with a great deal of "modesty in his *Vox Turturis* of what Cardinal Bellarmin had said in too harsh terms of the antient orders in his *Gemitus Columbæ*, and having represented, "that it was not at all surprizing, that their severity was "relaxed in the space of so many ages since their foundation; your father James Keller answered him with "great sharpness in his book intitled, *Cavea Turturis. Ch.* 14. *Societati Jesu non est periculum, ne post aliquot annorum Centurias sibi multum dissimilis appareat. Habet enim aromata a putredine præservantia.* i. e. *There is no danger, that the Society of the Jesuits should much degenerate in several hundred of years, since it has spices to preserve it from putrefaction.*" Mr. Mayer ascribes to others the *Cavea Turturis.* Here follow his words. *Cui* (Voci Turturis) *etsi D. Riedelius Ecclesiæ Landshutanæ Decanus, aut sub Riedelii nomine Jacobus Balde, Jesuita,* Caveam Turturis *opposuisset, Gravina Vocem congeminantem Turturis publice dedit &c.* (10). i. e. "Though Ridelius, "Dean of the Church of Landshuten, or James Balde, "the Jesuit, under Ridelius's name, wrote an answer "to the *Vox Turturis*, intitled *Cavea Turturis*, yet "Gravina published another piece intitled *Vox congeminans Turturis.*"

(4) And not *Collegio*, as Placcius, *de Pseudonymis*, pag. 261. says.

(5) *Taken from* Alegambe *and* Southwell, *Bibliotb. Script. Soc. Jesu.*

(6) Placcius, *de Pseudonymis*, pag. 261.

(7) Idem, ibid.

(8) Deckerus, *de Scriptis adespotis*, pag. 153.

(9) *Morale Pratique*, tom. 3. pag. 112.

(10) Joh. Frider. Mayerus, *de Fide Bellarmini suspecta*, pag. 197, 198.

[C] *He assumed a disguised name before his political writings.*] The bloody war which laid Germany waste from the year 1618 till the peace of Munster, was undoubtedy a religious war; for the league, which the Protestants formed, and to which those of the contrary religion opposed a Catholic league, of which the Elector of Bavaria, was head, owed its rise to the suspicions, that the Imperial Court being influenced by the Jesuits would violate the peace of Passau. The Elector of Bavaria a very able Prince, would not suffer with impunity, that the Catholics should be charged with such a design. He procured books to be published, in which the Protestants were accused of having confederated to carry on pernicious designs, and particularly to oppress the Church of Rome. This accusation appeared in 1621 in a work intitled *Cancellaria secreta Anhaltina, id est, occulta Concilia, inaudita Proposita, periculosæ adinventiones, & prodigiosæ machinationes Capitum ac Directorum unionis Correspondentium in Germania, occasione Rebellionis Bohemicæ ad ejusdem Coronæ & Imp. Rom. perniciem agirata. Post nuperam illam, omnibus posteris memorabilem Victoriam Pragensem, & Novemb.* 1620 *in Originalibus Scripturis ac documentis Cancellariæ Anhaltinæ Divinâ Providentiâ deprehensa.* The Protestant Princes ordered an answer to be made to this book, which was pretended to be written by William Jocher Counsellor to the Elector of Bavaria, and by Dr. Leickard (11). It was thought these Princes made use of the pen of Volrad Pless, Counsellor to the Elector Palatine (12). Our James Keller thought so; for he wrote an answer to this book, printed in 1624 under this title: *Volradi Plessii* (13) *Heidelbergensis olim Consiliarii Ajax post oppugnatam frustra Cancellariam Anhaltinam in spongiam incumbens, sive Appendix Cancellariæ Anhaltinæ, auctore Fabio Hercyniano, J. C.* Alegambe and his continuator knew not, that their brother had taken the name of *Fabius Hercynianus* before this work. He had taken it the year before, when he answered a book, which Lewis Camerarius had published in 1622, under the title of *Cancellaria Hispanica: adjecta sunt Acta publica, hoc est, Scripta & Epistolæ authenticæ, è quibus partim infelicis Belli in Germaniâ, partim Proscriptionis in Electorem Palatinum scopus præcipuus apparet. Adjecti sunt sub finem Flores Scoppiani ex Classico Belli Sacri.* This book has another title after the table of contents, viz. *Viva Demonstratio causarum præsentis in Germania belli Religionis ergo suscepti.* The Jesuit Keller's answer to this book of Camerarius is intitled, *Litura, seu Castigatio Cancellariæ Hispanicæ, a Ludovico Camerario Excancellario Bohemico, Exconsiliario Heidelbergensi &c. instructæ. Auctore Fabio Hercyniano J. C.* A new edition of this book was printed in 1624 under this title. *Cancellariæ Anhaltinæ Pars secunda. In qua non ita pridem à quibusdam edita Cancellaria Hispanica nervose simul ac lepidè refutatur: tum ex quibusdam interceptis ad Gaborem Literis, Hungaricorum qui sequuti sunt & adhuc durant motuum Incentores seu Auctores demonstrantur. Auctore Fabio Hercyniano J. C.* Alegambe and his continuator did not know, that James Keller took this fictitious name in the title of his book. But they were not ignorant of it with regard to two tracts, of which I am going to give the titles. *Rhabarbarum demendæ Bili quam in Apologiâ suâ proritavit Ludovicus Camerarius propinatum à Fabio Hercyniano J. C. an.* 1625. *Tubus Gallicanus, hebescentibus Ludovici Camerarii oculis, in Liturâ Hispanicæ Cancellariæ male advertentibus, ad clarius videndum tornatus, à Fabio Hercyniano. Additis in fine testimonii causa, & pro Tubo, & pro Rhabarbaro, ipsius Camerarii Epistolis anno* 1625. Nicholas Harstein answering the *Ajax* or the *Appendix Cancellariæ Anhaltinæ*, observes, that the Jesuit, who was the author, used very much to disguise himself. *Nihil huic homini insolens esse, ut veritatem, ita nomen suum pervertere, & modo sub Aurimontii* (*à matre suâ Goltbergerâ*) *modo sub Didaci Tamiæ, modo sub Fabii Hercyniani* (*à Sylvâ Hercyniâ, sive Nigrâ, prope quam supra Basileam in oppido Seckingen natus est*) *nomine fallere, & his literis, J. C. quæ non Jurisconsultum, ut alias, sed Jacobum Cellarium denotant, Lectori imponere* (14). i. e. "It is not "at all unusual with this man to pervert his own name, "as well as the truth, and to impose upon the reader, "sometimes under the name of Aurimontius (from his "mother Goltberg), sometimes under that of Didacus Tamia, sometimes under that of Fabius Hercynianus (from the Hercynian or Black Forest, near "which, above Basil, in the town of Seckingen he was "born), and to disguise himself under the letters, J. C. "which do not signify *Jurisconsultus*, as on other occasions, but Jacobus Cellarius." Here are disguises not known to the two Jesuits, who compiled the Bibliotheque of the Writers of their Order. The same Nicholas Harstein informs us, that James Keller was author of *Mysteria politica* (15), a work, which made a great deal of noise (16), and which was very injurious to the Court of France. But he ascribes (17) to another Jesuit the book intitled *Secreta Secretorum Calvino-Turcica*, the author of which had disguised himself under the name of Honestus Cogmandolus. The person, who answered him in a book intitled, *Secreta Secretorum Turco-Papistica*, took the fictitious name of Justinus Justinopolitanus, instead of Lewis Camerarius, which was his true name. The contests of the writers upon the affairs of the time, were then much more grave than they are in the present war (18), and as warm in their kind as those of warriors. At present there are scarce any thing but scurrilous satires published.

(11) Keller. in *Appendix Cancellariæ Anhaltinæ*, says that this report was false.

(12) Nicholas Harstein denies this in the Preface to his *Responsio Apologetica* to the *Ajax* of *Fabius Hercynianus.*

(13) Alegambe is mistaken in this name, for he says *Blessii*, and that this man was Chancellor. Father Southwell has not corrected these two errors: he says *Blessii*, &c. Placcius, *de Anonymis*, num. 256. pag. 71. has not corrected them, and erroneously ranks this book among the anonymous ones, not knowing that the author took the name of *Fabius Hercynianus.*

(14) Nicolaus Harsteinius, *Sicamber, in Præfat. Responsionis Apologet.* printed in 1625.

(15) *Legat* Mysteria Politica *nuper à vobis, & quidem a te Jacobo Kellero (ut multorum fert opinio) edita.* Nicolaus Harsteinius, *Apolog.* pag. 8. In the *Mercure François*, tom. 2. this book is ascribed to an Italian.

(16) See *Mercure François*, tom. 11. pag. 1062, & *seq.*

(17) Harsteinius, *Apolog.* pag. 10.

(18) I write this in October 1695.

☞ KEN (THOMAS), an eminent Engliſh Biſhop in the ſeventeenth Century, was ſon of Mr. Thomas Ken [*A*] of Furnival's-Inn London, by Martha his wife, and was born at Barkhamſtead in Hertfordſhire in July 1637 (*a*), and not in 1635, as Mr. Wood aſſerts (*b*). From Wincheſter ſchool he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, and entered a Student of Hart-Hall in 1656, and the year following admitted Probationer-Fellow of New-College (*c*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts May the 3d 1661, and that of Maſter January the 21ſt 1664 (*d*). December the 8th 1666 he was choſen Fellow of Wincheſter College (*e*), and ſoon after became domeſtic Chaplain to Dr. George Morley Biſhop of Wincheſter, who preferred him to the Rectory of Brixton in the Iſle of Wight (*f*), and afterwards to the Parſonage of Woodhay in Hampſhire, and to a Prebend in the Cathedral of Wincheſter, in which he was inſtalled April the 12th 1669 (*g*). In 1675 (*h*), the year of the Jubilee, he travelled through Italy, and to Rome, and upon his return within the ſame year, he was often heard to ſay, that he had great reaſon to give God thanks for his travels; ſince, if it were poſſible, he returned rather more confirmed of the purity of the Proteſtant Religion, than he was before (*i*). July the 6th 1678 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*k*); and June 30th 1679 that of Doctor of Divinity (*l*). He was afterwards appointed by King Charles II to attend the Lord Dartmouth to the demoliſhing of Tangier; and at his return was made Chaplain to his Majeſty (*m*), as he was ſome time after to the Princeſs of Orange, then reſiding in Holland [*B*]. January the 25th $168\frac{4}{5}$ he was conſecrated Biſhop of Bath and Wells [*C*] in the room of Dr. Peter Mews, tranſlated to the See of Wincheſter. The month following he attended King Charles II at his death [*D*]. In the following reign he zealouſly oppoſed the progreſs of Popery [*E*]; and on the 8th of

(*a*) *A ſhort Account of the Life of the Right Reverend Father in God*, Thomas Ken, *D. D. ſometime Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells. By* Will. Hawkins *of the Middle Temple Eſq*; pag. 1. edit. London 1713.

(*b*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 989. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

(*d*) *Short Account*, pag. 3.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 3, 4.

(*f*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) *Short Account*, pag. 6.

(*h*) Ibid. Wood *ſays in* 1674.

(*i*) *Short Account*, pag. 6, 7.

(*k*) *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 210.

(*l*) Idem, ibid. col. 212.

(*m*) *Short Account*, pag. 7.

[*A*] *Son of Mr. Thomas Ken.*] His father's family was of great antiquity, and had poſſeſſed a very plentiful fortune for many generations, having been known by the name of the *Kens* of *Ken-Place*, an eſtate, in the poſſeſſion of Earl Powlet, who is deſcended from an heireſs of the Kens, John Lord Powlet of Hinton St. George having married Chriſtian, daughter and heireſs of Chriſtopher Ken of Ken in the county of Somerſet Eſq; (1).

(1) *A ſhort Account of the Life of the Right Reverend Father in God*, Thomas Ken, *D. D. ſometime Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells. By* William Hawkins *of the Middle Temple Eſq*; pag. 1, 2.

[*B*] *Some time after made Chaplain to the Princeſs of Orange, then reſiding in Holland.*] In this ſtation his prudent behaviour and ſtrict piety gained him entire credit and high eſteem with that Princeſs. "But "a conſequential act, ſays Mr. Hawkins (2), of his "ſingular zeal for the honour of his country, in be"half of a young Lady, ſo far exaſperated the Prince, "that he warmly threatened to turn him from the "ſervice; which the Doctor reſenting, and begging "leave of the Princeſs, (whom to his death he diſtin"guiſhed by the title of his miſtreſs) warned himſelf "from the ſervice, and would not return to that court, "till by the entreaty of the Prince himſelf he was "courted to his former poſt and reſpect, conſenting "to continue there for one year longer, (during which "time he was taken, at leaſt into a ſhew of great "familiarity;) and when that year expired, he re"turned for England. This was not unknown to "the King, nor did he ſhew the leaſt diſlike to "his behaviour." The thing which had given offence to the Prince of Orange was our author's obliging one of the Prince's favourites to marry a young Lady of the Princeſs's train, whom he had betrayed (3).

(2) Ibid. pag. 7, 8.

(3) *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. John Kettlewell*, pag. 423, 424. edit. London 1718 in 8vo.

[*C*] *January the 25th* $168\frac{4}{5}$ *he was conſecrated Biſhop of Bath and Wells.*] When that See became vacant by the removal of Dr. Peter Mews to that of Wincheſter, the King himſelf ſtopped all attempts of Dr. Ken's friends, (who would of their own inclination have applied in his behalf,) with this remarkable ſaying; "That Dr. Ken ſhould ſucceed, but that he "deſigned it ſhould be from his own peculiar ap"pointment." And accordingly the King himſelf gave order for a *Conge d' eſlire* to paſs the ſeals for that purpoſe; and this even juſt after our author's opinion, that a woman of ill repute ought not to be endured in the houſe of a Clergyman, eſpecially the King's Chaplain, was publickly known. For at that time the King coming to Wincheſter, and his Harbinger having marked the Doctor's houſe, which he held in right of his Prebend, for the uſe of Mrs. Gwin; he abſolutely refuſed her admittance, and ſhe was forced to ſeek another lodging (4).

(4) *A ſhort Account of the Life, &c.* pag. 9, 10.

[*D*] *The month following he attended King Charles II at his death.*] Mr. Hawkins tells us (5), that the Biſhop gave cloſe attendance by the royal bed, at leaſt for three whole days and nights, watching at proper intervals to ſuggeſt pious and proper thoughts and ejaculations on ſo ſerious an occaſion. In which time the Ducheſs of Portſmouth coming into the room, the Biſhop prevailed with his Majeſty to have her removed, and took that occaſion of repreſenting the injury and injuſtice done to his Queen ſo effectually, that his Majeſty was induced to ſend for the Queen, and aſking pardon, had the ſatisfaction of her forgiveneſs before he died. The Biſhop having urged the neceſſity of a full repentance, ſeveral times propoſed the adminiſtration of the Sacrament. But though it was not abſolutely rejected, it was yet delayed from time to time, till the Biſhop and others preſent were put out from the King's preſence for about the ſpace of half an hour; during which time it has been ſuggeſted, that Father Huddleſton was admitted to give his Majeſty Extreme Unction. And the interval between this and his death was ſo ſhort, that nothing concerning the Biſhop's behaviour happened worthy of notice. Biſhop Burnet obſerves (6), that our Biſhop "applied himſelf much to the awak"ing the King's conſcience, and ſpoke with an elevation "both of thought and expreſſion, like a man inſpi"red. He reſumed the matter often, and pronounced "many ſhort ejaculations and prayers, which affected "all that were preſent, except him, that was moſt "concerned, who ſeemed to take no notice of him, and "made no anſwer. He preſſed the King ſix or ſeven "times to receive the Sacrament. But the King al"ways declined it, ſaying, he was very weak. A "table with the elements upon it ready to be conſe"crated was brought into the room; which occaſi"oned a report to be then ſpread about, that he had "received it. Ken preſſed the King to declare, that he deſired the Sacrament, and that he died in the communion of the Church of England; to which the King anſwered nothing. The Biſhop aſked him, if he deſired abſolution of his ſins; which he pronounced over his Majeſty; "for which he was blamed, ſince "the King expreſſed no ſenſe of ſorrow for his paſt "life, nor any purpoſe of amendment. It was "thought to be a proſtitution of the peace of the "Church, to give it to one, who after a life led as "the King's had been, ſeemed to harden himſelf a"gainſt every thing that could be ſaid to him. Ken "was alſo cenſured for another piece of indecency; "he preſented the Duke of Richmond, Lady Portſ"mouth's ſon, to be bleſſed by the King. Upon "this ſome that were in the room cried out, that "the King was their common father; and upon that "all kneeled down for his bleſſing, which he gave "them."

(5) Ibid. pag. 10, 11, 12.

(6) *Hiſtory of his own Time*, vol. 1. B. 3.

[*E*] *In the following Reign he zealouſly oppoſed the progreſs of popery,*] The King had ſo far entertained hopes of his abſolute obedience to his will and pleaſure, that though many of his ſermons were framed againſt the Church of Rome; yet it was thought worth while

of June 1688 he, with five other Biſhops and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was committed priſoner to the Tower of London for ſubſcribing a petition to his Majeſty againſt the declaration of indulgence (*n*). Upon the Revolution he refuſed to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary, on which account he was deprived of his Biſhopric [*F*]. Her Majeſty Queen Anne beſtowed on him a yearly penſion of two hundred

(*n*) Pag. 19, 20.

to attempt to gain him over to the intereſt of that party at court; but ſo ineffectually, that upon the preaching of a ſermon of his publiſhed at the end of the account of his life, in the King's own Chapel at Whitehall, and it being miſrepreſented to the King, who had not been preſent at Divine Service, his Majeſty ſent for the Biſhop, and cloſetting him on the occaſion, received nothing in anſwer, but this fatherly reprimand; *That if his Majeſty had not neglected his own duty of being preſent, his enemies had miſſed this opportunity of accuſing him:* whereupon he was diſmiſſed. (7).

(7) *Short Account*, pag. 17, 18.

[*F*] *Upon the revolution he refuſed to take the Oaths to King William and Queen Mary; on which account he was deprived of his biſhoprick.*] Juſt before his deprivation Dr. Burnet, then Biſhop of Salisbury, wrote to him the following letter;

" My Lord,

" This Gentleman, who is preſented to a Living " in your Lordſhip's Dioceſe, came to me to receive " inſtitution; but I have declined the doing of it, " and ſo have ſent him over to your Lordſhip, that " you being ſatisfied with relation to him, may order " your chancellor to do it. I was willing to lay hold " on this occaſion to let your Lordſhip know, that I " intend to make no other uſe of the commiſſion, that " was ſent me, than to obey any orders, that you may " ſend me in ſuch things as my hand and ſeal may " be neceſſary. I am extremely concerned to ſee your " Lordſhip ſo unhappily poſſeſſed with that, which " is likely to prove ſo fatal to the Church, if we are " deprived of one, that has ſerved in it with ſo much " honour as you have done, eſpecially at ſuch a time, " when there are fair hopes of the reforming of ſeve- " ral abuſes. I am the more amazed to find your Lord- " ſhip ſo poſitive, becauſe ſome have told my ſelf, " that you had adviſed them to take that which you " refuſe your ſelf; and others have told me, that they " read a paſtoral letter, which you had prepared for " your dioceſe, and were reſolved to print it, when " you went to London. Your Lordſhip, it ſeems, chan- " ged your mind there, which gave great advantages " to thoſe, who were ſo ſevere as to ſay, that there was " ſomewhat elſe than conſcience at the bottom. I " take the liberty to write this freely to your Lordſhip " for I do not deny, that I am in ſome pain till I " know whether it is true or not. I pray God to pre- " vent a new breach in a Church, which has ſuffered " ſo ſeverely under the old one.

My Lord,

" Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful ſervant and brother,
Sarum, October 1.

" *Gi. Sarum.*

Biſhop Ken's anſwer was as follows.

" All glory be to God.

" My Lord,

" I am obliged to your Lordſhip for the continued " concern you expreſs for me, and for the kind free- " dom you are pleaſed to take with me. And though " I have already in public fully declared my mind to " my dioceſe concerning the oath, to prevent my being " miſunderſtood; yet ſince you ſeem to expect it from " me, I will give ſuch an account, which, if it " does not ſatisfy your Lordſhip, will at leaſt ſatisfy " my ſelf. I dare aſſure you, I never adviſed any " one to take the oath; though ſome, who came to " talk inſidiouſly with me, may have raiſed ſuch a " report. So far have I been from it, that I never " would adminiſter it to any one perſon, whom I was " to collate. And therefore, before the act took place, " I gave a particular commiſſion to my Chancellor, " who himſelf did not ſcruple it; ſo that he was au- " thorized, not only to inſtitute, but alſo to collate " in my ſtead. If any came to diſcourſe with me a- " bout taking the oath, I uſually told them, I durſt " not take it my ſelf. I told them my reaſons, if " they urged me to it, and were of my dioceſe; and " then remitted them to their ſtudy and prayers for " farther Directions. It is true, having been ſcanda- " lized at many perſons of our own coat, who for " ſeveral years together preached up paſſive obedience " to a much greater height than ever I did, (it " being a ſubject, with which I rarely meddled,) and " on a ſudden, without the leaſt acknowledgment of " their paſt error, preached and acted the quite con- " trary; I did prepare a paſtoral letter, which, if I " had ſeen reaſon to alter my judgment, I thought to " have publiſhed; at leaſt that part of it, on which " I laid the greateſt ſtreſs, to juſtify my conduct to " my flock. And before I went to London, I told " ſome of my friends, that if that (8) proved true, " which was affirmed to us with all imaginable aſſu- " rance, (and which I think more proper for diſcourſe " than a letter) it would be an inducement to me to " comply. But when I came to town, I found it was " falſe; and without being influenced by any one, or " making any words of it, I burnt my paper, and " adhered to my former opinion. If this is to be cal- " led a change of mind, and a change ſo criminal, that " people, who are very diſcerning, and know my own " heart better than my ſelf, have pronounced ſentence " upon me, that there is ſomething elſe than conſcience " at the bottom; I am much afraid, that ſome of " thoſe, who cenſure me, may be chargeable with " more notorious changes than that; whether more " conſcientious or no, God only is the judge. If your " Lordſhip gives credit to the many miſrepreſentations, " which are made of me, and which I being ſo uſed " to can eaſily diſregard, you may naturally enough " be in pain for me; for to ſee one of your brethren " throwing himſelf headlong into a wilful deprivation, " not only of honour and of income, but of a good " conſcience alſo, are particulars, out of which may " be framed an idea very deplorable. But though I " do daily in many things betray great infirmity, I " thank God, I cannot accuſe my ſelf of any inſince- " rity; ſo that Deprivation will not reach my con- " ſcience, and I am in no pain at all for my ſelf. I " perceive, that after we have been ſufficiently ridi- " culed, the laſt mortal ſtab deſigned to be given us, " is to expoſe us to the world for men of no conſcience. " And if God is pleaſed to permit it, his moſt holy " will be done; though what that particular paſſion " of corrupt nature is, which lies at the bottom, and " which we gratify in loſing all we have, will be " hard to determine. God grant ſuch reproaches as " theſe may not revert on the authors. I heartily " join with your Lordſhip in your deſires for the peace " of this Church; and I ſhall conceive great hopes, " that God will have compaſſion on her, if I ſee, " that ſhe compaſſionates and ſupports her ſiſter of " Scotland. I beſeech God to make you an inſtru- " ment to promote that peace and that charity I my " ſelf can only contribute to, both by my prayers and " by my deprecations againſt ſchiſm and againſt ſacri- " lege.

(8) The Biſhop was about this time aſſured, that King James II had by ſome ſpecial inſtrument made over the Kingdom of Ireland to the French King.

My Lord,

" your Lordſhips very faithful ſervant and brother,
" October 5, 1689.

" *Thomas Bath and Wells.*"

His opinion was not agreeable to that of the Nonjurors, who were for continuing a ſeparation by *private Conſecrations* among themſelves, as appeared from his anſwers to ſeveral letters, written to him by men of learning upon that ſubject; and from his requeſting Dr. George Hooper to accept of the See of Bath and Wells (9). That Divine having often and earneſtly diſcourſed with Biſhop Ken on the ſubject of compliance with the oath, the latter at laſt uſed theſe expreſſions to him; *I queſtion not, but that you, and ſeveral others, have taken the oaths with as good a conſcience, as my ſelf ſhall refuſe them; and ſometimes you have almoſt perſuaded me to comply by the arguments you have uſed. But I beg you to urge them no farther; for ſhould I be perſuaded to comply, and after ſee reaſon to repent, you would make me the moſt miſerable man in the world* (10).

(9) *Short Account*, pag. 26.

(10) Ibid. pag. 38, 39.

dred pounds *per annum* to his death (*o*), which was occaſioned by an ulcer in his kidnies at Long Leate in Wiltſhire March the 19th 1710. He was interred at Frome-Selwood (*p*). He publiſhed ſeveral books [*G*]. His charity was ſo extenſive, that having once, while he was Biſhop of Bath and Wells, received a fine of four thouſand pounds, he gave great part of it to the French Proteſtants (*q*). He had an excellent genius for and ſkill in Muſic; and whenever he had convenient opportunities for it, he performed ſome devotional part of praiſe with his own compoſitions, which were grave and ſolemn (*r*). Biſhop Burnet tells us (*s*), that "he was a man of an aſcetic courſe of life, and "yet of a very lively temper, but too hot and ſudden. He had a very edifying way of "preaching; but it was more apt to move the paſſions, than to inſtruct, ſo that his "Sermons were rather beautiful than ſolid. Yet his way in them was very taking."

(*o*) See the article of HOOPER (George) vol. 6. pag. 231.

(*p*) *Short Account*, pag. 44, 45.

(*q*) Ibid. pag. 22.

(*r*) Ibid. pag. 24.

(*s*) *Hiſtory of his own Time*, vol. 1. B. 3.

[*G*] *He publiſhed ſeveral books.*] I. *A Manual of Prayers for the uſe of the Scholars of Wincheſter College, and all other devout Chriſtians.* London 1681 in 12mo. II. *An Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm: or, Practice of Divine Love, compoſed for the Dioceſe of Bath and Wells.* London 1685, in 8vo. There being an expreſſion in the firſt edition, which the Papiſts at that time laid hold of, as if it favoured their doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; he took particular care in the next edition in the reign of King James II, by altering the expreſſion, to aſcertain the ſenſe (11). III. *Directions for Prayer, taken out of the Church Catechiſm:* printed with the *Expoſition.* IV. *A Paſtoral Letter to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of Bath and Wells, concerning their behaviour during Lent:* dated February the 17th 1687. London 1688 in one ſheet in 4to. V. *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Right Honourable the Lady Margaret Maynard, at Little Eaſton in Eſſex,* June the 30th 1682, on *Prov.* 11. 16. London 1682 in 4to. VI. *A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Bath on Aſcenſion Day May the 5th* 1687. This occaſioned a piece, intitled, *Animadverſions on the Biſhop of Bath's Sermon on Aſcenſion Day May the 5th* 1687. London 1687 in three ſheets and an half in 4to. VII. *A Letter to Dr. Tenniſon on his Sermon at Queen Mary's Funeral.* London 1695 in 4to. VIII. Mr. Hawkins has ſubjoined to his *Life* of our author two Sermons, one preached in the King's Chapel at Whitehall in 1685 on *Dan. x.* 11. the other preached upon Paſſion-Sunday on *Micah vii.* 8, 9. and ſix *Hymns* or *Odes.* Theſe Mr. Hawkins publiſhed as a ſpecimen, in order to a publication of his works at large. VIII. He wrote alſo an *Epic Poem* about the time of his voyage to Tangier, which ſeems to have had his laſt hand; with ſeveral other Poems (12).

(11) Ibid. pag. 13, 14.

(12) Ibid. pag. 24.

H

KENNETT (WHITE), a learned Engliſh Writer and Biſhop of Peterborough in the eighteenth Century, was ſon of Mr. Baſil Kennett, M. A. of the Univerſity of Dublin, Rector of Dimchurch and Vicar of Poſtling near Hythe in Kent, by Mary eldeſt daughter of Mr. Thomas White [*A*], a wealthy Magiſtrate in Dover, who had been a maſter ſhipwright or builder of ſhips, and after the Reſtoration was employed by the Government in that way (*a*). Our author was born in the pariſh of St. Mary in Dover Auguſt the 10th 1660; and had the firſt part of his education at Eleham and Wye, two country-ſchools in the neighbourhood; from whence he was removed to Weſtminſter ſchool above the curtain; but falling ſick of the ſmall-pox at the very time of election, his father thought it not adviſeable that he ſhould wait another year. He ſpent a year before he went to the Univerſity in the family of Mr. Tolſon at Beakſborne, and taught his three ſons with great content and ſucceſs (*b*). He removed to Oxford, and was entered a Batler and Semi-Commoner of St. Edmund Hall in June 1678 (*c*), and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts May the 2d 1682 (*d*). He ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his vigorous application to his ſtudies, and by his tranſlations of ſeveral books into Engliſh, and other pieces which he publiſhed [*B*]. He took his degree of Maſter of Arts,

(*a*) *Life of the Right Reverend Dr.* White Kennett, *late Lord Biſhop of Peterborough. With ſeveral original Letters of the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr.* Tenniſon, *the late Earl of Sunderland, Biſhop* Kennett, *and ſome curious original Papers and Records never before publiſhed,* pag. 1, 2. edit. London 1730 in 8vo.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

(*c*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1131. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*d*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 219.

[*A*] *Mr. Thomas White.*] From him, who was our author's godfather as well as grandfather, he had his Chriſtian name, not without hopes of being made his heir; but the old Gentleman afterwards married a ſecond wife, by whom he had three children, who with their mother went away with the whole eſtate (1).

[*B*] *His tranſlations of ſeveral books into Engliſh, and other pieces which he publiſhed.*] In 1681 he publiſhed *A Letter from a Student at Oxford to a friend in the couutry, concerning the approaching Parliament, in Vindication of his Majeſty, the Church of England and Univerſity.* London 1681 in about three ſheets in 4to. This pamphlet, which was printed in March, and divers copies of it ſent to Oxford about the 15th of the ſame month 168$\frac{2}{1}$ againſt the time that the ſaid Parliament was to ſit, on the 21ſt of that month, "gave "great diſtaſte, *ſays Mr. Wood* (2), to the factious "party of the Houſe of Commons, who would have "endeavoured to find out the author and have him puniſhed, had not they been ſuddenly diſſolved. "John Trenchard, ſometime Fellow of New College "in Oxford, then a Burgeſs of Taunton in Somerſetſhire, to ſerve in the ſaid Parliament, was an "active man in this matter, and pretended to know "more than another, that it was writ by an Oxford "Scholar. The Vice-Chancellor was deſired by ſome "of them to ſound out the author; but for the reaſon before expreſſed he deſiſted." The ſame year he publiſhed *A Poem to Mr.* E. L. *on his Majeſty's diſſolving the late Parliament at Oxon, 28 March* 1681. It was printed on one ſide of a ſheet of paper, and hath this beginning, *An Atheiſt now muſt a monſter be,* &c. It was reprinted in a pamphlet intitled, *The Conduct of the Reverend Dr.* Kennett. London, 1717. In 1683 he publiſhed a Tranſlation of Eraſmus's *Moriæ Encomium,* which he intitled, *Wit againſt Wiſdom, or a Panegyric upon Folly.* Oxford 1683 in 8vo. uſhered into the world by copies of verſes made by Matthew Morgan M. A. of St. John's College, William Oſborne M. A. James Shute B. A. both of Edmund Hall, and Thomas Wood Fellow of New College. At the end of which verſes is the tranſlator's poem on the argument of this book; This tranſlation has ſince had ſeveral other editions. He tranſlated likewiſe *The Life of* Chabrias, *written by* Cornelius Nepos, publiſhed among *The Lives of illuſtrious Men* written by the Hiſtorian, *and done into Engliſh by ſeveral Hands of Oxon.* Oxford 1684 in 8vo. He tranſlated likewiſe *Pliny's Panegyric,* which he intitled, *An Addreſs of Thanks to a good Prince, preſented in the Panegyric of* Pliny *upon* Trajan, *the beſt of Roman Emperors.* London 1686 in 8vo. To this tranſlation Mr. Kennett prefixed a large *Preface* and *Life of Pliny,* according as Sir Robert Stapylton had done in his tranſlation of that *Panegyric,* printed at Oxford in 1644 in 4to. Mr. Kennett's tranſlation was reprinted in 1717; before which time ſeveral reflections having been made on him for this performance, it occaſioned the following account of it in a poſtſcript to the

(1) *Life of Biſhop Kennett,* pag. 2. edit. London 1730 in 8vo.

(2) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1131. 2d edit. London 1721.

Arts, and entering into holy Orders became Curate and Aſſiſtant to Mr. Samuel Blackwell, B. D. Vicar and School Maſter of Burceſter in Oxfordſhire (*e*). In the beginning of September 1685 he was preſented by Sir William Glynne Bart. to the Vicarage of Amerſden or Ambroſden in Oxfordſhire (*f*); and after a few years abſence made Vice-Principal of St. Edmund-Hall (*g*). In January 1689 he had the misfortune of being wounded in the ſkull by the breaking of a gun [*C*]. He was afterwards preſented to the Rectory of Shotteſbroke in Berkſhire by William Cherry Eſq; (*h*). In 1693 he publiſhed at Oxford in 8vo the *Life of Mr. William Somner* [*D*]. The year following Mr. Edmund Gibſon, now Biſhop of London, dedicated to him Mr. Somner's Treatiſe in anſwer to Chifletius concerning the ſituation of *Partus Iccius* [*E*]. In 1695 Mr. Kennett publiſhed his *Parochial Antiquities* [*F*]. While he continued at Amerſden, he contracted an acquaintance with Dr. George Hickes, whom he entertained in his houſe, and was inſtructed by him in the Saxon and Northern tongues; though their different principles in Church and State afterwards broke off the friendſhip between them [*G*]. He had now

(*e*) Idem, *Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.* and *Life of Biſhop Kennet*, pag. 3, 4.

(*f*) Wood. *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) *Life of Biſhop Kennet*, pag. 6.

(*h*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

the tranſlation of his *Convocation Sermon* 1710. "He " [that is the *Remarker*] ſays, the Doctor dedicated " *Pliny's Panegyric* to the late King James: and what " if he did? Only it appears he had not. This is an " idle tale among the party, who perhaps have told " it till they believe it. When the truth is, there " was no ſuch dedication, and the tranſlation itſelf of " *Pliny* was not deſigned for any Court-Addreſs. The " young tranſlator's tutor Mr. Allam directed his pupil by way of exerciſe to turn ſome Latin tracts into " Engliſh. The firſt was a little book of Eraſmus " intitled *Moriæ Encomium*, which the tutor was pleaſed " to give to a Bookſeller in Oxford, who put it in the " preſs, while the tranſlator was but an Under-Graduate. Another ſort of taſk required by his tutor " was this *Panegyric* of *Pliny* upon *Trajan*, which he " likewiſe gave to a Bookſeller in Oxford, before the " tranſlator was Maſter of Arts, deſigning to have it " publiſhed in the reign of King Charles; and a ſmall " cut of that Prince at full length was prepared, and " afterwards put before ſeveral of the books, though " the impreſſion happened to be retarded till the death " of King Charles; and then the ſame tutor, not long " before his own death, adviſed a new preface adapted " to the then received opinion of King James's being a " juſt and good Prince. However there was no dedication to King James, but to a private patron, " a worthy Baronet, who came in heartily to the beginning of the late happy revolution. This is the " whole truth of that ſtory, that hath been ſo often caſt " at the Doctor; not that he thinks himſelf obliged to " defend every thought and expreſſion of his juvenile " ſtudies, when he had poſſibly been trained up to ſome " notions, which he afterwards found reaſon to put " away as *childiſh things*."

[*C*] *In January* 1689 *he had the misfortune of being wounded in the ſkull by the breaking of a gun.*] He was ſhooting at a bird within the pariſh of Middleton Stony in Oxfordſhire, when the gun burſting, a ſplinter of the barrel made a grievous wound in his forehead, and broke through both the tables of his ſkull; which occaſioned his wearing a large black patch of velvet on that part of it. While he lay under great diſorder of body and brain, juſt after he had undergone the ſevere operation of trepanning, for want of ſleep he made a copy of Latin verſes, and dictated them to a friend at his bedſide, who tranſmitted this copy to Sir William Glynne, in whoſe ſtudy it was found, after Mr. Kennett had forgot every thing but the ſad occaſion. *It is now*, ſays the author of his *Life* (3), *in my poſſeſſion, and thought by good judges to be no reproach to the author.*

(3) Pag. 7.

[*D*] *In* 1693 *he publiſhed at Oxford in* 8vo *the* Life of Mr. William Somner.] This piece, which was publiſhed in the beginning of that year, was written by way of letter dated from Edmund Hall February the 15th 1692 to the Reverend Mr. James Brome M. A. Rector of Cheriton in Kent, and Chaplain to the Cinque Ports, and prefixed to Mr. Brome's edition of Mr. *Somner's Treatiſe of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent.*

[*E*] *The year following Mr. Edmund Gibſon, now Biſhop of London, dedicated to him Mr. Somner's Treatiſe in anſwer to* Chifletius *concerning the ſituation of* Portus Iccius.] This book was printed at Oxford 1694 in 8vo under the following title. *Julii Cæſaris Portus Iccius illuſtratus, ſive,* 1. *Gulielmi Somneri ad Chifletii Librum de* Portu-Iccio *Reſponſio.* 2. *Caroli du Freſne Diſſertatio de* Portu-Iccio. The dedication is inſcribed *Eximio Viro Whito Kennetto*; and in it Mr. Gibſon after having taken notice that the ſtudy of antiquity is very much diſcouraged by its being repreſented as dry and barren, and the bane of all delicacy and politeneſs, tells our author, " that by this means, thoſe, " who apply themſelves to it, would be wholly diſ- " couraged, but that they were kept in countenance " by his example and authority. And that there " could not be a more effectual anſwer to the re- " proaches caſt on this ſort of learning, than that vi- " vacity of parts, that ſtrength and delicacy of under- " ſtanding ſo remarkable in him. That from his po- " liteneſs of mind, eaſineſs and affability of manners, " and perfect maſtery in all the parts of gentile learn- " ing, joined with the exacteſt knowledge in antiqui- " ties, the world might ſee that this kind of ſtudy " does by no means cramp the genius, or ſour the " temper; and from his ſoundneſs and ſtrength of " judgment men may learn, that the more unguarded " flights and fallies of imagination are by this means " beſt of all corrected." He then proceeds to tell him, that he eſteems himſelf happy in this reſpect, that the nature of his ſtudies, and his private obligations, both conſpired to engage him to direct that addreſs to him. " For who has a better title to theſe golden remains " of Somner, than one, who by ſo copiouſly and " exactly writing his life, had at the ſame time con- " ferred immortality upon him?"

(6)

[*F*] *His* Parochial Antiquities.] They were printed at Oxford 1695 in 4to under this title. *Parochial Antiquities attempted in the Hiſtory of* Ambroſden, Burceſter, *and other adjacent pariſhes in the counties of Oxford and Bucks.* This work is highly commended by Archdeacon Nicholſon (4); and Mr. Thomas Tanner, late Biſhop of St. Aſaph in his *Notitia Monaſtica: or a ſhort Hiſtory of the Religious Houſes in England and Wales.* Oxford 1695 in 8vo, in which he often refers to Mr. Kennett's book. And Mr. Philip Falle, Rector of Shenly in Hertfordſhire, in a marginal note on his Viſitation-Sermon preached at Hertford June the 12th 1700, having occaſion to cite Biſhop Grindal's Regiſter, obſerves, that he does ſo, " upon the authority " of the Reverend Dr. Kennet, whoſe learned account " of the antiquities of his own Pariſh-Church of Am- " broſden ſhew him excellently accompliſhed to go on " further in the like curious reſearches."

(4) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, pag. 25, 54 edit. London 1696 in 8vo.

[*G*] *While he continued at Amerſden, he contracted an acquaintance with Dr. George Hickes, whom he entertained in his houſe, and was inſtructed by him in the Saxon and Northern tongues; though their different principles in Church and State afterwards broke off the friendſhip between them.*] The writer of *Biſhop Kennett's Life* informs us (5), that our author " freely received " Dr. Hickes into his Vicarage-Houſe, and finding, " that by his condition of ſuffering for the cauſe of " King James, his head and thoughts were too much " determined to politics; by which he would be apt to " diſturb the world, and expoſe himſelf; Mr. Ken- " nett, to divert him from that miſchief (as well as " for other reaſons) deſired his inſtruction in the Saxon " and Septentrional tongues, and particularly the deri- " vation of our oldeſt Engliſh words from the Gothics, " and other Northern dialects; to which purpoſe " Mr. Kennett made a large Dictionary of our words " ſo deduced, as he had them from the tongue and " pen of Dr. Hickes. And the ſheets may be of

(5) Pag. 12, & ſeqq.

now taken his degree of Doctor of Divinity; and in 1700 was appointed Miniſter of St. Botolph Aldgate without any ſollicitation of his own (*i*). Upon this he reſigned the Vicarage of Amerſden, which he might have kept; as he quitted afterwards the Rectory of Shotteſbroke, when he might have made it conſiſtent with other preferment (*k*). In 1701 he was engaged in the controverſy relating to the conſtitution of Engliſh Synods [*H*]. He was ſoon after named a Member of the Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, the proceedings of which Society he publiſhed an account of in 1706 [*I*]. He deſigned likewiſe to have written *An Hiſtorical Account of the Corporation for the Relief of poor Widows and Children of Clergymen, and of the ſeveral Benefactions given to it, and the manifold good ſervices done by it*; but was diſcouraged from it [*K*]. His Sermon at Aldgate on the 30th of January 1703 expoſed him to great clamour, and occaſioned many Pamphlets to be written againſt it [*L*]. In 1704

(*i*) *Short Account*, pag. 6, 7.

(*k*) *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 210.

" uſe, when poſterity comes to think, that we have " no Engliſh Dictionary, that gives the true origina- " tion of our language. While Dr. Hickes was thus " pleaſed and amuſed by the Country Vicar, it gave " this latter an opportunity to intreat the Doctor to " look more upon thoſe ſtudies, to review his Saxon " and Iſlandic Grammar, and to embelliſh them with " notes and obſervations, that might revive and im- " prove the knowledge of our antiquities in the riſe " and conveyance of our laws, cuſtoms, tenures, and " other national rights. It was upon this frequent " diſcourſe and importunity of Mr. Kennett, that Dr. " Hickes then and there laid the foundation of that " noble work, which he brought to perfection in about " ſeven years after, and publiſhed under this title, *An-* " *tiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Libri duo*, &c. Oxon " 1705, as he himſelf acknowledges in theſe words " in the learned preface. *Rev. & doctiſſimus Vir* " Whiteus Kennett, *S. T. P.* &c. i. e. *The reverend* " *and moſt learned* White Kennet, *&c. more than ſeven* " *years ago intreated me, that I would undertake this* " *work of the antient Northern words, which in his opi-* " *nion deſerving to be more generally underſtood, I imme-* " *diately ſet about it in his houſe, and having at length* " *finiſhed it, if it ſhall be found to be of any advan-* " *tage to the learned world, it is intirely owing to him* " *as the encourager and promoter of it.*" The writer above quoted adds (6), that if Dr. Hickes had continued in Mr. Kennett's houſe, where he was well accommodated and well pleaſed, it had probably prevented his writing or acting upon any other ſubject than that of our national antiquities; for in daily talk he had projected ſeveral ſchemes about illuſtrating the dark hiſtory of the Britons, deſcribing the manners of the Germans, tracing them in the Norman cuſtoms, and more eſpecially enquiring into the religion of the Saxons before it was adulterated by Popery. But the Doctor being then under a legal incapacity, (which however was ſoon after taken off without his trouble or charge, by the generoſity of the late Lord Somers) he wore a lay-habit, and affected to be unknown, till a Fellow of a College in Oxford coming over, and calling the Doctor by his name, he thought there was danger in ſtaying, and ſo went off immediately to ſome obſcure retreat, and thence in a little while to London. Our author, at his firſt coming to London, laboured to keep up a friendſhip with the Doctor, and hoped, they might agree in the common ſtudies of our Engliſh and other Northern antiquities. To this purpoſe he ſent him ſome preſents of wine, procured him now and then ſome neceſſary books and papers to carry on his great work, and obtained for him ſeveral ſubſcriptions to it, and did all he could to be a little ſerviceable, and altogether inoffenſive to him. " But he found, *ſays the writer of our author's life* (7), " that the Doctor was going into notions and meaſures " utterly inconſiſtent with their former freedom, and " ſo by degrees there grew a coldneſs, a diſtance, and " mutual complaints of one another, owing only to " their very different principles in Church and State- " Affairs, both being very much in earneſt with what " they profeſſed. This was ſoon after improved into " an open rupture; and Dr. Hickes for one ſuppoſed " affront, after many obligations, is ſaid to have fal- " len upon Dr. Kennett in the rudeſt manner, and " with ſome of the falſeſt things in the world (*)."

(6) Ibid. pag. 14.

(7) Ibid. pag. 15, 16.

(*) *Poſtſcript* to a *Tranſlation of Dr. Kennett's Convocation-Sermon.*

[*H*] *In* 1701 *he was engaged in the controverſy relating to the conſtitution of the Engliſh Synods.*] He wrote upon this ſubject, *Eccleſiaſtical Synods and Parliamentary Convocations in the Church of England hiſtorically ſtated and juſtly vindicated from the miſrepreſentations of Mr.* Atterbury. *By* White Kennett, *D. D. Part I.* London 1701 in 8vo dedicated to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and *An Occaſional Letter on the ſubject of Engliſh Convocations.* London 1701. He is ſaid likewiſe to be the author of *The Hiſtory of the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, ſummoned to meet in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul London, on Febr.* 6. 1700. *In anſwer to* A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation. London 1702 in 4to.

[*I*] *Of the proceedings of which ſociety he publiſhed an account in* 1706.] It was printed in 4to under this title. *An Account of the Society for propagating the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, eſtabliſhed by the Royal Charter of King William III. with their Proceedings and Succeſs, and Hopes of continual Progreſs under the happy Reign of her moſt excellent Majeſty Queen Anne.* Within four years after he continued and improved that account by an hiſtorical account of what had been tranſacted by the ſame ſociety; and eſpecially what ſteps and meaſures had been taken by the ſociety *De propagandâ Fide* at Rome, and what more Chriſtian methods by reformed States and Princes. This was a work of great pains, and brought to ſome tolerable perfection, but never publiſhed, becauſe the printing of it would have been of greater expence to that ſociety than their circumſtances would admit of (8).

(8) *Life of Biſhop Kennett*, pag. 20, 21.

[*K*] *He deſigned likewiſe to have written* An Hiſtorical Account of the Corporation for the Relief of poor Widows and Children of Clergymen, &c; *but was diſcouraged from it.*] He had for this purpoſe collected a great many notices of things and perſons, and the ſeveral ſermons before the Sons of the Clergy from the firſt by Mr. George Hall, afterwards Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Biſhop of Cheſter, intitled *The Tribe of Levi* 1658, downwards; and ſearched the laſt wills of ſeveral donors and benefactors; and would by degrees have connected the materials into ſome order for the preſs, *but that he was unkindly uſed, and the ſpirit of ſome new members of that corporation raiſed anger and hatred more than affection and charity to the Church and Clergy* (9).

(9) Ibid. pag. 22, 23.

[*L*] *His Sermon at Aldgate on the* 30*th of Jan.* 1703 *expoſed him to great clamour, and occaſioned many pamphlets to be written againſt it.*] This Sermon was printed under the title of *A compaſſionate enquiry into the cauſes of the civil war. In a Sermon preach'd in the Church of St. Botolph-Aldgate the* 30*th of January* 1703, London 1704. in 4to. The cauſes of this war *improved by wicked arts and deſigns* he aſſigns to be, " *Firſt*, " a French intereſt and alliance, and from thence ari- " ſing, *Secondly*, the apprehenſions and fears of popery, " which led on, *Thirdly*, the jealouſies of oppreſſion " and illegal power; which tended more and more to, " *Fourthly*, the growth of prophaneneſs and immorali- " ty; and even this help'd to produce, *Fifthly*, that " hypocriſy and perfidiouſneſs, which accompliſhed " the ſin and the infinite ſcandal of this day." After the publication of this ſermon, there appeared ſeveral pieces againſt it; but thoſe, who threatened to complain of it in convocation, where the Doctor had by other writings offended the majority of the lower houſe, thought fit to drop their intentions. And ſoon after he received an order to preach before the houſe of commons on the ſame occaſion, January 30th, 1705-6, and the Doctor had the thanks of the houſe for his ſermon, and was deſired to print it, as accordingly it was.

1704 he publiſhed his *Caſe of Impropriations* [*M*], and two other tracts upon the ſame ſubject [*N*]. In 1705 he preached the Conſecration Sermon for Dr. William Wake Biſhop of Lincoln [*O*]. In 1706 he publiſhed the third volume of the *Complete Hiſtory of England* [*P*]. In 1707 his Funeral Sermon upon the Duke of Devonſhire occaſioned great clamours againſt him [*Q*]. Soon after he was preferred to the Deanery of Peterborough, having been before appointed Chaplain in ordinary to her Majeſty at the recommendation of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Earl of Godolphin (*m*). The ſame year by the advice and under the favour of the Archbiſhop, he reſigned his laborious Cure of Aldgate, and accepted of her Majeſty's gift of the Rectory of St. Mary Aldermary in London; upon which exchange he loſt above one hundred pounds a year for the purchaſe of a little more retirement and opportunity for ſtudy. In 1709 he publiſhed *A Vindication of the Church and Clergy of England from ſome late Reproaches rudely and unjuſtly caſt upon them* [*R*]; and *A true Anſwer to Dr. Sacheverell's Sermon before the*

(m) *Life of Biſhop Kennet.* pag. 38.

[*M*] *In* 1704 *he publiſhed his* caſe of impropriations.] It was printed at London in 8vo under this title: *The caſe of Impropriations, and of the augmentation of vicarages and other inſufficient cures, ſtated by hiſtory and laws, from the firſt uſurpation of the Popes and Monks, to her Majeſty's Royal Bounty, lately extended to the poorer clergy of the Church of England: with an appendix of records and memorials relating to that ſubject.* From the firſt publication of this book the Doctor was, upon all occaſions of inquiry, gathering up ſuch authorities, and ſuch inſtances of fact and due inferences from them, as when connected into a new edition of that work, will greatly improve it.

[*N*] *and two other tracts upon the ſame ſubject.*] The firſt tract is intitled, *De non temerandis Eccleſiis*, &c. written by Sir Henry Spelman Knt. The ſecond tract is intitled, *The poor Vicar's plea for tythes*, &c. *By* Thomas Ryves, Doctor of the Civil Law. To theſe Dr. Kennett prefixed *a prefatory account of the authors and theſe works.* London 1734. In this preface the Doctor begins thus: "Her Majeſty's late pious munificence to the Clergy of the Church of England has "made glad the hearts of her beſt ſubjects, the beſt "Chriſtians, and has made them reflect on the alienation of tythes and offerings, as the great ſcandal "of Popery and the great defect of our Reformation. "To make up a competent maintenance for the parochial miniſters and ſo the better to provide for the "ſervice of God, and the care of ſouls, has been the "continual ſubject of all good men's wiſhes, propoſals "and attempts." The Doctor's long courſe of ſtudies had the better inſtructed and qualified him for theſe purpoſes. He had before delivered many things of that kind in his *Parochial Antiquities*; and had purſued the ſame Deſign in publiſhing in 1698 another tract of Sir Henry Spelman, intitled, *the hiſtory and fate of ſacrilege, diſcovered by examples of ſcriptures of heathens, and of Chriſtians, from the beginning of the World continually to this day. Wrote in the year* 1632. *A treatiſe omitted in the late edition of his poſthumous Works, and now publiſh'd for the terror of evil doers.*

[*O*] *In* 1705 *he preached the conſecration ſermon for Dr. William Wake Biſhop of Lincoln.*] It was publiſhed at London in 1706 under this title. *The office and good work of a Biſhop. A Sermon preached in Lambeth Chapel, at the conſecration of the right Reverend Father in God* William *Lord Biſhop of Lincoln on Sunday Octob.* 21. 1705, *publiſhed at the deſire of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops.* The writer of our author's life (10) ſtiles this *a moſt learned and excellent diſcourſe*; and tells us, that "it was admired ſo much by the late Lord "Chief Juſtice *Holt*, that he declared, it had more in "it to the purpoſe of the legal and Chriſtian conſtitution of this Church, than any volume of diſcourſes."

(10) Pag. 28.

[*P*] *In* 1706 *he publiſhed the* third volume *of the* complete hiſtory of England.] Some Bookſellers had been adviſed to make a collection of the beſt writers of the lives and reigns of our ſeveral Engliſh Princes from the conqueſt to the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne, and to reprint them fairly in three volumes. When they had laid this ſcheme, they found it neceſſary to have a continuation made by ſome one new hand, of the four laſt reigns of Charles I. Charles II. James II. and William III. and they at laſt prevail'd with Dr. Kennet to draw up the materials for this third volume. He had no manner of hand in any branch of the two former, nor in the preface to them, which was written by Mr. John Hughes, and concluded thus: "For what remains to be ſaid concerning "the third volume, the judicious and accompliſhed "writer of it has thought fit in his own words to addreſs the public as follows." And the words, [*All new writ by a learned and impartial hand*] were added by the bookſellers. From whence it is plain, that the author reſolved to conceal his name; and we may believe, that the few Undertakers for the preſs, who were let into the ſecret, were obliged by promiſe not to betray it. "But it ſeems, *ſays the writer of his life* (11), "in a pragmatical age, with a reſtleſs party, the con"cealing and withdrawing himſelf did but raiſe the "fiercer purſuits after him; and the Jacobite outcry "was, that Dr. Kennett was the writer of that hiſto"ry, deſigning to expoſe them and their cauſe. Dr. "Hickes was the firſt, who was extremely angry, that "there was not a due reſpect paid to his book *Jovian*, "and to the notions of it. And even ſome perſons, "who had gone into the revolution with forwardneſs "enough, and yet had not found their full account in it, "were offended, that too much or too little notice "was taken of the parts they acted about that time. "And above all [an eminent Peer (12), very inſtru"mental in the revolution by taking up arms in the "North, had made ſuch an improvement of his ho"nours and fortunes by it, that he thought himſelf "privileged and protected from any retroſpect upon "his conduct in the court and treaſury of King Charles "II. And therefore finding in that hiſtory a narra"tive of what appeared to be male-adminiſtration, "though taken from the Parliament Journals and print"ed Trials, and other public Papers, he was much "offended, and taking an opportunity, upon the death "of the Duke of Montague, to give ſome account of "his tranſactions with France from his own papers "and letters, complained of the miſrepreſentation of "his ſervices made by the late hiſtorian; who really "did not ſeem to mean any thing of reflection on his "noble perſon and family, but related facts as he "found them before related. However on the occaſion "of his Grace's complaint, he enquired more narrowly into thoſe matters, and ſtated them over again in "a moſt authentic manner; but finding that the more "full diſcovery would only create the greater offence, "he would not ſuffer what he had written, to be publiſhed to the world." The *Complete Hiſtory* was reprinted at London 1719 in fol. with many corrections and additions.

(11) Pag. 34.

(12) *The Duke of Leeds.*

(13) 104.

[*Q*] *In* 1707 *his Funeral Sermon upon the Duke of Devonſhire occaſioned great clamour againſt him.*] It was printed at London 1708 in 8vo, under the following title: *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the right noble William Duke of* Devonſhire, *in the Church of All-hallows in Derby, on Friday September* 5. 1707. *With ſome memoirs of the family of Cavendiſh.* The paſſage, which gave the principal offence, has been quoted in our article of CAVENDISH (William) *the firſt Duke of Devonſhire.*

[*R*] *In* 1709 *he publiſhed* a vindication of the Church *and Clergy of England* &c.] It was printed at London in 8vo. It was occaſioned by a pamphlet publiſhed by one *S.* Curate of a pariſh near the City, who afterwards joined himſelf to the Non-Jurors, and intitled *An appeal of the Clergy of the Church of England to my Lords the Biſhops, humbly beſeeching them to move her moſt ſacred Majeſty to redreſs their grievances*, &c. Dr. Kennett's Anſwer was deſigned to vindicate the Clergy from the charge brought againſt them by this writer, on ſeveral heads, "which the Doctor ſtated with juſt reſpect to "the rules of the Church, and to the practice of the "better part of the Clergy."

the Lord Mayor Nov. the 5th 1709 [*S*]. In 1710 he was greatly reproached for not joining in the London Clergy's Addreſs to the Queen [*T*]. The ſame year he preached the Latin Sermon at the opening of the Convocation [*U*]. He was expoſed to great odium as a Low-Church Man on account of his conduct and writings [*W*]. In 1713 he preſented the Society for propagating the Goſpel with a great number of books, ſuitable to their deſign, and publiſhed his *Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia* [*X*], and founded an Antiquarian and Hiſtorical Library at Peterborough [*Y*]. In 1715 he publiſhed a Sermon, intitled, *The Witchcraft of the preſent Rebellion* [*Z*], and afterwards ſeveral other pieces.

(*S*) A true anſwer to Dr. *Sacheverell's* Sermon &c.] It was printed at London 1709 in 8vo. It begins thus" " You asked me laſt night, what I thought the beſt " way of anſwering Dr. *Sacheverell's* Sermon on No- " vember 5. I told you, one way was to let it drop " into ſilence and contempt, for that there was not one " argument to anſwer, but a jumble of words and pe- " riods, that made the *crackling of thorns*, noiſe and " flame; and therefore it was better to pity the man, " and deſpiſe the ſtuff. It could do no harm, but ra- " ther great ſervice to make his own party-friends a- " ſhamed of him, and to convince the world, that " *madneſs* is as bad as *moderation*. But ſaid you, there " be ſome anſwers in print, and will be more. Pray " what is the beſt courſe that a new anſwerer can take " with him? Why Sir, ſaid I, to let him anſwer " himſelf; that is, to produce his own words, and to " let him ſtand or fall by them, without calling him " any names, or raking into his life and converſation. " You preſſed me, Sir, to give a ſpecimen of it. Here " it is, cool and calm, under theſe heads; *Propriety*, " *Pertinence*, *good ſenſe*, *Veracity*, *Serioufneſs*, *Charity*, " and *Allegiance*.

[*T*] *In* 1710 *he was greatly reproached for not joining in the London Clergy's addreſs to the Queen.*] *When the great point in Doctor* Sacheverell's *trial, the change of the miniſtry, was gained, and very ſtrange addreſſes were made upon it, there was like to be a like artful addreſs from the Biſhop and Clergy of London, and they who would not ſubſcribe it, were to be repreſented as enemies to the Queen and her Miniſtry* (13). Dr. Kennett fell under this imputation; and advice of it was ſent through the kingdom by Mr. Dyer in his letter of Auguſt 24th 1710, in theſe words: " The addreſs of the Biſhop " and Clergy of London was inſerted in this day's Ga- " zette by order of the Queen, as a diſtinguiſhing fa- " vour to them. The Clergymen, who refuſed to ſign " it, were Dr. *Barton*, and Mr. *Baker*; and thoſe, " who did not anſwer to the Biſhop's Summons were " Dr. *Kennett*, Dr. *Bradford*, Dr. *Hancock*, and Mr. " *Hoadly*. And therefore as they have no ſhare in the " Queen's thanks, ſo I hope they will have as little " in her favours."

(13) Ibid. pag. 104.

[*U*] *He preached the Latin Sermon at the opening of the convocation.*] It was printed at London in 4to, under this title: *Concio ad Synodum ab Archiepiſcopo, Epiſcopis, & Clero Provinciæ Cantuarienſis &c.* It was tranſlated into Engliſh without the author's knowledge *for the benefit*, as it was ſaid, *of the diſſenting teachers*. Upon which he took care for a more correct tranſlation, to which he ſubjoined a *Poſtſcript*, in which he vindicated himſelf from ſome reproaches caſt upon him.

[*W*] *He was expoſed to great odium as a Low-Churchman, on account of his conduct and writings.*] He zealouſly oppoſed the doctrine of the invalidity of Lay-Baptiſm. He was ſuppoſed likewiſe to be the author of *A letter to the Reverend* Thomas Brett, *LL. D. Rectorof Betteſhanger in Kent, about a motion in Convocation:* London 1712 occaſioned by a complaint in Convocation againſt Dr. Brett's Sermon, intitled, *A Sermon of remiſſion of ſins, according to the ſcriptures, and the Doctrine of the Church of England.* He reprinted likewiſe in 1714 a Sermon of Dr. *John Whitgift*, Dean of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, preached before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich, to which he prefixed a preface dated November 28th 1713. He publiſhed the ſame year *A memorial for Proteſtants on the 5th of November, containing a more full diſcovery of ſome particulars relating to the happy deliverance of King James I. and the three eſtates of the Realm of England, from the moſt traiterous and bloody intended maſſacre by Gunpowder, anno* 1605. *In a letter to a Peer of Great Britain:* dated October 25. 1712. and *A letter to the Lord Biſhop of* Carliſle, *concerning one of his predeceſſors, Biſhop Merks, on occaſion of a new volume for the Pretender, intitled,* The hereditary right of the Crown of England aſſerted. London 1713. About this time it was, that a very uncommon method was taken to expoſe the Dean by Dr. Welton, Rector of the Church of White-chapel. For in the Altar-piece of that Church, which was intended for a repreſentation of Chriſt and his twelve Apoſtles eating the Paſſover and the Laſt Supper, Judas the Traytor was drawn ſitting in an elbow-chair, dreſſed in a black garment, between a gown and a cloak, with a black ſcarf and a white band, a ſhort wig, and a mark in his forehead between a lock and a patch, and with a great deal of the air of Dr. Kennett's face. It was generally ſaid, that the original sketch was for a Biſhop under Dr. Welton's diſpleaſure, which occaſioned the elbow-chair. But the painter being apprehenſive of an action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, leave was given to drop the Biſhop, and make the Dean. This giving a general offence, upon the complaint of others (for Dr. Kennett never ſaw it, or ſeemed to regard it) the Biſhop of London ordered the picture to be taken down (14).

(14) Ibid. pag. 140, 141.

[*X*] *His* Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia.] It was printed at London 1713 in 4to, under this title: *Bibliothecæ Americanæ primordia: An attempt towards laying the foundation of an American Library, in ſeveral books, papers, and writings, humbly given to the* Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, *for the perpetual uſe and benefit of their members, their miſſionaries, friends, correſpondents, and others concerned in the good deſign of planting and promoting Chriſtianity within her Majeſty's Colonies and Plantations in the Weſt-Indies.*

[*Y*] *Founded an Antiquarian and Hiſtorical Library at Peterborough.*] He had been long gathering up the ſcattered remains of our Engliſh writers, or any other authors upon the ſubject of our Engliſh affairs, from the very beginning of Engliſh printing to the latter end of Queen Elizabeth; which, when put in order of time, would make up ſuch a ſeries and connection of the antiquities and hiſtory of this Church and Nation, as would be of great light and ſervice to the world. The collection of theſe books, amounting to about fifteen hundred volumes and ſmall tracts, was placed in a private room at Peterborough, in order to be daily ſupplied and augmented under the care of the Reverend Mr. Joſeph Sparke, a member of that Cathedral. There is a large written catalogue of them thus inſcribed; *Index Librorum aliquot vetuſtorum, quos in commune Bonum congeſſit W. K. Decan. Petriburg. MDCCXII.* In this collection there are moſt of the printed legends of Saints; the oldeſt rituals and liturgies; the firſt printed ſtatutes and laws; the moſt antient Homilies and Sermons, the firſt editions of the Engliſh ſchoolmen, Poſtillers, expounders, &c. with a great many fragments of our antient language, uſage, cuſtoms, rights, tenures, and ſuch other things, as tend to illuſtrate the antiquities and hiſtory of Great Britain and Ireland, and the ſucceſſive ſtate of civil government, Religion, and learning in them. In a letter of his to a friend, dated at Peterborough July 27th 1717 he writes thus: *I have improved the collection I have been long making for an Hiſtorical Antiquarian Library, conſiſting of the oldeſt books relating to Engliſh writers and affairs: I have conſiderably increaſed my catalogue of the lives of eminent men.* He likewiſe inriched the common library of the Cathedral of Peterborough with ſome very uſeful books; and added to the ſtock of monuments and records there, an abſtract of the collections made by Dr. John Coſens, one of his Predeceſſors, afterwards Biſhop of Durham.

[*Z*] *In* 1715 *he publiſhed a Sermon, intitled,* The witchcraft of the preſent rebellion.] It was printed at London

pieces [*AA*]. In 1717 he was engaged in a diſpute with Dr. William Nicholſon, Biſhop of Carliſle, relating to ſome pretended alterations in the Biſhop of Bangor's famous Sermon [*BB*]; and diſliked the proceedings of the Convocation againſt that Biſhop. This with his zeal for the repeal of the Schiſm Bill rendered him very obnoxious to thoſe of a different party (*n*). Upon the death of Dr. Cumberland Biſhop of Peterborough he was promoted to that See, to which he was conſecrated November the 9th 1718. In this Biſhopric, having ſate little more than ten years, he died at his houſe in St. James's Street Weſtminſter on Thurſday December the 19th 1728, and was interred at Peterborough. Beſides his writings abovementioned, he publiſhed ſeveral others [*CC*]. Mr. Wood (*o*) repreſents

(*n*) *Life of Biſhop Kennet*, pag. 181, 182.

(*o*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1132.

London under the following title: *The witchraft of the preſent rebellion. A Sermon preached in the Church of St. Mary Aldermary in the city of London, on Sunday September 25, 1715, the time of a publick ordination. Publiſhed upon the requeſt of the hearers.*

[*AA*] *And afterwards ſeveral other pieces.*] *A ſeaſonable diſcourſe of the riſe, progreſs, and diſcovery, and utter diſappointment of the gun powder treaſon and rebellion plotted by the Papiſts in* 1605, *3d of James I. as delivered in a Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, on the 5th of November* 1715, *before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, &c.* London 1715. *The wiſdom of looking backwards to judge the better on one ſide and t'other, by the ſpeeches, writings, actions and other matters of fact on both ſides for the four laſt years.* London 1715 in 8vo. *The faithful ſteward: A Spittal Sermon preached on Tueſday in Eaſter Week April the 3d,* 1716. London 1716. *A thanksgiving Sermon for the Bleſſing of God in ſuppreſſing the late unnatural rebellion; delivered in the pariſh Church of Aldermary in the city of London, on Thurſday the 7th of June* 1716. London 1716. *A ſecond Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle upon the ſubject of Biſhop Merks,* &c. London 1716. in 8vo; dated October 22d 1716. *A third letter to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle, Lord Almoner to his Majeſty, upon the ſubject of Biſhop* Merks: *in which the nomination, election, inveſtiture, and deprivation of Engliſh Prelates are ſhewed to have been originally conſtituted and governed by the Sovereign Power of Kings and their Parliaments; againſt the pretenſions of our* new Fanaticks, *who have withdrawn themſelves from the eſtabliſhed Church into a ſeparate communion, under the name of ſome deprived Biſhops and their ſuppoſed ſucceſſors.* London 1717 in 8vo, dated January 25th 1716-7. The ſecond *letter* was occaſioned by a paper ſeized among the papers of Mr. Laurence Howell, ſuperſcribed *a letter to Dr.* Kennett, which ſeemed deſigned for a dedication or preface to a book, intitled, *An anſwer to the brief Hiſtory of the Crown of England, written at the time when the bill of excluſion was attempted againſt the Queen's Father, the Duke of York.* The *letter* prefixed to this complained, that "Dr. Kennett "had given a vile character of Biſhop *Merks*, and yet "againſt his will had made him ſtrictly faithful to his "rightful Sovereign".

[*BB*] *In* 1717 *he was engaged in a diſpute with Dr.* William Nicholſon, *Biſhop of* Carliſle, *relating to ſome pretended alterations in the Biſhop of* Bangor's *famous ſermon.*] This ſermon having been attacked by Dr. Andrew Snape, the Biſhop publiſhed an Anſwer, in which, upon occaſion of a report ſpread by ſome perſons about the town, that he was put upon preaching that ſermon at Court, to ſerve ſome political ends, he uſes theſe words; *God knows, I preached what I found there* [*in the New Teſtament*] *without the knowledge of any man living* (†). Dr. Snape had been told a ſtory by Dr. Hutchinſon inconſiſtent with the Biſhop's poſitive and ſolemn declaration, namely, that the ſermon was preached with the knowledge and ſubmitted to the correction of a certain perſon, who adviſed the making alterations in it. Upon this in the concluſion of his *ſecond letter* he thus addreſſes himſelf to the Biſhop: "I muſt needs ſay, your evaſive equivocal way of writing "ſavours very ſtrongly of ſuch communication [that is, "with a Jeſuit] and whether the ſame perſon may not "have helped you to a mental reſervation to juſtify a "ſolemn appeal to God, that what you preached was "*without the knowledge of any man living*, when a "living man has teſtified, that it was preached with "his knowledge, and ſubmitted to his correction, "your Lordſhip beſt knows." Immediately upon the publication of this the Biſhop of Bangor called upon Dr. Snape for the proof of what he had aſſerted; who preſently declared, that he had received that account from Dr. Hutchinſon, who had heard the Biſhop of Carliſle ſay, that he had ſpoken with the perſon, who adviſed the Biſhop of Bangor, upon reading his ſermon, to inſert ſuch words as *abſolutely, properly,* &c. And that ſome days after, the ſame Divine again aſſured him, that he had heard the ſame Prelate a ſecond time declare that matter to be true, and that he would juſtify it to all the world. Upon this Dr. Snape drew up that paſſage, waited upon the Biſhop of Carliſle, read it to him, and was allowed by him to publiſh it, with an aſſurance that he would ſtand to it. This was the ſubſtance of Dr. Snape's advertiſement; to which the Biſhop of Carliſle was perſuaded to add, *This is true*, though he afterwards declared, that it was not ſtrictly ſo. However being now called upon to name the *living man*, who was to atteſt the truth of what he aſſerted, he fixed on Dr. Kennett, who, he declares, according to the beſt of his remembrance, was the perſon, who told him, that the ſermon was preached with his knowledge, and ſubmitted to his correction; and that the Doctor adviſed, and with difficulty prevailed for the inſerting the words abovementioned. This was denied by Dr. Kennett in the moſt ſolemn manner in all his converſations, public advertiſements, and private letters to his friends. The reader may ſee a particular account of this affair in the *Life of Biſhop Kennett* p. 165 & ſeqq. and in the *Appendix* to it.

(†) *Anſwer to the Reverend Dr. Snape's Letter to the Biſhop of Bangor*, pag. 43. 3d edit.

[*CC*] *Beſides his writings abovementioned, he publiſhed ſeveral others.*] A manuſcript treatiſe againſt Dr. Samuel Parker about the Teſt (*). *The Righteous taken away from the Evil to come, applyed to the Death of Queen Mary; in a Sermon preached in St. Martin's Church in Oxon, Jan.* 20, 1694. *A Sermon preached at Bow-Church, London, before the Societies of Reformation, on Munday the 29th of December* 1701. *Publiſhed at their Requeſt.* London 1702. *The Glory of Children in their Fathers. A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul before the Sons of the Clergy. December the 3d* 1702. *Publiſhed at the Requeſt of the Stewards. With an Abſtract of the Royal Charter erecting a Corporation for relief of poor Widows and Children of Clergymen, and an Account of the Charities annually diſpoſed to thoſe pious Purpoſes.* London 1703. *A Sermon preached in the Pariſh Church of St. Botolph Aldgate in London, on December the 7th* 1704, *the Day of ſolemn Thanksgiving for the late glorious Victory obtained over the French and Bavarians by the Forces of her Majeſty and her Allies under the Command of the Duke of Marlborough.* London 1704. *A Thanksgiving Sermon at St. Paul's March the 8th* 170⅘. *The Charity of Schools for poor Children recommended. In a Sermon preached in the Pariſh-Church of St. Sepulchre's May the* 16*th* 1706. London 1706. *The Duties of rejoycing in a Day of Proſperity recommended. In a Sermon preached before the Queen at her Royal Chapel at Windſor on Sunday June the 23d* 1706. London 1706. *The Chriſtian Scholar, in Rules and Directions for Children and Youth ſent to Engliſh Schools; more eſpecially deſigned for the poor Boys taught and cloathed by Charity in the Pariſh of St. Botolph Aldgate.* London 1708. *The excellent Daughter. A Sermon for the Relief of the poor Girls taught and cloathed by Charity within the Pariſh of St. Botolph Aldgate: With proper Leſſons of the Duties of Daughters.* London 1708. *Glory to God, and Gratitude to Benefactors. A Sermon preached before the Queen in her Royal Chapel of St. James's on Tueſday the 22d of November* 1709, *the Day of public Thanksgiving for the ſignal and glorious Victory at Blaregnies near Mons in Hainault. Publiſhed by her Majeſty's ſpecial Command.* London 1709. *A Letter to Mr.* Barville, *a Roman Prieſt, upon his deſire of being reconciled to the Church*

(*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1131.

repreſents him even at his firſt appearance in the world, as "an excellent Philologiſt, a "good Preacher, whether in Engliſh or Latin, and well verſed in the Hiſtories and An- "tiquities of our Nation, and much deſerving of the Church of England." And the author of his *Life* tells us (*p*), that he was a man of extenſive learning, exemplary character, great zeal in the diſcharge of his Paſtoral and Epiſcopal Functions, of a charitable and courteous diſpoſition, and of firm probity, courage and reſolution in the performance of his duty. "And the ſame writer in his preface (*q*) obſerves, that he had "his imperfections, no doubt; but they were undoubtedly atoned for by many great "and excellent virtues. He was of a very communicative and public ſpirit, would "ſubmit to any trouble or fatigue to ſerve a friend, the public, or poſterity. He was "a father and true friend of the church; and though he utterly diſliked the way of "ſeparation, yet he expreſſed great charity and moderation towards thoſe who are ſo "unhappy as to differ from us. He was a patriot and hearty lover of his country; a "champion and faithful aſſertor of the Proteſtant Religion; and (what it depends upon "in this Kingdom) the Proteſtant Succeſſion."

(*p*) Pag. 185, & ſeqq.

(*q*) Pag. 10.

of England, dated from Golden Square Crutched Fryars November 30, 1709, printed in a Book intitled, *An Account of the late Converſion of Mr.* John Barville *alias* Barton *from Popery to the Reformed Church of England: With the form of his ſolemn Abjuration of the Romiſh Religion. Written by himſelf.* London 1710 in 8vo. *The Works of Charity. In a Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, &c. in the Church of St. Bridget, on Tueſday in Eaſter Week* 1710. London 1710. *The Chriſtian Neighbour. A Sermon preached in the Church of St. Lawrence Jewry before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor &c. upon the Election of a Mayor for the Year enſuing on the Feaſt of St. Michael* 1711. London 1711. *The Lets and Impediments in planting the Goſpel of Chriſt. A Sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts at their Anniverſary Meeting in the Pariſh Church of St. Mary-le-Bow on Friday Feb.* 15, $17\frac{11}{12}$. *With ſome References relating to Matters of Fact, &c.* London 1712. *Doing good the Way to Eternal Life. Recommended in a Spittal Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor &c. on Tueſday in Eaſter-Week the 22d of April* 1712. London 1712. *The Faithful Steward. A Spittal Sermon preached on Tueſday in Eaſter-Week, Ap.* 3, 1716. London 1716. *Dr.* Snape *inſtructed in ſome Matters, eſpecially relating to Convocations and Converts from Popery.* London 1718. *Charity and Reſtitution. A Spittal Sermon preached at the Church of St. Bridget on Eaſter-Munday March the 30th* 1719, *before the Right Honourable Sir John Ward, Lord Mayor, &c. With an Application to the vain Attempts of a Spaniſh Invaſion in the Year* 1588. London 1719. *A Sermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in the Abbey-Church of Weſtminſter the 30th of Jan.* 1719. London 1720. *Monitions and Advices delivered to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of Peterborough, at the Primary Viſitation held in the Months of July and Auguſt* 1720. *In two Parts. Publiſhed at the Requeſt of the Clergy, for their Uſe and Service.* London 1720 in 4to. An *Introduction* to a new edition of a book intitled, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Laws Eccleſiaſtical and Civil made againſt Hereticks by Popes, Emperors, and Kings, Provincial and General Councils, approved by the Church of Rome*, &c. London 1723 in 8vo. Biſhop Kennett in his *Introduction* intimates, that this diſcourſe was written by Dr. Maurice; but it ſince appears, that Dr. Daniel Whitby was the true author of it. See *Dr. Whitby's Twelve Sermons preached at the Cathedral Church of Sarum, p.* 256. and *A ſhort Account of Dr. Whitby, p.* 5. prefixed to his *Laſt Thoughts*. In 1726 our author publiſhed at London in 4to. *A Treatiſe of Gavelkind, both Name and Thing. Shewing the true Etymology and Derivation of the one, the Nature, Antiquity, and Original of the other. With ſundry emergent Obſervations both pleaſant and profitable to be known of Kentiſh Men and others, eſpecially ſuch as are ſtudious either of the antient Cuſtom, or the Common Law of this Kingdom. By (a Well Willer to both)* William Somner. *The Second Edition corrected from the many Errors of the former Impreſſion. To which is added the Life of the Author, written, newly reviſed, and much enlarged.* Our author's laſt work was, *A Regiſter and Chronicle Eccleſiaſtical and Civil; containing Matters of Fact delivered in the Words of the moſt Authentic Books, Papers, and Records, digeſted in exact Order of time. With proper Notes and References towards diſcovering and connecting the True Hiſtory of England from the Reſtoration of King Charles II.* London 1728 in fol. T.

☞KENNETT (BASIL), a learned Engliſh writer, and brother of the preceding, was educated in Corpus Chriſti College in the Univerſity of Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, and became Fellow of that College. In 1706 he went over Chaplain to the Engliſh Factory at Leghorn, where he met with great oppoſition from the Papiſts, and was in danger of the inquiſition [*A*]. He returned to England about the year 1713, and was elected Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College, and became Doctor of Divinity, He died in the year 1714. He publiſhed the *Lives of*

[*A*] *Where he met with great oppoſition from the Papiſts, and was in dangër of the Inquiſition.*] The author of the *Life of Dr.* White Kennett, *Biſhop of Peterborough* (1) tells us, that the Italians were ſo jealous of the *Northern Hereſy*, eſpecially the Prieſts and Regulars were ſo watchful againſt it, that the Engliſh nation and Miniſter were forced to begin the exerciſes of religion with the utmoſt privacy and caution, to give as little offence as poſſible. And yet great offence was taken at it, and complaints and informations immediately ſent to Florence and to Rome. The Envoy at Florence, Dr. Newton, did all the matter could bear to inſiſt on the right of the Engliſh merchants, to have a Miniſter among them of their own religion; and offered to undertake, that he ſhould not publicly reflect on the religion of the country, nor attempt to bring over any of the Duke's ſubjects to the Proteſtant perſuaſion. But the Pope and the Court of Inquiſition at Rome were reſolved to expell hereſy and the public teacher of it from the confines of the Holy See; and therefore ſecret orders were given to apprehend Mr. Kennett at Leghorn, and to hurry him away to Piſa, and thence to ſome other priſon, to bury him alive, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of him in the ſevereſt manner. Upon notice of this deſign upon him, the Engliſh Envoy at Florence interpoſed his offices in that court, but could obtain no other anſwer, but that he might ſend for the Engliſh Preacher, and keep him in his own family as his Domeſtic Chaplain; but that otherwiſe if he preſumed to continue at Leghorn, he muſt take the conſequences of it; for in thoſe matters of religion the Court of Inquiſition was ſuperior to all civil powers. The Envoy communicated this anſwer of the Great Duke to the Earl of Sunderland, one of her Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, who, in her Majeſty's name returned the following directions.

(1) Pag. 57, & ſeqq. edit. London 1730, in 8vo.

"To

of the Greek Poets, the *Roman Antiquities*, and a volume of *Sermons* preached at Leghorn; and tranſlated into Engliſh Puffendorf's treatiſe *of the Law of Nature and Nations*. He was a man of the moſt exemplary integrity, generoſity, and modeſty.

" To Dr. Henry Newton, her Majeſty's Envoy in the
" Court of Florence.

" Sir,

" Yours of the 16th and 24th I received. In anſwer to which, I have laid the whole affair before " her Majeſty, who has commanded me to order you " to tell the Great Duke and his Miniſters, in her " Majeſty's name, that if there be any moleſtation " given to her Chaplain reſiding at Leghorn, ſhe " ſhall look upon it as an affront done to her ſelf " and the nation, a breach of peace, and a violation " of the law of nations; and ſhall by her fleets and " armies, which will be all the year in the Mediterra- " nean Sea, not only demand, but take ſatisfaction for " any ſuch injury offered. And that the Prieſt of the " Great Duke's Miniſter here, and all frequenters of " his Chapel muſt expect the ſame treatment. And " if they talk any more of the Pope or Court of " Rome, you muſt cut the matter ſhort, by telling " them, her Majeſty has nothing to do with that " Court, but ſhall treat with the Great Duke as with " other independent Princes and States. And this you " muſt do in the moſt forcible manner poſſible. I " have no more at preſent to add, but am

" Your humble ſervant
" Sunderland."

Before this letter could reach Florence, the Engliſh Envoy was extremely embarraſſed with the difficulties of treating for the protection and ſecurity of Mr. Kennett, and could find no expedient more proper for the preſent, than to invite him earneſtly to his houſe at Florence, and there cover him till the affair ſhould be adjuſted, and for that purpoſe to ſend him a qualification as his Domeſtic Chaplain. But the Engliſh Conſul and Factory at Leghorn would not readily conſent to let him go away, as fearing that if this point was once gained, he would never be allowed to return. Nor was Mr. Kennett himſelf willing to conſult his own ſafety by ſeeming to forſake his charge; and therefore continued there, though in the utmoſt danger. He was forced to confine himſelf to his chamber, and to have an armed guard at the ſtair's foot; and when in ſome evenings he went out for the air, he walked between two Engliſh merchants, who with their ſwords drawn reſolved and declared, that no body ſhould dare to ſeize him but at their peril. But as ſoon as the Earl of Sunderland's letter came to the Envoy's hands, and was by him communicated to the Duke and his Miniſters, the contents of it were ſoon by them imparted to the Pope and his Cardinals, who ſo well underſtood the argument of fleets and armies, that Mr. Kennett eſcaped their intended fury, and continued for ſeveral years to officiate as a Miniſter of the Church of England in a large room, ſet apart for a Chapel, in the Conſul's houſe, with public prayers, and a courſe of ſermons ſince publiſhed to the world. When he had ſeen himſelf well eſtabliſhed in this privilege, and had ſo laid the foundation of it, he began to think that the having a ſucceſſor in that place upon the ſame bottom would be the beſt confirmation; and therefore earneſtly importuned his brother, the Dean of Peterborough, to find out a fit perſon to ſucceed him. And he had indeed the greater reaſon to inſiſt upon coming home, becauſe his conſtitution did not agree with that warmer climate in his abſtemious way of living. However, he declared, that he would not ſtir till he ſaw a ſucceſſor upon the ſpot to relieve him. This at laſt, after great delay and obſtructions from the Queen's New Miniſtry, was obtained, and Mr. Kennett was ſucceeded by Mr. Nathaniel Taubman, who had been Chaplain in her Majeſty's fleet in the Mediterranean, and had publiſhed an account of the expedition (2).

T.

(2) Ibid. pag. 57-101.

KEPLER (JOHN), one of the greateſt Aſtronomers of his age, was born at Wiel in the country of Wirtemberg December the 27th 1571. He began his ſtudies of Philoſophy at Tubingen in 1589, and two years after ſtudied Mathematics in the ſame Univerſity under the famous Michael Mœſtlin. He made ſo great a progreſs in it, that in the year 1595 he wrote an excellent book, which was printed at Tubingen the year following under the title of *Prodromus Diſſertationum de proportione Orbium cæleſtium, deque cauſis cælerum numeri, magnitudinis, motuumque periodicorum genuinis & propriis, &c.* He had been before invited to Gratz in Styria, to teach Mathematics there (*a*). Tycho Brahe having ſettled in Bohemia, and obtained from the Emperor all the ſorts of conveniences for the perfecting of Aſtronomy, was paſſionately deſirous of having Kepler with him, and wrote to him ſo many letters upon that ſubject, that he prevailed upon him to leave the Univerſity of Gratz, and remove into Bohemia with his family and library in the year 1600 (*b*). Kepler in this journey was ſeized by a quartan ague, which continued ſeven or eight months, ſo that he could not do Tycho Brahe all the ſervices which he was capable of. He was even a little diſſatisfied with the reſervedneſs which Tycho ſhewed towards him (*c*); for the latter did not communicate to him all that he knew; and as he died in 1601, he did not give time to our Kepler to be very uſeful to him, or to receive any conſiderable advantage under him. From that time Kepler enjoyed the title of Mathematician to the Emperor all his life (*d*), and gained more and more reputation by his works [*A*]. The Emperor Rodolphus ordered him to finiſh the Tables of Tycho,

(*a*) *Taken from* Gaſſendus, *de Vitâ Tychonis Brahei*, lib. 5. pag. m. 451.

(*b*) Idem, ibid. pag. 456, and 459.

(*c*) Idem, pag. 460.

(*d*) See the remark [*F*].

[*A*] *He gained . . . a great reputation by his works.*] I ſhall only give the titles of ſome of his books. *Harmonices mundi Libri V. Apologia pro ſuâ Harmonicâ mundi contra Demonſtrationem analyticam Roberti de Fluctibus. De Cometis Libri tres. Ad Vitellionem Paralipomena, quibus Aſtronomiæ pars optica traditur. Epitome Aſtronomiæ Copernicanæ. Aſtronomia nova, ſeu Phyſica cæleſtis tradita Commentariis de motibus ſtellæ Martis ex Obſervationibus Tychonis Brahei. Chilias Logarithmorum in totidem numeros rotundos. Supplementum Chiliadis Logarithmorum. Nova Stereometria doliorum vinariorum & Stereometriæ Archimedeæ ſupplementum. Dioptrice. De vero natali anno Chriſti. Eclogæ Chronicæ de tempore Herodis Herodiadumque, baptiſmi, miniſterii, paſſionis, mortis, & reſurrectionis Chriſti, deque tempore Belli Judaici. Tychonis Brahei Hyperaſpiſtes adverſus Scipionis Claromontii Anti-Tychonem in aciem productus.* This is ſufficient to ſhew, that our Kepler was not one of thoſe genius's, who are confined to a narrow ſphere; his activity extended to a great number of objects. See in the body of this article the title of the firſt book, which he publiſhed. It is the ſame with his *Myſterium Coſmographicum*, and was that of all his works which he eſteemed moſt. He was ſo charmed with it for ſome time, that he owned, that he would not renounce the glory

Tycho (e), which were to be called the Rodolphine Tables (f). Kepler applied himſelf to it with vigour, but the Treaſurers were ſo ill affected towards him [B], that he could not publiſh them till the year 1627. He died in November 1630 at Ratiſbon, where he was ſolliciting the payment of the arrears of his penſion (g). LEWIS KEPLER, his ſon, Phyſician at Konigſberg in Pruſſia, finiſhed the impreſſion of his father's *Somnium*, *Lunariſve Aſtronomia*, and was apprehenſive, leſt it ſhould occaſion his death [C].

(e) *See* Gaſſendus, lib. 6. pag. 471.

(f) They were publiſhed under that title.

(g) Gaſſendus, pag. 472.

John

of the diſcoveries, which he had given an account of in that book for the Electorate of Saxony. *Thomas Lanſius in Mantiſſa Orat. p. 792. memorat, Keplerum aliquando à ſe rogatum, quem ex editis a ſe Libris loco dignaretur præcipuo, primatum dediſſe Myſterio Coſmographico, teſtatum in illo ſcripto quinque corporum regularium ſublime ſecretum tot ſæculis abſconditum pandi: inventum autem illud, cum adhuc recens eſſet, tanti ſe feciſſe, ut, ſi eodem tempore Saxoniæ Electoratus ſibi dono oblatus fuiſſet, additâ Conditione, alterutrum, aut donum aut inventionem repudiandi, ampliſſimâ & tot metallorum copiis fœtâ provinciâ excidere, quam invidenda & perpetuam Gloriam ſecum ductura inventione carere maluerit* (1). i. e. "Thomas Lanſius in *Mantiſſa Orat.* p. 792. tells us, that Kepler being once aſked by him, which of the books publiſhed by him he eſteemed moſt, gave the preference to his *Myſterium Coſmographicum*, declaring that in this book the ſublime ſecret of the five regular bodies, which had lain hid ſo many ages, was diſcovered; and that he valued that diſcovery ſo much, when it was new, that if the Electorate of Saxony had been offered to him at the ſame time, upon condition of renouncing either the offer or the invention, he would rather have refuſed that extenſive principality ſo well furniſhed with metals, than have quitted an invention, which would bring him immortal honour."

(1) Konig, *Bibliotheca*, pag. 444. in *Voce* Keplerus.

[B] *The Treaſurers were ſo ill affected towards him.*] Unhappy are thoſe learned men, who depend upon thoſe Gentlemen, and who cannot compleat a work, without the good humour of the Intendants of the Finances; a ſet of men, who in order to ſerve their Prince well, are obliged to weary out by a thouſand difficulties thoſe who have penſions from him. They leave him by this means the reputation of liberality without its coſting him much. I make uſe of Gaſſendi's words to ſhew the diſcontent of Kepler. *Alacriter quidem ille ſe accinxit; verum illæ brevi, ac aliæ deinceps, partim ex operis naturâ, partim ex tergiverſatione Præfectorum ærarii, ſubortæ fuere difficultates, ut priuſquam Tabulæ perfectæ evulgatæque fuerunt, annus ſæculi XXVII adventarit. Conqueſtus eſt certè ab annis II. ac III. configi ſe limis Præfectorum oculis; & cum anno IX. ſpecimen Laboris inſigne, Commentaria de Motibus Stellæ Martis edidiſſet, ac Rodolphus præter editionis impenſas, perſolvi illi confeſtim mandâſſet, tum ſtipendiorum reſidua*, quæ, *inquit*, ad duo millia monetæ argenteæ majoris excreverant, *tum aliæ inſuper duo millia; expoſtulabat tamen adhuc biennio poſt, decreta Rodolphi in ſe munificentiſſima nullum eventum conſequi, ac ſe incaſſum facere ſumptus, pulſareque jam Cameræ Sileſiacæ, jam Imperialis ærarii fores* (2). i. e. "He applied himſelf vigorouſly to it; "but ſuch difficulties aroſe in a ſhort time, partly "from the nature of the work, and partly from the "delay of the Treaſurers, that the Tables were not "finiſhed and publiſhed till the year 1627. He com"plained, that from the year 1602 and 1603 he "was looked upon by the Treaſurers with a very "invidious eye; and when in 1609 he had publiſhed "a noble ſpecimen of the work, and the Emperor "Rodolphus had given orders, that beſides the ex"pence of the edition, he ſhould immediately be "paid the arrears of his penſion, which, he ſaid, "amounted to two thouſand crowns, and likewiſe "two thouſand crowns more; yet, he complained, "that it was not till two years after, that the gene"rous orders of Rodolphus in his favour were put in "execution, and that he in vain knocked at the door "of the Sileſian and Imperial Chamber." Kepler met with no leſs diſcouragement from the Financiers under the Emperor Matthias, than under Rodolphus. *Licet anno inſequente Matthias Rudolphi ſucceſſor & continuari ſtipendia, & exſolvi reſidua juſſiſſet, querebatur tamen anno XVI. exſpectare ſe adhuc mandatorum exoptatiſſimum effectum* (3). He had occaſion to continue his patience under the Emperor Ferdinand; but at laſt he received his arrears. *Perſeverarunt adhuc querelæ poſt exactum XIX, quo Ferdinandus Matthiæ ſucceſſit, etiamque poſt XXI, quo edidit partem Doctrinæ Copernicanæ theoricam, juxta quam deductio tabularum foret: quouſque optimus imperator rebus licet nondum penitus compoſitis etiam vetera, quæ Anteceſſores debebant, ſtipendia perſolvit, ac ut neceſſarii ad maturationem editionemque Operis ſumptus ſuppeditarentur mandavit* (4). i. e. "His complaints continued ſtill after "the year 1619, when the Emperor Matthias was "ſucceeded by Ferdinand, and likewiſe after 1621, "when he publiſhed the theorical part of the Coper"nican Doctrine, according to which the Tables "were to be deduced; until the good Emperor, tho' "his affairs were not then entirely ſettled, ordered "the payment of what was due to him of the penſion "allowed his predeceſſors, and commanded, that the "neceſſary expences for finiſhing the edition of the "work ſhould be furniſhed to him." The punctuality in the payment of his penſion was interrupted; for the reaſon why he went to Ratiſbon in 1630 was, that he had occaſion to ſollicit there the payment of his arrears. *Cum anno XXX. ad Comitia Ratiſbonenſia, ut ſtipendiorum reſidua poſtularet, ſe contuliſſet, incidit in ardentem febrim, exque eâ . . . obiiſſe initio Decembris, ut certè ad Deodatum ſcripſit Beneggerus, cum & eximius Eichſtadius ad me ſcripſerit, fuiſſe eum catarrho extinctum, quem apoſtemata quædam cerebri ob nimiam equitationem præceſſerant* (5).

(2) Gaſſendus in *Vita Tychonis Brahei*, lib. 6. pag. m. 471.

(3) Idem, ibid.

(4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Idem, ibid. pag. 472.

[C] *Lewis Kepler . . . was apprehenſive leſt the care of the impreſſion of his father's* Somnium . . . *ſhould occaſion his death.*] The laſt work, which John Kepler wrote, was the *Deſcription of the Moon:* he had not the ſatisfaction of publiſhing it, for he died during the courſe of the impreſſion. James Bartſchius his ſon-in-law, and faithful follower in his aſtronomical opinions, undertook the care of this book, and continued the impreſſion, but was interrupted in this employment by death. Lewis Kepler, the author's ſon, was ſo ſurprized at theſe accidents, that he was with great difficulty prevailed upon to undertake the care of this book. He was fearful of loſing his life as his father and brother-in-law had done; and his mother-in-law, John Kepler's widow, who in very narrow circumſtances had a burthen of children, was obliged to make uſe of many entreaties and arguments to engage him in that work. At laſt ſhe ſucceeded. A learned Profeſſor of Utrecht has made uſe of theſe circumſtances in order to explode Kepler's doctrine concerning the world in the moon. *Unum*, ſays he, *præterire nequeo, quod ſpectat Selenographiæ Keplerianæ natales; unde jure merito malè ominor Levaniæ ejuſque incolis.* i. e. "I cannot omit one thing relating to the birth of "Kepler's Selenography, whence I think it to be an "ill omen to Levania and its inhabitants." He gives an account of the death of our author and of Bartſchius, and then adds. *Iſta verò ut intellexit Ludovicus Keplerus, Johannis filius, novercæ viduæ inopis ac liberis onuſtæ precibus atque erga patrium nomen affectu vix vinci potuit, ut libelli inchoatæ editioni abſolvendæ manum admoveret, territus (quod ipſe fatetur) improviſo & patris & affinis obitu, metuenſque ne cum illis in Levaniam relegaretur* (6). i. e. "As ſoon as Lewis Kepler, the ſon of "John, underſtood this, he could ſcarce be prevailed "upon by the entreaties of his mother-in-law, who "was a widow, and poor, and burthened with chil"dren, and by the regard due to his father's name, to "take upon him the finiſhing the edition of the book, "which had been begun, being terrified, as he was, "by the ſudden death of his father and brother-in-law, "and fearing leſt he ſhould be baniſhed with them "into Levania." I have not ſeen any writer, who has fallen with ſuch ſeverity upon Kepler as Schoockius, as if this great mathematician had made himſelf the moſt ridiculous of all men by endeavouring to accommodate

(6) Gerardus de Vries, *in Diſſertatione de Lunicolis*, pag. 253, 254. It is printed with the *Phyſiologia of Daniel Voet*, at Utrecht 1688.

John Kepler's notions are ſometimes very ſingular; one would imagine, that he aſcribed to the earth a ſoul endued with ſenſe [*D*]. It is ſaid, that he furniſhed excellent hints to Des Cartes [*E*]. We may place him among thoſe authors, who have ſaid, that they eſteemed

date the ſpeculations of mathematicians to the explication of natural philoſophy. I do not think that this deſign can ever ſucceed; for the object of mathematics and that of natural philoſophy are things irreconcileable; the one is a quantity which ſubſiſts only ideally, and cannot ſubſiſt in any other manner; the other exiſts out of our mind, and cannot really be in it. However that be, let us ſee the ſevere expreſſions of Schoockius. *Ubi Mathematicus, nemo eodem* (Johanne Keplero) *melior & ſubtilior, ubi verò Phyſicus, nemo eodem pejor atque ineptior, ut ſæpiſſimè doleam, ſi non ingemiſcam, virum tam eximium, divinam illam Matheſin nugamentis ſuis Phyſicis adeò fœdè commaculaſſe. Quid abſurdius enim vel febricitans anus in ſomnio videat, quam quod terra ingens animal ſit, quæ per montium crateres & caminas, ceu os aut nares, ventos exſpiret! & hoc tamen expreſſè docet, Lib.* 4. *Harmonicæ Cap.* 7. *ubi ſerio quoque probare nititur*, quod terra cum cœlo ſympathiam colat, & naturali inſtinctu ſiderum poſituram cognoſcat. *Similiter in ſcripto de Motibus Martis fol.* 173. *contendit ſolem magnum magnetem ſeu magneticum corpus eſſe, ſupra proprium centrum diurno motu circumactum, quod ſecundum ſpeciem quandam diffuſam, omnes reliquas Planetaram ſphæras commoveat, & in orbem agitet. Nec ſic Keplerus ſolum, per Matheſin imprudenter & infeliciter Phyſicæ applicatam, in errorum præcipitium ruit, ſed cum eo multi quoque alii, quorum indicem alio in ſcripto, ſi Deo placuerit vitam prorogare, exhibebo* (7). i. e. "Where he writes as a mathematician, "no perſon performs better or more ſubtilly than he; "where he acts the natural philoſopher, no perſon "perhaps writes more abſurdly; ſo that I am often "greatly ſorry, that ſo excellent a man ſhould diſgrace the divine ſcience of mathematics with his "phyſical abſurdities. For what could an old woman "in a fever dream more ridiculous, than that the "earth is a vaſt animal, which breathes out the winds "through the holes of the mountains, as it were "through a mouth and noſtrils? Yet he writes expreſly "thus in the fourth book and ſeventh chapter of his "*Harmonica Mundi*, where he endeavours likewiſe ſeriouſly to prove, that the *earth has a ſympathy with "the heavens, and by a natural inſtinct perceives the poſition of the ſtars.* In his book *De Motibus Martis* "fol. 173, he alſo aſſerts, that the ſun is a great "magnet or magnetical body, carried round upon "its own center in a diurnal motion, and by a certain diffuſed power carries round the reſt of the "planets. Nor has Kepler alone fallen into groſs "errors by the imprudent and unfortunate application "of mathematics to natural philoſophy, but likewiſe "many others have done the ſame, a catalogue of "whom I ſhall exhibit, if God ſhall continue my "life, in another tract."

(7) Martin. Schoockius, *de Scepticiſmo*, lib. 4. pag. 387, 388.

[*D*] *One would imagine, that he aſcribed to the earth a ſoul endued with ſenſe*] Voſſius having remarked how abſurd it was to rank the earth among the Gods, the earth, I ſay, which all the world took for a body, and trod upon, and covered with all kinds of filth; adds, that the wiſeſt men ſaw the abſurdity of this, and ſaid, that the earth was either an animal, or a part of the vaſt animal called the world (8). Kepler, continues he, was not far from that opinion; for he ſays not only, that the diurnal motion of the earth ariſes from the earth, but alſo that it perceives the appearance of Comets, that it ſweats for fear, and that this is the cauſe of rain. "Audiamus eum loquentem Libro de "Cometis anni poſt milleſimum & ſexcenteſimum ſeptimi, atque item duodevigeſimi: *Facultas mundi "ſublunaris cometam* PERSENTISCIT ET OBSTUPESCIT, *unaque facultates cæteræ omnium rerum ſublunarium.* Ac poſtea: *Facultas Telluris, inſolenti Cometæ apparitione* CONSTERNATA, *uno terreſtris ſuperficiei loco multum exſudat vaporum, pro qualitate "illius partis ſui corporis: hinc diuturnæ pluviæ & "eluviones*" (9). i. e. "Let us hear him ſpeaking "in his book of the comets of the year 1607 and "1618: *The faculty of the ſublunary world perceives "and is terrified at the comet, and together with it the "other faculties of all ſublunary things.* And afterwards: *The Faculty of the earth being terrified* at "the unuſual appearance of the comet, in one part "of the ſurface of the earth ſweats out a great quantity of vapour, according to the quality of that part "of its body; hence proceed great rains and floods". Gaſſendi obſerves, that according to Kepler all the ſtars are animated, and that as all animals move by means of their muſcles, the earth and planets have alſo muſcles proportioned to their bulk, which are the inſtruments, by which they move. He gives the ſun a very noble and active ſoul, and aſſerts that the rays of the ſun put in action the ſoul of the planets. *Adnoto duntaxat Keplerum ita ſidera feciſſe animata, ac ut inſtrumenta motus in Animalibus ſunt fibræ digeſtæ per muſculos; ſic cenſuiſſe illum, eſſe & in Terrâ & in Planetis cæteris ingentes fibras aliquas pro ratione molis cujuſque, per quas Anima vim ſuam matricem exerceat. Cenſuit vero etiam, præter ſpeciales Animas & vires, quæ inſunt in cæteris, eſſe in ipſo Sole Animam nobiliſſimam, potentiſſimamque, quæ dum ſolem circa proprium Axem (a centro Mundi propterea non diſcedentem) circumagit, immateriatas ſpecies (ſic enim appellat) irradiando circumfundit, quibus Planetæ velut correpti ipſi Soli circumducantur* (10). See what I quote from Leibnitz (11), and obſerve, that it would be very difficult to refute Kepler's ſuppoſition, for we are no more capable of knowing whether the earth be animated, than a louſe is of knowing whether we are animated. A louſe is contented with nouriſhing itſelf with what it ſucks from the ſurface of our bodies: it knows not whether we think; it cannot even diſcover the inward ſprings, which move us. Can we make any more diſcoveries with regard to the queſtion, whether the earth thinks, and has ſenſations, which like ours determine certain inward ſprings to move in a certain manner?

(8) Voſſius, *de Origine & Progreſſu Idololatriæ*, lib. 2. cap. 62. *ſub fin.* pag. m. 641.

(9) Idem, ibid.

(10) Gaſſend. *Phyſ.* Sect. 2. lib. 3. cap. 6. *Oper.* tom. 1. pag. m. 635.

(11) *Tantarum tamque conſtantium Veritatum cauſas dare nondum potuit* (Keplerus) *tum quod Intelligentiis aut Sympathiarum radiationibus inexplicatis haberet præpeditam mentem, tum quod nondum illius tempore Geometria interior & ſcientia motuum eo quo nunc profeciſſent.* Acta Eruditor. Lipſienſ. 1689. pag. 82, 83.

[*E*] *It is ſaid, that he furniſhed excellent hints to Des Cartes.*] Here is what Baillet acknowledges; Kepler, ſays he (12), *had particularly cultivated aſtronomy and optics; and though he left a great many things to be diſcovered and perfected, it muſt be owned, that the reading of his writings was not uſeleſs to Monſieur Des Cartes.* In another place (13) he mentions three things, which ſeem to have been common to Des Cartes with Kepler. "The firſt is the knowledge of the celeſtial vortices, "of which Kepler is ſaid to have had at leaſt a confuſed notion, as well as Jordano Bruno. The ſecond "is the explication of gravity, which Kepler firſt of "all gave by the compariſon of ſmall bits of ſtraw, "which by the motion of water turned round in a "veſſel, gather in the centre. The third is the knowledge of optics, in which Des Cartes owned Kepler for his maſter in 1638. Here is the teſtimony, "which he gave of it to father Merſennus. That "perſon ſays he (*), who charges me with having "borrowed of Kepler the *Ellipſis* and *Hyperbola's* of "my dioptrics, muſt be very ignorant or malicious. "For with regard to the *Ellipſis*, I do not remember "that Kepler ſpeaks of it; or, if he ſpeaks of it, it "is certainly to ſay, that it is not the *Anaclaſtic*, "which he ſeeks. And as for the *Hyperbola*, I remember very well, that he pretends to demonſtrate ex- "preſly, that it is not that neither, though he ſays it "is not very different from it. Now I leave you to "think, whether I could have learned that a thing "was true from a man, who endeavours to prove it "to be falſe. Notwithſtanding this I own, that "Kepler was my firſt maſter in optics, and that he "underſtood more of it than all who preceded him." Mr. Leibnitz, whoſe words I have quoted concerning the vortices, touches in another place upon what relates to gravity. He pretends that we owe to Kepler the cauſe of this Phænomenon, and charges Des Cartes with having made uſe of this excellent diſcovery, without aſcribing the invention to the perſon, to whom it was due. *Ipſi* (Keplero) *primum indicium debetur veræ cauſæ gravitatis, & hujus naturæ Legis, a qua gravitas pendet, quod corpora rotata conantur à centro recedere per tangentem, & ideo ſi in aquâ feſtucæ vel paleæ innatent, rotato vaſe, aqua in vorticem acta, feſtucis denſior, atque ideo fortius quam ipſæ, excuſſæ a medio, feſtucas verſus centrum compellit; quemadmodum ipſe di-*

(12) *Vie de Des Cartes*, tom. 1. pag. 226.

(13) Tom. 2. pag. 542. He quotes G. G. Leibnitz, tom. 1. *Act. Eruditor. Lipſ.* Leibnitz indeed ſpeaks thus, pag. 187. *Cl. Speiſſius ... notat ſolemne fuiſſe* Carteſio *præterire nomina autorum, & exemplum affert mundanorum Vorticum, ad quos Jordanus Brunus & Johannes Keplerus ita digitum intenderint, ut tantum iſtud vocabulum ipſis defuiſſe videatur.*

(*) Tom. 3. of his *Letters*, pag. 397.

esteemed a production of the genius above a Kingdom (*h*). Moreri has committed more faults of omission than of commission [*F*].

sertè duobus & amplius locis, in Epitome Astronomiæ exposuit; quanquam adhuc subdubitabundus, & suas ipse opes ignorans, nec satis conscius quanta inde sequerentur, tum in Physicâ, tum speciatim in Astronomiâ. Sed his deinde egregiè usus est Cartesius, etsi more suo autorem dissimularit (14) i. e. "To Kepler is owing the first "discovery of the true cause of gravity and of that "law of nature, upon which gravity depends, viz. "that bodies whirled round endeavour to recede from "the centre in a tangent; and therefore if straws "swim in water, in a vessel whirled round, the wa-"ter being forced into a vortex, and more dense than "the straws, and therefore driven from the centre "more strongly than they, forces the straws towards "the centre; as he has expresly taught in more than "two places in his *Epitome Astronomiæ*, though he "was a little doubtful, and knew not his own ability, "and was not sensible what great things would follow "from this in Natural Philosophy, and especially in "Astronomy. But Des Cartes afterwards made an "excellent use of this, though according to his custom, "he takes no notice of the author". See the Bishop of Avranches (15), who quotes some passages from Kepler, reproaching Des Cartes with having stollen a great many things from that German.

(14) *Acta Erudit. Lipsi.* 1689. pag. 83.

(15) *In Censurâ Philosoph. Cartesianæ*, cap. 8. pag. m. 216.

[*F*] *Moreri has committed more faults of omission than commission.*] The faults of the first kind will easily appear to those, who shall take the pains to compare his article with this. What would it be, if it were compared with an article, which contains what I have not taken notice of? Here follow his faults of commission. I. The Name of the Emperor, who succeeded Rodolphus, was not Matthew, but Matthias. These two names are very different, and no person ought to have known it better than Moreri, who as a priest read his breviary every day. Are not the feasts of St. Matthew and of St. Matthias different? II. He should not have said, that Kepler died *about the year* 1620; it should be 1630. an error of ten years is not pardonable, when the question is concerning a great man of our own age. III. He should not have said, that John Kepler is different from Lewis Kepler; but that Lewis Kepler was the son of John Kepler. Moreri might very easily have avoided the first error, since Vossius, whom he copies, writes thus: *Primum Rodolphi Imperatoris, exinde* MATTHIÆ, *tandem & Ferdinandi Cæs. Mathematicus fuit* (16). i. e. "He was mathematician at first to the Emperor Ro-"dolphus, then to MATTHIAS, and at last to Ferdi-"nand". I shall take this opportunity to observe, that before Kepler had this title, he had been Professor at Grats in Styria. His engagement with Tycho Brahe was very near being broke off, because the states of Styria did not approve of it. *Ex inopinato Literas accepit, quibus Keplerus insinuavit non esse sibi integrum pactis conditionibus stare, quod à Styriæ proceribus, quorum in ære erat, undequaque non probarentur* (17). Tycho informed Kepler, that he had procured for him a larger stipend at the Emperor's Court, with the title of mathematician to his Imperial Majesty; and that therefore the loss of the pension given him in Styria ought not to stop him (18). Upon this Kepler left the University of Grats. The Emperor Rodolphus made him his mathematician; but he engaged him to serve *Tycho* as an arithmetician (19). I find that the Emperor Matthias gave Kepler a fixed settlement at Lints, and appointed him a salary from the states of upper Austria, which was paid for sixteen years. *Neque enim sibi satis esse, quod Cæsar etiam ante Imperium decrevisset idoneam fixamque sedem Lintii, ac adjecisset exhibenda à Proceribus Austriæ supra-Anisanæ stipendia, quibus, donec res pacatiores evaderent, sustentaretur, uti & fuit illis reipsa per annos sexdecim sustentatus* (20). This is the reason why Vossius speaking of the *Stereometria* printed in 1617, stiles Kepler *Cæsaris Matthiæ & illustrium Ordinam Archiducalis Austriæ supra Onasum Mathematicus* (21). i. e. "Mathematician to the Em-"peror Matthias and the illustrious states of Arch-"Ducal Austria above the Onasus". I find also that Walstein settled Kepler at Sagan in Silesia, and that it was there that this astronomer published the continuation of his Ephemerides in 1630 (22). *Deinceps autem anno xxx post editas Sagani Silesiorum* (ubi Dux *Meckelburgi Wulstemius* (23) *sedem illi tribuerat*) *Ephemeridas* (24) *ad Comitia Ratisbonensia.... se contulisset.*

(16) Vossius, *de Scientiis Mathemat.* pag. 198.

(17) Gassend. *de Vitâ Tychon. Brahei*, lib. 5. pag. 459. *ad ann.* 1600.

(18) Idem, ibid.

(19) *Deducto ad Cæsarem Keplero, lætatus est Cæsar ipsum convaluisse, ac testatus est velle se eum quidem Mathematicum sibi habere, sed additum tamen Tycheni, quasi ministrum à Calculis.* Idem, ibid. pag. 460. col. 1.

(20) Gassend. *in Vitâ Tych. Brah.* lib. 6. pag. 471. col. 2.

(21) Vossius, *de Scientiis Mathemat.* pag. 340.

(22) Gassend. pag. 472.

(23) It is thus in my edition of Gassendus. It should be *Wallsteinius.*

(24) This must be understood only of the 2d part of the *Ephemerides*; for the first part was printed at Lintz in 1617.

KERMATIANS, a Sect in Arabia. See the remark [*A*] of the article of ABUDHAHER.

KESLER (ANDREW), a Lutheran Divine, was born at Cobourg in Franconia in the year 1595. He did not follow the profession of his father, who was a Taylor (*a*), but applied himself to study, and distinguished himself by his wit, and the progress which he made; which was undoubtedly the reason why Prince John Casimir Duke of Saxony, who had erected a *Schola Illustris* at Cobourg, gave him a pension (*b*). He was enabled by this to maintain himself at the University of Jena, and afterwards in that of Wittemberg. He was admitted in the latter into the Faculty of Philosophy, and shewed by several Theses, which he defended, that he was a good master of Logic, and made excellent use of that Science to confute the Socinians [*A*]. He was sent for from Wittemberg (*c*) to accept of an employment (*d*) in the College of Cobourg, and at the end of an year and an half he became Pastor and Superintendant of Eisfield. He discharged

(a) Spizelius *in Templo Honoris*, pag. 155.

(b) Keslerus, *Epist. Dedicat. Logicæ Photinianæ Examinis.*

(c) Spizelius, pag. 156.

(d) *Taken from* Spizelius, pag. 156.

[*A*] *He was a good master of Logic, and made excellent use of that science to confute the Socinians.*] He published a treatise *de Principiis Logicis quæ in Photinianorum Librorum Lectione occurrunt*, which contains thirteen disputes, which he maintained in the University of Wittenberg: he dedicated it to his patron Prince John Casimir of Saxony. The epistle dedicatory is dated at Wittemberg August 1. 1621. He published a second edition of this work in the same City in 1624 in 4to It is intitled: *Logicæ Photinianæ Examen, seu Principiorum Logicorum, quæ in Photinianorum scriptis occurrunt, Consideratio: cui præmissus est Tractatus brevissimus de illegitimo Photinianorum disputandi modo, & legitima ratione pie philosophandi.* A new edition, in 8vo, was published at Wittemberg in 1642. Michael Wendelerus, Professor of Philosophy (1), added to it a short preface, in which he ranks among the Socinian writers Smiglecius, who is one of the Jesuits, that have confuted them in the strongest manner. Kesler afterwards attacked the Socinian Metaphysics in a book intitled, *Metaphysicæ Photinianæ partis generalis examen, seu Principiorum ad generalem Metaphysicæ partem pertinentium, quæ in Photinianorum scriptis occurrunt, Consideratio.* I have seen only the third edition, which is that of Wittemberg 1648 in 8vo; but I conjecture, that the first is in 1623, for the epistle dedicatory is dated from that City March the 10th, 1623. The *Metaphysicæ Photinianæ partis specialis Examen, seu Principiorum ad specialem Metaphysicæ partem pertinentium quæ in Photinianorum scriptis occurrunt, Consideratio* was published, if I am not mistaken, in 1626; for the author's Epistle dedicatory is dated at Eisfeld January 14th that year. I have seen only the third edition, which is that of Wittemberg 1648 in 8vo. He attacks likewise the Physics of the Socinians; the epistle dedicatory of his *Physicæ Photinianæ Examen, seu Principiorum Physicorum quæ in Photinianorum scriptis occurrunt, consideratio*, is dated at Eisfeld January 1. 1628. I have seen only the Wittemberg edition of 1656 in 8vo, there is a great deal of method and exactness in these treatises.

(1) At Wittemberg.

charged that employment with ſucceſs, and upon that account Prince John Caſimir would not permit him to accept of the Superintendance of the Churches of the whole country of Eiſenac. He took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and at laſt ſubmitted to a call to Steinfurt. He was offered the Superintendance of the Church; he excuſed himſelf, but readily accepted it after he had the misfortune to loſe his Library, when the Imperial troops plundered the town of Eisfeld in 1632. Beſides the Superintendance of the Church, he had alſo at Steinfurt the direction of the College, when he was recalled to Cobourg to ſucceed the Superintendant of the Churches. He diſcharged this poſt with applauſe. His Sermons were very famous on account of his eloquence and learning. He was ſeized with an Apoplexy in the pulpit (*e*), and after having languiſhed ſome months, died May the 5th 1643 (*f*). He wrote a great number of books [*B*], ſome in Latin, and others in High Dutch, part of which only have been publiſhed.

(*e*) *Taken from* Spizelius, pag. 156.

(*f*) Henn. Witte, *in Diario Biographico.*

[*B*] *He wrote a great number of books.*] We have the titles of them in the *Templum Honoris reſeratum* of Spizelius (*z*), and in the *Diarium Biographicum* of Hennings Witte, but without any mention of the time or place of the impreſſion. I have remedied this defect as far as I could with regard to the books, which I have mentioned in the preceding remark. I cannot continue it with regard to the reſt, which are *Tractatus de Conſequentia: Quadriga Diſcurſuum Philoſopho Theologicorum: Hiſtoria Epiphaniæ Dominicæ. Reſponſio belli ubiquiſtici Laurentio Forero oppoſita, &c.*

(*z*) Pag. 160, & *ſeq.*

☞KETTLEWELL (JOHN), a learned Divine in the ſeventeenth Century, was deſcended from an ancient family of good note in the North-Riding of Yorkſhire (*a*), and was ſon of Mr. John Kettlewell of North-Allerton in Yorkſhire by Mrs. Elizabeth Ogle his wife. He was born at Brompton a village in the pariſh of North-Allerton March the 10th 1653 (*b*). In 1670 he was ſent to St. Edmund Hall in Oxford (*c*), where he became Servitor to Dr. Thomas Tully, then Principal of that Hall, and pupil to Mr. John Marſh, Vice-Principal thereof (*d*). June the 25th 1674 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*); and on the 28th of July 1675 was elected Fellow of Lincoln-College (*f*). May the 3d 1677 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*g*). Afterwards entering into holy Orders, he became Chaplain to the Counteſs of Bedford (*h*), and not to William Lord Ruſſel, as Mr. Wood aſſerts (*i*); and in 1682 was preſented to the Vicarage of Coles-Hill in Warwickſhire by Simon Lord Digby (*k*). October the 4th 1685 he married Mrs. Jane Lybb, daughter of Anthony Lybb of Hardwick in Oxfordſhire Eſq; a Gentleman of an eſtate of a thouſand pounds a year (*l*). After the Revolution he was deprived of his Living on account of his refuſal to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary. He publiſhed ſeveral works [*A*], and died of a conſumption at his lodgings in Grey's-Inn-Lane in Holbourn April the 12th 1695, and was interred in the Church of All-Hallows Barking near the Tower of London, where a monument was

(*a*) *Memoirs of the Life of Mr.* John Kettlewell. *Wherein is contained ſome Account of the Tranſactions of his Time. Compiled from the Collections of Dr.* George Hickes and Robert Nelſon Eſq; pag 1. edit. London 1718, in 8vo.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 6, 7.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 21.

(*d*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 923. 2d edit. London 1721, and *Memoirs*, pag. 20.

(*e*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 195.

(*f*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 206.

(*h*) *Memoirs*, pag. 56.

(*i*) *Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) *Memoirs*, pag. 61.

(*l*) Ibid. pag. 120, 121.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral works.*] I. *The Meaſures of Chriſtian Obedience; or a Diſcourſe ſhewing what Obedience is indiſpenſibly neceſſary to a Regenerate State, and what Defects conſiſtent with it; for the Promotion of Piety and the Peace of troubled Conſciences.* London 1681 and 1683 in 4to. It was begun and finiſhed betwixt Eaſter and Chriſtmas (1). The firſt edition was dedicated to Dr. Henry Compton Biſhop of London; but that dedication was omitted by our author in the edition publiſhed after the revolution (2). II. *The great Danger of Profuſeneſs and Prodigality, in a Letter to a Friend.* Written in June 1681, and publiſhed by Mr. Nelſon after our author's death in 1704. III. *An Help and Exhortation to worthy communicating; or, A Treatiſe deſcribing the Meaning, worthy Reception, Duty, and Benefits of the Holy Sacrament; and anſwering the Doubts of Conſcience and other Reaſons, which moſt generally detain Men from it. Together with ſuitable Devotions added.* London 1683 &c. in 12mo. IV. *The Nature of Edification explained. A Viſitation Sermon on* 1 Cor. xiv. 12. *preached at Coventry May the 7th* 1684. London 1684 in 4to. V. *A Funeral Sermon for the Lady* Frances Digby, *who deceaſed at Coles-Hill 29 Sept.* 1684, *on Prov.* xiv. 32. London 1684 in 4to. VI. *The Religious Loyaliſt*; a Viſitation Sermon on *Matt.* xxii. 21. preached at Coles-Hill Auguſt the 28th 1685. London 1686 in 4to. VII. *A Sermon preached at Coles-Hill in Warwickſhire January the 24th* 1685, *on occaſion of the Death of Simon Lord Digby, who deceaſed* 19 *January.* London 1686 in 4to. VIII. *The Practical Believer: Or the Articles of the Apoſtles Creed drawn out to form a true Chriſtian's Heart and Practice. Part I. Of the Nature and Certainty of the Chriſtian Faith and Knowledge of God; or an Explication of the Divine Attributes of Providence. Part II. Of the Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt.* London 1689. IX. *Five Diſcourſes on ſo many very important Points of Religion,* preached at Coles Hill, and printed in 1696, though written before the Revolution. X. *Of Chriſtian Prudence, or Religious Wiſdom not degenerating into irreligious Craftineſs in trying times.* London 1691 in 8vo. XI. *Chriſtianity a Doctrine of the Croſs, or Paſſive Obedience under any pretended Invaſion of Legal Rights and Liberties.* London 1691 XII. *The Duty of Allegiance ſettled upon its true Grounds, according to Scripture, Reaſon, and the Opinion of the Church, in anſwer to a late Book of Dr.* William Sherlock, *intitled* The Caſe of Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers. London 1691. XIII. *Of the New Oaths; againſt thoſe that take them in a lower ſenſe, and alſo thoſe that make their Concern for the public Good a ſufficient Reaſon to diſcharge them from the Obligation of a former Oath of Allegiance.* This was never printed. XIV. *Of Chriſtian Communion to be kept on in the Unity of Chriſt's Church, and among the Profeſſors of Truth and Holineſs. And of the Obligations both of faithful Paſtors to adminiſter Orthodox and Holy Offices; and of faithful People to communicate in the ſame, &c.* In three Parts. London 1693 in 4to. XV. *A Companion for the Perſecuted: Or an Office for thoſe, who ſuffer for Righteouſneſs: Containing particular Prayers and Devotions for particular Graces, and for their private and public Wants and Occaſions.* London 1694 in 12mo. XVI. *A Companion for the Penitent and for Perſons troubled in Mind, conſiſting of an Office for the Penitent, to carry on their Reconciliation with God; and a Trial or Judgment of the Soul for diſcovering the ſafety of their Spiritual Eſtate; and an Office for Perſons troubled in Mind, to ſettle them in Peace and Comfort.* London 1694 in 12mo. XVII. *An Office for Priſoners.* Written in 1694, but printed after our author's death 1697. XVIII. *Death made comfortable: Or, the Way to die well: Conſiſting of Directions for a holy and happy Death.* London 1695 in 8vo. XIX. *An Office for the Sick, and for certain Kinds of Bodily Illneſs, and for dying Perſons; and proper Prayers for the Death of Friends.* This was publiſhed with the preceding treatiſe. XX. *His Declaration and Profeſſion made by him at the receiving of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the 23d of March* 1694. Printed in half a ſheet of Paper.

(1) *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. John Kettlewell*, pag. 50.

(2) Ibid. pag. 51, 52.

was erected to him by his widow [*B*]. He was a man of great ſincerity, piety, meekneſs, and charity (*m*).

(*m*) Ibid. pag. 458, & ſeqq.

[*B*] *Where a Monument was erected to him by his widow.*] The inſcription upon it is as follows.

Quod mori potuit.
JOHANNIS KETTLEWELL, *A. M.*
Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Preſbyteri
Integerrimi, inſtructiſſimiq;
Viri Pietatis, Modeſtiæ ſingularis;
Ut verbo omnia, verè Chriſtiani.
Qualem fateare par eſt
Qui totius Officii noſtri Rationes
(Annum adhuc agens vigeſimum quartum)
Fæliciter adeò atque ex animo explicuit,
Ut dictu haud ſit facile, mores alienos
Ad Virtutem Evangelicam efformaverit magis,
An ad vivum depinxerit ſuos.
Eccleſiæ Paroch. de Coles-Hill in Agro Warwic.
Per annos ſeptem invigilavit,
Paſtor fidiſſimus prudentiſſimuſq;
Fortunæ tandem utriuſq; Victor
Animam Deo redddit April 12° *A. D.* 1695. *Æt.* 42.
Morte tali vitâ dignâ.

H.

☞KIDDER (RICHARD) a learned Engliſh Biſhop, was born in Suſſex (*a*), and admitted into Emanuel College in the Univerſity of Cambridge June the 5th 1649, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1652, and became Fellow of that College in 1655, and the year following took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*). July the 13th 1658 he was incorporated in the Univerſity of Oxford (*c*). October the 29th 1664 he became Vicar of Raine Parva in the county of Eſſex (*d*), which he reſigned upon his being choſen October the 24th 1674 Rector of St. Martin's Outwich in London (*e*). September the 16th 1681 he was inſtalled Prebendary of Norwich (*f*). In 1689 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, as appears from the Regiſters of the Univerſity of Cambridge; and therefore Mr. Wood is miſtaken in aſſerting that he had that degree ſeveral years before. October the 30th the ſame year he was inſtalled Dean of Peterborough, in the room of Dr. Simon Patrick promoted to the See of Chicheſter (*g*); and June 13th 1691 he was nominated to the Biſhopric of Bath and Wells, in the room of Dr. Thomas Kenn, deprived for not taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary; and Auguſt the 30th following was conſecrated to that See (*b*). He publiſhed ſeveral works [*A*]. He was killed in his bed with his Lady by the fall of a ſtack of chimneys

(*a*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 123. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) From the College Regiſter.

(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. 2. pag. 480.

(*e*) Idem, vol. 1. pag. 414.

(*f*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Le Neve, *Faſti Eccleſ. Anglicanæ*, pag. 241.

(*b*) Idem, pag. 34.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral works.*] I. *The Young Man's Duty. A Diſcourſe ſhewing the neceſſity of ſeeking the Lord betimes; as alſo the danger and unreaſonableneſs of truſting to a late or Death-bed Repentance. Deſigned eſpecially for young Perſons before they are debauched by evil Company and evil Habits.* London 1663 in 12mo. There have been ſeveral editions ſince. The ſixth edition was publiſhed in 1690. II. *A Diſcourſe concerning the Education of Youths. A Sermon on* Epheſ. i. 4. London 1673. III. Convivium cœleſte. *A plain and familiar Diſcourſe concerning the Lord's Supper, ſhewing at once the nature of that Sacrament, as alſo the right way of preparing ourſelves for receiving of it,* &c. London 1674 in 8vo, and reprinted afterwards with Additions. IV. *Charity directed: Or the Way to give Alms to the greateſt Advantage. In a Letter to a Friend.* London 1677 in 4to. V. *The Chriſtian Sufferer ſupported: Or, a Diſcourſe concerning the Grounds of Chriſtian Fortitude, ſhewing at once, that the Sufferings of Good Men are not inconſiſtent with God's ſpecial Providence,* &c. London 1680 in 8vo. VI. *A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen at Guildhall Chapel on July the 16th* 1682. London in 4to. The Text is 1 *Pet.* iii. 2. VII. *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of Mr.* William Allen, *the 17th of Auguſt* 1686 *on* Heb. xiii. 4. London 1686 in 4to. This Mr. Allen had been a citizen and trader of London, and had written ten books, chiefly in defence of the Church of England, againſt the Anabaptiſts, Quakers, &c. VIII *A ſecond Dialogue between a new Catholic Convert and a Proteſtant, ſhewing why he cannot believe the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, though he do firmly believe the Doctrine of the Trinity.* IX. *An Examination of* Bellarmine's *thirteenth Note of the Confeſſion of Adverſaries.* London 1687 in 4to. X. *The Texts, which Papiſts cite out of the Bible for the proof of their Doctrine,* Of the Sacrifice of the Maſs, *examined.* Part I and II. London in 4to. XI. *The Judgment of private Diſcretion in Matters of Religion defended; in a Sermon at St. Paul's Covent-Garden.* XII. *Reflections on a French Teſtament printed at Bordeaux Ann. Dom.* 1686. *Pretended to be tranſlated out of the Latin into French by the Divines of Louvain,* London 1690 in 4to. In the preface having obſerved, that *the people have a right to read the Holy Scriptures,* he tells us, that "the Church of Rome does not abſolutely deny the people this liberty, but reſtrains it; for they have their verſions of the Bible in the ſeveral Popiſh countries in the language of them. But for all that, certain it is, that many of that Church do not only diſparage thoſe holy books, but diſcourage the reading of them. And that Church, inſtead of aſſiſting the devout people in their profitable reading the Holy Scriptures, and furniſhing them with all due means to this purpoſe, hath dealt very inſincerely in the whole matter." He obſerves that it has done this, I. By obtruding the *Vulgar Latin* as that authentic copy of the Bible, from which, in public diſputes and queſtions, there is no appeal to be allowed, which the Trent Council does. "The verſion of the *Vulgar Latin*, I grant, *ſays Dr. Kidder*, is venerable for its antiquity, and is of great uſe in the Church, and is not always to be deſpiſed or declaimed againſt, where at firſt ſight it does not ſeem perfectly agreeable to the original text; both becauſe it ſometimes gives the true ſenſe, where it ſeems in the letter to differ, and alſo becauſe (in the *New Teſtament* eſpecially) where it differs from the preſent reading, it does not differ from ſome antient copies. But yet after all, it cannot always be defended ... And ... the moſt famed and allowed commentators and interpreters of the Roman Church, do think fit very frequently to forſake the *Vulgar*; which I ſhall at any time make good againſt that Church, whenever I ſhall be required to do it. II. By commending that for the verſion of the *Vulgar Latin*, which is not ſo. After the abovenamed decree of the Trent-Council, the minds of men were in ſuſpenſe and doubtful, becauſe they knew not what copy of the *Vulgar Latin* to follow. And the Pope did not, for above twenty years after, declare what certain copy ſhould be taken for the authentic *Vulgar Latin.* Afterwards indeed Pope *Sixtus* V gave notice to the Chriſtian world what his mind was in this matter, *Anno Domini* MDLXXXIX. He puts out a Latin Bible, in the preface to which he acquaints the reader, "that agreeably to the foreſaid decree of the Council of Trent, he having called upon God, and relying upon St. Peter's authority, for the public good of the Church, had not thought much to ſet forth that Bible. He repreſents his *labour* in chooſing the beſt readings; his *deſign*, that according to the decree of the

chimneys at his houſe in Wells during the great ſtorm November the 26th 1703. The Biſhop in the *Diſſertation* prefixed to his *Commentary on the Five Books of Moſes*, printed at London in 1694, having reflected upon Monſieur Le Clerc, the latter wrote a letter of complaint to him in Latin dated at Amſterdam November the 5th 1694. The Biſhop returned a very civil anſwer in the ſame language, dated at Wells November the 9th 1694. Monſieur Le Clerc wrote another letter to him dated at Amſterdam December the 1ſt 1694. All theſe letters are publiſhed by Monſieur Le Clerc in his *Bibliotheque Choiſie* (*i*), who tells us (*k*), that after he had written his laſt letter, he deſired a friend of his to wait on the Biſhop, in order to know his Lordſhip's mind with regard to Monſieur Le Clerc; whoſe friend wrote to him as follows in a letter dated January the 10th 1695. "I alſo waited upon the Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and having reaſon to ſpeak "to him of his book, which he had done me the honour to give me, I led him on that "occaſion inſenſibly into a diſcourſe of you. Whereupon he told me, that he had "writ to you, and made the ſame profeſſions to me that he had done to you; and ad-"ded, that he would be very ready and glad to do you any ſervice; and all this with "ſuch candour and frankneſs, that I am fully ſatisfied, he is in good earneſt very well "inclined towards you, and will be the readier to do you any kindneſs for what he had "ſaid in print. I delivered to him the acknowledgment you deſired me, for his letter "to you. He told me, he thought he ſhould publiſh his Comment in Latin, and then "in his preface to that he would be careful to give you ſatisfaction. But that yet he "could not alter his opinion, wherein he differed from you. Your Paraphraſe he ſpoke "of in high terms of praiſe and admiration, as excelling any thing the world yet had "of that kind." *All this*, ſays Monſieur Le Clerc (*l*), *was very well; there was nothing*

(*i*) Tom. 4. Article 10. pag. 364, & *ſeqq.*

(*k*) Ibid. pag. 388.

(*l*) Ibid. pag. 390.

"the Trent-Council, the Vulgar Bible might be printed moſt correct; and his *performance*, viz. that "he had accurately purged this edition from various "errors, and with the utmoſt diligence reſtored it *in pri-"ſtinam veritatem*. i. e. *to its antient verity*. After this "declares his *will*, viz. he decrees, that the edition ſhould "be taken from that *Vulgar Latin*, which the Trent-"Council declared authentic. And this he tells us, "he does *ex certâ noſtrâ ſcientiâ, deque Apoſtolicæ po-"teſtatis plenitudine*, i. e. *from his own certain know-"ledge and plenitude of Apoſtolic authority*. And that "it ought to be received as ſuch, *ſine ullâ dubitatione "aut controverſia*, i. e. *without any doubt or contro-"verſy*." After this Clement VIII puts out his edition of the *Vulgar*, and requires expreſly that that be received alſo; and this he does in the year 1592. The differences between that of Sixtus V and Clement VIII are too many to be here related; yet are both theſe to be received by the authority of the Pope and Council, though they contradict each other; and we ſhall ſtill be at the pleaſure of a Pope to give us another authentic copy. III. The Church of Rome hath done very inſincerely in allowing verſions, which pretend to be true verſions of the *Vulgar*, which they are not. Dr. Kidder more eſpecially conſiders thoſe, which were done in the French. There was a French Bible printed at Antwerp by the permiſſion of Charles V in 1530, and reprinted in 1534, which differs from the preſent *Vulgar*. But this being done before the Bull of Sixtus V. the Dr. does not inſiſt upon it. After this there was another verſion of the *Vulgar Latin* into French by the care of certain Louvain Divines, deputed to this purpoſe; an edition of which printed at Lyons is frequently referred to by our author in his *Reflections*. This was a verſion of great fame and authority in the Church of Rome; and the Teſtament of *Bourdeaux* pretends to be done by theſe Divines. So it was, that tho' this *Louvain* French Bible was deſigned to keep the people from reading Proteſtant editions; yet it was complained of by ſeveral of the Church of Rome (as Father Simon relates) as coming too near the ſentiments of the Proteſtants. It appears from Dr. Kidder's *reflections*, that this verſion does not exactly agree with the preſent *Vulgar*. Since that there have been many Popiſh verſions in the French tongue, which pretend to be verſions of the Latin into French, of the New Teſtament, in which Dr. Kidder is principally concerned in this piece. The firſt is that of *Amelote*, who was choſen by the French Clergy to that employment in 1655. He hath printed his verſion both with and without notes; the firſt in 1666; that without notes in 1686. This was printed with the atteſtation and approbation of ſeveral Prelates of France, with the permiſſion of the Archbiſhop of Paris, and General of his Order. Father Simon in his *Critical Hiſtory of the New Teſtament* ſays, that he was the firſt Catholic writer, who applied himſelf with care to turn the New Teſtament into French. *I will not deny him*, ſays Dr. Kidder, *to be a perſon of diligence and good fame; but yet neither is this a ſtrict verſion of the* Vulgar. The ſecond is the verſion printed at Mons. *This*, ſays the Doctor, *is common among us, and hath been often printed, and is of great fame, and upon many accounts a very valuable book. But neither is this a ſtrict verſion of the* Vulgar. The third is the New Teſtament printed at Bourdeaux, againſt which Dr. Kidder's *Reflections* are levelled. It bears the title of *Le Nouveau Teſtament de nôtre Seigneur Jeſus Chriſt traduit de Latin en François par les Theologiens de Louvain*. i. e. "The New Teſtament of our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt tranſlated out of the Latin into "French by the Divines of Louvain." It was printed at Bourdeaux in 1686, and hath the approbation of two Doctors, viz. Lopez and Germain, as very profitable to thoſe, who ſhall be permitted and have capacity to read it. It hath alſo the permiſſion of the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, and it is in that permiſſion affirmed to be *reviewed and exactly corrected*. "I ſhall "make it appear, *ſays Dr. Kidder*, that this is no "true verſion of the *Vulgar Latin*; that it is not the "work of the Louvain Divines, as is pretended to be; "that it agrees neither with the *Vulgar*, nor the ce-"lebrated *verſions* of it, which are allowed in the "Roman Church; that it hath a conſiderable number "of downright forgeries and falſifications, a great "number of groſs errors and miſtakes; that it adds "to the *Vulgar*, and takes from it; that it is incon-"ſiſtent with itſelf, and by no means corrected as to "typographical *Errata*; in a word, it hath not "the authority of antient copies or various readings to "ſupport it. I dare challenge all mankind to defend "it. Thoſe of the Church of Rome have inveighed "againſt the Proteſtant verſions. They have pretended "that we have no Bible. They have ſcoffed and "derided us on this account. They have boaſted, "that they have been the faithful preſervers of theſe "divine oracles, and that what we have of them, "we may thank them for. But lo here a proof of their "inſincerity; here is that, which may convince any "honeſt man even of their own communion, that is "willing to know the truth in this important matter ... "I did intend in the laſt reign to have made, and to "have publiſhed theſe *Reflections*; but I could by no "means procure this Teſtament either here or beyond "the ſeas." XIII. *Demonſtration of the Meſſiah. In 3 Parts* London 1684, 1699, and 1700, in three volumes in 8vo. XIV. *His Charge to the Clergy of his Diocefe at his primary Viſitation, begun at Axebridge, June 2*, 1692. London 1693 in 4to. XV. *A Commentary on the Five Books of Moſes; with a Diſſertation concerning the Author or Writer of the ſaid Books, and a general Argument to each of them*. London 1694 in two volumes in 8vo. XVI. *A Sermon on the Reſurrection*. London 1694. XVII. *Life of Dr. Anthony Horneck*, London 1698 in 8vo. XVIII. *Critical Remarks on ſome paſſages of Scripture*. London 1719 in 8vo. T.

thing wanting, but that Biſhop Kidder ſhould take the firſt opportunity of ſpeaking better of me; as he might have done in the ſecond Part of his Demonſtration of the Meſſiah, *publiſhed in* 1699, *where indeed he ſpeaks in a civil manner, but without retracting the odious ſuggeſtions which he had caſt upon me.*

KILIANUS (CORNELIUS), a native of Brabant, diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an excellent Corrector of the Preſs, at the Printing-Houſe of Plantin, for fifty years. He was not content with correcting exactly the proof-ſheets of other men's writings, but wrote likewiſe ſeveral books, which were eſteemed [*A*]. He had no ill ſucceſs in writing Latin verſe: his Apology for Correctors againſt Authors [*B*] is a proof of this. He died very old on Eaſter-day 1607. Moſt of the particulars, which I have juſt mentioned, are proved in the remark, where I inſert his epitaph [*C*].

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral books, which were eſteemed.*] Swertius (1) has begun the catalogue with theſe words. *Scripſit* Etymologeticon Teutonicæ Linguæ, *ſive* Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum à Juſto Lipſio *laudatum. Typis Moreti* 1599 *in* 8*vo*. His other works are Latin verſes, and a Dutch tranſlation of Philip de Comines and Lewis Guicciardini (2).

(1) *Athen. Belg.* pag. 190.

(2) *Deſcription of the Low-Countries.*

[*B*] *His apology for correctors againſt authors.*] It is an epigram of eighteen verſes, which we find in the *Theatrum Vitæ Humanæ* of Beyerlinch (3). Mr. Chevillier has inſerted it in his *Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris* (4), after having mentioned a thing, which deſerves to be related. "We do not however charge the "printers or correctors with all the errrors in printed "books. They have their excuſe upon the authors. "They remain ſometimes in an edition through the "ignorance or negligence of him who wrote the "book, or took upon him the care of publiſhing it. "He gives an incorrect copy, which is printed faithfully, and conſequently with the errors of the manuſcript. But it happens, that learned men, who "judge without flattery, cenſuring what deſerves it, "he, who is innocent, is accuſed, though the whole "fault is the author's. An excellent corrector belonging "to Plantin's printing-houſe, named Cornelius Kilian, "has written an Apology for correctors againſt authors, "who after they have miſtaken through ignorance, "and given incorrect copies, do not ſcruple to lay "the blame on innocent perſons."

(3) Pag. 203.

We ought not always to impute the faults in books to the Printers.

[*C*] *I inſert his epitaph.*] It was written by Francis (5) Swertius his friend, and is as follows. *D. O. M.* Cornelianò Kiliano *Duffl æo, conſtantis Laboris, & perennis induſtriæ laude ornato & amato viro. L. ann. Plantin Typographiæ correctorem geſſit. Quam fideliter, peritè, doctè, ipſos rogate Libros elegantiâ, nitore, famâ æternæ artis primos. Nec ſemper alienos tractavit, cum ſuos reliquerit, Latina oratione diſertus, verſificatu felix, patriam quoque eloquentiam excoluit, cultumque ejus & proprietatem revocavit. Obiit ætate operibuſque gravis M. DC. VII. ipſo paſchatis feſto* (6). i. e. "To the memory of the moſt induſtrious and "beloved Cornelius Kilianus, who was fifty "years corrector to Plantin's printing-houſe; with what "exactneſs, ſkill, and learning, is evident from the "books printed there with the utmoſt elegance and "beauty. Nor was his care confined to the writings "of other men, for he left ſome of his own compoſition. He wrote elegantly in Latin, and had a good "talent in Poetry, and cultivated his own country "language, reſtoring the purity of it. He died full "of years and works in 1607 on Eaſter Day."

(5) Chevillier, pag. 196. calls him *Peter*.

(6) Franc. Swertius, *Ath. Belg.* pag. 189, 190.

☞KING (JOHN) a learned Engliſh Biſhop in the ſeventeenth Century, was great nephew of Robert King the firſt Biſhop of Oxford, and ſon of Philip King of Wormenhale or Wornall near Brill in Buckinghamſhire, by Elizabeth daughter of Edmund Conqueſt of Haughton-Conqueſt in Bedfordſhire (*a*). He was born at Wornall about the year 1559 (*b*), and educated in Grammar Learning at Weſtminſter School, and became a Student of Chriſt Church in Oxford in 1576 (*c*), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts January the 26th 1579 (*d*)), and February the 15th 1582 that of Maſter (*e*). He was afterwards appointed Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth (*f*). Auguſt the 12th 1590 he was inſtalled Archdeacon of Nottingham; at which time he was a Preacher at York (*h*). He afterwards became Chaplain to the Lord Keeper Egerton (*i*). December the 17th 1601 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (*k*). In 1605 he was made Dean of Chriſt Church, and was afterwards for ſeveral years Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. In 1611 he was advanced to the Biſhopric of London, to which he was conſecrated September the 8th the ſame year (*l*). Beſides his *Lectures upon Jonah delivered at York*, and printed at London 1594, and Oxford 1599 in 4to, he publiſhed ſeveral Sermons [*A*]. King James I uſed to ſtyle him *the King of Preachers*; and Lord Chief Juſtice Coke often declared, that *he was the beſt Speaker in the Star-Chamber in his time* (*m*). He was ſo conſtant in preaching, after he was a Biſhop, that unleſs he was hindered by want of health, he omitted no Sunday, whereon he did not viſit ſome pulpit in London or near it (*n*). Dr. William Hull (*o*) highly extols his eloquence in the pulpit. He died March the 30th (*p*) 1621, aged ſixty two years, having been before much afflicted with the ſtone in the kidneys and bladder; and was interred in the Cathedral of St. Paul's in London. Soon after his death, the Papiſts reported, that he died a member of their Church; and *Gregory Fiſher* alias *Muſket* publiſhed in 1621 a book, intitled, *The Biſhop of London his Legacy: Or, certain Motives of Dr. King late Biſhop of London for his change of Religion, and dying in the Catholic and Roman Church; with a concluſion to his brethren the Biſhops of England.* But the falſity of this ſtory was ſufficiently expoſed by

(*a*) *Fuller's Worthies*, in Buckinghamſhire, *and* Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 457. 2d edit.

(*b*) Wood, col. 458. ſays, *that he was* 62 *years old, when he died March* 30, 1621.

(*c*) Wood, col. 457.

(*d*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 113.

(*e*) Ibid. col. 123.

(*f*) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*, B. 10. pag. 91.

(*h*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 457.

(*i*) Idem, ibid.

(*k*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 161. But the ſame Author in his *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 457 ſays, he proceeded Doctor of Divinity in 1602.

(*l*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 457.

(*m*) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*, B. 10. pag. 91.

(*n*) Idem, ibid.

(*o*) *Epiſtle Dedicatory* to Biſhop King, prefixed to his *Harbourleſs Gueſt*, edit. London 1614 in 4to.

(*p*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 458. But Camden, in his *Annals of James I*, ſays *that he died March* 29.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral Sermons.*] 1. *A Sermon preached at Hampton Court on Tueſday the laſt of September* 1606 upon 8 *Cantic.* 11. Oxford 1606 in 4to. II. *A Sermon preached at Oxford*, 5 *Nov.* 1607. *on Pſalm* 46. *from verſe* 7 *to* 11. Oxford 1607 in 4to. III. *A Sermon preached at Whitehall* 5 *Nov.* 1608. on *Pſalm* 11. 2, 3, 4. Oxford 1608 in 4to. IV. *A Sermon preached at St. Mary's in Oxford*, 24 *March, being the day of his Majeſty's Inauguration*, on 1 *Chron. ult.* 26, 27, 28. Oxford 1608 in 4to. V. *Vitis Palatina: A Sermon appointed to be preached at Whitehall upon the Tueſday after the Marriage of the Lady Elizabeth:* on *Pſalm* 28. 3. London 1614 in 4to. VI. *A Sermon at St. Paul's Croſs for the recovery of King James from his late ſickneſs, preached* 11 *April* 1619, on *Iſaiah* 38. 17. London 1619 in 4to. VII. *A Sermon preached at St. Paul's Croſs* 26 *March* 1620. on *Pſalm* 102. 13, 14. VIII. *A Sermon on* 2 *Kings* 23. 25. printed in 1611 in 4to. IX. *A Sermon on Pſalm* 123. 3. in 4to. X. *A Sermon on Pſalm* 146. 3, 4. in 4to. H.

by his ſon Mr. *Henry King* in a Sermon at St. Paul's Croſs ſoon after, and by Biſhop Godwin in the *Appendix* to his *Commentarius de Præſulibus Angliæ*, printed in 1622, and by Mr. John Gee, in his book intitled, *The Foot out of the Snare* (*q*). His eldeſt ſon, *Henry*, was afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter; and his ſecond ſon, *John*, became a Student of Chriſt Church in 1608, aged fourteen years, and was afterwards public Orator of the Univerſity, Canon of Chriſt Church in 1624, and the year following Dr. of Divinity and Canon of Windſor, and about that time Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Rector of Remenham in Berkſhire. He died January the 2d $163\frac{8}{9}$, and was interred at Chriſt Church in Oxford (*r*).

(*q*) Pag. 81, 82. 2d edit. London 1624, in 4to.

(*r*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 617, 618.

☞KING (HENRY), Biſhop of Chicheſter in the ſeventeenth Century, was eldeſt ſon of Dr. John King, Biſhop of London, by Jane, daughter of Mr. Henry Freeman of Staffordſhire, and was born at Wornall in Buckinghamſhire in January 1591 (*a*), and educated in Grammar-Learning partly in the Free-School at Thame in Oxfordſhire, and partly at Weſtminſter-School, from which he was elected a Student of Chriſt Church in 1608 (*b*). June the 19th 1611 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*); and July the 7th 1614 that of Maſter (*d*). He then entered into holy Orders, and became an eminent Preacher, and Chaplain to King James I. He was afterwards made Archdeacon of Colcheſter (*e*); Reſidentiary of St. Paul's (*f*), and Canon of Chriſt Church (*g*). May the 19th 1625 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (*h*). He was afterwards Chaplain to King Charles I. and February the 6th 1638 was inſtalled in the Deanery of Rocheſter (*i*). In 1641 he was advanced to the See of Chicheſter, to which he was conſecrated December the 19th that year (*k*). But though he was always eſteemed puritannically affected, and had been promoted to that See, in order to pleaſe that party; yet upon the breaking out of the civil wars, and the diſſolution of Epiſcopacy, he was treated by them with great ſeverity; "nor was he ſuffered to "live quietly at his friend's houſe (for ſome time, at leaſt) when they could diſcover "him (*l*)." He lived for the moſt part with Sir Richard Hobart, who had married his ſiſter, at Langley in Buckinghamſhire, by whom he was ſupported (*m*). At the Reſtoration he recovered his Biſhopric. He publiſhed ſeveral works [*A*]. Wood tells us (*n*), that "he was eſteemed by many perſons of his neighbourhood and dioceſe, the epitome "of all honours, virtues, and generous nobleneſs, and a perſon never to be forgotten by "his tenants and by the poor." He died October the 1ſt 1669, and was interred on the ſouth-ſide of the Choir belonging to his Cathedral of Chicheſter, where a monument was erected to him, with an inſcription, in which it is ſaid, that he was *antiquâ, eâque regiâ Saxonum apud Danmonios in Agro Devonienſi proſapiâ oriundus*, and that he was *natalium ſplendore illuſtris, pietate, doctrinâ & virtutibus illuſtrior, &c.* He married Anne, daughter of Sir William Ruſſel of Strenſham in Worceſterſhire Bart. who, after the Biſhop's deceaſe married Sir Thomas Millington the Phyſician.

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 431. *and* Walker's *Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, &c.* Part 2. pag. 11. edit. London 1714.

(*b*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 118.

(*d*) Idem, ibid. col. 197.

(*e*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Idem, ibid.

(*g*) Idem, ibid.

(*b*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 232.

(*i*) Idem, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 431.

(*k*) Idem, ibid.

(*l*) Walker's *Attempt, ubi ſupra.*

(*m*) Idem, ibid. *and* Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 432.

(*n*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 432.

☞KING

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral Works.*] I. Several Sermons, as, 1. *A Sermon preached at St. Paul's Croſs 25 Nov.* 1621. *upon occaſion of that falſe and ſcandalous report (lately printed) touching the ſuppoſed apoſtaſy of Dr.* John King, *late Biſhop of London:* on John 15. 20. London 1621. To which is added, *The Examination of* Tho. Preſton *taken before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury at Lambeth 20 Decemb.* 1621. *concerning his being the author of the ſcandalous report of Biſhop* King's *Apoſtaſy.* 2. *David's Enlargement:* the Morning Sermon on Act-Sunday, on *Pſalm* 32. 5. Oxford 1625 in 4to. 3. *Sermon of deliverance*, preached at the Spittle on Eaſter Monday, on *Pſalm* 91. 3. printed in 1626 in 4to. 4. *Two Sermons at Whitehall in Lent*, on *Eccleſ.* 12. 1. *and Pſal.* 55. 6. Printed in 1627 in 4to. 5. *Sermon at St. Paul's on his Majeſty's inauguration*, on *Jer.* 1. 10. Printed in 1640 in 4to. 6. *Sermon at Whitehall 29 May, being the happy day of his Majeſty's inauguration and birth*; on *Ezek.* 21. 27. London 1661 in 4to. 7. *Sermon preached at the funeral of the right Reverend Father in God*, Bryan, *Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, at the Abby Church in Weſtminſter, April* 24, 1662. on *Pſal.* 116. 15. London 1662 in 4to. 8. *Viſitation Sermon at Lewes, 8 Octob.* 1662. on *Titus* 2. 1. London 1663 in 4to. 9. *Sermon preached 30 January* 1664 *at Whitehall, being the day of the King's Martyrdom*, on 2 *Chron.* 35. 24, 25. London 1665 in 4to. II. *Expoſition on the Lord's Prayer, delivered in certain Sermons on Matth.* 6. 9. *&c.* London 1628 in 4to. III. *The Pſalms of David from the new tranſlation of the Bible turned into Metre, to be ſung after the old tunes uſed in Churches.* London 1651, 1654, in 12mo. &c. In a letter of our author to Archbiſhop Uſher, dated at Langley place near Colebrook, October 30 1651, he writes thus (1): "I did in Auguſt laſt preſent by "one, who undertook the delivery at Harrow-hill, "a ſmall book; and leſt that ſhould fail, my brother "ſent another by your Chaplain, which may render "your grace ſome account of my exerciſe and employment in this retirement. The truth is, one Sunday "at Church hearing a pſalm ſung, whoſe wretched "expreſſion quite marred the pen-man's matter and "my devotion, I did, at my return that evening, try "whether from the verſion of our Bible, I could not "eaſily, and with plainneſs ſuiting the loweſt under-"ſtanding, deliver it from that garb, which indeed "made it ridiculous. From one to another I paſſed on "till the whole book was run through. Which done, "I could not reſiſt the advice and importunity of better "judgments than mine own to put it to the preſs, I "was, I confeſs, diſcouraged, knowing that Mr. *George* "*Sandys*, and lately one of our pretended reformers, "had failed in two different extremes: the firſt too e-"legant for the vulgar uſe, changing both the Metre "and the tunes, wherewith they had been long ac-"quainted: the other as flat and poor, as lamely "worded, and unhandſomly rhimed, as the old, which "with much confidence he undertook to amend. My "Lord, I now come forth an adventurer in a middle "way, whoſe aim was without affectation of words "to leave them not disfigured in the ſenſe." IV. *A deep groan fetched at the funeral of the incomparable and glorious Monarch King Charles I.* printed in 1649 in one ſheet, and ſaid in the title to be written by *D. H. K.* It was printed the ſame year under the letters *J. B.* V. *Poems, Elegies, Paradoxes, and Sonnets.* London 1657 in 8vo. When theſe poems were firſt publiſhed, it was reported, that Dr. *Philip King*, brother to our Biſhop, was author of them. VI. *Divers Latin and Greek Poems*, publiſhed in ſeveral books. VII. He compoſed ſeveral anthems, one of which for the time of Lent, beginning thus; *Hearken O God*, &c. was ſet to Muſick by *Dr. John Wilſon*, Gentleman of his Majeſty's Chapel. VIII. There is a letter of his to Mr. Iſaac Walton concerning the three imperfect books of *Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, dated at Chicheſter November 17th 1664, and prefixed to Walton's *Life of Hooker.* H.

(1) See the *Collection of Letters*, printed at the end of Richard Parr's *Life of Uſher*, num. 265. pag. 567. edit. London 1686 in fol.

☞KING (WILLIAM) a facetious Engliſh writer in the beginning of the eighteenth Century, was well deſcended, being allied to the noble families of Clarendon and Rocheſter, and was ſon of Ezekiel King of London, Gentleman, and elected Student of Chriſt Church in Oxford from Weſtminſter-School in Michaelmas-Term 1681, aged eighteen years (*a*). December the 8th 1685 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and July the 6th 1688 that of Maſter. He afterwards entered upon the Law Line, and took the degree of Doctor of Civil Law. In January 1694 he became Secretary to the Princeſs Anne, afterwards Queen Anne (*b*). He ſoon acquired a conſiderable reputation as a Civilian, and was in great practice; but the natural gaiety of his temper, and the love of company, led him too much into thoſe pleaſures, which were incompatible with his profeſſion. He attended the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, into that Kingdom, where he was appointed Judge-Advocate, ſole Commiſſioner of the Prizes, and Keeper of the Records, and Vicar-General to the Lord Primate of Ireland; and was countenanced by perſons of the higheſt rank, and might have made his fortune, if the change of climate could have made any alteration in his diſpoſition. But ſo far was he from heaping up riches, that he returned to England with no other treaſure than a few merry Poems and humorous Eſſays, and retired to his Student's place at Chriſt Church (*c*). In January 1711 he was appointed Gazetteer; which place he quitted about Midſummer 1712, and retired to a Gentleman's houſe on Lambeth-ſide of the water (*d*). He died at his lodgings over againſt Somerſet-Houſe in the Strand on Chriſtmas Day 1712, and was interred in the Cloiſters of Weſtminſter Abbey (*e*). His writings are pretty numerous [*A*]. He naturally hated buſineſs, eſpecially that of an Advocate; but made an excellent Judge, when appointed one of the Court of Delegates. His chiefeſt pleaſure conſiſted in trifles; and he was never happier, than when he thought he

(*a*) *Life of Dr. William King*, pag. 2 and 3. prefixed to his *Remains*, edit. London 1732.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 3.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 8, 9.

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 161-164.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 165, 166.

[*A*] *His Writings are pretty numerous.*] 1. *Reflections upon Mr.* Varillas *his* hiſtory of hereſies *Book I. Tome I. as far as relates to Engliſh matters, more eſpecially thoſe of* Wicliff. Printed in 1688 in 8vo. Mr. *Edward Hannes*, afterwards an eminent Phyſician, had an hand in this book; to which is prefixed the following advertiſement: "It having been publickly deſired, that "thoſe, in whoſe way it ſhould lie to expoſe Mr. *Va-* "*rillas*, would put themſelves to the trouble, the au- "thor of theſe papers was willing to contribute his "ſhare in the part concerning *Wicliff*, having former- "ly laid together ſome obſervations conducing to ſuch "a deſign. Mr. *Larroque* indeed has gone before him "in the attempt; but that ingenious Gentleman was "not well adviſed to meddle in a ſtrange country, till "time had inſtructed him more fully in the conſtituti- "ons and Language of it. Our preſent reflecter has "made uſe of the *Amſterdam* edition, not being able to "procure that of Paris. He has given Mr. *Varillas* "all the law imaginable; he has made no advantage "of miſtakes, which with any reaſon could be charg- "ed upon the printer. He has contradicted nothing "without expreſs Proof on his ſide; and in things high- "ly improbable, which ſeem to have no foundation in "hiſtory, unleſs he can confront him with poſitive and "authentic teſtimonies, he lets the author alone, and "ſuffers the boldneſs of the aſſertion to be its own ſe- "curity. Laſt of all, he intreats the reader's pardon, "if the language and expreſſion are without choice and "ornament, his profeſt buſineſs and neceſſary occaſions "not allowing him any ſuch leiſure." In the beginning of the *Reflections* it is obſerved, that *the enemies of the reformation, as they ſeem reſolved never to leave off writing controverſy, and being confuted by our divines; ſo they are not wanting upon occaſion to turn their ſtyle, and furniſh out matter of triumph to our hiſtorians.* Sanders *and* Cauſſin *heretofore, and of late Monſieur* Maimburg *and Monſieur* Varillas *have thought themſelves qualified for this kind of employment. Above the reſt, Mr.* Varillas *has uſed his pen with ſuch a partial extravagance, and with ſo little regard to modeſty and truth, that he has not only provoked the learned of the reformed profeſſion to chaſtiſe his impudence in their publick writings, but has alſo drawn upon him the ſcorn and indignation of ſeveral Gentlemen of his own communion, who in a ſenſe of honour and common ingenuity have taken ſome pains to lay open the ſmooth impoſtor. Mr.* Hozier, *genealogiſt to the King of France, in his epiſtle, declares himſelf to have diſcovered in him above* 4000 *errors.* Pere Bouhours *in a diſcourſe of his makes it his buſineſs to expoſe him. Even his old friend Mr. Dr.* (1) *ſeems to have forſaken him, and gone over to his* Bouhours, *from whoſe original he is now tranſlating the life of St.* Xavier. *To be free, there is almoſt as many faults in every ſingle page of Mr.* Varillas, *as in a Printer's table of Errata; and if the Archbiſhop of Paris would do his duty, he would find himſelf bound to put a holy cenſure upon his Penſioner; and as he was lately very forward to compel thoſe of the Religion to a recantation of their faith; ſo he ought here to oblige Mr.* Varillas *to an abjuration of his hiſtory.* The *Reflections* conclude with theſe words: "He [*Mr. Va-* *rillas*] "has writ away all his credit; his laſt defence "of himſelf has proved him inexcuſable, and made "men apt to think, that as in England at preſent, ſo "in France too, the ſame perſon that is Hiſtoriogra- "pher, is alſo Laureat. Hence it might be that Mon- "ſieur *Varillas* in his *Revolutions* takes all the liberties "of a poet; and Mr. *Dr.* in his conference between "the *Hind and Panther*, though in verſe, has aimed "at all the plainneſs and gravity of an hiſtorian. For "hiſtory indeed is a ſerious matter, not to be written "careleſly, like a letter to a friend; nor with paſſion, "like a billet to a Miſtreſs; nor with biaſs, like a "declamation for a party at the bar, or the remon- "ſtrance of a miniſter for his Prince; nor in fine by "a man unacquainted with the world, like ſoliloquies "and meditations. It requires a long experience, "ſound judgment, a cloſe attention, an unqueſtionable "integrity, and a ſtyle without affectation; all which "glorious accompliſhments, as they are wanting in the "author of *The revolutions in matters of religion*, ſo "there is no hiſtorian that I know of, in whom they "have ſhewed themſelves to ſo high and admirable a "degree, as in a phyſician (2) of our age, who has "obliged the world with a *hiſtory of diſeaſes*, and "whoſe name is too great to mention in a pamphlet "of this character." II. *Animadverſions on a pretended* Account of Denmark. London 1694 in 8°. Mr. Molesworth, afterwards Lord Molesworth, was the author of that account. The writing of the *animadverſions* upon it procured Dr. King the place of ſecretary to Princeſs Anne of Denmak. He was furniſhed with memoirs for writing them by Mr. *Brink*, then miniſter of the Daniſh Church in London, and Monſieur *Scheel*, then envoy extraordinary in England from the King of Denmark. He tells us himſelf (3), that theſe *Animadverſions* had the honour not to be unacceptable to his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark; and when ſent to Denmark, were by the King's order turned into French, and read to him as faſt as they could be tranſlated. They had two editions, one in Holland, and the other in Germany. The Univerſity of Copenhagen wrote him a letter under their ſeal. *As to the matters of fact*, ſays he, *laid down in thoſe papers, I am no farther accountable: but I believe none of them can be contradicted.* III. He tranſlated from French into Engliſh *New Memoirs*

(1) Dryden.

(2) Probably Dr. *Thomas Sydenham.*

(3) *Preface* to his *Miſcellanies in Proſe and Verſe.*

he was hid from the world. Yet he loved company, provided they were ſuch as tallied with his humour, for few people pleaſed him in converſation, and it was a true ſign that he liked them, if he could be tolerably agreeable; though he was a great diſſembler of his natural temper, which was ſullen, moroſe, and peeviſh, where he durſt ſhew it, for he was of a timorous diſpoſition, and the leaſt ſlight or neglect would throw him into a melancholy ſtate of deſpondency. He would ſay a great many ill-natured things, but never do one. He was made up of tenderneſs and pity; and tears would fall from him upon the ſmalleſt occaſion. As his education had been very ſtrict, ſo he was naturally of a religious diſpoſition, and would never enter upon any buſineſs of the day, till he had performed his devotions, and read ſeveral portions of Scripture out of the Pſalms, the Prophets, and the New Teſtament, on which he would often make his remarks, taking a freſh piece of paper every morning in his hand, on which he always begun with σὺν θεῷ, *by God's Leave*; and this paper he kept at hand all day, to write down whatever occurred to his mind, or pleaſed his fancy. It appears from his looſe papers, which he terms *Adverſaria*, that he had read over a prodigious number of books before he was eight years ſtanding in the Univerſity (*f*).

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 15, 16, 17.

moirs and Characters of the two great Brothers, the Duke of Bouillon, *and Mareſchal* Turenne: Written by James de Langlade, Baron of Saumeries. 1693 in 8vo. IV. He tranſlated alſo *The Life of* Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, *the Roman Emperor; together with ſome ſelect Remarks upon the ſaid* Antoninus *his Meditations concerning himſelf, treating of a natural Man's Happineſs, &c. as alſo upon the Life of* Antoninus. London 1692 in 8vo. The Life and Remarks were written in French by Monſieur and Madam *Dacier*. V. *A Journey to London, in the Year* 1698, after the ingenious method of that made by Dr. Martin Liſter to Paris the ſame year. "This piece, *ſays he* (4), may "ſeem a vindication of our own country, as the other "was of Denmark; and may ſhew Britain as much "preferable to France, as Wealth, Plenty, and Li-"berty, are beyond *Tortoiſes Hearts, Champignons,* "and *Moriglios*, or the raiſing of two millions and "two hundred thouſand pounds in a few hours, is "preferable to any coins of *Zenobia, Odenatus*, and "*Vabalathus*." VI. *Dialogues of the Dead.* Theſe relate to the controverſy concerning *Phalaris's Epiſtles* between Dr. *Bentley* and Mr. *Boyle*, afterwards Earl of Orrery. VII. *The Furmetary, a very innocent and harmleſs Poem*, in three Canto's. "This was wrote, "*ſays he* (5), to pleaſe a Gentleman, who thought "nothing ſmooth or lofty could be wrote upon a "mean ſubject; but had no intent of making any re-"flection upon the *Diſpenſary*, which has deſervedly "gained a laſting reputation." VIII. *Mully of Mountown* (6); a Poem. "This was taken, *ſays he* (7), "for a State-Poem, and to have many myſteries, tho' "it was only made, as *Orpheus* and *Eurydice*, for "country-diverſion." IX. *Orpheus and Eurydice*; a Poem. X. *The Art of Love*; in imitation of Ovid *de Arte Amandi*; to which he prefixed an excellent account of Ovid. XI. *The Art of Cookery*; in imitation of *Horace's Art of Poetry*. XII. *The Anſwer to a Book to be publiſhed next Week*. He tells us (8), that "this "had an odd effect, for it was anſwered about a fort-"night after, and about four of the impreſſion of the "book, with the anſwer adjoined, were ſold, and the "remainder lie ſtill by the wall, if not uſed as waſte "paper." XIII. *A Dialogue, ſhewing the Way to modern Preferment*. XIV. *Poems*, viz. Two *Songs*; an *Ode* of *Malherbe* tranſlated; two *Love Billets*; a Gentleman to his Wife; the *Mad Lover*; the *Soldier's Wedding*; *the Old Cheeſe*; the *Skillet*; the *Fiſherman*; a *Caſe of Conſcience*; the *Conſtable*; *Little Mouths*; *Hold faſt below*; the *Beggar-Woman*; the *Veſtry*; the *Monarch*; the *Incurious*. XV. *Letters to Dr.* Liſter *and others*. XVI. *Uſeful Tranſactions*, containing the following ſmall pieces, viz. 1. An Eſſay on the Invention of *Samplers*, by a Schoolmiſtreſs at Hackney. 2. Natural Obſervations made in the School of *LLandwwforby*. 3. Taylors and Millers proved to be no Thieves. 4. Meurſius's Treatiſe of the Grecian Games. 5. The Plays of the Grecian Boys and Girls. 6. A Method to teach learned Men how to write *unintelligibly*. 7. Some important Queries whether a Woman may lay a Child to an Eunuch. 8. Additions to Mr. Lewenhoeck's Microcoſpical Obſervations upon the Tongue; ſhewing the ſeveral Particles proper for pratling, tatling, pleading, haranguing, lying, flattering, ſcolding, &c. 9. Of the Migration of Cuckoos; with Remarks on Bird-Neſts. 10. Obſervations on the Tripal Veſſels. 11. An Hiſtorical and Chronological Account of Conſecrated Clouts. 12. Jaſper Hans Van Slonenberg's Voyage to Cajamai. XVII. *An Hiſtorical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes*. London 1711 in 8vo. XVIII. *Remains; containing Miſcellaneous Pieces in Verſe and Proſe upon various Subjects; with Reflections, Obſervations, and critical Remarks upon Men and Books; with a particular Critique upon a favourite Miniſtry, particularly that of* Rufinus, *Favourite of the Emperor* Theodoſius, *and his Character, rendered into Verſe from* Claudian; *together with the Author's Life and Writings*. London 1732 in 8vo. In the title-page, by way of motto, are the following verſes, found in Dr. King's pocket at his death, being juſt freſh written with a lead-pencil:

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) A pleaſant Villa near Dublin in Ireland.

(7) Preface, *ubi ſupra*.

(8) Ibid.

"I ſing the various chances of the world,
"Through which men are by fate or fortune hurl'd.
"'Tis by no ſcheme or method that I go,
"But point in verſe my notions as they flow:
"With heat the wanton images purſue,
"Fond of the old, yet ſtill creating new;
"Fancy myſelf in ſome ſecure retreat,
"Reſolve to be content, and ſo be great."

The *Apple-Pie* aſcribed by ſome perſons to our author, was written by Mr. Leonard Welſted, and is printed among that Gentleman's Poems.

H.

☞ KING (WILLIAM) (*a*), Archbiſhop of Dublin in Ireland in the eighteenth Century, was deſcended from an antient and good family of the Houſe of *Burras* in the North of Scotland, whence his father removed in the reign of King Charles I, and ſettled in the county of Antrim in the North of Ireland. Our Author was born at Antrim May the 1ſt 1650. In 1662 he was ſent to the Latin ſchool of Dungannon in the county of Tyrone; and April the 18th 1667 removed to Trinity College near Dublin, and the year following was advanced to a Scholarſhip and Native's Place there. In 1670 he commenced Bachelor of Arts, and in 1673 was ordained Deacon by Dr. Moſſom Biſhop of Derry, and the ſame year took the degree of Maſter of Arts. April 26, 1674 he was admitted into Prieſt's Orders by Dr. Parker, Archbiſhop of Tuam, to whom being appointed Chaplain in 1676, he was collated the ſame year by his Grace to a Prebend, and afterwards to the Provoſtſhip or Precentorſhip of Tuam. In 1679, he was promoted by his Patron, then Archbiſhop of Dublin, to the Chancellorſhip of St. Patrick, and

(*a*) Moſt of the particulars of the life of this Prelate were communicated to us by a relation of his, the Reverend Mr. *James King*, Prebendary of St. Patrick's in Dublin.

the Pariſh of St. Warburgh's in Dublin, being inſtalled October the 29th the ſame year. In 1687 Peter Manby, Dean of London-Derry, having publiſhed at Dublin in 4to a pamphlet, intitled, *The Conſiderations, which obliged* Peter Manby, *Dean of London-Derry, to embrace the Catholic Religion; humbly dedicated to his Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland*, our author immediately wrote, *An Anſwer to the* Conſiderations, which obliged Peter Manby, late Dean of London-Derry *(as he pretends) to embrace what he calls the* Catholic Religion. Dublin 1687 in 4to. Mr. Manby, encouraged by the Court, and aſſiſted by the moſt learned champions of the Church of Rome, publiſhed a reply under this title, *A Reformed Catechiſm, in two Dialogues concerning the Engliſh Reformation, collected for the moſt part word for word out of Dr.* Burnet, John Fox, *and other Proteſtant Hiſtorians, for the information of the People, in reply to Mr.* William King's *Anſwer to D.* Manby's Conſiderations, *&c. By* Peter Manby, *Dean of London-Derry.* Dublin 1687 in 4to. Our author ſoon rejoined in *A Vindication of the* Anſwer to the Conſiderations &c. *being an Anſwer to the firſt Dialogue already printed of his* Reformed Catechiſm. Dublin 1688 in 4to. Mr. Manby dropt the Controverſy, but diſperſed a ſheet of paper artfully writ, with this title, *A Letter to a Friend, ſhewing the vanity of this opinion, that every man's ſenſe and reaſon are to guide him in matters of Faith. March the 30th* 1688: in 4to. Our author ſoon publiſhed his anſwer, intitled, *A Vindication of the Chriſtian Religion and Reformation againſt the Attempts of a late* Letter *pretending to ſhew, that all Religions have a like plea, and that there can be no ſuch ſins as Hereſy and Schiſm, if every man's ſenſe and reaſon are to guide him in matters of Faith.* 1688 in 4to. The ſame year Mr. King was conſtituted Preſident of the Chapter, upon the death of Dr. Worth, the late Dean of St. Patrick's; and January 26, he was elected Dean of that Cathedral by the Chapter. In 1689 he was twice confined in the Tower by the order of King James II; and the ſame year commenced Doctor of Divinity. In 169$\frac{0}{1}$, he was advanced to the Biſhopric of Derry by Letters Patents dated January the 8th 169$\frac{0}{1}$, and conſecrated at Chriſt-Church in Dublin the 25th of the ſame month by Francis Archbiſhop of Dublin, aſſiſted by Anthony Biſhop of Meath, William Biſhop of Kildare, John Biſhop of Killaloe, and Narciſſus Biſhop of Fern and Leighlin. In 1691 he publiſhed at London in 4to, *The State of the Proteſtants of Ireland under the late King* James's *Government: in which their carriage towards him is juſtified, and the abſolute neceſſity of their endeavouring to be freed from his government, and of ſubmitting to their preſent Majeſties, is demonſtrated* [*A*]. Biſhop Burnet (*b*) ſpeaks of this book in theſe words: "This copious Hiſtory is ſo well "received, and ſo univerſally acknowledged to be as truly as it is finely written, that "I refer my reader to the account of thoſe matters, which is fully and faithfully given "by that learned and zealous Prelate." Our author had by him at the time of his death atteſted vouchers of every particular fact alledged in this book, which are now in the hands

(*b*) *Hiſtory of his own Time*, vol. 1.

[*A*] The State of Proteſtants in Ireland &c.] The whole title of the third edition, printed at London 1692 in 8vo is as follows. *The State of the Proteſtants of Ireland under the late King James's Government: In which their Carriage towards him is juſtified, and the abſolute Neceſſity of their endeavouring to be freed from his Government, and of ſubmitting to their preſent Majeſties, is demonſtrated. The third Edition with Additions.* In the *Introduction*, the author gives us an explication of the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, and ſtates the true notion and latitude of it. He obſerves, that a King, who deſigns to deſtroy a people, abdicates the government of them. That the aſſertors of Paſſive Obedience own this; but alledge, that the caſe is not to be put. That the arguments of Paſſive Obedience from reaſon and Scripture reach only caſes, where the miſchief is particular or tolerable. "If we look back, "*ſays he* (1), into Hiſtory, we ſhall find the beſt, the "happieſt, moſt proſperous people moſt jealous of their "liberty; and while they continued firm in their reſo- "lution of maintaining it againſt the encroachment "of their Governors, even with the hazard of their "lives, they have continued great and happy. But "no ſooner did they degenerate from their zeal, but "they became contemptible and dwindled into no- "thing. And at this day let us look into the whole "world, and we ſhall find every nation happy and "thriving at home, and eaſy to their neighbours a- "broad, according as they have preſerved themſelves "from ſlavery; whereas all countries under unlimited "monarchies decay in their ſtrength and improve- "ments; and though they may flouriſh for a little "time by the ruin of their leſſer neighbours; yet they "at laſt unpeople their own countries, and ſeem to be "permitted by God to come to that exorbitant power "for their own ruin, and for a plague to mankind. "And indeed the greateſt miſchief of a civil war is "the danger of ſubjecting the ſtate to the abſolute "power of ſome potent General; as it happened in "Rome, Florence, and in England in the late civil "war. For to loſe even half the ſubjects in a war is "more tolerable than the loſs of liberty; ſince if li- "berty and good laws be preſerved, an age or two "will repair the loſs of ſubjects and improvements, "be they ever ſo great. But if liberty be loſt, it is "never to be retrieved, but brings certain and infalli- "ble deſtruction, as it did to Rome, and has brought "in a great meaſure to Florence, and will to England, "if ever the Prerogative do ſwallow up the liberties "and privileges of the ſubjects. So far is it from "truth, that the allowing of reſiſtance in ſome caſes "of extremity, has greater inconveniencies than ab- "ſolute ſubjection." In the *firſt* chapter he endeavours to ſhew, that it is lawful for one Prince to interpoſe between another Prince and his ſubjects, when he uſes them cruelly. In the *ſecond*, that King James II deſigned the deſtruction of his ſubjects. In the *third* chapter he treats of the King's actual progreſs in their deſtruction. In the *fourth* chapter he aſſerts, that there remained no proſpect of deliverance for the Proteſtants in Ireland but from King William. In the *fifth* chapter he gives an account of thoſe Proteſtants, who left the Kingdom, and of thoſe who ſtaid and ſubmitted to King James. He concludes (2) with a ſolemn proteſtation, "that no private diſſatisfac- "tion, that no ill-will to King James's perſon, nor "prejudice againſt any body, has moved me, *ſays he*, "to ſay what I have ſaid; but that I might vindi- "cate ourſelves by ſpeaking truth in a matter that "ſo nearly concerned us both in our temporal and "eternal intereſt. And I muſt likewiſe proteſt before "God, who will judge between us and our enemies "in this point, that I have not aggravated the calami- "ties we have ſuffered, nor miſrepreſented the proceed- "ings againſt us out of favour or affection to a party; "but have rather told things nakedly and in general, "than inſiſted on ſuch particulars, as might ſeem to "ſerve no other purpoſe but to make our adverſaries "odious."

(1) Pag. 4, 5.

(2) Pag. 269.

hands of his relations. However it was ſoon after attacked by Mr. *Charles Leſley* in his *Anſwer to a book, intitled*, The State of the Proteſtants &c. printed at London 1692 in 4to [*B*]. In 1691 the Biſhop publiſhed at Dublin in 4to, *A Sermon preached at St. Patrick's Dublin*, 16 *Nov.* 1690, *being a Thanksgiving Day for the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon &c. on Pſalm cvii.* 2, 3. and in 1692 *A Thankſgiving Sermon for King* William's *ſucceſs in reducing Ireland &c.* Dublin in 4to. In 1693 he was appointed a Regal Viſitor with two other Commiſſioners, Anthony Biſhop of Meath, and Capel Biſhop of Dromore; and they ſuſpended the Biſhop of Down. In 1694 his Lordſhip being ſettled in his Dioceſe of Derry, and conſidering the great number of Diſſenting Proteſtants in that Dioceſe lately increaſed by a vaſt addition of Colonies from Scotland, in order to perſuade them to conformity to the eſtabliſhed Church, publiſhed *A Diſcourſe concerning the Inventions of Men in the worſhip of God.* Dublin 1694 in 4to. Mr. Joſeph Boyſe, a Diſſenting Miniſter, wrote an Anſwer, intitled, *Remarks on a late* Diſcourſe *of* William, *Lord Biſhop of Derry*, concerning the Inventions of Men in the worſhip of God. Dublin 1694 in 4to. In this piece Mr. Boyſe owns, that the Biſhop's Diſcourſe "is "written with an air of ſeriouſneſs and gravity becoming the weight of the ſubject, as "well as the dignity of his character." The Biſhop anſwered Mr. Boyſe in *An Admonition to the diſſenting inhabitants of the Dioceſe of Derry concerning a book lately publiſhed by Mr.* J. B. *intituled* Remarks &c. *from* William *Lord Biſhop of that Dioceſe.* Dublin 1694 in 4to. Mr. Boyſe replied in *A Vindication of the* Remarks &c. Dublin 1695 in 4to. The Biſhop rejoined in *A ſecond Admonition to the Diſſenting Inhabitants &c.* Dublin 1695 in 4to. In 1702 he publiſhed at Dublin in 4to his celebrated treatiſe, *De Origine Mali*; *authore* Guilielmo King, *S. T. D. Epiſcopo Derenſi* [*C*]. The ſame year, upon the

[*B*] Attacked by Mr. Leſley in his *Anſwer to a Book intituled*, The State of the Proteſtants &c.] In the preface Mr. Leſly very elaborately vindicates the character of the French King Lewis XIV, and tells us, with regard to his "baniſhing the Huguenot Miniſters, and dragooning others, to work them in- "to another religion; which does, and juſtly, eclipſe "his glory, with thoſe, who know not the true "grounds and motives, which induced him to me- "thods ſo rigid and ſevere;" that *his very enemies, who know the reaſons he had for it, do even in this excuſe him, and turn it into an argument of his wiſe foreſight and prudence. They tell you, that he was under an invincible neceſſity of being rid of theſe men, or hazarding ſuch a revolution as befel King James.* He obſerves likewiſe, that "the Jacobites think themſelves "for ever obliged to acknowledge with all gratefulneſs "the noble and generous reception he has given King "James in his diſtreſs; which as no King in Europe "was able to have done but himſelf, ſo none but "he could have done it in ſuch a manner, with that "greatneſs and every punctilio of honour." Mr. (3) Pag. 1. *Leſley* in the beginning of his *Anſwer* tells us (3), that Dr. King's book "is calculated for the deſtruction of "mankind, by ſetting up ſuch principles as counte- "nance eternal rebellions, and afford pretences for "war and confuſion to the end of the world; and "makes ſettlement and peace impracticable among "men." He firſt examines the *Principles* of Dr. King's book, and then *the Matters of Fact.* With regard to (4) Pag. 73. the latter, "I cannot, *ſays he*, ſay that I have exa- "mined into every ſingle matter of fact which this "author relates; I could not have the opportunity; "but I am ſure I have the moſt material; and by "theſe you will eaſily judge of his ſincerity in the "reſt, which could not all come to my knowledge. "But this I can ſay, that there is not one I have en- "quired into, but I have found it falſe, *in whole*, or "*in part*, *aggravated* or *miſrepreſented*, ſo as to alter the "whole face of the ſtory, and give it perfectly another "air and turn. Inſomuch, that though many things "he ſays were true, yet he has hardly ſpoke a true "word, that is, told it truly and nakedly, without a (5) Pag. 105. "warp." He afterwards remarks (5), that he had been told, that Dr. King "owes his life to the King's "mercy. Was he not accuſed for holding correſpondence, and giving intelligence to the *rebels* (as "they were then called) both in England and the "North of Ireland, And was it not true? Did he "not give frequent intelligence to *Schomberg* by one "*Sherman*, and keep conſtant correſpondence with "Mr. *Tollet* and others in London? He knows this "would have been called *treaſon* in thoſe days, and a "bloody-minded tyrant would have found another re- "medy for it than a ſhort impriſonment." He ob- (6) Pag. 106. ſerves likewiſe (6), that he had been "told by Proteſtants "in Dublin, that King James had once ſo good an "opinion of this author [Dr. King], that he had him "frequently in private, and truſted him in his affairs, "till at laſt he found him out. And his old friend "Lord Chief Juſtice Herbert was ſo far miſtaken in him, "that he vouched for him at the council-table with ſo "much zeal as to ſay, that he was as loyal a man "as any that ſat at that board; which did retrieve "this author from ſome inconveniences, that then lay "upon him, and continued him ſome time longer in "the King's good opinion." He affirms alſo (7), that (7) Pag. 113. no man was or could be a higher aſſertor of Paſſive Obedience than Dr. King had been all his life, even at the beginning of the *Revolution*; "and that he told a "perſon of honour, from whoſe mouth I have it, (8) "*ſays Mr. Leſley*, that if the Prince of Orange came 17. "over for the crown, or ſhould accept of it, he "prayed God might blaſt all his deſigns. That there "was no way to preſerve the honour of our religion, "but by adhering unalterably to our loyalty. That it "would be a glorious ſight to ſee a cart full of Clergy- "men going to the ſtake for *Paſſive Obedience*, as the "Primitive Chriſtians did. That it would prove the "ſupport and glory of our religion; but that a rebel- "lion would ruin and diſgrace it. He ſaid, if it "were no more than that declaration, which he had "ſubſcribed, *of its not being lawful upon any pretence "whatſoever to take arms againſt the King*, &c. he "would die a hundred deaths rather than do it." Mr. Leſley then tells us, that at a meeting of the Clergy of Dublin, in the beginning of the *Revolution* in 1688, to conſider what meaſures they were to take, Dr. King declared, that *their taking arms in the North of Ireland at that time, was rank rebellion, if there could be any rebellion; particularly Derry ſhutting their gates againſt the King's forces ſent thither.* And when one there preſent affirmed, that the ſubjects might take arms in defence of their laws, &c. the Doctor violently oppoſed it, even in relation to Derry, and urged, that the Biſhop of Derry, Hopkins, who was then there, did proteſt againſt their ſhutting out the King's forces, and refuſed to join with thoſe who did it; for which and other reaſons, which Dr. King then gave, he was againſt any perſon's going to the North, or joining with them, as being joining in a rebellion.

[*C*] *In* 1702 *he publiſhed at Dublin in* 4*to his celebrated treatiſe* De Origine Mali.] It was reprinted at London the ſame Year in 8vo. Part of it was tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. *Solomon Lowe*, and printed at London 1715 in 12mo under the title of, *A key to Divinity; or a Philoſophical eſſay on free-will. By the moſt Reverend Father in God*, William, *Lord Archbiſhop of* Dublin. The tranſlator in the dedication to Mr. *Samuel Holden*, Merchant, has the following paſſage: "As in accounting for the appearances of Nature, I "eſteem

the promotion of Narciſſus Archbiſhop of Dublin to the See of Armagh he was elected *Adminiſtrator Spiritualium* by both the Chapters of Dublin, during the vacancy of the See; and the ſame year was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of Dublin by Letters Patents dated the 11th of March. In 1704 he publiſhed at Dublin in 4to, *A Thankſgiving Sermon for the Victory at Hockſtet, preached at Chriſt's Church Dublin*; and at London 1704 in 4to, *A Sermon preached before the Queen at St. James's on Humility.* In 1706 he publiſhed

" eſteem the inſenſible particles of the moderns as unſatisfactory as the occult qualities of the antients; ſo in the more important affairs of religion, to propoſe things above reaſon, as objects of faith, is as ridiculous, as to bid me believe what I know nothing of. Far therefore from crying up faith in oppoſition to reaſon, it is my opinion, with Mr. *Locke*, that reaſon muſt be our laſt judge and guide in every thing. It is this aſſures me of the neceſſity of religion, and the excellency of Chriſtianity. By this I interpret the Bible, and underſtand my duty. Without it I ſhould be a beaſt, not knowing to defend the doctrines of faith, or convict the pretences of irreligion. Moved by theſe conſiderations, and determined by your good judgment, I publiſh this tranſlation, for the ſake of thoſe, that do not underſtand the original. The ſubject is of much moment, not only for the ſatisfaction of the mind, but alſo for the conduct of life. It has been ſtrongly perplext and darkned by dull and deſigning men. A clear notion of it will be very ſerviceable to ſolve many difficulties in divinity." Mr. *Edmund Law* M. A. Fellow of Chriſt's College in Cambridge, afterwards publiſhed a complete tranſlation of this work with very valuable notes, in 4to, the ſecond edition of which was printed under this title, *An eſſay on the origin of evil by Dr.* William King, *late Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin. Tranſlated from the Latin with notes; and a diſſertation concerning the Principle and Criterion of virtue and the Origin of the Paſſions. The ſecond edition corrected and enlarged from the Author's Manuſcripts. To which are added two Sermons by the ſame Author, the former concerning* Divine Præſcience; *the latter on the* fall of man, *never before publiſhed. By* Edmund Law, *M. A. Fellow of Chriſt's College in Cambridge.* London 1732 in two Volumes in 8vo. Mr. *Law* obſerves (8), that ſince the publication of the former edition of his tranſlation, he had received from our author's relations a large collection of his papers on the ſame ſubject with this book in Latin and Engliſh; which Mr. *Law* has inſerted by way of notes in his tranſlation. And he tells us, that the great value, which the Archbiſhop ſet upon this work, appears from the pains he has taken to vindicate it from every the leaſt Cavil; in which view all that he has written, would make a much larger volume than his firſt. The general view of his ſcheme is as follows. 1. All creatures are neceſſarily imperfect, and at infinite diſtance from the perfection of the Deity; and if a negative principle were to be admitted, ſuch as the *Privation* of the *Peripateticks*, it might be ſaid, that every created being conſiſts of Exiſtence and Non-Exiſtence; for it is nothing in reſpect both of thoſe perfections, which it wants, and of thoſe which others have. And this defect, or, as we may ſay, Mixture of *Non-Entity* in the conſtitution of created beings, is the neceſſary principle of all natural evils, and of a poſſibility of moral ones; as will appear in the ſequel. 2. An equality of perfection in the creatures is impoſſible, as our adverſaries allow; to which we may add, neither would it be ſo convenient to place all in the ſame ſtate of perfection. 3. It is agreeable to Divine wiſdom and goodneſs to have created, not only the more perfect beings, but alſo the moſt imperfect, ſuch as matter; ſo long as they are better than nothing, and no impediment to the perfect ones. 4. Admitting matter and motion, there neceſſarily follow compoſition and diſſolution of bodies, that is, generation and corruption; which ſome may look upon as defects in the Divine work; and yet it is no objection to his goodneſs or wiſdom, to create ſuch things as are neceſſarily attended with thoſe evils. Allowing therefore God to be infinitely powerful, good, and wiſe, yet it is manifeſt, that ſome evils, viz. generation and corruption, and the neceſſary conſequences of theſe, might have place in his works; and if even one evil could ariſe without the ill principle, why not many? And if we knew the nature and circumſtances of all things as well as we do thoſe of matter and motion, it may be preſumed, that we could account for them, without any imputation of the divine attributes. For there is the ſame reaſon for them all; and one inſtance to the contrary deſtroys an univerſal propoſition. 5. It is not inconſiſtent with the Divine attributes to have created ſome ſpirits or thinking ſubſtances, which are dependent on matter and motion in their operations, and being united to matter may both move their bodies, and be affected with certain paſſions and ſenſations by their motion, and ſtand in need of a certain diſpoſition of Organs for the proper exerciſe of their thinking faculty; ſuppoſing the number of thoſe, that are quite ſeparate from matter to be as complete as the ſyſtem of the whole univerſe would admit, and that the lower order is no inconvenience to the higher. 6. It cannot be conceived but that ſome ſenſations thus excited by matter and motion ſhould be diſagreeable, and tend to diſſolve the union between ſoul and body, as well as others agreeable. For it is impoſſible as well as inconvenient, that the ſoul ſhould feel itſelf to be loſing its faculty of thinking, which alone can make it happy, and not be affected with it. Now diſagreable ſenſatſon is to be reckoned among natural evils, which yet cannot be avoided without removing ſuch kind of animals out of nature. If any one aſk, why ſuch a law of union was eſtabliſhed? let this be his anſwer, becauſe there could be no better. For ſuch a neceſſity as this flows from the very nature of the Union of things, and conſidering the circumſtances and conditions, under which and which only they could have exiſtence, they could neither be placed in a better ſtate, nor governed by more commodious laws. Theſe evils therefore are not inconſiſtent with the divine attributes, provided that the creatures, which are ſubject to them, enjoy ſuch benefits as over-ballance them. It is to be obſerved alſo, that theſe evils do not properly ariſe from the exiſtence which God gave to the creatures, but from hence, that they had not more of Exiſtence given them, which nevertheleſs their ſtate and the place they fill in the great machine of the world could not admit. This mixture therefore of non-exiſtence ſupplies the place of an ill principle in the origin of evil, as was ſaid before. 7. The happineſs and perfection of every thing or agent ariſes from the due exerciſe of thoſe faculties, which God has given it; and the more faculties and perfections any thing has, it is capable of the greater and more perfect happineſs. 8. The leſs dependent on external things, the more ſelf-ſufficient any agent is; and the more it has the principle of its actions in itſelf, it is ſo much the more perfect. Since therefore we may conceive two ſorts of agents, one which does not act, unleſs impelled and determined by external force; the other, which have the principle of their actions within themſelves, and can determine themſelves to action by their natural power; it is plain, that the latter are much more perfect than the former. Nor can it be denied, but that God may create an agent with ſuch a power as this, which exerts itſelf into action, without either the concourſe of God, or the determination of external cauſes, ſo long as God by a general concourſe preſerves the exiſtence, powers, and faculties of that agent. 9. Such an agent may preſcribe to itſelf an end, and proſecute it by proper means, and take delight in the proſecution of it, though that end might be perfectly indifferent to it before it was propoſed, and be no more agreeable than any other of the ſame or a different kind would be, if the agent had once reſolved to proſecute it. For ſince all the pleaſure or happineſs, which we receive, ariſes from the due exerciſe of our faculties, every thing, which is equally commodious for the exerciſe of our faculties, will give us the ſame delight. The reaſon therefore why one thing pleaſes above another, is founded in the act of the agent himſelf, viz the election. This is largely explained in the book itſelf;

(8) *Preface*, pag. 17, 18.

liſhed at London in 4to, *A Sermon preached at St. Margaret's Weſtminſter January the 13th* 1705, *on Prov. xxii.* 6. His *Sermon preached in St. Michael's Church Dublin before the Lord Mayor &c. on Eccleſ. viii.* 11. was printed at Dublin 1707 in 4to. May the 15th

itſelf; together with the limits, within which it is confined. 10. It is impoſſible, that all things ſhould agree to all, that is, be good; for ſince the things are limited, diſtinct, and different one from another, and are endowed with finite, diſtinct, and different appetites; it neceſſarily follows, that the relations of convenient and inconvenient muſt ariſe from this diverſity. Since therefore every created being is from the imperfections of its nature neceſſarily limited, and from that limitation there neceſſarily follows diſtinction and diverſity; it follows, that a poſſibility at leaſt of evil is a neceſſary attendant on all creatures, and cannot be ſeparated from them by any power, wiſdom, or goodneſs whatſoever. For when a thing is applied to an appetite or being, to which it is not appropriated, as it is not agreeable to it, it neceſſarily affects it with uneaſineſs; nor was it poſſible that all things ſhould be appropriated to every being, where the things themſelves and the appetites are various and different, as they muſt neceſſarily be, if created, even in the moſt perfect manner. 11. Since ſome agents have a power over their actions, as above, and can pleaſe themſelves in the choice of ſuch things as may exerciſe their faculties; and ſince there are ſome ways of exerciſing them, which may be prejudicial to themſelves or others; it is plain, that from this power there ariſes a poſſibility of chooſing amiſs, and they may exerciſe themſelves to their own prejudice or that of others. And ſince in ſuch a variety of things, thoſe that are beneficial or hurtful, cannot be known by an intelligent being, which is in its own nature limited and imperfect, it was agreeable to the divine wiſdom and goodneſs to preſcribe ſome rules and directions to ſuch agents, in order to inform them of what would benefit or incommode them and their fellow creatures, i. e. what would be good or evil; that they might chooſe the one, and avoid the other. 13. Since therefore, as was ſaid before, an equality of perfections in the creatures is impoſſible, neither would it be convenient for them to be placed in the ſame ſtate of perfection; it follows that there are various orders and degrees even among intelligent creatures; and ſince ſome of the inferior orders and degrees are capable of thoſe benefits, which the ſuperior ones enjoy; and ſince there are as many placed in thoſe ſuperior orders as the ſyſtem of the univerſe allowed; it follows that the inferior ones, as a more convenient place could not be left for them, ought to be content with a lower portion of happineſs, which their nature makes them capable of, and to an higher than which they could not aſpire, without detriment to the ſuperior, which poſſeſſes that ſtation. For he muſt quit his place before another can aſcend to it; and it ſeems hard and very inconſiſtent with the nature of God to degrade a ſuperior, as long as he has done nothing to deſerve it. But if one of a ſuperior order ſhall by his own act, without any violence or compulſion, voluntarily quit his place, or freely chooſe ſuch things as deſerve a degradation; God would ſeem unjuſt to thoſe, who are in an inferior degree, and by a good uſe of their liberty, became fit and qualified for a ſuperior ſtate, if he ſhould refuſe them the free uſe of their choice. It ſeems unjuſt for God to condemn or degrade any one arbitrarily; but he is not to be blamed for ſuffering one to degrade himſelf by his own act and choice, eſpecially when the uſe of that elective power belongs to the nature of an intelligent being, and could not in the preſent ſtate be prohibited without detriment to ſome other. Here the wiſdom and goodneſs of God ſeem to have erected themſelves in a moſt glorious manner; the contrivance appears to be the effect of the higheſt policy and prudence. For by this means God has ſhewn himſelf moſt equitable to his creatures; ſo that no one can complain of, or glory in, his lot. He that is in a leſs convenient ſituation, has no room for complaint, ſince he is endowed with faculties, and has power to uſe them in ſuch a manner as to acquire a more commodious one; and he muſt be forced to own himſelf only in the fault, if he continues deprived of it; and he that is now in a ſuperior ſtate may learn to fear leſt he fall from it by an unlawful uſe of his faculties. The ſuperior therefore has a dread, that may in ſome meaſure diminiſh his happineſs; and the inferior may increaſe it: by which means they are both brought nearer to an equality, and in the mean time have the utmoſt provocation and incitement to chooſe the beſt and make the moſt beneficial uſe of their faculties. This conteſt makes for the good of the univerſe, and much more, than if all things were fixed by fate and neceſſity, and abſolutely confined to their preſent ſtate. Either God muſt have created no free agents, to be governed by the hope of rewards and fear of puniſhments; or this will be the fitteſt means to that end, and worthy of God. For what ground is there to complain of the Deity in this whole affair, except that when an equal ſhare of happineſs could not befal every one, he beſtows the beſt on ſuch as uſe their faculties aright, and takes away what he had given from thoſe that abuſe them? 14. If what is laid down above, be true, from thence it is manifeſt that all kinds of evil, viz. that of *imperfection*, *pain*, and *ſin* may enter into the world made by the moſt wiſe, good, and powerful author; and its origin may be accounted for, without calling in the aſſiſtance of an evil principle. 15. It is plain, that we are tied down to this earth and confined to it, as in a priſon; and that our knowledge does not extend beyond the ideas, which we receive from the ſenſes; and who knows not how ſmall a part we underſtand even of thoſe elements, about which we are converſant? But ſince the whole maſs of elements is a point in regard to the whole univerſe; is it any wonder, if we miſtake when we are forming a judgment, or rather a conjecture, concerning the beauty, order, and goodneſs of the whole, from this contemptible particle? This earth of ours may be the dungeon of the univerſe, an hoſpital of madmen, or a workhouſe of reprobates; and yet ſuch as it is, there is much more both of natural and moral good than evil to be found in it. "Thus "far, *concludes he*, has the controverſy about the *origin* "*of evil* proceeded in the author's book. For all that "has been ſaid above, is either expreſly contained in "it, or may very eaſily be deduced from the principle "there laid down." We ſhall add here a very beautiful paſſage of our author inſerted among the notes of Mr. Law's tranſlation of the Archbiſhop's book (*), in anſwer to an objection concerning the prevalency of moral evil in the world. Our author profeſſes himſelf to be of a quite different opinion. He firmly believes, and thinks he very well comprehends, that there is much more *moral good* in the world, nay in the earth, than *evil*. He is ſenſible, there may be more bad men than good, becauſe there are none but do amiſs ſometimes, and one ill act is ſufficient to denominate a man bad. But yet there are ten good acts done by thoſe we call bad men, for one ill one. Even perſons of the very worſt character may have got it by two or three flagrant enormities, which yet bear no proportion to the whole ſeries of their lives. The author doth not know the objector, nor with whom he converſes; but he muſt profeſs, that among ſuch as he is acquainted with, he believes there are hundreds, that would do him good, for one that would do him hurt; and that he has received a thouſand good offices for one ill one. He could never believe the doctrine of Hobbes, that all men are bears, wolves, and tygers to one another; that they are born enemies to all others, and all others to them; that they are naturally falſe and perfidious; or that all the good they do, is out of fear, not virtue. He that deſcribes mankind in this manner may give us cauſe to ſuſpect, that he himſelf is ſuch; but if mankind were taken one by one, perhaps not one could be found in an hundred thouſand, that could truly own the character. Nay the very authors of this calumny, if their own characters were called in queſtion, would take all poſſible pains to remove the ſuſpicion from them, and declare that they were ſpeaking of the vulgar, of the bulk of mankind, and not of themſelves. Nor in reality do they behave in this manner toward their friends and acquaintance; if they did, few would own them. Obſerve ſome of thoſe, that exclaim againſt all mankind for treachery, diſhoneſty, deceit, and cruelty; and you will find them diligently cultivating

(*) Vol. 2. pag. 473. & *ſeqq.* 2d edit.

15th 1709 he preached a Sermon on *Rom. viii.* 29, 30. before Thomas Earl of Wharton and the Right Honourable the Houſe of Lords, which was printed at Dublin 1709 in 4°, and reprinted at London, under the title of, *Divine Predeſtination and Fore-knowledge conſiſtent with*

vating friendſhips, and diſcharging the ſeveral offices due to friends, relations, and their country, with labour, pain, loſs of goods, and hazard of life itſelf, even where there is no fear to drive them to it, nor inconvenience attending the neglect of it. This, you will ſay, proceeds from cuſtom and education. Be it ſo; however the world then has not ſo far degenerated from all goodneſs, but the greater part of mankind exerciſe benevolence; nor is virtue ſo far exiled, as not to be ſupported and approved, praiſed and practiſed by common conſent and public ſuffrage; and vice is ſtill diſgraceful. Indeed we can ſcarce meet with one, unleſs preſſed by neceſſity, or provoked by injuries, who is ſo barbarous and heard-hearted, as not to be moved with compaſſion, and delighted with beneficence to others; who is not inclined to ſhew good-will and kindneſs to his friends, neighbours, children, relations, and diligent in the diſcharge of civil duties to all; who does not profeſs ſome regard for virtue, and think himſelf affronted, when he is charged with immorality. If any take notice of his own or another's actions for a day together, perhaps he will find one or two blameable; the reſt all innocent and inoffenſive. Nay it is doubtful whether a Nero or a Caligula, a Commodus or Caracalla (tho' monſters of mankind, and prone to every act of wickedneſs and fury) have done more ill than innocent actions through their whole lives. It is to be obſerved in the ſecond place, that one great crime, ſuch as murther, theft, or rapine is oftner talked of, more univerſally reported, and much longer remembered, than a thouſand good, peaceable, generous deeds, which make no noiſe in the world, nor ever come to public notice, but are ſilently paſſed by and overlooked. Which very thing ſhews, that the former are more rare than the latter; otherwiſe they would not be received with ſo much ſurprize, horror and aſtoniſhment. Thirdly, it is obſervable, that many things are done very innocently, which perſons unacquainted with the views and circumſtances of the actors, eſteem criminal. It is certain, we cannot judge of the goodneſs or badneſs of an action from bare appearance, but rather from the inward motions and intentions of the mind, and the light, in which the thing appeared to the agent. Nero killed a man, that was innocent; but who knows whether he did it out of premeditated malice? Perhaps ſome intruſted with the care of his perſon, or a flattering courtier, whom he is obliged to depend on, informs of this innocent man as plotting a conſpiracy againſt the Emperor's life, and urges diſpatch, leſt he be firſt ſurpriſed. Perhaps the informer is impoſed upon himſelf, and thinks it real. It is plain ſuch circumſtances very much leſſen the guilt: and it is probable, if the crimes of Princes were weighed impartially, and the whole proceſs laid open, many things might be offered, which would greatly alleviate them. Fourthly, many things are done through ignorance of the law, and becauſe thoſe, who commit them, do not know, that they are vicious; nay they are often eſteemed virtues. Thus St. Paul perſecuted the Church, and himſelf owns, that he did it out of ignorance, and therefore obtained mercy. How many things of this kind are done daily by ſuch as profeſs different religions? It is true, theſe are ſins, but ſins of ignorance, which eaſily obtain forgiveneſs; and as they do not proceed from an evil diſpoſition and depraved will, are ſcarce to be reckoned in the number of moral evils. Whoever falls foul on others out of a love of virtue, hatred of vice, or zeal towards God, does wrong; but ignorance and an honeſt heart make very much for his excuſe. This conſideration alone would take a great deal off from the number of wicked perſons. Neither does this excuſe hold only in matters of religion: party prejudices have alſo a ſhare in it, which induce men to extirpate with fire and ſword, thoſe that they believe to be public enemies and traitors to their country. There is no error more pernicious to mankind, and which has produced more or greater crimes, than this; and yet it ariſes from an honeſt mind. The miſtake lies here, that they forget that their country and commonwealth ought to be defended by juſt and lawful means, and not at the expence of humanity. Fifthly, prejudice and ſurmiſe make many wicked, that really are not ſo. The moſt innocent converſation between man and woman gives the malicious a handle to ſuſpect and ſlander them. From any one ſingle circumſtance, that uſually attends a criminal action, the ſuſpected perſon is found guilty of the fact itſelf. From one bad action a man's whole life is diſparaged and judged to be of the ſame tenor. If one member of a ſociety be caught in a fault, all the reſt are preſumed to be as bad. It is ſcarce credible how many are looked upon as ſcandalouſly wicked through ſuch ſuſpicions, who are very far from it. Confeſſors and Judges in criminal caſes know very well how ſmall a part of common fame is true, how little it is ever to be truſted. Sixthly, we muſt diſtinguiſh, and the law itſelf does, between ſuch things as proceed from malice and premeditated wickedneſs, and thoſe that ariſe from violence of paſſion and diſorder of mind. The guilt is very much extenuated, when the perſon offending is under provocation, and as it were tranſported beyond himſelf by a ſudden fit of paſſion. Theſe things are all known to our moſt equitable Judge, who will paſs a merciful, and not a rigorous ſentence on us; and for theſe reaſons, we believe, he forbad us to judge any thing before the time. We only know the outſides of things; and it is poſſible, that ſuch as ſeem to us the greateſt crimes, would upon ſeeing the whole procedure, and making proper allowances, appear to be the leaſt. Many virtues as well as vices lie in the mind inviſible to human eyes; it is ſpeaking at random therefore to pronounce upon the number of one or other; and he that would from thence infer the neceſſity of an evil principle, ought to be eſteemed a raſh judge, and an uſurper of God's tribunal. Laſtly, it may be obſerved, that the continuance and increaſe of mankind is a ſure proof that there is more good than evil in the world: for one or two acts may have a pernicious influence on many perſons; nay all immoral actions tend to the deſtruction of mankind, at leaſt to the common detriment and diminution of them; whereas a great many even numberleſs good actions muſt neceſſarily concur to the preſervation of each individual. If therefore bad actions exceeded the number of the good, there would be an end of human kind. We have clear evidence of this in thoſe countries, where vices multiply; the number of men continually decreaſes, and the place grows deſolate; but upon the return of virtue and goodneſs it is again ſtocked with inhabitants. This is a ſign, that mankind could not ſubſiſt, if ever vice were prevalent, ſince many good acts are neceſſary to repair the loſs, which attends one bad one. One ſingle action may take away the life of a man, or of ſeveral; but how many acts of benevolence and humanity muſt neceſſarily contribute to the bringing up, educating, and preſerving every one? " From what has been ſaid, *ſays the Arch-*
" *biſhop*, I hope it appears, that there is more good
" than evil among men, and that a good God might
" make the world, notwithſtanding the argument
" drawn from the contrary ſuppoſition. But al-
" moſt all of this is unneceſſary, ſince the whole
" Univerſe may have ten thouſand times more good
" than evil, though this earth of ours had no one
" good thing in it. This world is too ſmall to bear
" any proportion to the whole ſyſtem; and therefore
" we can form but a very unequal judgment of it from
" hence. It may be the hoſpital or priſon of the
" world; and can any one judge of the healthfulneſs
" of a climate, from viewing an hoſpital, where all
" are ſick? Or of the wiſdom of a Government, from
" a place of confinement, where there are only mad-
" men? Or of the virtue of a people, from a priſon,
" where there are none but malefactors? Not that I
" believe the earth is really ſuch a place; but I ſay it
" may be ſuppoſed ſuch, and any ſuppoſition, which
" ſhews how a thing may be, deſtroys the *Manichean*
" argument drawn from the impoſſibility of accounting
" for it. In the interim, I look upon this earth, as
" an habitation abounding with delights, in which a
" man may live with comfort, joy, and happineſs. I
" own with the greateſt gratitude to God, that I my-

with the Freedom of Man's Will. A Sermon preached &c. This was attacked by *Anthony Collins* Eſq; in a Pamphlet, intitled, *A Vindication of the Divine Attributes. In ſome*

" ſelf have lived ſuch a life; and am perſuaded, that " my friends, acquaintance, and ſervants, have all " the ſame; and I believe that there is no evil in " life, but what is very tolerable, eſpecially to thoſe, " who have hopes of a future immortality." For a proof, that the good, both natural and moral, in the world, is ſuperior to the evil, the reader may ſee *Sherlock* on *Providence*, c. 7. *Hutcheſon* on the *Nature and Conduct of the Paſſions*, Sect. 6. p. 183, 184, Edit. London 1728; *Leibnitz*, *Eſſais de Theodicée*; *Chubb's Supplement* to the *Vindication of God's Moral Character*, in his *Tracts*, p. 281 &c. and Dr. *Lucas's Enquiry after Happineſs*, Vol. I. Sect. 2. C. 2. Monſieur Bernard gave an abridgment of our author's book in his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (9). Mr. Bayle in the ſecond volume of his *Reponſe aux Queſtions d'un Provincial* (10) examined the hypotheſis of our author, as it was repreſented in Monſieur Bernard's abſtract, and in a paſſage cited by the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum*, but omitted by Monſieur Bernard; who complains (11) of Mr. Bayle for not conſulting Archbiſhop King's book itſelf, and obſerves that Mr. Bayle attacks that Prelate upon ſuch principles, as he would expreſly deny, ſince the Engliſh Divines do not maintain in every reſpect the principles common among others of the Reformed. The firſt of Archbiſhop King's principles, which Mr. Bayle takes notice of, is, *That God always acts for an End, which End in the creation of the world was to exerciſe his power, or to communicate his goodneſs; ſo that it is only improperly ſaid, that God created all things for his glory.* Mr. Bayle allows this principle, and that is almoſt the only point in which he agrees with the Archbiſhop. But he denies, what the Archbiſhop aſſerts, viz. *that there is more natural good than evil in the world; and that the eſtabliſhing of two principles does not remove the difficulty about the origin of evil, becauſe it is as much repugnant to the Divine Goodneſs to have created beings, which he foreſaw would be corrupted by another principle, as to have created thoſe, which were corruptible in themſelves.* He denies alſo, in oppoſition to our author, that every thing derived from matter muſt of neceſſity be ſubject to pains, diſeaſes, grief, &c. And to confute that notion, he ſeems, as Monſieur Bernard obſerves (12), to build upon the opinion of occaſional cauſes, as if it were an uncontrovertible doctrine, whereas it had very few followers in England. Mr. Bayle aſks, to what purpoſe ſerve the pains of childbirth? and anſwers, to call for a midwife; and puts this inſtance in the margin, that a woman in a wilderneſs will feel as much pain as in a city. " And no " doubt, *ſays Mr. Bernard* (13), he would conclude " from thence, that thoſe pains conſequently ſerve for " nothing. If he knew no other uſe of theſe pains, " he might have conſulted ſome Phyſician, who would " have informed him of the matter." Mr. Bayle denies, that miſtake and ignorance are the natural effects of man's imperfection; and cites upon that head the greateſt part of the Divines, who believe that Adam was created ſo learned, that though his knowledge was not infinite, it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe that he was in error or ignorance. " But the authority of Divines, ſays " Monſr. Bernard (*), will ſignify but little, where the " queſtion is about reaſon." Mr. Bayle denies, that it is neceſſary in order to a man's eſteeming himſelf happy in his right choice, to be perſuaded, that the choice was made by the ſtrength of his own free-will. He alledges ſeveral ſorts of men, who do not think their happineſs depends upon their liberty, and quotes a great many authors antient and modern, Poets and others. *But he ought*, ſays Monſieur Bernard (14), *to have proved to Archbiſhop* King, *that all thoſe people, who have ſuffered themſelves to be conducted by others, &c. did not, by an antecedent act of free-will, chooſe this as the beſt may for them.* For to ſuppoſe, that after a man, " having examined a ſhip, which he finds " to be good, and the Pilot, whom he finds to be ſkilful, has reſolved very freely to go on board, and " intruſt himſelf to the conduct of the Pilot; to ſuppoſe, that this man, in order to preſerve the freedom " of his will muſt needs, at every motion, which the " Pilot makes on board the ſhip, and at every order " he gives out, make a free act of his will, by which " he conſents to that motion, and without which he is " not free; this is certainly what the Archbiſhop never " alledged, and except he had maintained that propoſition, moſt part of Mr. *Bayle's* inſtances fall of themſelves." Mr. Bayle brings ſeveral other reaſons againſt our author's notion of liberty; and afterwards anſwers that queſtion of the Archbiſhop. *Why God permitted Sin?* He pretends, that the inconveniences, which our author alledges, in caſe God had not created a being endowed with ſuch a liberty, as the Archbiſhop conceives, are abſolutely null. He ſays the ſame of what the Archbiſhop advances to ſhew, that God was not obliged to employ his omnipotent power, to hinder thoſe free agents from abuſing their freedom, or to tranſport them to another habitation, where they would have had no occaſion to prompt them to a bad choice. Monſieur Bernard (15) makes one general remark upon this ſubject, which he tells us may be applied to many other parts of this controverſy; and that is, that Mr. Bayle artfully ſeparates the inconveniences, which Archbiſhop King propoſes, that he may confute them with the greater eaſe, without taking notice, that divers reaſons, which taken ſeparately, would not determine one to act after a certain manner, yet might determine him, if they acted jointly. I have a mind, for inſtance, to go to ſuch a town; I have a very preſſing reaſon, which hinders me, and I have many others, which incline me to undertake the Journey: every one of theſe are leſs than that, which ſhould determine me not to go; but taken all together, they turn the ſcale. You do nothing at all to hinder me from taking the Journey, if you only refute each reaſon apart, which made me determine to go; you muſt make one argument of them all, and convince me, that all of them together are not ſo ſtrong as that one, which ſhould hinder my proceeding on my Journey. One thing, as Monſieur Bernard remarks (16), which ſhews it to have been neceſſary, that Mr. Bayle ſhould have read our author's book, is his way of confuting what the Archbiſhop has ſaid of the torments of the damned, *that they are uſeful perhaps to keep good men to their duty, and make them perſevere in a right conduct.* Mr. Bayle pretends, that this cannot be underſtood of the Saints in Paradiſe, who have no occaſion for ſuch a curb. " But it may be, *ſays Monſieur* Bernard, that Archbiſhop King will not grant " him this, but maintain, that the confirmation of " Saints in goodneſs is not the confirmation of an " Enthuſiaſt ſupported by no motives; of which number the Archbiſhop conjectures that the example of " the damned may be one. In the mean time Mr. " Bayle ſuppoſing it not to be ſo, imagines that the " Archbiſhop would inſinuate, that after the reſurrection there will be new inhabitants upon the earth. " This is the effect of confuting a book, which Mr. " Bayle never read." Mr. Bayle afterwards attacks our author upon his aſſertion, that the goodneſs of things depends ſolely on God's having choſen them. He replied to Monſieur Bernard, and made ſeveral new obſervations upon Archbiſhop King's book, in the *fifth* volume of his *Reſponſe aux Queſtions d'un Provincial*, publiſhed after his death. The Archbiſhop anſwered his remarks in the papers, which he left behind him, the ſubſtance of which is inſerted by way of Notes by Mr. Law, in the ſecond edition of his tranſlation of the Archbiſhop's book. Mr. Law obſerves (17), that Mr. Bayle frequently introduces among his reaſonings the teſtimonies of other writers, but that moſt of theſe teſtimonies " are rhetorical or poetic flouriſhes, rather than Philoſophic truths; and conſequently not worth a ſerious " examination. To draw any thing like an argument from another's words, we ſhould at leaſt be ſure " of his determinate meaning, of the preciſe number of his Ideas, as well as the juſtneſs of their " connection together, which we muſt never expect " from ſuch kind of random Quotations. It may not " therefore be improper to obſerve here once for all, that " *Bayle's* uſual Method of reaſoning from authorities " muſt be very weak and unphiloſophical, and calculated rather to blind men's eyes, than to inform " their underſtanding." *Mr. Leibnitz* wrote *Remarks*

upon

(9) *Mois de Mai & June* 1703.

(10) *Ch.* 74, & *ſeqq.* Edit. Rotterdam 1706 in 12mo.

(11) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Mois de Janvier, 1706, pag. 57.

(12) Ibid. pag. 63.

(13) Ibid. pag. 64.

(*) Ibid. pag. 65.

(14) Ibid. pag. 67.

(15) Ibid. pag. 69, 70.

(16) Ibid. pag. 70.

(17) *Tranſlation of the Eſſay on the Origin of Evil*, vol. 2. pag. 414. 2d edit.

ſome Remarks on his Grace the Archbiſhop of Dublin's Sermon, intituled, Divine Predeſtination &c. [*D*]. London 1710, pagg. 38. and by Dr. John Edwards in a piece intitled, *The Divine Perfections vindicated : or ſome brief Remarks &c.* London 1710 in 8vo. In 1714 he publiſhed at Dublin in 4to, *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of* Narciſſus *Archbiſhop of* Armagh, *in St. Patrick's Church.* July 17, 1717, he was ſworn one of the Lord's Juſtices of Ireland.

upon the Archbiſhop's book in French, publiſhed by Mr. *Des Maizeaux* in the third volume of the *Recueil de diverſes Pieces ſur le Philoſophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Hiſtoire, les Mathematiques &c. par Mrs.* Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, *& autres Autheurs celébres*, printed at Amſterdam 1720 in three volumes. Mr. *Leibnitz* in this piece ſtiles the treatiſe *de Origine Mali, a Work full of Learning and elegance*; and tells us, that the Archbiſhop's firſt four Chapters agree with his own principles; but that the fifth, which treats of human liberty and moral evil, is founded upon principles oppoſite to his.

(*D*) *Attacked by Anthony Collins Eſquire in a Pamphlet, intitled,* A vindication of the Divine attributes &c.] In this pamphlet Mr. Collins obſerves the following method, I. To lay down his Grace's notion of the attributes of God. II. Shew what led his Grace to lay down ſuch a notion. III. Offer ſome conſiderations againſt his Grace's ſcheme. IV. Anſwer what may be objected from his Grace's Sermon, I. With regard to his Grace's notion of the attributes of God; he ſays (8), *When the Scriptures ſpeak of God, they aſcribe hands, and eyes, and feet to him; not that it is deſigned we ſhould believe, that he has any of theſe members according to the literal ſignification; but the meaning is, that he has a power to execute all thoſe acts, to the effecting of which thoſe parts in us are inſtrumental.* And when the Scriptures repreſent God *as affected with ſuch Paſſions as we perceive in our ſelves, viz. as angry and pleaſed, as loving and hating, as repenting and changing his reſolutions, as full of Mercy and provoked to Revenge; the meaning is, that he will as certainly puniſh the wicked as if he was inflamed with the paſſion of Anger; that he will reward the good as infallibly, as we will thoſe, for whom we have a particular love; that when men turn from their wickedneſs, he will as ſurely change his diſpenſations towards them, as if he really repented, and had changed his mind.* In this point all conſidering men agree with his Grace. But he proceeds, throughout his Sermon, to give the like account of the wiſdom, mercy, juſtice, knowledge, foreknowledge, virtue, and all other attributes of God; and makes them as improperly applied to him, as *eyes or ears, love or hatred*, or any human parts and paſſions; for he ſays, *As the nature and paſſions of men are thus by analogy and compariſon aſcribed to God; ſo in the ſame manner we find the powers and operations of our minds aſcribed to him*; and he inſtances in *wiſdom*, and *underſtanding*, and *mercy, which are*, ſays he (19), *of ſo different a nature from what they are in us, and ſo ſuperior to all that we can conceive, that in reality there is no more likeneſs between them, than between our hand and God's Power. And that the terms of foreknowledge and predeſtination, nay of underſtanding and will, when aſcribed to God, are not to be taken ſtrictly and properly; nor are we to think they are in him after the ſame manner, or in the ſame ſenſe, that we find them in ourſelves; but on the contrary, we are to interpret them only by way of analogy and compariſon* (20). Again, *Wiſdom is in us as different from what we call ſo in God, as light is from motion* (21). Again, *There is as great a difference between theſe foregoing when attributed to God, and as they are in us, as between weighing in a balance and thinking, in truth infinitely greater* (22). Nay he ſays, *The beſt repreſentations we can make of God are infinitely ſhort of truth* (23). And laſtly he concludes, *That underſtanding, juſtice, and virtue are not to be underſtood to ſignify the ſame thing, when applied to God and to men* (24). II. As to what led his Grace to lay down ſuch a notion of the attributes of God; he thinks (25), that if thoſe attributes *are underſtood literally, and in the ſame way as we find them with us, abſurd and intolerable conſequences would follow.* And he allows in particular (26), *That the foreknowledge and predetermination of God are inconſiſtent with the contingency of events and our freedom of will, if his foreknowledge and predetermination are of the ſame nature with ours.* The uſe he makes of this analogous notion of foreknowledge is contained in theſe words (27): *Since we have no more proper notion of foreknowledge and predetermination in God than a man born blind has of ſight and colours, we ought no more to pretend to determine what is conſiſtent or not conſiſtent with them, than a blind man ought to determine from what he hears or feels, to what objects the ſenſe of ſeeing reaches.* Mr. Collins * offers ſome conſiderations againſt his Grace's notions; and obſerves, 1. That, " according to thoſe notions, it is impoſſible for his Grace " to prove the exiſtence of God againſt atheiſts. For " our conceptions or ideas, that we ſignify by the term " *God*, muſt be the ſubject of proof, whenever we bring " the term *God* into a propoſition. But his Grace ſays, " *All our beſt conceptions of God are infinitely ſhort of* " *truth* (29), and as *different* from truth *as weighing* " *in a balance is from thinking* (30), or as *Light from* " *motion* (31). Therefore his Grace cannot prove the " being of God, or, which is all one, the exiſtence of " any being, that is really conformable to our concep- " tions of God, unleſs his Grace will ſay, that *what is* " *infinitely ſhort of truth and different from truth*, can be " proved true. 2. It being evident from the foregoing article, that whoever propoſes to prove the exiſtence of " God, muſt have ſuch an idea of God as is agreeable to " the real nature of the being, whoſe exiſtence is propoſed " to be proved; I would aſk his Grace how he would " define the term *God*, if he undertook to prove God's " exiſtence againſt an atheiſt. It is evident, he muſt " either contradict his opinion, that *all our conceptions* " *of God are falſe*, and aſſign ſome *conception* of God " that he would ſtand by and own to be agreeable to " truth; or elſe acknowledge the impoſſibility of proving God's exiſtence. And I am inclined to believe " his Grace would chooſe the firſt, becauſe there are " ſeveral paſſages in his diſcourſe, which imply a " *conception* of God, that his Grace may perhaps ſtand " by and own to be agreeable to the truth of things; " and that, as I take it, is of *a Being, that is a general cauſe of the wonderful effects in nature, to which* " *we cannot give any particular attributes or perfections:* " (though in reality, according to his Grace, this " can be no better than an analogous conception of " God, any more than the conception of him as a " holy, good, merciful, and wiſe being.") Mr. Collins (32) then quotes ſome words of the Archbiſhop's ſermon, *p.* 5. to ſhew, that his Grace can have no other notion of God, than of a being, that is *a general cauſe of effects.* " Now if that be the idea, *ſays Mr.* " *Collins*, his Grace ſignifies by the term *God*, I will " allow that the term *God* may be brought into a propoſition, and the being of God in that ſenſe will " become capable of proof. But if that be all that " is meant by that term, I ſee not why atheiſts ſhould " not come into the belief of ſuch a Deity; for they, " equally with theiſts, allow ſome general cauſe of all " effects to have eternally exiſted; but, as I take it, " differ from them in the attributes of that general " cauſe. As for example, the theiſt affirms the world " was made by a wiſe being, and thinks the wonderful harmony of the Univerſe, an admirabie evi- " dence of the exiſtence of ſuch a being. On the " contrary the atheiſt affirms wiſdom is not neceſſary " to ſuch a purpoſe; but that all theſe admirable effects " may be produced by cauſes and powers, of which " we have no idea. And does not his Grace give up " the point to theſe men, in allowing the world does " not proceed from a wiſe or intelligent being, but only from a being conſidered as *a general cauſe*, of " whoſe particular attributes we have no notion at all?' ' *Perhaps his Grace may think there will remain a wide difference between atheiſm and theiſm, becauſe he ſuppoſes his eternal being to be immaterial; and the atheiſt ſuppoſes his eternal being to be the material Univerſe. But that difference is, as I conceive, of no conſequence; for if all the moral and all the other natural attributes are given up as indefenſible; then all the arguments for God's government of the world, for rewarding and puniſhing men in a future ſtate, which are drawn from*

(18) Sermon, pag. 6.

(19) Ibid. pag. 7.

(20) Ibid. pag. 8.

(21) Ibid. pag. 19.

(22) Ibid. pag. 21.

(23) Ibid. pag. 16.

(24) Ibid. pag. 34, 35.

(25) Ibid. pag. 33.

(26) Ibid. pag. 9.

(27) Ibid.

* *Vindication of the Divine Attributes*, pag. 17.

(29) Sermon, pag. 16.

(30) Ibid. pag. 21.

(31) Ibid. pag. 19.

(32) *Vindication*, pag. 19.

Ireland. In 1719 he publiſhed at London in 4to, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Conſecration of Churches; ſhewing what is meant by dedicating them, with the Grounds of that Office.* Feb. 24, 1721 he was again ſworn one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland; as he was likewiſe June the 13th 1723. He died at his palace at St. Sepulchre's in Dublin May the 8th 1729, and was interred in the North-ſide of the Church-yard of Donnybrook. A particular account of his manuſcripts, charities, character, &c. will ſoon be publiſhed by Mr. Harris in his new tranſlation and continuation of Sir James Ware, *De Præſulibus & Scriptoribus Hiberniæ.* The Archbiſhop's heirs intend to publiſh all his works together, with his life prefixed. There is a Sermon of his Grace upon *Gen. ii.* 16, 17. printed at the end of the ſecond edition of Mr. Edmund Law's tranſlation of his book, *De Origine Mali*, at London 1732 in 8vo, two volumes.

from the conſideration of the attributes of God taken in a ſtrict and literal ſenſe, are given up. As for inſtance, Do not we argue for a future ſtate from the juſtice of God, and conclude, that he will deal with every man according to his merit? Do we not, from the ſame attribute, conclude the neceſſity of an incarnate God, ſuffering for the ſins of the world? And do we not conclude from his goodneſs, his deſign to ſave mankind? And do we not infer from his knowledge, that he takes cognizance of our actions; and from his will, do not we infer our duty? But if none of thoſe attributes are in God, nor any others, that we can conceive, we can never argue from them, nor infer any kind of obligation to duty; for all the motives to duty, unleſs it be that of preſent pleaſure (which is an atheiſtical conſideration) are ſolely drawn from the conſideration of the attributes of God taken in a literal ſenſe. How can men know God's will, when he has no will? *How can men know, they ſhall be rewarded or puniſhed in a future ſtate, or what reaſon have they to think there ſhall be a future ſtate, but from the conſideration of God's juſtice, which will certainly make good men amends in another ſtate for their ſufferings in this life, and make wicked men ſufferers for the pleaſure their ſins gave them here? But if we loſe the uſe and benefit of the notion of God, that is, have ſuch a notion as has no influence on our practice; what ſignifies contending with the atheiſt about ſo poor a ſpeculation as the queſtion of the exiſtence of an* eternal immaterial being? *For whether he be material or immaterial, if he can have neither underſtanding, nor will, nor juſtice, it is all alike. Beſides, if once the Deity be ſuppoſed to have no underſtanding, &c. I do not ſee how this Grace will be able to prove the exiſtence of one eternal immaterial being, if the atheiſt ſhould think it worth his while to diſpute that point with his Grace.* 3. Mr. Collins obſerves (33), that

(33) Pag. 22.

" his Grace has given up the cauſe to Mr. Bayle. " For Mr. Bayle ſays, there is no anſwering the *Manichean* objections againſt ſome of the attributes of " God, without captivating the underſtanding to the " obedience of faith, or believing againſt evidence; " that is, believing God to be good, though it be evident, ſays he, he is not ſo, and believing him to " be wiſe, though it be evident he is not ſo. And " what ſays his Grace? Why he owns God is not " good nor wiſe, and thereby yields to the force of Mr. " Bayle's arguments. Only Mr. Bayle continues to believe " God is good and wiſe, againſt the force of all human " reaſoning; and his Grace ſuppoſes God is neither wiſe " nor good; which two do not much, if at all, differ " but in words; for Mr. Bayle's good and wiſe againſt " evidence and argument, is much the ſame with being

(34) Pag. 22.

" neither good nor wiſe." 4. Mr. Collins remarks (34) that, according to his Grace, it is a matter of no great conſequence what notions men have of God.

(35) Sermon, pag. 16.

The Archbiſhop thinks (35), that *one, who imagines God to be a mighty King, that ſits in heaven, and has the earth for his footſtool; that has thouſands of Miniſters to attend him; that has great love and favour for ſuch as obey his orders, and is in a rage and fury againſt the diſobedient; and believes theſe things literally, will be ſaved by vertue of that belief.* And he calls thoſe *officious* and *impertinent, that raiſe objections* againſt

(36) Ibid. pag. 17.

ſuch a notion, *and put them into people's heads* (36). But Mr. Collins (37) deſires his Grace to conſider,

(37) *Vindication*, pag. 23.

" whether it is not dangerous to leave men to themſelves with ſuch erroneous and vicious conceptions " of God; for if they will but give themſelves the " leaſt trouble to reflect on their notion, they muſt find " nothing is ſo eaſy as to ſlide into atheiſm from the " belief of a God, which they take to be ſuch a finite, " limited, corporeal, *immoral* (as fury and rage im- " port) Being, as his Grace deſcribes. I hope his " Grace is of opinion, that the Being of God, which " is the foundation of all religion and morality, is " capable of the cleareſt proof imaginable; and con- " ſequently that there is no danger of well-mean- " ing men's running into atheiſm, if they ſhould hap- " pen to be convinced, that they have erroneous con- " ceptions of God. But ſuppoſe his Grace is of the opi- " nion of Tully (38) and Simonides, and thinks the " Being of a God a difficult problem, and that it is " dangerous to diſturb men in their wrong notions of " God, for fear they ſhould have no notion of him at " all; I muſt confeſs, I cannot agree with his Grace " in thinking it would be reaſonable, even on that ſup- " poſition, to forbear objecting to a wrong notion. " Evidence ought to be the ſole ground of aſſent, and " examination is the way to arrive at evidence; and " therefore rather than I would have examination, " arguing, and objecting laid aſide, I would chooſe to " ſay, that no opinions whatever can be dangerous to " a man, that impartially examines into the truth of " things. And this I hope his Grace will aſſent to " upon ſecond thoughts, rather than prevent ſo much " good preaching as his Grace muſt needs do, by " arguing thoſe men guilty of *officiouſneſs* and *im- " pertinence*, that would reclaim men from ſuch an " error as believing *God to be like a man*, if once the " Clergy come to be of his Grace's ſentiment." 5. Mr. Collins obſerves (39), that *his Grace, by denying God to be a holy, wiſe, juſt Being, plainly contradicts all thoſe paſſages of Scripture, where the example of God is recommended to our imitation.* 6. That *his Grace has given up the cauſe to the* Unitarians, *when he declares,* [p. 12.] *the diſtinction of* Three Perſons *in one God to be* but a Reſemblance, i. e. *not truly and really ſuch as we mean by three Perſons, but only analogically ſuch, juſt as* Time *and a* Line *are made to reſemble one another* (40). 7. That " his Grace has failed of his main " deſign, pretended in his diſcourſe, viz. to manifeſt " the *Divine Foreknowledge conſiſtent with the freedom " of man's will* (41)." Mr. Collins at laſt conſiders what might be objected to him from his Grace's ſermon (12); and concludes with theſe words: " I hope, " I have ſaid enough to make his Grace employ his " thoughts once more on the ſubject, and give us a " farther *Eclairciſſement* on the ſubject of this ſermon, " and of his book *De Origine Mali*; which I wiſh " he may perform to the ſatisfaction of the public, " and thereby prevent my deſign of handling theſe " queſtions; which would not be thought ſo difficult as " ſome imagine them to be, if men would but be wil- " ling to bring every propoſition they uſe to the trial. " Whereas men will for ever eſteem ſome propoſitions " to be ſacred and true, and never ſuſpect them of " falſhood; and that is the true reaſon why they are " ſo confounded, and advance ſuch contradictory " ſchemes about the preſcience, wiſdom, juſtice, and " other attributes of God. But if they would im- " partially examine every thing (how ſacred ſoever it " may be to them before they examined) all things " would then appear harmonious aud conſiſtent in the " *Intellectual Syſtem*, as they do in the *Mechanical Syſtem* " of the Univerſe." T.

(38) *Res enim nulla eſt, de quâ tantopere non ſolum indocti, ſed docti diſſentiunt &c.* De Natura Deorum, lib. 1.

(39) *Vindication*, pag. 24.

(40) Ibid. pag. 25, 26, 27, 28. This remark was written by Mr. *Thomas Emlyn*, and not by Mr. *Collins*.

(41) Ibid. pag. 28, & *ſeqq.*

(42) Ibid. pag. 35, & *ſeqq.*

KING (PETER) Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain in the eighteenth Century, was deſcended of a good family of that name in Somerſetſhire, and ſon of Mr. Jerom King, an eminent Grocer and Salter in the City of Exeter in Devonſhire. He was

was born at Exeter in the year 1669, and bred up for ſome years to his father's buſineſs; but in the midſt of that employment, his inclination to learning was ſo ſtrong, that he laid out all the money he could ſpare in books, and devoted every moment of his leiſure hours to ſtudy; ſo that he became an excellent ſcholar, before the world ſuſpected any ſuch thing, and gave the public a noble proof of his ſkill in the Church Hiſtory, in his *Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity and Worſhip of the Primitive Church, that flouriſhed within the firſt* 300 *years after Chriſt. Faithfully collected out of the extant writings of thoſe ages* [*A*]. London 1691 in 8vo. His acquaintance with Mr. Locke, to whom he was related, and

[*A*] *His* Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, &c.] In the Preface he obſerves, that "the "deſign of this Treatiſe is in general to repreſent the "Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, and Worſhip of "the primitive Church, that flouriſhed within the "firſt three hundred years after Chriſt; but more par-"ticularly and eſpecially to deſcribe their opinions "and practices with reſpect to thoſe things, that are "now unhappily controverted between thoſe of theſe "Kingdoms, who are commonly known by the names "of *Church-of-England-Men*, *Preſbyterians*, *Independ-"ents*, and *Anabaptiſts*; for which reaſon it comes to "paſs, that to thoſe points, concerning which there "is no difference amongſt us, I have not ſpoken ſo "largely as otherwiſe I might have done; and ſome "other cuſtoms of theirs I have not mentioned at all, "becauſe now neglected and diſuſed by us. What I "have written as to this ſubject, I have wholly col-"lected out of the genuine and unqueſtionably au-"thentic writings of thoſe ages, that are now extant, "making uſe of no other writings whatſoever, except "the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Euſebius*, which was writ "in the beginning of the fourth age, and relates "only thoſe affairs, that were tranſacted in the three "former, beyond the period of which time this En-"quiry doth not reach; but is wholly limited there-"by, and confined thereunto. That which hath been "thus collected, has been done, I hope, with the "greateſt impartiality and fidelity, without any pre-"poſſeſſion of mind, or any fraudulent deſign what-"ſoever." He afterwards obſerves, that amongſt other reaſons of publiſhing this book, theſe two were the chiefeſt, viz. to inform others, and to inform himſelf; "to inform others, *ſays he*, what the practices of the "Primitive Apoſtolic Churches were, if any ſhall be "ſo inquiſitive and deſirous to know them; or, if I "am miſtaken (as who is without errors?) to be bet-"ter informed myſelf, which I muſt needs confeſs "was that which I chiefly deſigned in the publication "hereof. Wherefore without oſtentation or challeng-"ing, but unfeignedly and ſincerely to prevent miſ-"takes in my younger years, I humbly deſire (if the "requeſt be not too bold) and ſhall heartily thank "any learned perſon, that will be ſo kind as to in-"form me, if he knows me to have erred in any one "or more particulars; which he may do, either pub-"lickly, or, if he think fit, privately, by letters to "my bookſeller, who will convey it ſafely to my "hands." He concludes his preface with remarking, that when he firſt reſolved on the printing of this Treatiſe, he deſigned to have publiſhed his obſervations on the fourth general head propounded in the title-page to be enquired into, viz. *the Worſhip of the Primitive Church*, as well as he has done on the three former; "but for ſome reaſons, *ſays he*, I have reſerved this "for a particular Tract by itſelf, which probably, "though I do not abſolutely promiſe it, may in a "little time more be alſo publiſhed; and that the ra-"ther, becauſe in this part I have made two or three "references thereunto, which I thought good to ac-"quaint the reader with, that ſo, if he cannot find "ſome things that I have referred to in this Trea-"tiſe, he may be aſſured they are to be met with in "the enſuing one." The *ſecond Part* of this *Enquiry* was publiſhed in 8vo. He concludes the laſt chapter of it with an earneſt perſuaſion to *Peace*, *Unity*, and *Mode-ration*, in which he writes as follows: "Certain I "am, we need no arguments to induce us hereunto [to "Peace, Moderation, &c.]; both the neceſſity and "facility of love and unity require it at our hands. "Its neceſſity is evident from hence, that whilſt we "ſpend our zeal and heat about theſe inconſiderable "matters, the very foundation of faith and morals "are attacked and ſhaken; atheiſm increaſes, im-"morality prevails, and thoſe damnable hereſies, "which for many ages have been ſilenced and aban-"doned, are now revived by men of corrupt faith, "who take occaſion from the lawleſsneſs and licenti-"ouſneſs of this preſent age, to vent thoſe curſed te-"nets, which eradicate and deſtroy all Religion: it "is to be feared, that unleſs we haſten to compoſe our "differences about the ſkirts and fringes of Religion, "the very vitals and eſſentials thereof will be corroded "and devoured by hereſy and profaneneſs. And as "for theſe and the like reaſons, the neceſſity of an "union or comprehenſion is manifeſt on the one hand; "ſo the facility of ſuch an union is as apparent on "the other hand; for, thanks be to God, our differ-"ences are neither about faith nor manners. We all "believe in one and the ſame God, hope to be ſaved "by one and the ſame Redeemer, deſire to be ſanc-"tified by one and the ſame Sanctifier, receive one "and the ſame Scriptures, aſſert the ſame doctrines, "and acknowledge the neceſſity of the ſame duties. "Our diſputes are only about leſſer matters, about "modes and forms, about geſtures and poſtures, and "ſuch-like inferior matters, about which it ſhould "grieve a wiſe man to quarrel, and which with the "greateſt eaſe in the world might be compoſed and "ſettled, if managed by men of prudence and mo-"deration; and ſuch men, it is hoped, are the Re-"verend Biſhops advanced by their Majeſties, whoſe "promotion to thoſe places of dignity and truſt many "honeſt and peaceable men look upon as a good "omen and prognoſtic of our future union and happy "eſtabliſhment." A ſecond edition of this book has been ſince printed. An Anſwer to it was publiſhed by Mr. Sclater, a Non-juring Clergyman, at London 1717 in 8vo, under this title: *An Original Draught of the Primitive Church: in anſwer to a Diſcourſe, intituled*, An Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, &c. *By a Preſbyter of the Church of England.* Mr. Sclater in his *Preface* obſerves, that our author in his "Preface ſhews an humble diffidence of his youth-"ful performance, and deſires another ſenſe might be "given of his ſeveral quotations (if need required) "for better information of himſelf and others. I "confeſs, *ſays Mr. Sclater*, I ſaw need enough of that "at my firſt peruſal of his book, and not a little "wondered, that no friendly hand had done that "kindneſs for him long before. As to my own part, "I had never walked in the unpleaſant paths of con-"troverſy to that day; and beſides the conſciouſneſs "of my unfitneſs for it, had averſion enough ever to "ſet a foot in them; but ſeeing none had anſwered, "or was anſwering (as I could hear of) ſo reaſonable "a deſire, though men of letters in both Kingdoms "of our united Iſland had declared an earneſt ex-"pectation of it, and the holy Church of *England* in "*particular* has reproached the ſilence of her chil-"dren in an argument, that ſo plainly ſtruck at her "foundation; filial obedience, (I may ſay) to ſo *faith-"ful* a parent moved me to uſe the beſt endeavours I "could to vindicate her *truly Apoſtolical* Conſtitution, "and to plead the cauſe of *injured Antiquity*, as well "as hers; for that *both* are truly *one* in this caſe, the "impartial reader will eaſily obſerve, when he ſees "the palpable miſtakes corrected, and the unfair re-"preſentations of the venerable Fathers of the Church "(ſo obvious in almoſt every page of thoſe plauſible "Collections) reſtored to their genuine ſenſe again. "This is what may be expected here; and I am not "conſcious I have ſtrained any one paſſage in anti-"quity, beyond the true meaning of the venerable "authors themſelves, to form a different conſtruction "of it from that of the ingenious *Enquirer*. I ſhould "count it the worſt of ſacrilege to do ſo; the goods "of the Church are not ſo ſacred as her ſenſe is.

and who left him half his Library at his death, was of great advantage to him; by his advice, after he had ſtudied ſome time at Leyden in Holland, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law, in which profeſſion his learning and indefatigable diligence made him ſoon be taken notice of. In the two laſt Parliaments during the reign of King William, and in five Parliaments during the reign of Queen Anne he ſerved as Burgeſs for Beer-Alſton in Devonſhire. In 1702 he publiſhed at London in 8vo, without his name, his *Hiſtory of the Apoſtles Creed. With Critical Obſervations on its ſeveral Articles* [*B*]. This Treatiſe is written with great learning and judgment; and

" What each quotation appeared to me from the beſt " authority and cloſeſt attention I could uſe, I have " fairly repreſented here. If defective in apprehending the true ſenſe, or injudicious in the inferences " from it, I heartily ſubmit, in my turn, to the charity of better information. For as I write with a " conſcientious regard to undeceive ſome, ſo I am infinitely more concerned not to be deceived myſelf; " and I wiſh no greater freedom from prejudice or " party in any, who read or cenſure theſe papers, " than I am conſcious of in the compoſing of them." Mr. Sclater then obſerves, that " every one too well knows " of what a large and extenſive nature this unhappy ſubject is, and that the controverſial books about it are " ſadly numerous, and full of different ſchemes and " arguments, according to the genius of ſects, and " times, and perſons; many of which, *ſays he*, might " have fallen in with ſeveral parts of this diſcourſe, " had I been inclined to *diſpute* (as I bleſs God I am " not); but I have kept cloſe to the ſingle Treatiſe " before me, and that for two reaſons eſpecially; " 1. Becauſe I heard from many hands, that the leſs " learned and more prejudiced adverſaries of the *truly* " *Primitive Church of England* have made their boaſts " of it; and from its not being anſwered, have " proclaimed it an *unanſwerable* vindication of their " ſeparation from her. 2. Becauſe I think, that all " the ſcattered arguments and pleas for their unwarrantable ſchiſm are reducible to ſome one or other " of the great variety of quotations cited in it." He afterwards remarks, that ſince his papers were nigh wrought off the preſs, an ingenious Treatiſe had come into his hands, intitled, *The Invalidity of the Diſſenting Miniſtry, &c.* " wherein, *ſays he*, ſome particular " quotations in the *Enquiry* relating to the *Presbyter's* " *power of Ordination*, are judiciouſly explained, and " with clear reaſoning anſwered to the full." The book mentioned by Mr. Sclater in this paſſage is intitled, *The Invalidity of the Diſſenting Miniſtry, or Presbyterian Ordination an irregular and unjuſtifiable practice. In anſwer to Mr.* Pierce's *Sermons, entituled,* Preſbyterian Ordination proved Regular: *and to all the pretended inſtances of Presbyterian Ordination, in a book lately publiſhed by Mr. Charles Owen, called,* The Validity of the Diſſenting Miniſtry: *with Remarks on the* Forgery and Diſhoneſty *of that Writer. To which is added, an impartial View and Cenſure of the Miſtakes propagated for the* ordaining power of Preſbyters, *in a celebrated book, entituled,* An Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, and Worſhip of the Primitive Church, that flouriſhed within the firſt three hundred years after Chriſt. *By a Presbyter of the Church of England.*

[*B*] *He publiſhed* The Hiſtory of the Apoſtles Creed: with Critical Obſervations on its ſeveral Articles.] In the preface he obſerves, that " if the Explication given " by himſelf of any article or part of the Creed, " ſhould happen to be diſliked or not approved by " any one, the reader muſt remember, that the author " only acts the part of an Hiſtorian; his deſign being " only to collect and diſcover the ſenſe and meaning " of the firſt makers and compoſers of the Creed, " what it was that the introducers of the ſeveral articles purpoſed and intended thereby; and if in any " place he ſeems to ſpeak his own ſenſe, that is only " for the better carrying on the thread of his diſcourſe, and in the quality and perſon of an Hiſtorian, as having collected the ſenſe or explication in " ſuch place mentioned, to be the intended meaning " of the framers of that part or clauſe of the Creed; " the only intent of the author being to ſhew the ſenſe " of the compoſers of the Creed, and not at all to " enter into an examination of the juſtneſs or truth of " ſuch ſenſe and meaning; the author leaving that " to every man's private judgment, to be tried and " determined by the holy Scriptures, the only perfect " and infallible rule of faith, by which even this " Creed itſelf, and every explication thereof, muſt be " tried and judged, and is no farther to be received or " believed, than as it is conſonant and agreeable thereunto, which is according to the *ſixth article* of the " *Church of England*, that *whatſoever is not read in* " *the holy Scripture, nor may be proved thereby, is not* " *to be required of any man, that it ſhould be believed* " *as an article of faith, or be thought requiſite or ne-* " *ceſſary to ſalvation.*" In the *firſt chapter* he cites the encomiums given the Creed by the primitive writers, and the ſeveral names by which it hath been called. He ſhews, that it was principally termed a ſymbol, for which appellation two reaſons are commonly alledged; the one taken from the manner of common ſuppers amongſt the antients, which is ſhewn to be weak and uncertain; the other taken from military affairs, where it denotes the watch-words and ſigns, by which ſoldiers knew each other; which is affirmed not to be the full and proper ſignification of the word, but that it is rather to be derived from the marks and tokens uſed by the idolatrous Pagans in their ſacred rites, called by them *Symbola*, which were two-fold, either mute or vocal. He gives inſtances of both, and proves them to have been ſecret marks or words, revealed only to thoſe who were initiated in their myſteries, by means of which they were known to each other, and had free admiſſion, whereſoever they came, to the ſervices of thoſe Deities, whoſe ſymbols they had received; and that from the ſame reaſons, and in alluſion thereunto, the Creed was called a ſymbol by the primitive authors. He then proceeds to the authors of the Creed; and obſerves, that ſome aſcribe it to the Apoſtles, which by ſeveral reaſons is demonſtrated to be impoſſible; but that nevertheleſs it is apoſtolical and antient. He ſhews, that it is exceedingly difficult to find out the preciſe framers of it. That the authors of it were many, and the compoſure of it a work of time. That one part of it was uſed by the Apoſtles, and left by them to their ſucceſſors. That the Creed was always demanded at baptiſm, both by the Apoſtles, and by thoſe who came after them. That the other part of the Creed was afterwards added by the rulers of the Church, in oppoſition to hereſies, as they appeared and ſprung up. He ſhews in what ſenſe the Apoſtles are ſaid to be the authors of one part, and the ſucceeding governors of the Church authors of the other. That the meaning of the Creed is to be fetched from the writings of the Fathers. That the Creed was firſt conſtantly read in the Eaſtern Church about five hundred years after Chriſt, and in the Weſtern near ſix hundred. That the Creed then read was the *Nicene*, into whoſe room afterwards came the Apoſtles. The contents of the *ſecond Chapter* are as follow. The reaſon for which it is ſaid in the ſingular number, *I believe*; the meaning of the word *believe*. By believing in God we aſſent to his exiſtence and unity. The Greek and antient Latin Creeds read, *I believe in* ONE *God*, which was deſigned againſt ſome blaſphemous deniers of the Divine Unity, who, negatively, were not the Jews, ſince they owned it; nor the heathens principally, ſeeing the greater, or at leaſt the wiſer part of them acknowledged it; but poſitively, they were certain antient heretics; in oppoſition to whom this clauſe of ONE *God* is to be conſidered, either abſolutely or relatively. Abſolutely it ſignifies, that there is but ONE *God*. The *Valentinians*, *Cerdonians*, *Marcionites*, and others, introduced ſeveral Gods. The authors of this hereſy lived in the Apoſtles time. Againſt it the Creed declares, that we muſt believe in ONE *God*; which being underſtood relatively, or as it hath reference to what immediately follows in the Creed, ſignifies that ONE and the ſame God is the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, in contradiction to ſeveral heretics, who maintained opinions contrary thereunto. The title, FA-

and Mr. Peter Coſte, who ſent an abſtract of it in French to Monſieur Bernard, who publiſhed it in his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for November and December 1702, tells us (*a*), that a learned Engliſh Biſhop, who had begun to read it with a diſadvantageous prejudice, imagining, that it would prove only a wretched rhapſody out of

(*a*) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Mois de Novembre, 1702, pag. 484.

THER, denotes God to be the origin of all beings, in contradiction to the *Gnoſtics* and others, who being worſe than the heathens diſowned him to be ſuch, and refuſed to give him the appellation of FATHER, (which is here briefly explained), but attributed it to another being different from him. Or it denotes the peculiar relation of the Father unto the Son, in which ſenſe it hath been alſo underſtood in the Creed, which is the primary ſenſe thereof, wherein it hath been in the Creed from the foundation of Chriſtianity. The word ALMIGHTY hath a threefold ſignification in the Creed. *Firſt*, it denotes God's infinite power, which ſhews the reaſon why it is placed before the making of heaven and earth. In this ſenſe it was intended againſt the *Valentinians*, *Simonians*, *Menandrians*, &c. whoſe hereſies are explained. *Secondly*, it implies God's providential government of the world, in oppoſition to the denial thereof by the *Gnoſtics* and *Marcionites*; the former of whom at leaſt aſcribed this word ALMIGHTY, thus underſtood, to another being, different from the ſupreme and only God. *Thirdly*, it includes God's immenſity and omnipreſence, in contradiction to the error of the *Gnoſtics*, which confined God within a certain limited ſpace. What is to be underſtood by MAKER, and what by HEAVEN and EARTH. The blaſphemous tenets of ſeveral Heretics about the creation of the world. Simon Magus and ſeveral others attributed the making thereof to angels. The portentous ſyſtem of the *Valentinians* concerning the origin of Beings, and the creation of the Univerſe. The *Cerdonians* and *Marcionites* maintained two Eternal Principles, God and the Devil; the latter of whom they affirmed to have been the Former and Maker of the world. Againſt all theſe Heretics it was inſerted in the Creed, that the Supreme God, the Father Almighty is *Maker of Heaven and Earth*. The contents of the *third chapter* are as follow. The *Nicene* and more antient Greek Creeds read *in* ONE *Jeſus Chriſt*, which was a deſigned oppoſition to the blaſphemous diviſion of Jeſus from Chriſt by the *Gnoſtics* and others, whoſe ſeveral Hereſies are related. By believing in *Jeſus Chriſt* we profeſs, that there was ſuch a man as was known by the name of *Jeſus of Nazareth*, which word *Jeſus* was an uſual name among the Jews; and that this *Jeſus* was the *Chriſt* or the *Meſſias*, which was conſtantly a part of the Creed from the very beginning of the Goſpel, it being the foundation of all Chriſtianity, and that which was moſt violently aſſaulted by the Jews. The word *Chriſt* ſignifies *Anointed*, unction being uſed among the Jews on ſeveral occaſions; in alluſion whereunto *Jeſus* is called *Chriſt* from his conſecration to his triple office of *Prophet*, *Prieſt*, and *King*. His unction is to be underſtood in a ſpiritual ſenſe; God the Father was the anointer, and the Holy Ghoſt the oil, which was poured upon his human nature at his conception and baptiſm. *His only Son*, wherein are two things contained; *firſt*, that he is the Son of the Father; *his* Son, which was foretold by the Prophets; whence *Meſſias* and the *Son of God* were convertible terms amongſt the Jews, at the time of our Saviour's appearance. Chriſt was the ſon of God in ſeveral reſpects; but in one way peculiarly ſo, which is the ſecond thing in this clauſe, that he is his *only* Son. The Scriptures affirm, that God had one Son in a peculiar manner, which is expreſſed in the Greek Creeds to be by generation; which was perhaps oppoſed to the *Valentinian* emiſſion or diviſion from the Father. Caution is to be uſed in the ſearching into this myſtery. Chriſt is ſaid in the Greek Creeds to be the Μονογενὴς, or the *only begotten*, in contradiction to the *Gnoſtics* and others. This article was coeval with Chriſtianity, and denotes Chriſt's divine nature. The title *Lord* denotes the dominion of Chriſt, who is Lord by way of eminency, being ſupreme Lord over all, and particularly the Chriſtian's Lord, *our Lord*. There are two oppoſite parties in the Univerſe, the one under Chriſt, the other under the Devil, who have each their ſeparate Kingdoms. The Devil's intereſt among ſpirits is unknown to us; but amongſt mankind he very much prevailed, inſomuch that in ſeveral places he was worſhipped as God; but when Chriſt came, he deſtroyed the Devil's Kingdom, which was but an uſurped one, and erected his own Kingdom, the admiſſion whereinto was at baptiſm, when the baptized perſon not only acknowledged Chriſt's Lordſhip, but alſo expreſly renounced the Devil's power. This article was coeval with Chriſtianity, and denotes a ſubmiſſion to Chriſt as our Lord, in oppoſition to the Devil. In the next place, the Creed declares Chriſt's humanity, and the neceſſity of his being man. His incarnation was blaſphemed and denied in ſundry ways and manners by various Heretics; againſt whom was levelled whatſoever is mentioned in the Creed from our Saviour's Conception to his Reſurrection. The *Conception* and *Nativity* are in moſt Creeds joined together in one ſentence. *Ebion*, *Cerinthus* and others affirmed Chriſt to have been a man, conceived and born in the ordinary way of generation; againſt whom it is declared, that he was *conceived by the Holy Ghoſt*, *and born of* ſuch a woman as was a *Virgin*. Several Heretics, whoſe names are mentioned, denied, that Chriſt aſſumed a material Body from the ſubſtance of his mother; but held, that his Body was framed in heaven, and paſſed through the Virgin Mary as water through a pipe. Their reaſon for this Hereſy is repreſented; which Hereſy is emphatically condemned by this expreſſion ἐκ Μαρίας, or *of Mary*. The ſtrange notion of the *Apelleians* concerning the making of our Saviour's Body; againſt whom, with the precedent Heretics, the Creed directs us to believe, by his being *born of the Virgin Mary*, that he took from her fleſh the real ſubſtance of his Body. The *Birth* of Chriſt employed alſo in conjunction with his *Paſſion*, *Crucifixion*, *Death*, and *Burial*, to denote the Reality of his Body. Theſe laſt four were not all found in one and the ſame Creed till St. Auguſtin's days. The monſtrous conſequences of an imaginary and fantaſtical Incarnation, which was maintained by a prodigious variety of Heretics from the Days of St. John, as by the *Simonians*, *Menandrians*, &c. againſt whom was inſerted in the Creed the *Birth* of Chriſt and his *Sufferings*; which latter point was ſo convincing a proof, that to prevent any cavils, as if it were a doubtful and uncertain thing, the time thereof is declared to have been *under Pontius Pilate*, who was Procurator of Judea in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius. To condemn alſo the forementioned Hereſies, the Crucifixion of our Saviour follows, that it was not *Simon* of *Cyrene*, as the *Baſilideans* affirmed, but he himſelf who was crucified; and likewiſe his *Death*, which is mentioned, becauſe the certainty thereof is the foundation of the Goſpel. By *Death* is meant the ſeparation of ſoul and body; after which, for the ſame intent, follows that diſpoſal of his dead body, viz. that it was *buried* or laid in the grave. The *fourth Chapter* contains the following particulars. The Deſcent of our Saviour into Hell was never queſtioned by any differences in the explication thereof. The Moderation of the Church of England herein. This article relates, *firſt*, ſomething done by Chriſt's Soul, which excludes the Burial of his Body from being deſigned thereby; and, *ſecondly*, ſomething done by his Soul in its ſeparate ſtate, excluſive of the ſufferings thereof, whilſt he was alive. No exact agreement in the notions of the Primitive Writers about this point. The explication of the word *Hell* or *Hades*, as it is in Greek. No one word in the modern Engliſh, French, or Dutch, comprehenſive of the full ſignification thereof. *Hell* in old Engliſh exactly anſwers to the Greek *Hades*, which properly ſignifies the habitation or receptacle of all ſeparated human ſouls, whether good or bad. The *Pagans*, from whom the propriety of any Greek or Latin word is to be fetched, underſtood it in this ſenſe. The modern, or at leaſt the antient *Jews* placed all ſeparated ſouls in Hell. The *Primitive Chriſtians* affirmed, that all good ſouls, immediately after their ſeparation from the body,

of ſeveral diſcourſes on that ſubject printed in Engliſh, and eſpecially of Biſhop Pearſon's *Expoſition of the Creed*, who ſeemed to have exhauſted that matter, was ſurprized to find in this *Hiſtory* ſo many curious things not to be met with in Dr. Pearſon, without finding any

body, paſſed into a place of joy and happineſs, which they termed *Hell*, as is at large proved. In the declenſion of the Greek, and chiefly of the Latin tongue the word *Hell* began to be ſolitarily applied to the manſion of departed wicked ſouls. *Origen*, amongſt the Greeks, doubted of the paſſage of faithful ſouls into Hell ſince the Reſurrection of Chriſt. But after him the antient doctrine that all ſouls go to Hell, and remain there till the Reſurrection-Day, generally prevailed in the Eaſt to this very day. *Ambroſe*, and after him *Jerom*, and others entertained the ſame notion in the Weſt, as *Origen* had in the Eaſt. *Auguſtin* was uncertain and wavering in his apprehenſions hereof. The receſſion from the antient opinion occaſioned by the mutation of Languages and words. The word *Hell* in the Apoſtolical ſenſe could not, according to the propriety of ſpeech, ſignify any other thing than the ſtate or place of ſeparated human ſouls whether good or bad. The meaning of the word *deſcended*; it ſometimes only ſignifies a ſimple removal from one place to another. It is uſed in the Creed, becauſe it was a popular kind of ſpeech ariſing from the common opinion, that Hell was in the bowels of the earth, or under the earth; from whence it was called by the Latins *Infernum*, and by the Greeks *Hades*, and the like. Some of the Fathers imagined *Hell* to be in the heart of the earth; others under the earth; and ſome were uncertain of the ſituation thereof, but all apprehended it to be the common lodge of departed ſouls, and in a conformity to the common dialect, uſually termed the paſſage thither a *Deſcent into Hell*, as in this article of the Creed; by which they meant no other than that our Saviour's Soul being ſeparated from the Body went by a local motion to the unſeen habitation of departed ſouls, where it remained till his Reſurrection-Day: which is farther proved from the ends of his going thither, which were chiefly theſe four. *Firſt*, to ſanctify unto his followers the ſtate and place of their ſouls, during their ſeparation from their bodies. *Secondly*, that he might undergo a neceſſary and principal part of his humiliation. *Thirdly*, that he might perſonally, and as the Head of his Church, conquer Death and Hell, which he did by returning therefrom, and bringing the ſouls of ſeveral of the faithful with him. *Fourthly*, that he might ſubject himſelf unto the laws of Death, and be in every thing like unto us. From whence it more evidently appears, that the *Deſcent* of Chriſt into *Hell* ſignifies no other than the paſſage of his ſpirit unto the receptacle of ſeparated ſouls. The occaſion of inſerting this clauſe in the Creed taken from the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and *Apollinarians*, who in a more cunning way than the former Heretics aſſaulted the humanity of our Saviour, by denying, that he had a reaſonable ſoul. The difference between the error of the *Arians* and *Apollinarians* herein: it is proved, that the *Arians*, or at leaſt ſome of them, with the *Eunomians*, held, that Chriſt's Body was void of a rational ſoul. But that, which rendered this hereſy the more conſiderable and dangerous, was the eſpouſing of it by *Apollinarius* the Younger, the moſt noted perſon of his age for ability and piety; on which account his fall was a very tender and ſenſible loſs to the Church. The time when he vented his hereſy, which was, that Chriſt had no human ſoul, but that his Divinity ſupplied the place hereof; the conſequences of which opinion are inſtanced in ſeveral particulars. In oppoſition whereunto this clauſe was inſerted in the Creed, *he deſcended into Hell*; which point was pitched upon by the Governors of the Church, becauſe, of all the arguments uſed againſt the *Apollinariſts*, it was the moſt unanſwerable; on which account it is frequently urged by the Fathers againſt them, and it falls in moſt naturally with the frame of the Creed, without diſturbing the order thereof. The time of the introduction of this article. The firſt Catholic Creed, wherein it is found, is in that of *Aquileia*, recorded by *Ruffinus*, though before that in a private Creed of *Epiphanius*, and even before him in a Creed framed by a party of Arians at the Council of *Ariminum*, held in the year 359. Several probable deſigns of thoſe Arians herein, as to clear themſelves from the ſuſpicion of the forementioned hereſy, to diſgrace their great antagoniſt *Apollinarius*, and by that means to create feuds and quarrels amongſt the Orthodox, who finding *Apollinarius* openly to declare for his hereſy, entirely abandoned him, condemned him in ſeveral Synods, and at length, according to the example of the *Arians*, inſerted in the Creed this antidote againſt his hereſy, that Chriſt *deſcended into hell*; which in the *Aquileian* Creed is expreſſed in a greater latitude by deſcending into the lower parts, wherein the burial might be comprehended and deſigned. But as it is expreſſed in the Roman or our preſent Creed, it can have no other than the forementioned ſignification, which, to prevent miſtakes, is again repeated. The contents of the *Fifth Chapter* are as follow. The *Reſurrection* of Chriſt being a neceſſary fundamental of our Religion, was always part of the Creed, by which our belief is declared, that Chriſt roſe from the dead, and returned to life again. The farther conſideration whereof is referred to the article of the reſurrection of the body. The reaſon for which our Lord's reſurrection is ſaid to be *in*, and not *after the third day*. The *Aſcenſion* of our Saviour was introduced againſt an opinion of the *Apelleians*, viz. that at his aſcenſion, his body was reſolved into its firſt principles, and aſcended not up on high, or *into heaven*; the nomination of which place might probably have been deſigned in contradiction to a conceit of *Hermogenes*, that his body went into the body of the Sun. *Sitting at the right hand of God the Father* explained; by which we muſt not imagine Chriſt confined to that ſingular poſture, but it ſignifies his advancement to the full exerciſe of his regal office; all things being ſubjected unto him by the *Father*, who was infinitely able to do it, ſeeing he is *Almighty*; which word in the Greek is different from that uſed in the beginning of the Creed, and in this place denotes the irreſiſtibleneſs and efficacy of God's power. This clauſe is firſt found in the Creed of *Tertullian*, and was inſerted, either as a continued proof with the *Aſcenſion*, that our Lord's body was not diſſolved a little after his reſurrection, or, rather was deſigned againſt ſome heretics, who imagined the body of Chriſt to be in a ſtupid and unconcerned poſture in heaven, and not to be ſate down at his Father's right hand, exerciſing all power and authority for the good of his Church. A brief explication of *From thence he ſhall come to judge the Quick and the Dead*. Three interpretations of *the Quick and the Dead*. The laſt moſt natural, that by the *Quick* are meant thoſe, who ſhall be alive at the coming of our Lord; and by the *Dead*, thoſe who ſhall then be actually void of life. This article was deſigned againſt the *Marcionites* and *Gnoſtics*, of whom the one blaſphemed the final Judge, the other the Judgment. *Marcion* with his maſter *Cerdon*, held, that the true God, and his Son Chriſt Jeſus were all mercy and love, and would never judge the world; which opinion opened a flood-gate to all impiety; in oppoſition whereunto the Creed declares, that he ſhall come to judge. The word *judging* explained; it ſuppoſeth a liberty and freedom of action in the perſon judged; both which were denied by the *Gnoſtics*, as by the *Valentinians*, *Baſilidians*, *Carpocratians*, and others, who all ſprung from *Simon Magus*, and united in theſe two hereſies, that man was fatally neceſſitated to all his actions, and that he ſhould not be judged according to his works, but according to his ſpiritual ſeed, election, and the like, which tenets were attended with moſt abominable conſequences; and therefore againſt them both it was inſerted in the Creed, that Chriſt *ſhall come to judge the Quick and the Dead*. Wherein, *firſt*, the liberty of man was acknowledged; which is farther evident from this, that the word Αυτεξουσιον, or that *man hath a power over himſelf*, was in ſeveral of the antient Creeds part of this article: the Fathers could not imagine a juſt judgment without ſuppoſing a freedom of the perſon judged. *Secondly*, it is farther declared by this clauſe, that men ſhall be judged according to their works; for which reaſon, while the hereſy of the *Gnoſtics* raged, it was expreſſed with a ſuitable periphraſis, to prevent any equivocating evaſions. A

any thing it borrowed from that writer's *Expoſition*. Mr. Coſte obſerves (*b*), that the whole Treatiſe is written in ſo accurate and maſterly a manner, that whoever ſhould tranſlate it into Latin would do a great ſervice to thoſe learned men, who do not underſtand Engliſh. July the 27th 1708, upon the death of Sir Salathiel Lovel, he was choſen Recorder of the City of London, and September the 12th following was knighted by Queen Anne. In 1710 he was one of the Managers of the Houſe of Commons at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel. October the 26th 1714 he was appointed Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas; and April the 5th following he was made one of the Privy Council. May the 25th 1725 he was created a Peer of England by the title of Lord King, Baron of Ockham in Surrey; and June the 1ſt following was appointed Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; in which poſt he continued till November the 29th 1733, when he reſigned the Seals, which were given to Charles Talbot Eſq; afterwards Lord Talbot. Some time before his death he was troubled with a paralytic diſorder; and July the 22d 1734, at eight in the evening, he died at Ockham in Surrey, having been taken ſpeechleſs about noon that day; and was interred at Ockham. He married Anne, daughter of Evan Seys of Boverton in Glamorganſhire Eſq; by whom he had iſſue four ſons. *John*, *Peter*, *William*, and *Thomas*, and two daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Anne*. John, his eldeſt ſon, and heir to his titles and eſtate, was, during his father's life, Member of Parliament for Launceſton in Cornwal, and in May 1726 married Elizabeth daughter of Robert Fry of Yeurty in Devonſhire Eſq; which Lady died January the 28th 173$\frac{3}{4}$ in the 23d year of her age, leaving no iſſue. There are ſome Letters between the Lord King and Mr. Edmund Elys written in 1692 upon the ſubject of the *Enquiry into the Conſtitution*, printed in the *Letters on ſeveral Subjects*, publiſhed by Mr. Elys at London 1694 in 8vo.

(*b*) Ibid. *Mois de Decembre*, pag. 633.

brief repetition of the true intended ſenſe of this article. The contents of the *ſixth Chapter* are as follow. *I believe in the Holy Ghoſt:* why the word *believe* is again repeated. This article was always part of the Creed. Why ſo little is ſaid of the *Holy Ghoſt*, when ſo much is ſaid of the *Father* and of the *Son*. His Divinity intended by the Creed's requiring us to believe *in* him; whereas we are only required ſimply to believe the enſuing articles as in particular the *Holy Catholic Church*, which is next of all conſidered. In the Greek, wherein they are followed by the modern French and Dutch, the word *believe* is again repeated before the article of the *Church*, which, for different ends, was variouſly placed in the primitive Creeds. Its uſual order after the Holy Ghoſt. This article juſt mentioned by *Tertullian*. The moſt antient Creeds read only *the Holy Church*; the term *Catholic* being added by the Greeks to be an explication or determination thereof. By the *Church* is to be underſtood the univerſal one, which is affirmed to be *one Holy*, and *Catholic*. That the *Unity of the Church* was here intended, appears from that the Greek Creeds read in *one* holy Catholic Church. The *Church univerſal* is to be conſidered as *one*, either as to faith or charity; in which ſenſe it was, for ſeveral reaſons which are mentioned, inſerted in the Creed in oppoſition to Heretics and Schiſmatics. The *Church* termed *Holy* from the purity and holineſs of her Doctrine, which is aſſented to thereby. The affection *Catholic*, which ſignifies univerſal, not always in the Creed; firſt introduced by the Greeks, to prevent narrow and limited conceptions of the Church. A brief repetition of what is aſſented to, when we repeat this article, *the Holy Catholic Church*. Whereunto is added as an appendix, *the Communion of Saints*; which was introduced about St. *Auguſtin's* time, in oppoſition to the *Donatiſts*. By *Saints* are to be underſtood particular Churches and the members thereof. For what reaſon they were called *Saints*. By *Communion* is ſignified the mutual ſociety and fellowſhip of particular Churches and their members. Various Methods uſed by the antients to maintain their communion. The Donatiſts refuſed communion with other Churches; and for that Schiſm were juſtly condemned and rejected by them. In oppoſition unto whom, this article may be conſidered, either as a mark to know a true particular Church by, that ſhe is one that is acknowledged ſo to be by other Churches; or rather as the quality, property, and practice of ſuch an one to hold communion with other particular Churches; in which ſenſe it is alſo added as an explanation of the Holy Catholic Church, and was intended to declare, that there ought to be a due communion and fellowſhip between the particular Churches and members of the Catholic and univerſal one. The contents of the *ſeventh* and laſt *chapter* are as follow. A brief explication of the *forgiveneſs of Sins*; not conſtantly repeated in the Creed till the days of *Cyprian*, though ſometimes expreſſed, and always ſuppoſed from the very beginning of Chriſtianity. Two Interpretations are given hereof, a primary, and a ſecondary one. To have a clear idea of the primary one, which reſpects ſins committed before Baptiſm, it will be neceſſary to reflect on the great wickedneſs of the world before the publication of the Goſpel; by means whereof they were under guilt, which the Heathens knew by the light of nature, but could not tell how to remove it. The Jews had no univerſal aſſurance of the pardon of ſins; wherefore the Apoſtles were ſent forth to reveal an infallible way for the obtaining it, viz. by believing and being baptized. This is proved to be the primary ſenſe of this article, always ſuppoſed, or elſe expreſſed in the creed, from the very firſt preaching of the Goſpel, viz. that all paſt ſins are for the ſake of Chriſt remitted to all penitential believers at baptiſm: wherein theſe two things are contained; *firſt*, that our ſins are forgiven for the ſake of Chriſt: *ſecondly*, that the time of their forgiveneſs is at Baptiſm. Remiſſion of ſins aſcribed to baptiſm, which is always to be underſtood with due regard to the qualifications of the perſons baptiſed. Why ſins are ſaid to be forgiven at baptiſm. The ſecondary ſenſe of this article reſpected ſins committed after baptiſm. The rigorous notions of the *Baſilidians*, *Montaniſts*, but eſpecially of the *Novatians*, who denied the pardon of God, or at leaſt of the Church, to ſcandalous ſins perpetrated after baptiſm. The wretched conſequences of this opinion, as an antidote againſt which this clauſe was conſtantly recited in the creed. Both the ſenſes of this article repeated. *The reſurrection of the body* is in ſome creeds the laſt article, and may be conſidered in conjunction with the reſurrection of our Saviour. The reſurrection from the dead being a neceſſary point of our religion, and withal being early oppoſed both by heathens and heretics, it hath always been a part of the creed from the Apoſtles days. In the Greek and Latin creeds, as alſo in the modern French and Dutch, it is the reſurrection *of the fleſh*. Several hereticks would equivocatingly aſſent to *the reſurrection of the body*, who denied that the ſame fleſhly ſubſtance ſhould ariſe again. Againſt them it was emphatically inſerted in the creed, that there ſhould be the reſurrection *of the fleſh*; that is, that the very ſame fleſhy and material Body ſhould riſe again, though the qualities thereof ſhall be changed and altered. *Life everlaſting* differently placed in the antient creeds, pertinently put at the end of the Apoſtles, becauſe it is the end of our faith, as the determination of every man to his proper place. The *Gnoſtics* affirmed, that the greateſt part of Mankind ſhould be annihilated at the day of judgment; againſt whom it is declared by this article, that after that there ſhall be *Life everlaſting*; wherein are included the eternal miſery of the damned, and the everlaſting happineſs of the bleſſed. T

KIRCHER (JOHN), a native of Tubingen in the Dutchy of Wirtemberg, ſtudied with great ſucceſs in the Univerſity of his own country, and gave very great hopes; but

but having choſen another kind of life, and not ſeeing any probability of a good ſettlement, left the Religion for that of Rome, and went into Hungary (*a*). This was about the year 1640. He publiſhed according to cuſtom the motives of his change. Several anſwers were made to them [*A*]. I cannot purſue my account of him any further, and I ſhould be very blameable not to own it, ſince the learned Mr. Baillet has made no ſcruple to acknowledge, that he knew nothing of the adventures of this perſon [*B*].

(*a*) Joh. Georgius Dorſcheus, *Epiſt. Dedicat. Hodegetici Catholici.*

[*A*] *He publiſhed .... the motives of his change. Several anſwers were made to them.*] The book which he publiſhed, is intitled, *Ætiologia, in quâ migrationis ſuæ ex Lutheranâ Synagogâ in Eccleſiam Catholicam veras & ſolidas rationes ſuccinctè exponit & perſpicuè, doctisque omnibus & judicandi dexteritate pollentibus ritè, accuratè & modeſtè conſiderandas proponit.* It was printed at Vienna in Auſtria in 1640, and dedicated to Emeric Loſi Archbiſhop of Strigonia. This work turns upon theſe two points; one, that it is our duty to abandon the Lutheran Religion, ſince we cannot find in it an infallible authority to direct us to judge what we ought to believe, the other, that we ought to embrace the Roman Catholic Religion, ſince we find in it ſuch an authority (1). Several anſwers to him appeared. Conſult Mr. Baillet (2), who will inform you, that John Conrade Schragmuller publiſhed in German an Anti-Kircher in 1654, and that Abraham Calovius publiſhed an *Examen Anti-Kircherianum at* Konigsberg in Pruſſia in 1643. He does not ſpeak there (3) of the work of John George Dorſcheus Profeſſor of Divinity at Strasburg, though one might conſider it as an *Anti-Kircher*. The title of it is as follows: *M. I. Kircherus devius; ſive Hodegeticus Catholicus, quo oſtenditur M. Johannem Kircherum Tubinga Wittembergicum migrationi ſuæ ex ſynagogâ, quam vocat, Lutheranâ in Eccleſiam Catholicam inſtitutione iviſſe, non qua eundum eſt ſed qua itur.* It was printed at Strasburg in 1641 in 12mo and contains two parts, intitled at the top of the pages, the 1ſt, *Hodeget. Cathol. Antikirch. prælim.* the 2d. *Hodeget. Cathol. Antikirch.* Dorſcheus maintains the perſpicuity of the Scriptures, which is the foundation of the proteſtant faith; and he ſhews on the other hand, that neither the councils nor deciſions of Popes can be a good foundation of certainty. Above half the book conſiſts of quotations, eſpecially in thoſe places where he examines the complaints of Kircher, that the proteſtants impute to the Catholic Religion all the impertinences of particular authors. This book of Dorſcheus was confuted by a German Jeſuit named Henry Wangnereck, who publiſhed an Anti-Dorſcheus in 1653, and who in his turn was confuted by an Anti-Wangnereck, which Balthaſar Bebelius (4) publiſhed in the form of Theological Theſes in 1682.

(1) Taken from the *Hodegeticus Catholicus* of Dorſcheus, pag. 1. and 329, 330.

(2) Baillet, tom. 1. *des Anti*, num. 25. pag. 204, 205.

(3) Obſerve that he ſpeaks of it in page 267. of the ſame tome, but not under the notion of *Anti-Kircher.*

(4) Profeſſor of Divinity at Straſburg. See the *Acta Eruditorum*, 1682, pag. 249. *and* Baillet, tom. 1. of the *Anti*, pag. 268.

[*B*] *Mr. Baillet has made no ſcruple to acknowledge that he knew nothing of the adventures of this perſon.*] As there is a good deal of wit in his confeſſion, I ſhall report at large what he ſays (5). "You would not have "any ground to reproach me with this, if I could "have diſcovered the regiſter of his baptiſm or burial. "Of the four German Kirchers, whom I know to "have been authors, and of whom two were Jeſuits, "our Kircher, whoſe name was John, is he, of whoſe "life and employments I have the leaſt information. "I believe that if he had died a Lutheran, Henning "Witten would have done him the honour to have "placed him in his memoirs with ſo many others, "who did not deſerve it more than he. Another of "his brethren would have made a funeral oration, or "Hiſtorical Elogium upon him. It might have hap"pened likewiſe, that if Kircher, upon his abando"ning the Lutheran Religion for that of Rome, had "become a Monk in ſome Monaſtery, ſome Bibliothe"que Writer or other curious perſon of his order, "would have taken care to have collected an account of "his life and writings, and placed him among the "illuſtrious men of the order, which he might have "embraced. But I have too good an opinion of your "memory to repeat to you what I have ſaid in the "article of Anti-Cochleus upon this ſubject, when "you were ſolicitous to know why the proteſtant wri"ters are generally better known to us than the Ca"tholic writers, and why among the latter the Monks "of whatever order are commonly better known than "the other Catholics."

(5) Baillet, tom. 1. of the *Anti*, pag. 206, 207.

(6) That is, of not having ſaid any thing of the life or death of Kircher.

KIRCHMAN (JOHN), who gained a reputation by his works, was born at Lubeck January the 18th 1575. He ſtudied in his native place till he was eighteen years old, when he went to Frankfort on the Oder, where he continued four years, hearing diligently his Profeſſor's Lectures, and being very averſe to all the diverſions and debaucheries, in which moſt of the ſcholars uſe to loſe their time [*A*]. He ſtudied afterwards in the Univerſity of Jena, and then in that of Straſburg. He had a great mind to travel, but as he was not rich enough to bear the expences of it, he was obliged to reſtrain his deſire. But it was not long before he could gratify his inclination; for a Burgomaſter of Luneburg choſe him to accompany his ſon into France and Italy: he returned into Germany in the year 1602, and ſtopping at Roſtock he gave there ſuch proofs of his learning, that the next year he was appointed Profeſſor of Poetry. The work which he publiſhed in the year 1604 on the burials of the ancient Romans, *de Funeribus Romanorum*, gained him the reputation of a very learned man, and was perhaps alſo the occaſion of his meeting with a very good match as ſoon as he wiſhed. For he deſired

[*A*] *He was very averſe to all the diverſions and debaucheries, in which moſt of the Scholars uſe to loſe their time.*] It is a queſtion, which has been controverted for ſeveral ages, whether it be better to have one's children ſtudy at home, or to ſend them to the Univerſity (1). There are arguments *pro* and *con*. But the moſt plauſible argument that can be urged againſt ſending them to the Univerſity, is that they are in imminent danger there of being debauched. Studious Scholars are very ſcarce. But the number of thoſe who either by their bad example, or by their ſollicitations, or even by their railleries bring others to a diſſolute life, is very large. Here follows what is ſaid of Kirchman, and of moſt of his fellow-ſtudents. *Ibidem per quadriennium fere ſubſtitit; non cibos & potiones tantum percolando, non Charadrii vitam agendo, non ludicris aliorum exagitationibus aut laſcivis Gynæcei luſtrationibus ſe oblectando, non ſcurrilibus Lurcomum nugis optimum juventutis florem corrumpendo, quibus egregiis, ſcilicet! exercitiis, deplorato & exulcerato hoc ſæculo, maxima* (2), *proh dolor! Academicorum pars dedita eſt; ſed lectiones & diſputationes publicas diligenter viſitando, cum viris doctis familiariter converſando, & indiu noctuque bonis literis, quibus animam totam applicuerat, ſtrenue incumbendo* (3). i. e. "He ſpent almoſt four "years there, not indeed in minding only eating and "drinking, and living like a glutton; not in taking "a delight in the trifling exerciſes which the others "performed, or in frequenting the Ladies of pleaſure; "not in corrupting the flower of his youth; in which fine "exerciſes the greateſt part, alas! of the ſtudents in"dulge themſelves in this deſperate and corrupted "age; but in frequenting the public lectures and diſ"putations, in converſing familiarly with learned men, "in applying himſelf carefully day and night to the "ſtudy of literature, for which he had a ſtrong in"clination."

(1) *See* Quintilian. *Inſtit. Orator.* lib. 1. cap. 2. and Monſ. Dacier, *Remarques ſur la Vie de Numa*, towards the end; and the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for June 1700, pag. 686.

(2) See below the remark [*D*] quotation (12). Conſult alſo the article ERFORT, remark [*D*].

(3) Jacob. Stoleerfhotus, *Orat. Funebri Johannis Kirchmanni, apud* Witten. *Memor. Philoſoph. Orator. &c.* pag. 525.

fired as much to encreaſe the number of the inhabitants of this world [B] as the number of books. It was a particular happineſs for him to meet with a wife the ſame year he ſet up for an author; eſpecially ſince the wife he met with made him compaſs his deſign, for he got a great many children by her, and beſides, they lived together in great union and friendſhip [C]. As he was looked upon as a man who gave youth a very good education, and who would not ſuffer his boarders to be diſſolute at his houſe [D], he had a great many ſcholars ſent to him from the other cities in Germany. Laſtly, when the Magiſtrates of Lubeck found that their college wanted a new Rector or Principal, they deſired him to take that employment upon him. One of the reaſons that made him accept it was, that he feared leſt it had been a ſin in him not to accept of ſo lawful a calling as this was [E]. He was inſtalled in that office in the year 1613, and performed

[B] *He deſired to increaſe the number of the inhabitants of this world.*] It is neceſſary on this occaſion more than on any other to tranſcribe the very words of my author. They are as follow. *Quemadmodum prole animi bonas litteras promovere ſtuduit Kirchmannus, ita etiam prole corporis humanum genus augere apud ſe conſtituit. Quamobrem eodem anno, quo Funera Romanorum publici juris fecit, iiſque nominis ſui Funera plane exterminavit, vitæ ſociam ſibi elegit Virginem caſtiſſimam & pudiciſſimam* Emerentiam, Joachimi Schellii, *Senatorii Roſtochienſis prudentiſſimi, filiam* (4). i. e. "As he endeavoured to improve literature by the "offspring of his mind, ſo he deſigned to encreaſe "mankind by the offspring of his body: wherefore, "the ſame year in which he had publiſhed the Funerals of the antient Romans, by which he prevented "his name from being for ever buried in oblivion, "he choſe for his partner a moſt chaſte and modeſt "virgin, namely Emerentia, the daughter of Joachim "Schellius, a very wiſe Senator of Roſtock." Here was a public-ſpirited man indeed. He did not confine his zeal for the public to the Republic of Letters only, he would alſo promote the advantage of the ſtate by begetting children. He conſecrated both his mind and his body to the happineſs of mankind. The learned Helena Piſcopia Cornara was not of the ſame character with him. For in order to ſhew that ſhe followed the ſteps of Minerva the Goddeſs of Learning, who always kept her maidenhead, ſhe would be aggregated to the Academy *degli infecundi*, i. e. "of "the unfruitful." But on the other hand the moſt learned Tiraqueau was an example to our Kirchman, for it is ſaid that he uſed to write a book and to beget a child every year. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (5) with regard to Mademoiſelle le Fevre. Here follows a paſſage which proves that our Kirchman was not diſappointed in his hopes. *Quoniam vero præcipuus conjugii ſcopus quo Kirchmannus collimavit eſt procreatio librorum . . . etiam hunc ſcopum attigit, & conjugium ex benedictione divina uti jucundum ita & fæcundum habuit. Ex uxore quippe ſuaviſſima, prob dolor! vidua mæſtiſſima, quinque liberos ſuſcepit, filios tres, & filias duas* (6). i. e. "As the chief deſign "for which Kirchman married was to have children, "he was not diſappointed; for as by God's bleſſing "his marriage was very agreeable to him, ſo it proved "alſo fruitful. He had by his moſt beloved wife, now, "alas! a moſt afflicted widow; five children, three ſons "and two daughters."

(4) Idem, Stolterfhotus, pag. 530.

(5) For Nov. 1684, Art. 12. pag. 977.

(6) *Orat. Funeb. apud* Witten, *Memor. Philoſoph.* pag. 531.

[C] *They lived together in great union and friendſhip.*] It is aſſerted in his funeral oration, that they never wanted to be reconciled together during the thirty ſeven years their marriage laſted. *Quod conjugium felicibus auſpiciis cæptum felici etiam ſucceſſu non caruit. Tanto enim amore hi conjuges ſe mutuo ſunt complexi, tanta concordia ſeptem & triginta annos tranſegerunt, ut nunquam in gratiam redire, aut ad aram bonæ Deæ litare neceſſe ipſis fuerit* (7). i. e. "This marriage "auſpiciouſly begun had alſo a very happy ſucceſs: "for this couple loved each other ſo well, and lived "thirty ſix years in ſo great an union, that they never "wanted to be reconciled together, nor to offer any "ſacrifice to *Fauna* or the Good Goddeſs." Pomponius Atticus had the ſame happineſs with his mother (8), but not with his wife. The author of the funeral oration pretends, that this conjugal concord of our Kirchman with his wife was owing to their being both ſenſible that ſuch an union is acceptable both to God, and to men: and that the inconveniences of wedlock, which in their own nature are conſiderable enough, ought not to be aggravated by troubleſome quarrels, but rather ſoftened and made eaſy, by a ſweet temper and complaiſant behaviour of man and wife towards each other. *Nimirum uterque ipſorum probe intellexit, Deo hominibuſque gratum, ſi bene inter maritum & uxorem conveniat, nec conjugii moleſtias, alias ſat graves, odioſis rixis & acerbis concertationibus cumulandas, ſed ſuaviſſima potius oblectatione, & jucundiſſima converſatione leniendas eſſe* (9). Whereupon he breaks out with this pathetical wiſh: Oh that all married perſons, ſays he (10), who do not live well together, would ſeriouſly reflect upon that important truth. I do not believe that this author hit the true cauſe. There is hardly a perſon but knows that important truth. Even in thoſe families, where diſcord rages with the greateſt fury, men are convinced of it; but they do not act from that perſuaſion; nay, I imagine that they chooſe to quarrel, becauſe it is leſs troubleſome to them. They would be much more tormented and inwardly racked by a ſad antipathy, if they were not to vent their grief by a thouſand complaints and by a thouſand quarrels. Scolding is like tears (11), it eaſes the grief that oppreſſes us.

(7) Idem, ibid. pag. 530.

(8) See his Article, remark [C].

(9) *Orat. Funeb. apud* Witten, *Memor. Philoſ.* pag. 530.

(10) *Utinam id ſecum probe volverent illi, qui conjugium, quod debebat eſſe caritatis vinculum, faciunt certamen rixoſum, quo ſeipſos excarnificant, & quotidiana quaſi morte mulctant! Satius iſtos eſſet nunquam matrimonium contraxiſſe, quam contractum tam fœde deturpaſſe.* Idem, ibid. pag. 531.

[D] *He would not ſuffer his boarders to be diſſolute at his houſe.*] There are ſome Profeſſors ſo covetous, that they ſuffer their boarders to take all the diverſions they pleaſe, leſt they ſhould diſcredit their houſe: for theſe young men, in order to be revenged of a maſter for keeping them too ſtrict, would make their parents believe a thouſand falſities, that they might go and lodge at another's houſe. Kirchman did not regulate his conduct by ſuch an apprehenſion. *Non enim Bacchanalia cum convictoribus ſuis Kirchmannus vivebat, non Scyphos ad ordinem evacuabat; non ad menſuras ſine menſura vivebat, non noctem Baccho ut pervigilem ducerent domeſticis ſuis permittebat, quemadmodum nunc nonnullos in Academicis Profeſſores, & juventutis Cenſores, egregios ſcilicet! facere audimus; ſed ita in omnibus ſe gerebat, ut ſtudiis mores convenienter irent; ipſiuſque domeſtici, adeoque omnes literis humanioribus addicti vivum haberent exemplum, ad quod vitam, mores, & res ſuas omnes examuſſim componerent* (12). i. e. "Kirchman did not "live in a riotous manner with his boarders; he did "not make the bumpers go round; he did not live re-"gularly without a rule; he would not ſuffer his "boarders to ſpend the night in drinking; which "we hear is practiſed by ſome Profeſſors at the Uni-"verſity, and by ſome Tutors to the youths; egregious "Tutors, indeed! But he behaved himſelf ſo in every "thing as to make his morals anſwer the dignity of "his ſtudies. And thus his boarders and all the lovers "of literature had a living example in him, according "to which they might frame their life, their morals, "and their whole behaviour."

(11) *Eſt quædam flere voluptas; Expletur lacrymis egeriturque dolor.* Ovidius. *Triſt.* lib. 4. *Eleg.* 3. ver. 37.

(12) *Orat. Funebr.* pag. 533.

[E] *He feared leſt it had been a ſin in him not to accept a calling.*] This ſhews that he had a very ſcrupulous conſcience. There were ſeveral reaſons why he ſhould not have left Roſtock; to all which he oppoſed the following conſideration. *Contra vero ab hac parte non minus ſollicitè ſecum perpendebat, divinam & legitimam vocationem, quam ſi contemptim repudiaret, in graviſſimam Dei iram, & certam ejus vindictam incurreret* (13). i. e. "On the other hand he conſi-"dered ſeriouſly, that this was a divine and lawful "calling; ſo that if he ſhould refuſe it ſcornfully, he "ſhould draw upon him God's dreadful anger and "unavoidable revenge." I think that he was too ſcrupulous; his calling was not like Abraham's; he might have refuſed it without fearing to provoke God's wrath.

(13) Ibid. pag. 535.

performed the functions of it the remainder of his days with the utmoſt application; though he had the vexation to be expoſed to a thouſand ſlanders [*F*], under this pretext, namely, that the college declined viſibly. It is aſſerted that it was not his fault. He died March the 20th 1643 (*a*). I ſhall give a catalogue of his works below [*G*].

(*a*) Taken from his *Funeral Oration* delivered by his ſon-in-law, James Stolterfhotus. Witte has inſerted it in his *Memoriæ Philoſophorum.*

[*F*] *He had the vexation to be expoſed to a thouſand ſlanders, under this pretext, that the College of* Lubeck *declined viſibly.*] When the ſcholars committed ſome frolicks, the rector was made anſwerable for them, and he was publickly ſlandered. *Statim bonus Kirchmannus cum ſuis collegis vapulabat, et neglecti officii ac diſciplinæ reus agebatur. Neque hæc cantilena in conviviis, tranſtris et privatis congreſſibus tantum à vulgo, cui neque judicium neque veritas, identidem canebatur; verum etiam in publico ſæpius vir optimus acerbe perſtringebatur, ab iis, quorum officium potius fuiſſet, Kirchmanni et Scholæ noſtræ cauſam agere, ipſiuſque auctoritatem et exiſtimationem, ſiqua a malevolis arroderetur, defendere* (14). i. e. " The fault was immediately laid upon ho-
" neſt Kirchman and his collegues; they were charged
" with neglecting their duty: This was not only told
" at table and in private meetings of the vulgar, who
" want both ſenſe and truth; but that good man was
" alſo publickly aſperſed by thoſe whoſe duty it was to
" vindicate Kirchman and our ſchools, and to ſup-
" port his credit and reputation, if it were attacked
" by wicked perſons". He had patience, and even bravely deſpiſed theſe injuries. *Ut magni et nobilis erat animi, more magnæ feræ latratum minutorum canum ſecurus exaudiebat, et ut culicem aut muſcam moleſte circumſtrepentem levi manu et citra iracundium abigimus. Sic ipſe perverſe judicantium calumnias ſine ulla triſtitia eludebat probe intelligens Sapientis virtutem per ea, quibus petitur, illuſtraris* (15). i. e. " As he had a
" noble and exalted mind, he deſpiſed thoſe reports,
" as a great dog does the barking of a little cur; and
" as we drive away with the hand, and without paſſi-
" on, a gnat or a fly that troubles us by its buzzing,
" thus he went through the calumnies of thoſe that
" judged of him, without any grief, well knowing
" that the virtue of the wiſe becomes more illuſtrious
" by the very ſlanders that are diſperſed againſt it."
His ſon-in-law expatiates very much upon this, and though he does not pretend that Kirchman was without any blemiſh (16), yet he maintains that the college declined, becauſe it was become the faſhion in the City to have private tutors at home. *Qui primus clancularios præceptores in noſtram civitatem introduxit, quiſquis etiam fuerit, et quot domos tot fere ſcholas in urbe aperuit, hunc violentas huic Lyceo manus intuliſſe, et ad proſternandum primo ictu petiiſſe, tam confidenter aſſevero ut nihil confidentius. Quid præterea acceſſerit, et ſcholæ noſtræ fundamenta pene everterit, unuſquiſque ipſe ſecum reputet, in animo enim mihi non eſt, omnia refricare, et camarinam, quod aiunt, movere* (17). i. e. (17) Ibid.
" He that firſt introduced in this city the cuſtom of ha-
" ving private tutors, and opened as many ſchools al-
" moſt as there are houſes, has ruined our College, and
" given it ſuch a blow as was ſufficient to overthrow
" it: this is what I dare to aſſert with the utmoſt con-
" fidence. What contributed beſides to ruin the foun-
" dation of our ſchool, let others conſider: I have no
" mind to rehearſe unpleaſant ſtories."

(14) *Orat. Funebr. apud* Witten, pag. 540.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ibid. pag. 542.

[*G*] *I ſhall give a Catalogue of his works hereunder*]. It is to be met with at the end of his funeral Oration (18). *Oratio funebris ampliſſimo viro, Jacobo Bordingo, Conſuli Reipublicæ Lubecenſis, ſcripta.* i. e. " A fune-
" ral Oration on James Bordinga Magiſtrate of Lu-
" beck." at Roſtock 1616, *in 4to. De Funeribus Romanorum Libri quatuor.* i. e. " Of the burials of the
" Romans, in four Books." Hamburg, 1605, *in 8vo.* Lubeck, 1623, 1637. Brunſwick, 1660. Francford, 1672, *in 8vo.* Leiden, 1672 *in 12mo. De ira cohibenda diſputatio.* i. e. " A Diſputation concerning the
" reſtraining of one's paſſion." *Roſtock*, 1611, *4to. Oratio de Vita et Obitu Pauli Merulæ*, i. e. " An Ora-
" tion on the Life and death of Paul Merula." Roſtock, 1607, *in 4to.* and Leiden, 1672, *in 12mo.* Εὐχαριστήριον, *de Pacificatore Boitzenburgenſi ad Legatos Ordinum unitarum Belgii Provinciarum.* i. e. " A
" congratulation on the Peace of Boitzenburg; to the
" Embaſſadors of the States of the united Provinces."
Lubeck, 1620, *in 4to. Oratio de vita et Obitu Georgii Stampelii, Eccleſiæ Lubecenſis Superintendentis habita.* i. e. " An Oration on the Life and Death of George
" Stampelius, Superintendant of the Church of Lubeck."
Lubeck, 1622, *in 4to. De Annulis liber Singularis.* i. e.
" Of Rings, in one Book." Ibid. 1623. Sleſwick. 1657. Francfort, 1672, *in 8vo.* Leiden, 1672 *in 12mo. Rudimenta Rhetorica.* i. e. " The Elements of Rheto-
" rick." Bremen, 1652, *in 12mo. Rudimenta Logicæ peripateticæ.* i. e. " The firſt Principles of Logic, ac-
" cording to the Peripatetick Philoſophy." Lubeck, 1669, and ſeveral times ſince, in 8vo. *Tabulæ Logicæ & Rhetoricæ.* " Tables for Logic and Rhetoric, *ibid. in fol. Genethliacon illuſtriſſimi Principis, Adolphi Frederici, Ducis Megalopolitani Primogenito Filio ſcriptum.* i. e.
" The Horoſcope of the firſt born Son of the moſt il-
" luſtrious Prince, Adolphus Frederic, Duke of Meck-
" lenburg." *ibid.* 1624, *in 4to.* He deſigned to publiſh with notes a manuſcript, which was not printed till the year 1684, by the care of his grandſon (19). (19) See the *Nouv. de la Republ. des Lettres*, for Feb. 1685, Art. 2.

(17) Ibid.

(18) *Apud* Witten, pag. 553.

KIRSTENIUS (PETER) Profeſſor of Phyſic at Upſal, and Phyſician Extraordinary to the Queen of Sweden, was born at Breſlaw, in Sileſia, December the 25th 1577. He learnt the Greek and Latin tongues, a little Hebrew and Syriac, and natural Philoſophy, Anatomy, and Botany in his native place, and went afterwards to viſit the Univerſities of Leipſic, Wittemberg, and Jena; and having made a great progreſs during four years under the Profeſſors of theſe Univerſities, he took a journey into the Low-Countries and into France. He had been told that a man cannot diſtinguiſh himſelf in the practice of Phyſic, unleſs he underſtands Avicenna; he had therefore a ſtrong inclination to learn Arabic, for he knew that the Tranſlation of that Phyſician's works is very indifferent. He applied himſelf then very diligently to the ſtudy of Arabic, but deſigned to read not only Avicenna, but alſo Meſue, Rhaſis, Abenzoar, Abukaſis, and Averroes. He was confirmed in that reſolution by Scaliger and Caſaubon, who judged him proper to make a great progreſs in that language, to the great advantage of the Republick of Letters. *Qui cum indolem hominis viderent animum verbis & exemplis addiderunt, ut pertenderet, atque iſtas literas, quæ nondum inter Chriſtianos debitum cultum & nitorem accepiſſent, a barbaris vindicaret, ac liberali manu aſſereret. Iſtud magno fore Republ. literariæ bono, & ſibi ornamento illuſtriori* (*a*). i. e. " Who
" (Scaliger and Caſaubon) obſerving his inclination, encouraged him by their diſcourſes,
" and by the inſtances they lay before him, to continue that ſtudy (of Arabic) and to
" retrieve from the hands of the Barbarians, that part of polite literature, which had
" not yet been cultivated by the Chriſtians as it deſerved: this would be a great ad-
" vantage to the Republick of Letters, and raiſe his reputation conſiderably." This paſſion did not hinder him from gratifying the inclination he had to travel. He viſited Italy,

(*a*) *Orat. Funeb. Kirſtenii, apud* Witten, *Memor. Medicor.* pag. 114.

Italy, Spain, England [*A*], and did not return home till after ſeven years. He was admitted Doctor of Phyſic at Baſil at the age of twenty four. Soon after his return into Sileſia, he went to Jena and married there. He was afterwards choſen by the Magiſtrates of Breſlaw to have the direction of their College and of their Schools. A fit of ſickneſs having obliged him to reſign that difficult employment, with which he was alſo very much diſguſted, he applied himſelf entirely to the practice of Phyſic, and to the ſtudy of Arabic; he did even ſtudy chiefly that language [*B*], and ſhewed that he was born to ſucceed in it. He joined a great piety with the practice of Phyſic [*C*]. We are not told why he removed into Pruſſia with his whole family; but he had reaſons to be well ſatisfied with this removal, ſince it gave him an opportunity to enter into the family of Chancellor Oxenſtiern, whom he accompanied into Sweden, where they did him the honour to appoint him Profeſſor of Phyſic in the Univerſity of Upſal in the year 1636, and Phyſician to the Queen. He would have acquitted himſelf much better ſtill of the functions of his Profeſſorſhip, had the conſtitution of his body been as ſtrong as his mind was vigorous; but he was very much broken, and he lived only till the 8th of April 1640 (*b*). He publiſhed ſeveral works [*D*]. It

(*b*) See his *Funeral Oration* delivered by John Loccenius his Collegue, and Law-Profeſſor. Witte has inſerted it in his *Memoriæ Medicorum*.

[*A*] *He viſited Italy, Spain, England.*] This is all that is mentioned of his travels in his funeral oration. There is not a word there of Kirſtenius's journey into Greece and Aſia. His epitaph only acquaints us with this. *Neve huic ſatis fuit tot vidiſſe populos Europæ celeberrimos, ni matrem olim artium permearet Græciam, & Alcurani ſedem permigraret Aſiam, vinoſamque per Hungariam reverteret* (1). i. e. "It was "not enough for him to have ſeen the moſt celebrated "countries in Europe, he would alſo viſit Greece formerly the mother of all arts and ſciences; and travel over Aſia the ſeat of the Alcoran, and return "through Hungary a country fruitful in wine." Such a journey was proper for his deſign.

(1) *Apud* Witten, *Memoriæ Medicor.* pag. 112.

[*B*] *He did even ſtudy chiefly that language.*] For he did not only dedicate to that ſtudy all the time he could ſpare from the practice of Phyſic, but he even applied all the money he could ſave from his income to the printing of Arabic books. *Quicquid ſucciſivi temporis laborioſæ praxi Medicæ ſuffurari potuit, hoc excolendæ Arabicæ linguæ totum deſtinavit: adeo ut cum linguæ iſthæc, velut cæteræ, ſuperiorum facultatum, ut vocant, & imprimis Medicinæ miniſtra debuiſſet, contra praxis Medica iſti linguæ ſæpe ſerviret: dum quicquid herus inde lucri redundantis abradere potuit, illud Arabicæ typographiæ adornandæ, & monumentis in illa edendis impendit* (2). It is obſerved here, that whereas the Arabic as well as all the other languages ought to be ſubſervient to the other higher faculties, as they are called, and eſpecially to Phyſic, Kirſtenius made Phyſic ſerve to improve him in the knowledge of the Arabic tongue. Kirſtenius's Panegyriſt is alſo in the right to obſerve that there are but few inſtances of men who make ſuch an uſe of the money they get. They that have a profitable profeſſion are infinitely more diſpoſed either to buy eſtates, or to put their money out to intereſt, or to treat themſelves delicately, than to lay it out in the printing of books. *Raro ſane & laudando exemplo. Quales ſunt hujus ævi mores, pleriquè ſi rem faciant, aut fœnori eam locant, aut fundis emendis, aut gulæ deputant. In publicandis ingenii monumentis ſumptus facere, rem ſterilem eſſe credunt, & quæ nihil heredem juvet* (3). To ſpend money in the printing of books is thought an unprofitable action, which is of no advantage to a man's heirs. To the ſhame of literature be it ſaid, moſt of them that pretend to do it, labour to grow rich in land and money.

(2) *Orat. Funeb. Kirſtenii, apud* Witten, ibid. pag. 115.

(3) Ibid.

Dives agris dives poſitis in fœnore nummis (4).

(4) Horat. Sat. 2. lib. 1. ver. 13.

"———Rich in money out at uſe.
"And lands."

CREECH.

They follow this wicked maxim;

Vos ſapere & ſolos ajo bene vivere, quorum
Conſpicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis (5).

(5) Idem, *Epiſt.* 15. lib. 1. ver. 45, 46. Compare this with the remark [*B*] of the article HORSTIUS (JAMES).

"———Thoſe are bleſt and only thoſe
"Whoſe ſtately houſe their hidden treaſure ſhews,
"None live ſo well, none take ſuch ſoft repoſe."

CREECH.

[*C*] *He joined a great piety with the practice of Phyſick.*] This would not be leſs remarkable than his generoſity, if we were to credit the common reports concerning the religion of the Phyſicians: it is aſſerted that Kirſtenius never depended on the efficacy of the remedies, without God's aſſiſtance; and that he made the whole ſucceſs of Phyſic depend on a bleſſing from heaven. *Auſpicium ſuorum laborum a pietate Chriſtiana fecit, quam Æſculapius ignorabat. Noſter autem ſenex ſciebat, virtutem herbarum & uſum medendi inutilem eſſe ſine virtute divina; itaque à* DEO, *cui ſoli eſt poteſtas ſumma in omnia à ſe creata, in ipſam vitam & mortem hominum, Medicinæ felicitatem & ſucceſſum petendum eſſe* (6). i. e. "He began all his labours with actions of a Chriſtian piety, with which Æſculapius "was unacquainted. For our old man knew, that "the vertue of Plants, and the uſe of Phyſic is ineffectual without God's grace. So that the good ſucceſs of Phyſic muſt always be aſked of God, in "whoſe hands alone all things are which he has created, even the life and death of men." It ſeems even to be hinted that he ſeldom undertook to cure a patient, till after he was reconciled to God. *Ita ægroti non minus* DEO *reconciliati curationem aggrediebatur. Ab ægrotis tamen in valetudine adhuc recenti quam ingraveſcente advocari malebat, præſertim in gravibus & acutis morbis* (7). i. e. i. e. "He thus undertook the cure, when the patient was reconci"led to God. But he choſe rather to be called in "the beginning of a diſtemper, than when time "had made it worſe; eſpecially in dangerous and "acute diſeaſes." He was alſo uſed to encourage his patients, by exhorting them to truſt to God, who in one moment can cure the moſt deſperate diſeaſes, unleſs he judge it more proper to take his children out of this valley of miſery, to tranſport them into heaven. *Ægroti malo ex lege humanitatis indolebat, eumque bono animo eſſe, deoque fidere jubebat, etiam in morbo dubiæ ſalutis, quod cum Comico ſciret bonum animum in re mala dimidium eſſe mali. Ægrotum jam a medico deſertum, vel ſolo* DEI *nutu facile, ad ſanitatem reduci poſſe, ſi Deo volenti ipſi ſaluti eſſet. Aut ex hac calamitoſa vita ad meliorem transferri* (8). He was very exact in going to Church, he began and ended the day with reading the Bible, and he had read that holy book ſixteen times over from the beginning to the end. *A Bibliorum Lectione diem ordiens & claudens multoties illa pervolutavit. Sedecies illa perlecta liberi ferunt* (9). He died with a great ſenſe of devotion (10).

(6) *Orat. Funeb. Kirſtenii*, pag. 117.

(7) Idem, ibid.

(8) Ibid. pag. 118.

(9) Ibid. pag. 110, 120.

(10) Ibid. pag. 121.

[*D*] *He publiſhed ſeveral works.*] We meet with the following catalogue of them at the end of his funeral oration (11). *Decas Sacra Canticorum & carminum Arabicorum ex aliquot MSS. Cum Latina Interpretatione.* i. e. "A holy Decad of Arabic Canticles "and Poems, taken from ſome Manuſcripts; with a "Latin Tranſlation." At Breſlaw, 1609. *Evangeliſtarum quatuor ex antiquiſſimo Codice MSS. Arabico Cæſareo eruti.* i. e. "The four Goſpels taken from "a very antient Manuſcript in Arabic." Frankfort 1609, in folio. *Tria Specimina Characterum Arabicorum, nempe Oratio Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, Pſalm. l. &c.* i. e. "Three Specimens of Arabic Characters, "namely, the Lord's Prayer, the 50th Pſalm, &c." Ibid. 1609, in folio. *Grammatica Arabica.* i. e. "An Arabic Grammar." Ibid. 1609, in folio. *Liber ſecundus, de Canone Canonis à filio Sina ſtudio, ſumptibus*

(11) *Apud* Witten, *Memor. Medicor.* pag. 124.

It is obſerved in his epitaph that he underſtood twenty ſix languages.

bus ac typis Arabicis, qua potuit fieri fide, ex Aſiatico & Africano Exemplari MSS. Cæſareo Arabicè per partes editus, & ad verbum in Latin. tranſlatus, notiſque textum concernentibus illuſtratus. i. e. "The ſecond "Book of the Canon of Avicenna, printed by the "care, and at the expence (of Kirſtenius) in Arabic Cha- "racters, from an Aſiatic and Arabic Manuſcript, "publiſhed in Arabic by Parts, and tranſlated word "for word into Latin, and illuſtrated with notes re- "lating to the text." Ibid. 1610, in folio. *Epiſtola S. Judæ ex MSS. Heidelburgenſi Arabico ad verbum tranſlata, additis notis ex textuum Græcorum & verſionis Latinæ vulgaris collatione.* i. e. "St. Jude's "Epiſtle tranſlated word for word from the Arabic "Manuſcript of Heidelberg, with notes gathered "from the collation of the Greek Text with the vul- "gar Latin Tranſlation." Breſlaw, 1611, in folio. *Liber de vero uſu & abuſu Medicinæ.* i. e. "A Book "of the uſe and abuſe of Phyſic." Frankfort, 1610, and in the German Tongue, ibid. 1611, in 8vo. *Oratio introductoria in Gymnaſio Uratiſlavienſium habita.* i. e. "An Oration delivered in the College of Breſ- "law, at his Inauguration." Ibid. 1611, in 4to. *Notæ in Evangelium S. Matthæi, ex collatione textuum Arabicorum, Syriacorum, Ægyptiacorum, Græcorum & Latinorum.* i. e. "Notes on St. Matthew's Goſpel, "from the collation of the Arabic, Syriac, Ægyp- "tian, and Latin Tranſlation with the Greek Text." Breſlaw, 1612, in folio. Ὑποτύπωσις *ſive Informatio Medicæ artis ſtudioſo perutilis, aliquamdiu Pharmacopolio verſaturo Caſpari Peuceri, edita è MSS. Petri Kirſtenii.* i. e. "An Inſtitution of Phyſic, very uſe- "ful to a ſtudent who will apply himſelf ſome time "to Caſper Peucer's Diſpenſary; publiſhed from Peter "Kirſtenius's Manuſcript." Upſal, 1638, in 8vo.

(a) His true name was *Matthias Wilſon.* Sotuel, *ubi infra.*

KNOT (*a*) (EDWARD) born in Northumberland in England, entered amongſt the Jeſuits at the age of twenty ſix, being already in Prieſt's Orders; this happened in the year 1606. He taught a long time at Rome in the Engliſh College; and was afterwards appointed Sub-Provincial of the Province of England; and after he had performed the functions of that office out of the Kingdom, he was ſent Provincial thither. He was twice honoured with that employment. He was preſent as Provincial at the general Aſſembly of the Order of the Jeſuits, held at Rome in the year 1646, and was choſen Definitor. He died at London January the 14th 1696 (*b*). Alegambe had put in the Catalogue of this Jeſuit's works a piece concerning Hierarchy [*A*], at which the Biſhops took

(*b*) Sotuel, *in Biblioth. Script. Societatis Jeſu*, pag. 185.

[*A*] *Alegambe had put in the catalogue of this Jeſuit's works a piece concerning Hierarchy.*] Here follows Alegambe's words. *Scripſit doctiſſimum libellum, qui ſub nomine Nicholai Smithii eſt editus, hac Epigraphe,* Modeſta & brevis diſcuſſio aſſertionum D. Doctoris Kelliſoni, quas in ſuo de Eccleſiaſtica Hierarchia tractatu probare conatur, *ex Anglico in Latinum a Georgio Wrighto converſa, & plurimis Doctorum atque adeo Catholicarum Univerſitatum ſuffragiis approbata* (1). i. e. "He wrote a very learned book, which is publiſhed "under the name of Nicholas Smith with this title; "*A modeſt and compendious Examination of Dr. Kelliſon's Aſſertions, which he endeavours to prove in his "Treatiſe of the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy,* tranſlated out "of Engliſh into Latin, and approved by ſeveral "Doctors and likewiſe by the Catholic Univerſities." This book was printed at Antwerp in the year 1631, in 12mo. I am perſuaded that my readers will be pleaſed to find here an account of the origin and progreſs of this controverſy concerning Hierarchy.

(1) Alegambe, *Biblioth. Script. Societatis Jeſu*, pag. 99.

CONTROVERSIES between the Jeſuits and the other Roman Catholics, about Epiſcopal juriſdiction.

You muſt know then, that Richard Smith Biſhop of Chalcedon being inveſted with the authority of an Ordinary over the Roman Catholics in England in the year 1626, came ſoon after into this iſland. He pretended to extend his juriſdiction over the Jeſuits, and the other Friars. But he met with ſo many difficulties, that he was obliged to deſiſt and to return into France. The Jeſuits had perceived that the preſents which this Prelate received, that he might ſupport the dignity of his character, were not beſtowed upon him by their means: his receiving them from other hands exaſperated them; ſo that they formed a party againſt him with ſo much artifice, that they forced this Biſhop to retire. This was ſoon followed by a terrible paper-war. The firſt that entered the liſt was Dr. Kelliſon Profeſſor at Doway. He wrote a vindication of the Biſhop's authority. Knot, Provincial of the Jeſuits, anſwered him under the name of Nicholas Smith (2). There was ſoon after another work publiſhed upon that ſubject (3), the author of which took the name of Daniel a Jeſu, though his true name was John Floyd. He was a Jeſuit and Profeſſor at St. Omer. The Archbiſhop of Paris cenſured the books of theſe two Jeſuits. The Sorbonne and the General Aſſembly of the French Clergy did the ſame (4). *Which was ſo far from ſilencing the Jeſuits,* that it engaged them to reprint their books with great commendations annexed to them. They alſo publiſhed a Remonſtrance againſt the Biſhop of Chalcedon, in the name of the Engliſh Roman Catholics. The Secular Clergy publiſhed the ſame year 1631 in England (5) three pamphlets "againſt the Jeſuits, who were ſo far from quitting "the field, ſeeing the great number of their adverſa- "ries, that on the contrary they began again to at- "tack the Doctors of the Sorbonne, and the Clergy "of France, under the fictitious name of Hermannus "Loemelius, the chief author amongſt them being "the Jeſuit Floyd, whom we have mentioned above... "There was alſo another book publiſhed againſt the "Faculty of Paris.. to which were annexed a great ma- "ny approbations of Biſhops, Univerſities, and private "Doctors: but it was only a vindication of Knot or "Nicholas Smith, and a defence of the propoſitions "of Ireland, which had alſo been condemned at Paris. "There came out ſoon after a book under the name "of Edmondus Urſulanus, whoſe true name was "Macmahone, Prior of the Convent of the Franciſ- "cans at Louvain. About the ſame time the "Jeſuits publiſhed their Critique of the Apoſtles's "Creed (6) in imitation of the cenſures that had been "made on their opinions at Paris... In which they "charged the Biſhops, who were their adverſaries, "with reviving old Hereſies, and broaching new ones. "The Jeſuits having thus done great matters, exulted "very unjuſtly every where, as though they had en- "tirely routed their enemies, and forced them to quit "the field, when two Doctors of the Sorbonne, Halfier "and le Maiſtre, engaged in a controverſy with a "certain Doctor, who appeared only under the name "of Petrus Aurelius, and to whom the Clergy of "France fillily adjudged the victory, with as much "commendation and applauſe, as the mighty deeds of "the Maid of Orleans ever received. And to ſhew "how much they eſteemed his work, they printed it "at their own expence, and prefixed to it a beautiful "elogy of their author. Even the Secular Clergy of "England wrote a congratulatory letter to him, "ſigned by John Colleton Dean of the Chapter, and "by Edmund Dutton, Secretary; in that letter they "lamented ſadly the diſorders, that had till then pre- "vailed amongſt them, and the Hereſies which this "gave theſe adverſaries an opportunity to revive. "The chief point in this controverſy related to the "dignity, neceſſity, and juriſdiction of the Epiſcopal "Order, as it appears from the cenſures of the Biſhops "of France, and from Aurelius's aſſertion (*), who "obſerves, *that though the Biſhop of Chalcedon had occaſioned this controverſy with the Clergy of England, yet it had been carried further; namely, whether the Epiſcopal Order be neceſſary to make a Church what it is? Whether it be of Divine Right or not? Whether Confirmation might be adminiſtred without Biſhops? Whether the Epiſcopal Order be more perfect than the Monaſtical? Whether Regular perſons were under the juriſdiction of the Biſhops?*"

(2) A Jeſuit who was but lately dead.

(3) Intitled, *Apologia S. Sedis Apoſtolicæ quoad modum procedendi circa Regimen Catholicorum in Anglia*, 1631, in 8vo. Alegambe mentions it pag. 242. but Sotuel does not ſay a word of it.

(4) Stillingfleet, *ubi infra*, citation (7), pag. 394.

(5) Ibid. pag. 394, 395, 396.

(6) See the remark [*A*] of the article GEDICCUS.

(*) Petri Aurelii *Opera*, tom. 1. pag. 62.

took offence. Southwel has left it out. You will find in a note the catalogue he has given us of Edward Knot's works [*B*].

[*B*] *You will find* here *the catalogue which Southwel has given us, of Edward Knot's works.*] *Misericordia & Veritas seu Charitas propugnata a Catholicis.* i. e. "Mercy and Truth or Charity maintained by the "Catholics." It is a book printed at St. Omer in the year 1634 in 4to, against Dr. Potter, who had charged the Church of Rome with wanting charity, because she asserts that a man cannot be saved in the Protestant Communion. *Christianitas propugnata, de eodem fere argumento adversus replicam cujusdam Hæretici Chillingworthii.* i. e. "Christianity maintained: "it is almost upon the same Subject with the former, "and is an answer to the reply of a certain Heretic "named Chillingworth." Printed at St. Omer in the year 1638, in 8vo. *Directio prævia ad eundem Chillingworthium.* London 1636, in 8vo. *Infidelitas detecta adversus librum ejusdem, quo docuerat Religionem Protestantium esse securam viam ad Salutem.* i. e. "Infidelity detected, against a Book of the same, in "which he maintained that the Religion of the Protestants is a safe way to Salvation." Printed at Ghent in the year 1652 in 4to. As to his *Monita utilissima pro patribus Missionis Anglicanæ* (8). i. e. "Most useful advices to the Fathers of the English Mission;" they have not been printed. One may easily imagine that some political reasons have prevented the publishing this last book.

KNOX (JOHN) a Minister of Scotland, was one of the chief instruments and promoters of the Reformation in his own country in the sixteenth Century. He had been a disciple of John Major, one of the most acute schoolmen of those times; he followed his master's steps so well when he taught the School-divinity, that in some things he subtilized upon it even better than his master himself. But having examined St. Jerom and St. Augustin's works, it altered his taste entirely, and he applied himself to a plain and solid Theology: he discovered a vast number of errors, and published a Confession of Faith, which made him pass for an heretic. He was imprisoned [*A*], and would have lost his life at the place of execution, had he not been so happy as to make his escape. He retired into England, where he was so much esteemed by King Edward, that he might have been promoted to a Bishopric, if he had had a mind to it; but he fell into a great passion when it was offered him; and refused it as savouring too much of Anti-Christianism [*B*]. After that Prince's death he retired from England, that he might

[*A*] *He was imprisoned.*] Melchior Adam gives us here a lame account and in some particulars inconsistent with Beza's. Let us correct it, and observe, that John Knox not being satisfied with exploding the School-Divinity, but having also very freely condemned several other things, was obliged to retire from Edinburg to Hamelton then the only sanctuary of the faithful (1). He published there (2) a Confession of Faith, the consequence of which was that David Beton Archbishop of St. Andrews had him condemned as an Heretic for non-appearance, and degraded him from the Priesthood (3). He would have been murthered by some Assassins, had not a Gentleman of Scotland secured him against their snares. There happened great revolutions; for that Archbishop, who was also a Cardinal, was murthered, the French took the Castle of St. Andrews: Knox fell into their hands; and being set at Liberty he went to Berwick a city of England on the borders of Scotland. He disputed there, according to Beza, with the Bishop of the place (4), *illius civitatis pseud-Episcopo*: i. e. "the False-Bishop of that "city:" their controversy was referred to the Parliament of England, who adjudged the victory to Knox. *Utroque ad supremum Angliæ Senatum rejecto (tum autem Edwardus regnare cœperat) tantum effecit ut victoria penes veritatem stante, damnaretur quidem falsæ religionis pseud-episcopus, ipsum vero tum pietas, tum diligentia magnopere commendaret* (5). i. e. "They "being both referred to the Parliament of England "(King Edward was then lately come to the throne) "he argued so well, that victory being on the side of "truth, the false Bishop of a false Church was con-"demned, and Knox's piety and industry gained him "a great reputation." I do not know whether this disputation may not be the same in which John Knox was engaged in the Diocese of Durham. He was forced to declare his opinion concerning the Mass, and in a sermon he shewed so evidently the blasphemies and idolatry, with which that sacrifice is attended, that neither Bishop Tonstal, nor any of his Doctors had any thing to answer to the purpose. I imagine that of one event they have made two. However it be, here follows the proof of what I have just now observed concerning that sermon. *Specimen ejus illustre deposuit tum alias tum anno* 1550 *in terra Dunelmensi: quando coactus coram Episcopo* Tonstallo *& ejus Doctoribus super Missa Pontificia opinionem suam exponere. Pro concione illius idololatrias & horrendas blasphemias tam solidis argumentis demonstravit, ut adversarii, quod vere opponerent, non haberent* (6). This particular will perhaps be cleared up by consulting the life of our John Knox (7), which I have not by me. We shall now see what the King did for him.

[*B*] *He might have been promoted to a Bishopric, but he.... refused it as savouring too much of Anti-Christianism.*] His zeal against the Hierarchy appeared most evidently on this occasion. For here follows what we meet with in Melchior Adam, in page 137 of the lives of foreign Divines. *Cum Episcopatus de Regis voluntate Cnoxo esset oblatus, indignabundus Cnoxus non solum honorem recusavit, sed etiam oratione gravi titulos illos improbavit, quasi regni Antichristiani quiddam redolentes.* i. e. "When Knox was offered a "Bishoprick by the King's command, he not only re-"fused that dignity with indignation, but also con-"demned in a serious discourse, those titles as savour-"ing something of Antichrist's Kingdom." Beza commends him very much for refusing such a preferment; and whatever some modern Ministers may say, Beza and his Collegues were fully persuaded that the equality of the Pastors is of divine right, and consequently that the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy is a fundamental abuse. Beza inveighs terribly against Episcopacy in the following words. *Inde Novocastrum ac deinceps Londinum ad Regem accito* (Knoxo) *quum Episcopatus quidam offerretur, tantum abest ut illum receperit, ut etiam in totam illam vere satanicam potestatem graviter sit invectus, ut quæ divino jure nullo nitatur, ac ne ex veteribus quidem canonibus administretur: qua in re etsi non obtinuit (quod si in Anglia & alibi factum esset, id est, si causa illa Tyrannidis omnis Ecclesiastica præcipua & primaria esset sublata, longe alia facies Ecclesiarum esset) conscientiam tamen suam singulari cum Christianæ modestiæ exemplo liberavit* (8). i. e. "Hence being sent "for to Newcastle, and afterward to London by the "King, he (Knox) was so far from accepting the "Bishopric which was offered him, that on the con-"trary he exclaimed strongly against that power, "which is really diabolical, and not in the least "grounded on any divine right, and is not even ad-"ministred according to the antient Canons. And "though Knox did not succeed in this (which if he "had done in England and in other places, that is to "say, if that chief and first cause of all Ecclesiastical "tyranny had been removed, the Churches would be "quite in another condition) yet he followed the "dictates of his conscience, leaving a remarkable "instance of Christian modesty."

(1) *Hamestonum unicum tum piorum asylum perfugere cogeretur.* Beza, *in Iconibus.*

(2) And not at Edinburgh, as Melchior Adam says, *in Vitis Theolog. exterior.* pag. 137.

(3) Melchior Adam is guilty of a great omission, for not observing that Knox was in Priest's Orders.

(4) Barwick is not an Episcopal See. Beza has not well expressed himself.

(5) Beza *in Iconibus.*

(6) Melchior Adam, *in Vitis Theolog. Exterior.* pag. 142.

(7) Written by Thomas Smeton.

(8) Beza *in Iconibus.* A little lower he speaks thus. *Non veram tantum doctrinam, sed etiam veram & ad divini verbi normam exactam disciplinam passim tum verbis tum reipsa statuerit.... Sibi non in ulla gradus pseud-Episcopatus tyrannide, cui merito fuit inimicissimus, sed in Evangelico ministerio una cum reliquis collegis & Presbyteris æquo prorsus jure administrando, Joannem Lausonium... successorem designatus amplexus.*

might not fall into the hands of the perſecutors, and went to Frankfort, and thence to Geneva, where he preached to the Refugees of his own country, and engaged in a great friendſhip with John Calvin. He returned into Scotland in the year 1559, and laboured with an extraordinary zeal to eſtabliſh there the doctrine of the Proteſtants both by his preaching and by his writings. His enemies having obliged him to leave Edinburgh, he retired to St. Andrew's, where the Devil raiſed a great many adverſaries againſt him, chiefly when he had declared againſt ſome perſons who conſpired againſt the Royal Majeſty. *Quo ut primum venit multos illi Satanas excitavit hoſtes, præſertim cum ſe illis, qui contra Regiam Majeſtatem conſpirarant oppoſuiſſet* (*a*). The news of the ſlaughter of the Proteſtants committed in France on St. Bartholomew's day, overwhelmed him with grief; but he found himſelf ſoon eaſed by the good turn which things began to take in Scotland. They that had been baniſhed were called back to Edinburgh; he was one of them (*b*), and began again to perform his paſtoral function. The Collegue he deſired to have was granted him, and he inſtalled him November the 9th 1572, which was the laſt Sermon he preached. He fell ſick ſoon after, and from that time till the 24th of November, on which day he died, he did nothing but talk of religion and piety with his wife, with his ſervant, and with thoſe that came to ſee him (*c*). He lived fifty ſeven years (*d*). It is impoſſible to load a man more with injuries and opprobrious language than Moreri has done our John Knox, from Spondanus. Thoſe paſſages have been caſtrated in the editions printed in Holland. The misfortune is that the Engliſh Epiſcopalians agree with the Popiſh writers, in repreſenting him as an Apoſtle who eſtabliſhed his Reformation with fire and ſword [C], and who taught the

(a) Melchior Adam, *in Vit. Theol. Ext.* pag. 138.

(b) It does not appear that Beza knew he had been baniſhed.

(c) Taken from his Life in Melchior Adam, *in Vit. Theol. Exterior.* pag. 138.

(d) Beza, *in Iconibus.*

[C] *The Engliſh Epiſcopalians agree with the writers in repreſenting him as an Apoſtle who eſtabliſhed his reformation with fire and ſword.*] Spondanus having ſaid that Knox a Prieſt and an apoſtate Monk, a debaucher of ſeveral women, and of his own Step-Mother, and a Magician, returned into Scotland in the year 1559, being well provided with inſtructions from Calvin, adds the following words. *Adeo prædicationibus ſuis & invectivis rem auxit, ut non ſolum paſſim templa & monaſteria deſtructa fuerint, ſacra conculcata, Imagines confractæ, ornamenta et bona expilata, exturbati Monachi, Sacerdotes pulſi, Epiſcopi ejecti, verum etiam omnis obedientia Regenti renunciata, omniſque auctoritas abrogata & in quorundam, quos tanquam conſiliarios eligebant, (manus) tranſlata* (2). i. e. " By his Sermons and in-
" vectives he carried things ſo far, that now not on-
" ly the Churches and Monaſteries were every where
" pulled down, the ſacred things trod under foot, the
" Images broken, the ornaments and goods plundered,
" the Monks expelled, the Prieſts driven away, the
" Biſhops ejected; but even all obedience was denied
" the Queen Regent, ſhe was deprived of all her autho-
" rity, which was conferred on ſome perſons, whom
" they choſe and appointed as a council." He aſſerts in another place (10) where he gives us an account of the different opinions of thoſe, who conſulting about Queen Mary Stuart's fate, that ſome, by Knox's advice, gave their votes for putting her to death immediately. Laſtly he obſerves, that King James recommended to his ſon not to read Buchanan's Libels, nor Knox's Chronicle; but rather to puniſh ſeverely thoſe who ſhould keep ſuch wicked books, and to ſuppoſe according to Pythagoras's opinion, that the ſouls of thoſe ſeditious authors paſſed into the bodies of them that read their works, or maintained their opinions, and that therefore they deſerved the ſame puniſhment, which thoſe authors would juſtly be condemned to if they ſhould riſe from the dead. *Haud tamen famoſos Libros Buchanani, aut Knoxii Chronica evoleret; ſed ſi quod ejuſmodi ſcriptum inveniret, cum ejus depoſitariis ex legis ſeveritate ageret. In eo Pythagoræ diſcipulum ſe profiteretur, ut exiſtimaret ipſos manes iſtorum ſeditionum ſlabellorum metempſychoſi quadam in eorum corpora tranſiiſſe, qui eorum vel libros retinerent, vel dogmata defenderent: eoſque non minori ſupplicio plectendos, quam ſi ipſi auctores jam a mortuis eſſent reſuſcitati* (11). He quotes the ſecond book of the *Doron Baſilicon*. I have conſulted it, but I met only with the following obſervation in it concerning the matter before us. " I do not
" mean thoſe hiſtories, which abound with malice
" and invectives; thoſe ſlanderous libels, which your
" ſubjects are neither to read nor to keep, upon very
" ſevere penalties. For I would have you believe, as
" a true Diſciple of Pythagoras, that the ſouls of thoſe
" firebrands of ſedition paſs into the bodies of them
" that read their works, or maintain their opinions;
" who muſt therefore be puniſhed as the authors them-
" ſelves." Theſe are King James's words according to the French tranſlation of the *Doron Baſilicon* made by the Sieur Villiers Hotman, and printed at Paris in the year 1604. Conſult the ſecond part, *folio* 57. Spondanus acts againſt the rules of hiſtory, when he pretends that King James named theſe two authors expreſly: he ſhould have offered, only by way of conjecture, that he imagined the King meant both theſe writers. Let us ſee now what the Epiſcopalians ſay, as they are quoted by Brerleius: for as I could not meet with their books, I have been obliged to truſt to him; all I can do is to tranſcribe fairly what he relates both in the body of the page and in the margin (12) *Et primo quidem de Joanne Knoxio. . . . . notum atque ipſorum Proteſtantium teſtimonio confirmatum eſt, eum poſtquam Geneva in Scotiam rediiſſet, Religionem vi et armis ad phantaſiam ſuam, ibi reformare aggreſſum eſſe.* " Cumque Caſtrum Sancti
" Andreæ clancularíis inſidiis occupaſſet *, et Cardi-
" nalem horrendo aſſaſſinatu in cubiculo ſuo occidiſſet,
" et ob id ſcelus a Regina Stryulingam ad jus dicendum
" vocatus fuiſſet, † nec compareret, perduellem declara-
" tum eſſe. Ille vero audaciam non deponens, ſed
" confirmans, mox Perthæ turbas ciere. Magiſtratum
" Sancti Joannis et Dundeæ cum plebe ibidem tumul-
" tuante ut Imagines, & Altaria, per omnes Eccleſias,
" & Monaſteria, aliaque Religioſorum domicilia un-
" dique per circuitum diruerent, hortari: Ipſe autem
" poſt concionem, qua talia auditoribus ſuaſit, habitam,
" Carthuſianorum, Prædicatorum, & Carmelitarum
" Domos ſubvertere, Imagines & Altaria Fifæ, An-
" guſæ, Mernæ, & aliis in locis deſtruere, & ſic omnes
" Religionis illius Eccleſias (novo ſcilicet modo) refor-
" mare pergebat." *Poſt hæc inquit Bancroftus (qui & ipſius Knoxii Chronicon citatis ipſis foliis, ubi ſingula, facta narrantur, in teſtimonium adducit.)* (‡). " Alia
" vice coierunt reformatores ad Sancti Andreæ, ubi
" ex inſtigatione Knoxii pro concione tam fratrum Re-
" ligioſorum domos, quam reliqua illius oppidi Mo-
" naſteria ſpoliarunt, dejecerunt, vaſtarunt. Idem
" Sconi, Stryulingæ, Lithquo, & Edinburgi patrarunt:
" Regina ob metum fugam capeſcente, duobus menſi-
" bus in campo caſtra metati ſunt, & monetæ cuden-
" dæ inſtrumenta diripuerunt, & factum defenderunt,
" &c. Reginam mentitam eſſe ſæpe conviciati ſunt,
" eamque indigniſſimis lædoriis onerarunt, eique obe-
" dientiam præſtare renuerunt, immo eam (†) omni
" authoritate regali exuerunt, expreſſo inſtrumento ad
" id à Knoxio exarato. i. e. And firſt with regard to
" John Knox, it is well known and even confirmed by
" the teſtimony of the Proteſtants themſelves, that
" when he was returned from Geneva into Scotland,
" he undertook to eſtabliſh by fire and ſword a Refor-
" mation in religion according to his own fancy. For
" when by ſecret intrigues he had made himſelf maſ-
" ter of the Caſtle of St. Andrews, and horribly mur-
" thered the Cardinal in his bed-chamber, for which
" crime he was ſummoned by the Queen to anſwer,
" he

(9) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1559. num. 33. pag. 587.

(10) *Ad ann.* 1567, num. 3. pag. 690.

(11) Idem, Spond. *ad ann.* 1539, num. 7. pag. 456.

(12) Joannes Brerleius, *Sacerdos Anglus, in Apologia Proteſtantum pro Romana Eccleſia.* Tract. 3. Sect. 2. pag. 623, 624.

* *See* Holinſhead's *Great Chronicle*, the laſt edition, pag. 140. from the beginning to the end. And Bancroft in his *Propoſitions, &c.* pag. 16. a little before the middle, where he ſays, *That horrid murther of the Cardinal and Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who had been and ſtill was a ſtrenuous adverſary (namely, of the new Goſpel) that murther, I ſay, committed in the year 1545, had been lately vindicated as a pious action, and is propoſed as an encouragement for others to attempt the like, by John Knox in his* Hiſtory of Scotland, pag. 187.

(†) Holinſhead, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 366, b. Lin. 14, 15, &c.

(‡) Bancroftus, in the book intitled, *Dangerous Poſitions, &c.* pag. 12.

(†) Ibid. pag. 13. at the beginning; and Sutcliff in his anſwers to a certain Petition, pag. 193. towards the end, asked the Puritans, *whether they approve the opinions aſſerted by Knox and Wollock; namely, that a Prince or Governor lawfully eſtabliſhed may be depoſed by his ſubjects; as they had really depoſed the Q. of Scotland, who was Governeſs of the Kingdom.*

the moſt ſeditious doctrines [*D*]. I could not read his works to examine whether all that he is charged with be true or not. But when I conſider what is anſwered in his behalf [*E*], I cannot

" he did not appear, and was declared a rebel. But " yet he continued in his audaciouſneſs and wicked " attempts; and went immediately to raiſe commoti- " ons at Perth. He encouraged the magiſtrates of that " City and of Dundee (the people having already rai- " ſed a tumult) to pull down every where the Images, " and the Altars in all the Churches. He himſelf, af- " ter a ſeditious Sermon, in which he had endeavoured " to perſuade the people to ſuch attempts, demoliſhed " the houſes of the Carthuſians, Franciſcans, and Car- " melites, and pulled down the Images and Altars in " the ſhires of Fiſe, Angus, Merns, and in other pla- " ces (*α*). Thus he went on to reform the religion " of thoſe Churches, but after a ſtrange manner. " After this, ſays Bancroft, (who quotes for his vou- " cher the very hiſtory of Knox, ſetting down the " pages where every particular is mentioned) another " concourſe was made of theſe reformers at St. Andrews, " where by Knox's perſuaſions in his Sermon they " made the like havock, and did caſt down, ſpoil and " deſtroy both the houſes of the fryars, and the Abbeys " in that town. So dealt they alſo within a very ſhort " time with the Abbey of Scone, the Friars at Stri- " velling, at Lithquo, and at Edinburgh, the Queen " being fled from thence for fear. They kept the field " two months, and took away to themſelves the coining " tools, ... and juſtified the ſame. &c. They gave " the Queen the lie divers times, and loaded her with " moſt deſpightful ſpeeches, they renounced their o- " bedience unto her, and even depoſed her from her " government, by a formal act, penned by Knox " himſelf for that purpoſe."

(*α*) This is an accurate tranſlation of Brerleius: But Holinſhed's own words are as follow. " The Queen " Regent cauſed ſummons to be given to John Knox, " John Wullocke .... to appear at Striveling the tenth " day of May: and for non-appearance they were de- " nounced rebels, and put to the horne. Whereupon " the ſaid John Knox being in Perth, perſuaded the " Maſter of Lindſeie ..... and divers others being " there aſſembled, with the Burgeſſes of the towns of St. " John's-town and Dundee, to pull down the images and " altars in all Churches, and to ſuppreſs the houſes of " Friars, and other religious places. Who after a Ser- " mon made by him to that effect, the ſame tenth of " May they began in St. John's town, and caſt down " the Abbies of the Charterhouſe, the Blacke and Car- " melite Friars, ... and reformed all other Churches " thereabout, breaking down the images and altars in " Fife, Angus, &c."

[*D*] ... *And who taught the moſt ſeditious Doctrine.*) Let us continue to quote Brerleius, page 625. " *Sum-* " *ma autem opinionis ejus, ut ex ſcriptis ſuis colligitur,* " *et ex ipſo folio pro qualibet harum aſſertionum citato* " *patet, his Propoſitionibus,* (*quas citat Bancroftus* * *conti-* " *netur.* (§) Proceres tenentur ſi modo Rex nolit, Re- " ligionem reformare. Plebis (††) eſt Religionem re- " formare (‡‡). Deus conſtituit Proceres ad effrænes " Principum appetitos coercendos. (***) Principes ob " juſtas cauſas deponi poſſunt. (§§) Si Principes adver- " ſus Deum ac veritatem ejus tyrannice ſe gerant, Sub- " diti eorum a juramento fidelitatis abſolvuntur." i. e. " The ſubſtance of his opinions, as they are collected " from his own writings, with a particular reference " to the pages whence they are extracted may be re- " duced to theſe propoſitions, as they are related by " Bancroft. Noblemen ought to reform religion, if " the King will not. Reformation of religion belong- " eth to the commonalty. God has appointed the No- " bility to bridle the inordinate appetites of Princes. " Princes for juſt cauſes may be depoſed. If Princes " be tyrants againſt God and his truth, their ſubjects " are freed from their oaths of obedience." Compare this with Petra Sancta's words in the following remark.

[*E*] *When I conſider what is anſwered in his behalf.*] I muſt obſerve firſt of all, that they who ſpeak ill of our John Knox's actions and opinions, do maliciouſly take it for granted, that he went hand in hand with Calvin, and had learned at Geneva the opinions which he taught in Scotland (13). With this view they quote with affectation the elogies which Calvin and Beza have beſtowed upon him. We muſt again hear Brerleius, page 619. *Hinc Joan Knoxius ſcholæ* (*) *Genevæ diſci- pulus,* (*quem Calvinus* (†). Virum inſignem vocat & fratrem ſuum reverendum) *doctrinæ Calvini probe con- ſcius, ex opinione Calvini et aliorum quorundam Miniſtro- rum Geneva commorantium* (*teſte* (§) *Sutcliffo et Bancroſ- to*) *docuit*; Licere ſubditis, ſi Principes nollent, imo ſi id opus eſſet, vi et armis Religionem reformare. *Hinc eſt quod licet doctrina et facta Goodmanni et Knoxii ſic conjurationi faveant, ut id nulla tergiverſatione celari poſſit, eos tamen ambos Calvinus* (†), Fratres ſuos vene- randos nominet; *et audacem Knoxii in eo genere temeri- tatem laudet,* (**) quem egregiam Chriſto et Eccleſiæ operam navaſſe ait, (§§) et ſe vehementer lætari dicit, quod tam fœlices et latos progreſſus fecerit. i. e. " Wherefore John Knox, who was brought up at " Geneva (and whom Calvin ſtiles *an eminent Man,* " *and his reverend brother*) who was alſo perfectly ac- " quainted with Doctrine, did by the advice of Calvin, " and ſome other Miniſters, who lived at Geneva (ac- " cording to Sutcliff and Bancroft) teach, that *it is law- " ful for ſubjects to reform religion with fire and " ſword, when the Prince refuſes it, or even when it is " neceſſary.* Hence it is, that though Goodman and " Knox's Doctrine tend ſo viſibly to juſtify plots and " conſpiracies, that it is not poſſible to deny it by any " evaſion whatſoever, yet Calvin ſtiles them both *his " reverend brethren*, and he commends Knox's auda- " cious temerity in this reſpect, aſſerting, that he has " laboured gloriouſly for Chriſt and his Church, ad- " ding that he rejoices very much for the happy and " great ſucceſs he met with." Brerleius would not o- mit to obſerve that Beza, in his *Icones*, ſtiles Knox the Apoſtle of Scotland. *A quibus* (Anglis), ſays Sponda- nus under the year 1559, *num.* 30 (14) *ad Scotos tran- ſeuntibus primus occurrit magnus ille* JOANNES KNOXIUS, *quem ſi Scotorum in vero Dei cultu inſtaurando velut Apoſto- lum quendam dixero, dixiſſe me quod res eſt exiſtimabo, et ſequens vera ipſius vitæ narratio teſtabitur.* i. e. " Paſſing from the Engliſh to the Scots, we meet firſt " with that great man, *John* Knox: and if I ſhould " ſay that he was as it were an Apoſtle ſent from God " to reſtore his true worſhip amongſt the Scots, I " ſhould think I ſaid nothing but the truth, as it will " appear from the following faithful account of his " life." Cardinal de Richelieu, when he was but Biſhop of Luçon, publiſhed a book of controverſies, in which he made great uſe of John Brerleius's collections, par- ticularly with regard to John Knox's ſeditious opinions. I have examined the anſwers that were made to that work of the Biſhop of Luçon, and I muſt confeſs that I did not meet with any thing in them, that could make me ſuſpect Brerleius's quotations.

Peter de la Vallade Miniſter at Fontenai le Comte, publiſhed a book in the year 1619 in 4to, at La Ro- chelle, with this title. *Apologie pour l'Epiſtre de Meſſieurs les Miniſtres du S. Evangile de Paris, adreſſée au Roi : oppoſée au Livre qu'a produict contre eux Armand Jehan du Pleſſis de Richelieu, Evéque de Luçon, &c.* i. e. *A Vindication of the Miniſters of the Goſpel at Paris, ad- dreſſed to the King; being an Anſwer to the Book, which Armand John du Pleſſis de Richelieu, Biſhop of Luçon publiſhed againſt them: Containing a Summary Determi- nation of the chief Controverſies of theſe Times relating to Religion; by the Authority of the Holy Scripture, and the Teſtimonies of the antient Doctors of the Church. With a ſhort Apology for the Reformed againſt the Reproaches they are loaded with on account of the diſturbances and wars, which happened in France, Germany, England, Scotland and Denmark. Chiefly extracted from the Hiſtory of James Auguſtus Thuanus, Preſident in the Court of Parliament at Paris, or from the very ſame Hiſtories quoted and admitted by the Biſhop of Luçon.* He tranſcribes the objection word for word. *I might ſhew,* it is the Biſhop of Luçon that ſpeaks, *from a great many Authors, what is your opinion upon this ſubject: and I ſhould be willing to do it, if what you teach upon this ſubject was as favourable at it is prejudicial to you. I only deſire the reader to conſult a book intitled* Apologia Proteſtantium, i. e. " the Pro- " teſtants Apology for the Church of Rome, *one of the moſt uſeful books that have been printed this great while. The reader will meet there with a great many* more

(*) In his book intitled, *Danger- ous Poſitions, &c.* pag. 14, 15.

(§) *Knox's Ap- peal*, fol. 25.

(††) Idem, *Ap- peal to the People*, fol. 49, 50.

(‡‡) Idem, *Hiſ- tory*, pag. 343.

(***) Idem, *Hiſt.* pag. 371.

(§§) Idem, *Ap- peal to England and Scotland*, fol. 76.

(13) *See* Spon- dan. *ad ann.* 1559 num. 30.

(*) Thus ſpeaks Bancroft, in his *Seditious Aſſerti- ons*, pag. 10. in the beginning.

(†) Calvin. *in Epiſt. & Reſp. Epiſt.* 305, *fine*, & p. 505. in the concluſion of the Letters he writes to Knox, ſays to him, *Vale eximie vir, & ex animo colende frater.* And Beza, *Epiſt. Theologicis, Epiſt.* 74. has theſe words. *Joannis Knoxio, Evan- gelii apud Scotos reſtauratori fratri & Symmiſtæ ob- ſervando.*

(§) See this in the *Hiſtory of the Church of Scot- land*, by Vantro- vieilerus, p. 213; it is quoted by Sutcliff, in his *Anſwer to the Petition, &c.* pag. 191 and 71. *Dangerous Poſiti- ons, &c.* pag. 10.

(†) Calvinus a- bove, quotat. (†). *See alſo* Calvini, *Epiſt.* 306. where he calls him *Virum exi- mium, fratrem co- lendum, & Knoxio coadjutorem fide- lem.*

(**) Calvinus, *Epiſt. ubi ſupra,* pag. 566. towards the middle, ſays, *Strenue operam ſuam Chriſto & Eccleſiæ impendit.*

(§§) Calvinus, *ubi ſupra, Epiſt.* 305. to John Knox, pag. 565. ſays, *Evangelium apud vos tam fœ- lices lætoſque pro- greſſus facere ve- hementer, ut par eſt, lætor: certa- mina vobis moveri non novum eſt: ſed eo clarius re- fulget Dei virtus &c. quando ad reſiſtendum pares nunquam fuiſſetis, niſi à cœlis vobis opem tuliſſet, qui ſuperior eſt toto mundo.*

(14) He quotes Beza's own words.

I cannot but think that he really had ſuch ſentiments concerning the Regal authority, as the

more paſſages upon this ſubject; and ſome amongſt others, by which it appears that your party has taught, that by the laws of God and Man, it is lawful to kill impious Kings; that according to the word of God a private man may, by a particular inſtinct kill a tyrant; this is an abominable doctrine in every reſpect, which will never be liked by the Catholic Church. Here follows the anſwer to this objection. " As the queſtion was to " enquire after truth, there was no occaſion for ſuch " flouriſhes of Rhetoric, which are nothing but fictions " and falſities. For how is it poſſible that he ſhould " have had it in his power to quote ſo many authors " to prove us guilty of that abominable doctrine, and " yet ſhould not quote one ſingle writer that ſays a " word on it? And even in order to find that weak ar- " gument which he urges, he has been obliged to tra- " vel over the whole earth, and to go into the other " world, amongſt ſavages, to call Buchanan from the " grave, who was born amongſt them, and who never " yet ſet up for a Divine. Who can believe that the " Biſhop of Luçon would forbear to quote a great " number of authors, becauſe it would not be advan- " tageous but prejudicial to us, ſince he undertook to " write againſt us. It would be betraying one's own " cauſe, thus to omit what is againſt one's antagoniſt " and adverſary, and to quote what is advantageous " to him. Such unfair dealings do but ill become a " Biſhop, whoſe duty it is always to be ſincere: he " ought not to have ſpared us, ſince he deſigned to " make us acknowledge our faults in a matter of ſo " great conſequence. He ſhould not have referred " us to the *Apologia Proteſtantium*, which book I have " not ſeen, not having been able to meet with it. " But I know very well, that if the author of that " book be of our party, he does not ſpeak as the Biſhop " makes him ſpeak; and if he be of their party, he " aſſerts it from his own head, ſuppoſing he does aſſert " it, and has not one good argument to ſupport his " aſſertion (15)." It is plain that this anſwer does not in the leaſt clear Knox. There was another Mi- niſter (16), of much greater learning than the Mi- niſter of Fontenai-le-Comte, who anſwered the Biſhop of Luçon. He had read (17) John Brerleius's work, and he anſwered very well the objections, that had been grounded on ſome paſſages of Calvin. But he does in- tirely give up John Knox, and aſſerts that the elogies which Calvin and Beza beſtowed on him, do not in the leaſt relate to the opinions concerning the King's authority, nor to the particular actions, which might in ſome meaſure favour of rebellion. Here follow that Miniſter's words (18). " As for Knox, Good- " man, and Buchanan, the circumſtances of the times " in which they wrote, do in ſome reſpects leſſen the " odiouſneſs of the doctrines, which they inconſide- " rately ſpread through Scotland againſt the truth, " which they could not well perceive on account " of the paſſionate temper, which is natural to " that nation, and of the troubles and commoti- " ons of the ſtate, by which they were hurried " away; for it is natural to men to chooſe rather to " vindicate, even bitterly or obſtinately, an evil " action, which they have committed in a paſſion " without any wicked deſign, rather than to confeſs " that what has been done, was ill done either by " themſelves, or by their friends. Yet notwithſtanding " their wrong notions, they were great men and " have well ſerved their country; Buchanan particu- " larly in the education of the King of Great Britain, " and the others in their paſtoral functions, to which " they ought to have applied themſelves entirely and " abſolutely. I ſuppoſe then that Calvin (*) in the " letters he wrote to them, ſtiled the two firſt *his bre- " thren, and excellent men*, and that Beza gave the firſt " of them . . . the title of *reſtorer of the Goſpel amongſt " the Scots*; does it follow from thence, that Calvin " and Beza approved their opinions concerning the " ſovereign power of Kings, or that they were ac- " quainted with their opinions, or that they even " knew what happened in Scotland as a conſequence of " the Reformation, or that our adverſaries are well " grounded, when they falſely aſſert, that *the Books of " Knox and Goodman were printed at Geneva, with " Calvin and Beza's approbation?* If theſe Gentle- " men are pleaſed to prove all that they aſſert on their " bare word, and to ſhew by unqueſtionable evidence " that the Miniſters of Geneva correſponded with " Knox, Goodman or Buchanan about other affairs " than ſuch as related to the Church, or that they were " acquainted with their private opinions concerning the " Prerogative of Kings, or that they knew exactly " and approved what the others taught in matters of " Civil Government, then they ſhall have leave to " complain. But on the contrary, it appears from " the very letters, quoted in the Biſhop of Luçon's " book, that the Miniſters of Geneva correſponded " with foreigners, only about matters purely Eccleſiaſti- " cal; and it appears particularly, from Beza's letters " to Knox, *that they had no certain account at Geneva of " what paſſed amongſt the Scots* . . . If therefore Calvin, " if Beza, if Whitaker, if ſome others of our people " called Knox and Goodman brethren, they did not " however admit their opinions, but conſidered them " only in their paſtoral functions, to which they were " called. If they commended them, it was only ac- " cording to the beſt of their knowledge, and not that " they thought them incapable of ſin. For it is very " poſſible that *amongſt thoſe who preach Chriſt, there be " ſome*, as St. Paul ſays to the Philippians, *who preach " Chriſt even of envy and ſtrife*, whoſe fervent zeal is " a little tainted by their natural defects, by whom " the Lord often performs his own work, creating light " out of our darkneſs, and order out of our confu- " ſion; that the glory of what is well done may be " aſcribed only to his providence, and what is ill done " to the natural imperfections of the inſtruments he " makes uſe of." Is not this granting, that Brerleius and the authors he quotes have not calumniated John Knox, with regard to the opinions they aſcribe to him?

As the Biſhop of Luçon had made uſe of Brerleius's collections, ſo the Jeſuit Petra Sancta made uſe ſoon after of that Biſhop's work, and objected againſt du Moulin, what ſeveral Proteſtants have aſſerted con- cerning the obedience of ſubjects. Here follows what he ſaid of Knox (19). *Si Principes*, inquit (†), *ad- verſus Deum & veritatem ejus tyrannicè ſe gerant, ſub- diti eorum a juramento fidelitatis abſolventur.* Idem præter alia multa, *Illud*, inquit, *audaciter affirmaverim, debuiſſe Nobiles, Rectores, Judices, Populumque Anglica- num non ſolum reſiſtere & repugnare Mariæ illi Jezabel, quam vocant Reginam ſuam, verum etiam de eâ & Sa- cerdotibus ejus, & aliis omnibus, quotquot ei auxilium tu- lerunt, mortis ſupplicium ſumere, ut primum cœperunt Evangelium Chriſti ſupprimere.* i. e. " If Princes, " *ſays Knox*, behave themſelves as tyrants againſt God " and his truth, the ſubjects are free from their oath " of allegiance. *And beſides ſeveral other things he " adds this*; I can boldly affirm, *ſays he*, that the " Nobility, Governors, Judges and people of Eng- " land ought not only to have oppoſed and reſiſted Mary, " that Jezebel whom they call their Queen; but even " to have put her to death, with all her Prieſts, and " all other perſons who aſſiſted and ſupported her, " the moment they began to ſuppreſs Chriſt's Goſpel." What did Du Moulin reply to this? He did not in the leaſt mention John Knox; he obſerved only that Buchanan, whom the Jeſuit had alſo quoted, treated only of the rights of the Scots; and that if other au- thors had carried things to an exceſs, their particular temper, and not the ſpirit of their religion muſt be charged with it (20). *Buchanan ſcripſit de Jure Regni apud Scotos; ſed hoc nihil ad Galliam, Angliam, Germa- niam, Hiſpaniam. Nec ſi quis aliquid ſcripſit quod modum ex- cedat, debet continuo adſcribi ejus Religioni, potius quam ejus genio. Nam ejuſmodi Libri, quos citat Jeſuita, ſive veri, ſive falſi, nullam præferunt ſecum approbationem Doctorum.* Rivetus in his anſwer to the ſame Jeſuit referred him to the two works againſt the Biſhop of Luçon, which I have already quoted; and declared poſitively, that the Reformed condemned the opinions of John Knox and others like him, who acted accord- ing to the ſpirit of their nation, rather than accord- ing to the ſpirit of their religion. On which occa- ſion he obſerves (21), that of 105 Kings, who had reigned in Scotland before Mary Stewart, three had been deprived, five baniſhed, and thirty two killed. *Ne- mini noſtrum probantur, quæ vel ex* Goodmanno, *vel*

(15) La Vallade, *Apologie*, pag. 544.

(16) David Blondel, his Anſwer was printed at Sedan, 1619, in 8vo. It is intitled, *Modeſte Declaration de la Sincerité & Verité des Egliſes Reformees de France.*

(17) See his *Reponſe*, pag. 287.

(18) Blondel, pag. 294.

(*) There are but five letters to Knox, three of Calvin and two of Beza. One of Calvin to Goodman, and one of Beza to Buchanan. And there is in none of them one ſingle word of advice relating to State Affairs.

(19) Silveſter Petra Sancta, *Not. in Epiſtol. Molinæi ad Balzacum*, pag. 104. This book was printed at Antwerp in the year 1634, in 8vo.

(†) *Admon. to the Nobility and People of Scotland and England.*

(20) Petrus Molinæus, *in Hypereraſpiſte*, lib. 5.

(21) David Blondel had already obſerved it. *Modeſte Declaration*, pag. 213.

the Church Men and the Roman Catholics charge him with. Some pretend he had a prophetical ſpirit [*F*].

It is certainly vindicating John Knox's Memory to ſome purpoſe, to ſhew the extravagant impertinencies of thoſe who have aſperſed his reputation. I ſhall therefore tranſcribe a paſſage from Thevet, in which the reader will ſee ſuch groſs and exceſſive ſlanders [*G*], that this alone is ſufficient to prepoſſeſs us againſt all that the Roman Catholic Writers have publiſhed concerning this Reformer of Scotland. I wiſh it were not a more difficult taſk to clear him of that inconſtancy, with which a Lutheran has charged him [*H*].

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ex Knoxo *vel ex* Buchanano *in eam ſententiam deſcribuntur, quamvis eo uſque non procedunt, quo Jeſuitæ proceſſerunt, vel alii, qui in Gallia ſcripſerunt* de juſta Henrici tertii abdicatione, *& etiamnum in Belgio foventur, ut ſcribit Jeſuita Romanus. Id præterea obſervandum eſt, ſi quæ duriſſimis perſecutionum temporibus a Scotis & Anglis nonnullis temere ſcriptæ fuerunt, ea poſſe imputari non tam Religioni, quam nationum illorum, Scoticanæ præſertim, fervido ingenio, & ad audiendum prompto, quod tamen valde mitigatum fuiſſe, accenſa veritatis Evangelicæ luce, ex eo conſtat, quod ex centum quinque regibus ſuis, uſque ad Mariam, tres exauctorarunt, quinque expulerunt, & triginta duos necarunt: quod ne Religioni imputetur magis veſtra intereſt, quam noſtra* (22). i. e. "None of our people approve what is "transcribed upon this ſubject from Goodman, or Knox, "or Buchanan; though the Jeſuits have carried things "farther ſtill, as thoſe who publiſhed in France, a "book *Concerning the lawful deprivation of Henry III*, "who are ſtill favoured and ſupported in the Low-"Countries, as a Romiſh Jeſuit aſſerts it. It muſt alſo "be obſerved, that if ſome Scots or Engliſh authors "have written ſomething raſhly during thoſe cruel "perſecutions, this muſt not be aſcribed ſo much to "their religion as to the fierce and enterprizing genius "of thoſe nations, particularly of the Scots. Which "has however been much ſoftened ſince the light of "the Goſpel began to ſhine amongſt them, as is plain "from this obſervation, that of the 105 Kings that "reigned in Scotland before Queen Mary, three have "been dethroned, five baniſhed, and thirty killed; "which it is your intereſt more than ours, not to aſ-"cribe to religion." After all thoſe quotations and remarks, I am perſuaded that I ſhall be ſuffered to believe that Knox's works do really contain the propoſitions, which Brerleius has quoted from them on the credit of the Epiſcopalians.

(22) Rivet. *in Caſtigation. Notarum in Epiſtol. ad Balzacum*, cap. 13. num. 14. Oper. tom. 3. pag. 539.

[*F*] *Some pretend he had a Prophetical ſpirit.*] Petra Sancta having quoted the elogies which Calvin and Beza beſtowed on our John Knox, adds the following words (23), *à Witakero ex omnium Scotorum ſententia* ſpiritu prophetico & Apoſtolico præditus *appellatur*. i. e. "Whitaker ſays, that according to the opinion of "all the Scots, he had a Prophetical and Apoſtolical "ſpirit." David Blondel is more particular (14). "He was endued with a ſpirit of Prophecy, by which, "as they of his own nation relate, he foretold ſeveral "things which happened ſince, as Whitaker obſerves "in his works."

(23) Petra Sancta, *Not. in Epiſt. Molinæi ad Balzacum*, pag. 105. *He quotes* Whit. *Contr.* 2. q. 5. c. 13.

(24) Blondel, *Modeſte Declar.* pag. 295. *He quotes* Whittaker, *de Eccl.* q. 5. cap. 13.

[*G*] Here follows *a paſſage from Thevet, in which the reader will ſee... groſs and exceſſive ſlanders.*] This man might paſs for a Monk that had forſaken his order, though he continued to profeſs the Roman Catholic Religion. He was ſo little accurate, that pretending to write of the affairs of Scotland, he did not ſo much as give himſelf the trouble to obſerve, how the names of the perſons he mentioned were ſpelt. You will ſee in the following paſſage that he did not know the name of our John Knox. "During that time, "*ſays he* (25), the Scots never left England in peace; "it was when Henry VIII plaid his pranks with the "chalices, relics, and other ornaments of the Engliſh "Churches; which Tragedies and Plays have been "acted in our time in the Kingdom of Scotland by "the exhortations of Noptz (*) the firſt Scots Mi-"niſter of the bloody Goſpel. This firebrand of ſe-"dition, who delighted in nothing but broils and "tumults, could not be content with barely following "the ſteps of Luther, Zuingle, Farel, and leſs ſtill "thoſe of his maſter Calvin, who had not long be-"fore delivered him from the gallies of the Prior of "Capua, where he had been three years for his crimes, "unlawful amours, and abominable fornications; for "he uſed to lead a diſſolute life in ſeveral ſhameful "and odious places; being alſo found guilty of the "parricide and murther committed on the body of "James Beton, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, outra-"geouſly perpetrated by the connivance and artifice "of the Earl of Ropphol, of James Leſcle, John "Leſcle their uncle, and William du Coy. This "Simoniſt, who had been a Prieſt of our Church being "fattened by the benefices he had enjoyed, ſold them "for ready money; and finding that he could not "make his cauſe be good, he gave himſelf up to "the moſt terrible blaſphemies. Firſt, he denied the "power of God; he preached publicly that virginity "is not more valuable than marriage; this he had "ſtolen from Luther's hereſy ſet down in his new Epi-"thalamium. He perſuaded alſo ſeveral devout wives, "and religious virgins to abandon themſelves to "wicked adulterers; by which deviliſh exhortations "he cauſed them to be raviſhed in a moſt ſacrilegious "manner. He alſo taught that we muſt explode, "deſpiſe and ſcorn the holy Lent, pull down the "Images, dig up and burn the bodies of the Saints, "and ſeize upon the treaſures of the Church. This "is not all; for he never ceaſed during two whole "years to rouſe the people, encouraging them to take "up arms againſt the Queen, and to drive her out of "the Kingdom, which he ſaid was elective, as it "had been formerly in the time of Heatheniſm. Could "the moſt barbarous men in the world ſay any thing "worſe, more cruel, and more mortal? ... The Lu-"therans have Churches and Oratories; their Mi-"niſters ſing the Pſalms, and ſay Maſs; and though "it be different from ours, yet they add to it the *Kyrie* "*eleiſon*, *Credo*, *Sanctus Agnus* (*Lord have mercy upon* "*us*, *the Creed*, *Holy Lamb*) and other prayers as we "do. And when their Miniſters officiate, they wear "the cope, the chaſuble and the ſurplice, as ours do, "being concerned for their ſalvation, and careful of "what relates to the public worſhip. Whereas the "Scots have lived theſe twelve years paſt, without "laws, without religion, without ceremonies, con-"ſtantly refuſing to own a King or a Queen, as ſo "many brutes, ſuffering themſelves to be impoſed up-"on by the ſtories told them by this arch-hypocrite "Noptz, a traitor to God and to his country, rather "than to follow the pure Goſpel, the councils, and "the doctrine of ſo many holy Doctors, both Greek "and Latin, of the Catholic Church, This gentle "Preacher, after the death of his firſt wife, did by "the eloquence of his venomous tongue, animate all "on a ſudden the Nobility of Scotland againſt the "Clergy more than he had done before: and the rude "country people aſſaulted, plundered, burnt and "deſtroyed the caſtles and houſes of the Gentlemen, "Merchants, and others, who would not join with "them in their leud actions and maſſacres... It is "certain that this inconſtant traitor, filled with ambi-"tion and carnal luſt, gained ſo great credit and re-"putation with the ignorant people of that country "that he married to his ſecond wife a Gentlewoman "of an ancient and noble family, allied to the Princes "of the Royal Blood of Scotland." Are not men who write with ſo little judgment very proper to make us doubt even of the true particulars they relate, ſuppoſe there be one or two that drop from their pen?

(25) Thevet, *Coſmographie Univerſelle*, liv. 16. tom. 2. folio 666.

(*) Thus Thevet writes the name of Knox.

[*H*] *A Lutheran charged him with inconſtancy.*] James Thomaſius Profeſſor at Leipſic has publiſhed a little Diſcourſe, intitled, *Hiſtoria affectuum ſe miſcentium controverſiæ de Gynæcocratia.* He gives there an account of the paſſions which affect men in the controverſy about the government of the women: he obſerves

KNUZEN (MATTHIAS) born in the country of Holſtein (*a*), carried his madneſs to ſuch a height, that he publickly maintained Atheiſm, and undertook long journies to make proſelytes. He was a turbulent man, and had firſt broached his impious notions at Konigſberg in Pruſſia (*b*). He boaſted that he had a great many followers in the chief Cities in Europe [*A*], and even ſeven hundred at Jena only (*c*). The followers of that ſect were called *Conſcienciaries*, becauſe they aſſerted that there is no other God, no other Religion, no other lawful Magiſtracy, but *Conſcience*, which teaches every man the three

(a) Oldenſworta Eiderſtadienſis. Moller. *Iſagoge ad Hiſtor. Cherſon. Cimbricæ*, Part. 3. pag. 164.

(b) Tobias Pfannerus, *Syſtemat. Theologiæ Gentilis*, pag. 35.

(c) See below quotation (4).

ſerves that this queſtion was very much controverted in the ſixteenth Century, when Mary ſucceeded to Edward King of England, and when Elizabeth ſucceeded her ſiſter Mary. Theſe two Queens acted from quite contrary principles in matters of Religion. The former baniſhed the Proteſtants; the latter reſtored them, and eſtabliſhed the Reformation. They who had been perſecuted by Queen Mary maintained that it was againſt the law of nature, againſt all human and divine laws, that a woman ſhould govern a whole Nation; but they ſpoke quite in another ſtrain under Queen Elizabeth. See how Schluſſelburgius has abuſed our Knox and ſome other authors upon that account. *Qui Calvini placita ſequerentur, his nil erat magis exoſum fœmineo Mariæ regimine; iiſdem viciſſim, ubi ad Clavum Reip. feliciter evectam conſpexiſſent Eliſabetham, nihil magis venerabile, quàm Regina talis. Atque ut hoc de ſuo Schluſſelburgius* (*), *magnæ conſtantiæ doctrinæque Theologus, largiatur mihi, ex eadem Calvini religione* Gilbius, Goodman & Knoxus, *(qui ſcilicet exilium ſuum Mariæ imputabant*, publicis libris (*Genevæ impreſſis*,) docuerunt eſſe contrà jus naturale, divinum & humanum, ut mulier etiam in rebus politicis regnet. *At ubi Mariæ imperium Eliſabetha excepiſſet, eximia & Pontificiorum hoſtis, & Calviniſequarum fautrix, protinus verſo remigio à Reformatis Anglis, non Regina tantum in temporalibus, illa eſt proclamata, ſed etiam Caput Eccleſiæ in ſpiritualibus.* Ita ſpacio duorum annorum *(ipſiſſima Schluſſelburgii verba recito,)* quod prius fuit Calviniſtis Genevæ moratis ipſiſſimum verbum Dei, mox atque in Angliam redierunt mutatum eſt in verbum Diaboli. *Tantum videlicet potuit amor in Religionem, quam ſub alterius fœminæ Regno conculcatam viderent, ſub alterius reſurgentem, ut à perſonis in ipſum imperii genus deflectente ſe affectu, jam proſcriberent Gynæcocratiam, jam dignitati ac famæ reſtituerent* (26). i. e. "Nothing was more odious to Calvin's followers than a woman's reign under Queen Mary. But on the other hand when they ſaw Queen Elizabeth raiſed to the throne, nothing was more venerable than ſuch a Queen. And, to quote again Schluſſelburgius, a Divine of great learning and conſtancy, *Gilby, Goodman and Knox*, all Calviniſts (who aſcribed their baniſhment to Queen Mary) *have aſſerted in their books* (printed at Geneva) *that the Government of a woman, even in civil affairs, is againſt the law of nature, and laws human and divine.* But after Mary's death Elizabeth being raiſed to the throne, who was an eminent Princeſs, an enemy of the Papiſts, and a protectreſs of the Calviniſts, the Engliſh Proteſtants altered their notion of government immediately, and the Queen had not only a ſupreme authority in civil affairs, but was alſo proclaimed the head of the Church in ſpirituals. *Thus in two years time* (theſe are Schluſſelburgius's own words) *what was the very word of God in the opinion of the Calviniſts, when they were at Geneva, was changed into the word of the Devil at their return into England.* Such was the effect of their love for Religion, which was perſecuted under one woman's reign, and reſtored again under another's, that their paſſion paſſing from the perſons to the very nature of government, now they condemn the government of a woman, and then again reſtore it to its dignity and reputation." Thomaſius, who furniſhes me with thoſe words, pretends, that the Calviniſts in France did alſo alter their maxims after the perſecution they ſuffered under Charles IX, and he quotes particularly Lambert Daneau who declared on the one hand againſt the Monarchy, and on the other for the government of women, in favour of Elizabeth Queen of England. *Ut Anglico regimini præ Gallico faveret* (Danæus) *illud maximè fecit, quod ſuæ ſectæ hominibus et ſub Elizabetha lautiſſima eſſet fortuna, et ſub Carolo Gallo vix aliud præter gladium, crucem, ignem expectandum. Notæ ſunt Pariſinæ nuptiæ* (§), *eo actæ eventu, ut ab illis maxime temporibus ſcriptores Galli peſtilentem inciperent in Politica doctrina ſectam ſive novam condere, ſive ſepultam reſuſcitare, quam ſolemus vocare Monarchomachorum. Huic nomen addixit etiam ſuum Danæus; ut mirari aliquis poſſit, quomodo Scriptor ille, qui vix Regem æquo animo pati poſſet in ſolio Monarchico, ferre in eodem potuerit Reginam. Nempe vereor ut hic ſuas partes egerit hinc odium in perfidiam Galli, illinc amor tum in feliciſſimam Elizabethæ Gubernationem* (*), *tum in Religionem Calvini, cui perfugium eâ tempeſtate in iſta inſula ſatis tutum erat* (27). i. e. "The reaſon "why Daneau preferred the Engliſh Government "to that of France, was that his ſect was ve- "ry happy under Queen Elizabeth, whereas under "Charles IX King of France, they had nothing to "expect, but fire, and ſword, and the gallows. All "the world remembers the nuptials at Paris, the "event of which was ſuch, that from that time "the French writers began to revive an abominable "ſect in Politicks which we uſe to call of the *Mo-* "*narchomachi, or oppoſers of Monarchy.* Daneau alſo "declared for that ſect, ſo that we may well wonder, "how this writer, who could hardly bear that a King "ſhould ſit on the Monarchical Throne, would ſuffer "a Queen on it. I ſuſpect very much that the paſſi- "ons acted their part here: on the one hand, the in- "dignation againſt the perfidiouſneſs of the French "King, and on the other hand, the love both for "Queen Elizabeth's happy adminiſtration, and for "Calvin's religion, which at that time met with a pret- "ty ſecure ſanctuary in England." It is certain that the ſtate affairs were at that time in ſo fluctuating a condition, both in France and in England, that both Parties, of the Proteſtants and Roman Catholicks, altered their principles by turns. See the remark (*I*) of the article HOTMAN. The Roman Catholicks, who exclaimed very much againſt the women's Government under Queen Elizabeth, had commended it very much under Queen Mary. Knox and ſome others acted on the other ſide with the ſame inconſiſtency. The Roman Catholicks in France inſiſted ſtrongly on the ſubmiſſion to the Royal Authority under Charles IX (28). But they did quite the contrary during the league, which their adverſaries thought very ſtrange. I have read a particular in Savaron, which I think is very curious (29). *Petro Corneio, a Spaniard .... thinks it very ſtrange and wonderful, that this City* (30) *ſhould have continued loyal to its Prince, and that the laſt civil wars never interrupted its conſtancy nor ſhook its reſolution, ſince, ſays he, it is very zealous for the Roman Catholick Religion, and is adorned with a Church, in which God is worſhipped, with modeſty, ceremonies, muſick, and organs, and is as much revered there, as in any Church he ever ſaw.* When the ſame perſons ſpeak for or againſt the right of Princes, according as the intereſt of their cauſe changes, it is, generally ſpeaking, a ſign, that they are ſwayed by their paſſions.

[*A*] *He boaſted that he had a great many followers in the chief Cities of Europe.*] Here follow his words. *Nemo homo mihi vitio vertet, ſi una cum meis gregalibus (quorum innumerus mihi numerus Lutetiæ, Amſtelodami, Lugduni, in Anglia, Hamburgi, Hafniæ, nec non Holmiæ, imo Romæ et in contiguis locis adſtipulatur)* univerſa Biblia bellæ fabulæ loco habeam, *qua belluæ, id eſt Chriſtiani, rationem captivantes, et cum ratione inſanientes, delectantur* (1). i. e. "No man will blame me, if "with my followers (of whom there is an infinite num- "ber, at Paris, at Amſterdam, at Leiden, in England, "at Hamburg, at Copenhagen, at Stockholm, and "even at Rome and in the adjacent places) I look up- "on the whole Bible as a downright ſtory, *in which* "*the Beaſts, that is to ſay, the Chriſtians*, captivating "their reaſon, and being mad with reaſon, take a de- "light." We ought not to imagine, that he made uſe here of an artifice common with thoſe who conſpire againſt the ſtate, who in order to draw a great many perſons over to them, always ſay that they have a large number of accomplices. It is much more probable that Knuzen ſpoke thus, becauſe he was a hare-brained and heedleſs fellow.

(*) *Lib. IV. Theol. Calviniſt.* pag. 324, 325. *Conf. Reſponſ. ad Calvin. & Bez. pro Fr. Balduino*, pag. 75.

(§) Anni 1572.

(26) Jacobus Thomaſius *in Præfatione LVI*, pag. 328. edit. Lipſ. 168.

(*) Hoc noſtro tempore, *(inquit Polit. Chriſtian. lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 398.)* ELISABETHÆ ſereniſſimæ Anglorum Reginæ imperio nihil ulla unquam ætas vidit felicius & optatius.

(27) Thomaſ. *Præfat. LVI.* pag. 331.

(28) See the remark [*E*] of the article SAINCTES.

(29) Jean Savaron, *Traicté contre les Maſques*, pag. 44. of the Paris edition, 1611. He quotes *Breve Relation de la Liga, en Brucelles, en la Caſas de Roger Velpio.* 1591.

(30) *Clermont in Auvergne.*

(1) *Apud* Mierællium, *Syntagm. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 2291. edit. 1699.

three fundamental principles of the Law, *to hurt no body, to live honeſtly, and to give every one his due.* He gave the ſubſtance of his ſyſtem in a ſhort letter, ſeveral copies of which were ſpread abroad [*B*]. It is dated from Rome. You will find it entire in the laſt editions of Micrælius. He diſperſed alſo ſome writings in the German tongue (*d*). All this was refuted in the ſame language by a Lutheran Profeſſor named John Muſæus [*C*]. This ſect ſprung up about the year 1673.

(*d*) Mollerus, *Iſagog. ad Hiſt. Cberſon. Cimbr.* Part. 3. pag. 165.

There was a Work againſt Knuzen printed at Wittemberg in the year 1677 [*D*].

[*B*] *He gave the ſubſtance of his ſyſtem in a ſhort letter, ſeveral Copies of which were ſpread abroad* (2).] The Continuator of Micrælius reduces the contents of that letter to the ſix following heads. *I. Non eſſe Deum neque Diabolum. II. Magiſtratum nihil æſtimandum, Templa contemnenda, Sacerdotes rejiciendos. III. Loco Magiſtratus, et loco Sacerdotum eſſe Scientiam, et rationem cum conſcientia conjunctam, quæ doceat honeſte vivere, neminem lædere, et ſuum cuique tribuere. IV. Conjugium a ſcortatione nibil differre. V. Unicam eſſe vitam, poſt hanc nec præmium nec pœnam dari. VI. Scripturam ſacram ſecum ipſam pugnare* (3). i. e. "I. "There is neither a God nor a Devil. II. Magiſ- "trates are not to be valued, Churches are to be deſ- "piſed, and Prieſts rejected. III. Inſtead of Magiſ- "trates and Prieſts, we have learning and reaſon, "which joined with conſcience teach us to live honeſt- "ly, to hurt no man, and to give every one his due. "IV. Matrimony does not differ from fornication. "V. There is but one life, which is this, after which "there are neither rewards, nor puniſhments. VI. "The holy Scripture is inconſiſtent with itſelf." This ſyſtem, beſides that it is moſt horridly impious, is alſo manifeſtly impertinent. For a man muſt be ſtark mad to believe, that mankind could ſubſiſt without Magiſtrates. There would indeed be no occaſion for them, if all men followed the dictates of their conſcience, which that infidel mentions to us; but do they really follow them, even in thoſe countries where the judges puniſh with the greateſt ſeverity thoſe that do any injury to their neighbours? I do not know whether we might not aſſert, that there is no impertinency, how ſilly ſoever it be, but acquaints us with ſome truth. The impertinencies of this German ſhew us, that the notions of natural religion, the Ideas of the *honeſtum*, the impreſſions of reaſon, in a word the inward light of conſcience, may continue in the mind of a man, even when the notion of the being of God, and the belief of another world are intirely rooted out of it.

(2) *Hæc Epiſtola plus millies deſcripta eſt.* Micræl. *ubi infra.*

(3) Micrælius, *Syntagm. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* pag. 2289, edit. 1699.

[*C*] *He was refuted by a Lutheran Profeſſor named Muſæus.*] The author, who acquaints us with this, obſerves, that Muſæus undertook that work in order to remove the ſuſpicions that might be entertained to the prejudice of the Univerſity of Jena. For this wicked Knuzen had boaſted that he had a great many accomplices there (4). That book of Muſæus contains ſeveral ridiculous particulars of the life of that wretch. But if you have a mind to meet there with a good vindication of the Holy Scripture againſt that man's blaſphemies, you muſt conſult the ſecond edition. And if you underſtand the German tongue, you may alſo, by Mollerus's advice (5), conſult the book he refers you to (6), and take notice of his reflexion. He obſerves, than if men continue to raiſe ſuſpicions of atheiſm againſt their enemies, as the author of that work does, by an inconſiderate zeal, mixed with his private paſſions, they will afford a copious ſubject to Chriſtian Thomaſius, who is writing an Apology for thoſe that have been unjuſtly loaded with ſuch reproaches. The author of the *Penſees ſur les Cometes* (7) has hinted the deſign of ſuch a work, and has given us a pretty curious ſketch of it. But let us ſee, in Mollerus's words, the wickeneſs of ſuch accuſers. *Quo in opere optandum eſſet ut Theol. celeberrimus* (Jo. Mullerus Antiſtes Hamb.) *ſuo in Antagoniſtas odio minus indulſiſſet, nec per inſignem animi impotentiam, Schuppii τῦ μακαρίτυ Demegorias, piis omnibus commendatiſſimas & Chriſt. Hoburgii, ad extremum Atheiſmo contrarium, ſuperſtitionem ſc. & Enthuſiaſmum, proclivioris, ſcripta collo obtorto iis, quæ Atheiſmum vel occultant, vel quadamtenus promovent, aggregaſſet. Certe, ſi zelo hujuſmodi præcipiti, privatiſque affectibus obnoxio, Theologi Atheomaſtiges ſibi inviſos in ſuſpicionem impietatis Atheiſmo affinis pergent adducere, vereor ne calamo Chriſt. Thomaſii παῤῥησιαςικῶ, Gabr. Naudæi (qui magicæ reis eſt patrocinatus) exemplo apologiam pro Atheiſmi falſo inſimulatis parturienti, campus ſe pandat ampliſſimus innocentiam illorum, cum hominum cordatorum applauſu, vindicandi* (8). i. e. "It were to be wiſhed that this "moſt celebrated Divine (John Mullerus Miniſter at "Hamburg) had not, in that work, ſo much indulged "his hatred againſt his adverſaries; nor by an immode- "rate paſſion put the writings of the late Schuppius, "which are highly eſteemed by all pious men, and "thoſe of Chriſt. Hoburgius, who was ſo far from "Atheiſm, that he was rather inclined to the contrary "extreme, namely to ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm; it "were to be wiſhed, I ſay, that he had not put thoſe "works in the ſame rank with thoſe, in which atheiſm "lies concealed, or which may in ſome meaſure pro- "mote it. And indeed, if thoſe Divines who write "againſt atheiſm, being hurried away by an incon- "ſiderate zeal, and ſwayed by their private paſſions, "continue to raiſe ſuſpicions againſt their enemies, "charging them with impious notions bordering upon "atheiſm, I am afraid they will open a large field to "the moſt eloquent Chriſt. Thomaſius; who, after "the example of Naudé (who took upon him the de- "fence of thoſe who were charged with magic) is "writing an apology for thoſe who are falſely accuſed "of atheiſm. He will thus have new opportunities "to vindicate a number of perſons, with the approba- "tion of all ſenſible men."

(7) In the Preface to the *Addition*, printed at Rotterdam in the year 1694. N. B. That author is Mr. Bayle himſelf.

(8) Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cberſon. Cimbr.* Part. 3. pag. 167.

(4) *Blaſphemis ſuis, ... in ſolo oppido Jenenſi 700 cives atque ſtudioſos falſo jactabat adſtipulari.* Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cberſon. Cimbr.* Part. 3. pag. 166.

(5) Ibid. pag. 165.

(6) *Atheiſmus devictus.* It was printed in the year 1672. The author's name is Jo. Mullerus, *Antiſtes Hamburgenſis.* i. e. "A "Miniſter at "Hamburg."

[*D*] *There was a work againſt Knuzen printed at Wittemberg in the year* 1677.] It is intitled. *Exercitationes Academicæ II de Atheiſmo*, Renato Des Cartes & Matthiæ Knuzen *oppoſitæ. Autore* Valentino Greiſſingio Corona-Tranſſylvano *Elector. Saxon. alumno.* i. e. "Two Academical Diſſertations concerning A- "theiſm, againſt Des Cartes and Knuzen. By Va- "lentin Greiſſingius, of Cronſtadt in Tranſilvania, "the Elector of Saxony's Scholar." I have extracted this from a book of Caſper Sagittarius (9).

(9) Intitled, *Introductio ad Hiſtoriam Eccleſiaſticam*, pag. 879. It was printed in the year 1694, in 4to.

☞KŒMPFER (ENGELBERT) was born the 16th of September 1651 at Lemgow, a ſmall town in the Circle of Weſtphalia, belonging to Count de Lippe. His father John Kœmpfer was Miniſter of St. Nicholas Church in that town; and his mother, Chriſtiana Drepper, was the daughter of Joachim Drepper, formerly Miniſter of the ſame Church (*a*). His father obſerving that he had a genius for ſtudy, cultivated it to the utmoſt of his abilities [*A*]. After ſtudying in ſeveral towns he went to Dantzick, where he made ſome ſtay, and gave the firſt public ſpecimen of his proficiency, by a Diſſertation *de Majeſtatis diviſione*, defended in 1673. He then went to Thorn, and from thence to the Univerſity of Cracow, where, for three years, ſtudying Philoſophy and foreign Languages, he took his degree of Doctor in Philoſophy, after which he went to Koningſberg

(*a*) Kœmpfer's *Life* by Dr. Scheuchzer his Tranſlator, p. v. prefixed to vol. I. of Kœmpfer's *Hiſtory of Japan.* London 1728, fol.

[*A*] *His father ... cultivated ... his genius ... to the utmoſt of his abilities.*] He firſt ſent him to the ſchool of Hameln, in the dukedom of Brunſwick: and afterwards to Luneburgh, Hamburg, and Lubeck, in all which places he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an induſtrious application, and the quick progreſs he made in the learned languages; in Hiſtory, Geography, and Muſic both vocal and inſtrumental (1).

(1) Kœmpfer's *Hiſtory of Japan, in Scheuchzer's Life of the Author*, pag. v. vol. 1. London edit. 1728, fol.

ningſberg in Pruſſia, and ſtaid there four years [*B*]. He next travelled into Sweden, where he ſoon began to make a figure [*C*]; and being appointed Secretary of the Embaſſy to the Sophy of Perſia, he ſet out from Stockholm, with the preſents for that Emperor, March the 20th 1683, O. S. and went through Aaland, Finland and Ingermanland to Narva, where he met Mr. Fabricius the Embaſſador, who had been ordered to take Moſcow in his way [*D*], whither he arrived, after meeting with great difficulties; and made his public entry the 7th of July [*E*]. The Embaſſador having ended his negotiations at the Ruſſian Court, ſet out from Moſcow on his way to Perſia [*F*]. During their ſtay in Georgia, Dr. Kœmpfer went in ſearch of ſimples, and of all the curioſities that could be met with in thoſe parts [*G*]. The expreſſes ſent to the Perſian Court being returned, Mr. Fabricius ſet out on his journey thither in January 1684; and arriving at Iſpahan, was not admitted to audience till the 30th of July [*H*]. During their ſtay, which was near two years at Iſpahan, Dr. Kœmpfer, whoſe curious and inquiſitive diſpoſition ſuffered nothing to eſcape him unobſerved, made all the advantages poſſible of ſo long an abode in the capitol of the Perſian Empire [*I*]. The Embaſſador having ended his negotiations towards the cloſe of 1685, and preparing to return into Europe, Dr. Kœmpfer did not judge proper to go back with him [*K*]; but entering into

[*B*] *He ... ſtaid ... four years ... in Konigſberg.*] During all that time he applied himſelf very intenſely to the ſtudy of Phyſick and Natural Hiſtory; his father's deſign, and his own genius and inclination, happily conſpiring to bend his thoughts that way; and it was here he laid the foundation of thoſe many excellent and uſeful diſcoveries and obſervations, which he afterwards had frequent opportunities of making, in the long courſe of his travels (2).

(2) Idem, ibid. pag. vi.

[*C*] *Sweden, where he ſoon began to make a figure.*] His learning and prudent behavionr ſoon brought him into great reputation both at the Univerſity of Upſal, and at the Court of Charles XI, a great encourager of learning; inſomuch that very advantageous offers were made him, upon condition that he would ſettle in that Kingdom; but he thought fit to decline them, from the ſtrong deſire he always had of ſeeing foreign countries; and choſe to prefer the employment of Secretary of the Embaſſy, which the Court of Sweden was then ſending to the Sophi of Perſia; the chief deſign of which Embaſſy was, to ſettle a commerce between the Kingdoms of Sweden and Perſia (3).

(3) Idem, ibid. pag. vi.

[*D*] *The Embaſſador ... had been ordered to take Moſcow in his way.*] As a trade could not be well ſettled between the two crowns, unleſs their Czarian Majeſties, Iwan and Peter, who at that time governed the Ruſſian Empire jointly, would conſent to let the European and Perſian commodities paſs through their dominions on reaſonable terms; the Embaſſador was ordered to go firſt to the Court of Moſcow, and conclude a treaty on that head (4).

(4) Ibid.

[*E*] *Whither he arrived, after meeting with great difficulties.*] A miſtake in the Embaſſador's credentials, wherein the name of the Perſian Sophy was inadvertently writ before that of their Czarian Majeſties, and the unwillingneſs of the Waywode of Novogrod, to furniſh the expences neceſſary for conducting and defraying him, with his retinue, purſuant to the tenor of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, detained them on the borders of Ruſſia a conſiderable time: but this affair was at laſt amicably adjuſted (5).

(5) Idem, ibid. and pag. vii.

[*F*] *Having ended his negotiations ... he ſet out from Moſcow.*] The Embaſſador had continued about two months in that city. He then went down the rivers Moſco, Occa and Wolga, to Caſan and Aſtracan, the capitals of two powerful Kingdoms, which had been conquered, and added to the Ruſſian Empire, by that heroic Prince Iwan Baſilowitz. After meeting with a dangerous paſſage over the Caſpian ſea, in which they had like to have been loſt by an unexpected ſtorm, and the unſkilfulneſs of the Pilots, the ſhip having two rudders and conſequently two Pilots, who did not underſtand each other's language, they arrived ſafe on the Perſian coaſts, and landed at Niſabad, where they made ſome ſtay, living under tents after the manner of the natives. They then proceeded with two other Embaſſadors to the Perſian Court, to Siamachi, the capitol of the province of Schirwan, in Georgia, where they arrived in December, and ſtaid till the Governor had notified their arrival to his Sovereign, and received orders from thence, as to the manner in which they were to be treated, and the way they were to be ſent to Court (6).

(6) Idem, ibid.

[*G*] *Dr. Kœmpfer went in ſearch of ſimples, and of all the curioſities &c.*] He viſited all the neighbourhood of Siamachi, gathering herbs, and obſerving whatever was remarkable in nature and art. To theſe laborious and learned excurſions we owe that curious and accurate account he has given in his *Amoenitates Exoticæ*, of the origin and fountains of the Naphta in the peninſula Okeſra, which he viſited on the ſpot (7). Dr. Scheuchzer obſerves on this occaſion, that few are ſenſible of the pleaſure a Natural Hiſtorian receives, when he meets with ſome new and ſingular phænomenon in unfrequented places (8). Dr. Kœmpfer had the ſatisfaction of meeting, in that Median Peninſula, with more wonders than he went in ſearch of; for he ſaw the town of Baku on the Caſpian ſea, the monuments of antiquity ſtill extant in the neighbourhood of that place, the fountains of Naphta, the burning field, boiling lake, a mountain which threw out a fine potter's earth, and ſome other ſingularities, which abundantly repaid the trouble and hazard of his excurſion thither (9).

(7) Idem, ibid. pag. viii.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Ibid.

[*H*] *Mr. Fabricius ... was not admitted to audience till the 30th of July.*] Schah Solyman, the Perſian Sophi, being of a ſickly conſtitution, was at that time, by the advice of his Aſtrologers, under a kind of voluntary confinement in his palace. Dreading the fatal conſequences of a malignant conſtellation, they would not ſuffer him to appear in public till the 30th of July, on which day he treated his whole Court with the utmoſt magnificence. There were then many foreign Embaſſadors at Iſpahan, who were ſeverally admitted to audience on that day; it being the cuſtom of the Perſian Monarchs, not to admit the Embaſſadors of foreign powers to their preſence but on ſome ſuch ſolemn occaſion, in a full Court, and in the moſt pompous manner. Mr. Fabricius was admitted to audience firſt; and very particular and diſtinguiſhing honours were ſhewn him, during the whole time of his abode at Iſpahan (10).

(10) Idem, ibid. and pag. ix.

[*I*] *Dr. Kœmpfer ... made all the advantages poſſible of ſo long an abode.*] His principal and favourite enquiries here, and in all other places, tended chiefly to the improvement of Phyſic and Hiſtory in their ſeveral branches; but he nevertheleſs did not abſolutely confine himſelf to that ſubject, though extenſive enough. The political Hiſtory of a country, the ſucceſſion and remarkable actions of its Princes, the ſtate of their Court and Government; their perſonal qualities, vices, or virtues; the cuſtoms, manners, and inclination of the natives; their way of life, commerce, the remains of antiquity, the modern buildings, whether ſacred or civil, the flouriſhing or low condition of arts and ſciences, and ſuch like, equally exerciſed his induſtry and attention (11). Our author was greatly aſſiſted in his enquiries into the Perſian affairs, by Father du Mans, Prior of the Convent of Capuchins in Iſpahan, who had acquired a thorough knowledge of the Perſian language, government, cuſtoms, &c. (12).

(11) Idem, ibid.

(12) Idem, ibid.

[*K*] *Dr. Kœmpfer did not judge proper to go back with the Embaſſador.*] He was offered the employments of Chief Phyſician to a Georgian Prince, with a conſiderable ſtipend &c; but his inclination to travelling not being yet abated, he reſolved to go further into the Eaſt; and the advice of Father du Mans, with

into the ſervice of the Dutch Eaſt India Company, in quality of chief Surgeon to the Fleet, then cruiſing in the Perſian Gulph, he ſet out for Gamron or Benderabaſſi, in November 1685 [*L*], whither he arrived, after making ſome ſtay in Sijras, and was ſeized with a violent fit of ſickneſs [*M*]. Being a little recovered, he ſpent a Summer in the neighbourhood of Gamron, during which he made a great number of very curious obſervations [*N*]. He did not leave that city till the end of June 1688, when he went on board the Fleet, which, after touching at many Dutch ſettlements, came to Batavia in September 1689 [*O*]. This city having been ſo particularly deſcribed by preceding writers, Dr. Kœmpfer turned his thoughts chiefly to the natural hiſtory of the country about it [*P*]. He poſſeſſed many good qualifications neceſſary for the making a good Botaniſt [*Q*]. In May 1690 he ſet out from Batavia on his voyage to Japan, in quality of Phyſician to the embaſſy, which the Dutch Eaſt-India Company ſends once a year to the Japoneſe Emperor's Court [*R*]. He quitted Japan, in order to his return to Europe, in November 1692, and Batavia in February 1693. He ſtaid near a month at the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at Amſterdam in October following. In April 1694 he took his degree of Doctor in Phyſic at the Univerſity of Leyden; on which occaſion he communicated, in what are called inaugural Theſes, ten very ſingular and curious obſervations, made by him in foreign countries [*S*]. At his return to his native country,

with the recommendations of Mr. Fabricius, prompted him to enter into the ſervice of the Dutch Eaſt India Company, as Chief Surgeon of their fleet; a place, as he himſelf obſerves in one of his letters, leſs honourable indeed, but more adapted to his views of travelling (13).

(13) Idem, pag. x.

[*L*] *He ſet out for Gamron or Benderabaſſi.*] This is a celebrated trading town on the Perſian Gulph. Dr. Kœmpfer was honourably attended a mile out of Iſpahan by the Embaſſador's retinue. He ſtaid ſome time in Sijras, as well to make the neceſſary enquiries concerning the celebrated Perſian wines which owe their name to that town, as to viſit the boaſted remains of the antient Perſepolis, and the royal palace of Darius, that noble ſtructure, which fell a ſacrifice to wine and wantonneſs; and whoſe ſcattered ruins are a ſtill exiſting undeniable monument of its former ſplendor and greatneſs (14).

(14) Idem, ibid.

[*M*] *He was ſeized with a violent fit of ſickneſs... in Benderabaſſi.*] The ſultry heat of the air, and the want of water is ſuch, that few Europeans can live there any conſiderable time without great prejudice to their health. Dr. Kœmpfer felt the baleful effects of it ſoon after his arrival, he being ſeized with a malignant fever of which he lay delirious for ſome days. However, Heaven was pleaſed to ſpare him. His fever abating, threw him into a dropſy, and that into a quartan ague; and it was by theſe dangerous and unuſual ſteps that he recovered his health, but not his former ſtrength and vigour. As ſoon as he was able to remove, he retired into the country, as well for the change of air and recovery of his ſtrength, as to make new diſcoveries and obſervations, chiefly on thoſe things which, on account of the unhealthineſs of the climate, and other difficulties, had not, before, been thoroughly enquired into (13).

(15) Idem, ibid.

[*N*] *Being... in the neighbourhood of Gamron.... he made a great number of very curious obſervations.*] To this retirement we owe his account of the mountain *Benna* in the province Laar, on the Perſian Gulph; of its plants and animals, of the precious Bezoar, and the animal in whoſe ſtomach it is found, of the ſingular hot baths, a native balſam, and other curioſities obſerved on that mountain and in its neighbourhood. His deſcription of the native mummy, that moſt precious balſam, which ſweats out of a rock in the province *Daar*, and is gathered once a year with great pomp and ceremony, for the ſole uſe of the Perſian Sophy. His obſervations on the *Aſa Fœtida*, of the plant, which grows only in Perſia, yielding that ſubſtance, and on the manner of gathering and preparing it. His obſervations on the *Vena Medinenſis* of Arabian writers, or *Dracunculus*, as he calls it, a ſingular worm bred between the interſtices of the muſcles, in ſeveral parts of the human body. His account of the *Sanguis Draconis*, viz. of the true Eaſtern one, which he aſcertains to be obtained from the fruit of a coniferous palm. His curious and accurate Hiſtory of the *Palma Dactylifera*, growing in Perſia; its differing ſpecies male and female; its culture, growth, preparation and uſes, far beyond whatever was known of this ſingular tree; with many other obſervations equally curious and inſtructive (16).

(16) Idem, ibid. pag. xi.

[*O*] *The fleet... touching at many Dutch ſettlements...*] It having orders to do this at moſt Dutch ſettlements, in Arabia Fœlix, the Great Mogul's country, on the coaſts of Malabar, in the iſland Ceylon, in the gulph of Bengal and the iſland of Sumatra, Dr. Kœmpfer had an opportunity of ſeeing theſe ſeveral countries; animated wherever he went with the ſame ſpirit of induſtry, and the ſame thirſt of knowledge (17).

(17) Idem, ibid.

[*P*] *He turned his thoughts chiefly to the natural Hiſtory of the country about Batavia.*] The rich and curious garden of Cornelius Van Outhorn, then Director General of the Dutch Eaſt India Company, Mr. Moller's garden, and the iſland Eidam, lying but a few leagues from Batavia, offered to his obſervation a great number of rare and ſingular plants, native and foreign, many of them till then unknown, the deſcription and figures whereof he intended to have publiſhed, together with many others obſerved by him in the courſe of his travels, particularly in Perſia, the iſland of Ceylon, the Kingdom of Siam, and the Empire of Japan, all which are now in the hands of Sir Hans Sloane (18) (19).

(18) This was writ about 1728.

(19) Idem, ibid.

[*Q*] *He poſſeſt many good qualifications neceſſary for the making a good Botaniſt.*] He had a competent knowledge of that ſcience, ſo far as it was improved in his time; a body inured to hardſhips; a great ſtock of induſtry and application, and an excellent hand at *deſigning*. With all theſe advantages he did not confine himſelf barely to the curious part of this ſcience, an accurate deſcription of the plants and their parts, which, though ever ſo neceſſary, is yet thought too dry a ſubject by the generality of readers: he endeavoured to make his obſervations beneficial to mankind; and took great pains to enquire into the various uſes of the plants he deſcribes, whether relating to Phyſic, Huſbandry, Manufacture, &c; as likewiſe into the manner of cultivating and preparing them, in order to make them ſerve for theſe ſeveral purpoſes, in all which he was very ſucceſsful (20).

(20) Idem, ibid. pag. xii.

[*R*] *He ſet out for Batavia on his voyage to Japan.*] To make all the advantages poſſible of this voyage, he obtained leave to go on board the ſhip which was ordered to touch at Siam, that he might have an opportunity of ſeeing that Kingdom alſo (21). After taking alſo a tranſient view of the Kingdom of Camboia, Southern China, and the adjacent countries, he arrived in Japan (22), where he reſided two years. This was not only the laſt Eaſtern country he intended to viſit, but alſo that which he had long deſired to ſee, and always conſidered as a ſubject worthy of a laborious enquiry. The almoſt inſurmountable difficulties, enough to deter even the moſt induſtrious, ſpurred him on to more painful reſearches; and he willingly ſacrificed his time, art and money, to procure for himſelf and others, a thorough information of a country, of which, till then, no ſatisfactory account had been given (23).

(21) Idem, ibid. pag. xiii.

(22) Niceron, *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 19. pag. 244. Paris 1732, 12mo.

(23) Kœmpfer's *Life*, pag. xiii. in vol. 1. of his *Hiſt. of Japan*, edit. *ut ſupra*.

[*S*] *He communicated... ten very ſingular and curious obſervations.*] On the famous *Agnus Scythica*, or *Borometz*,

country, he intended immediately to digeſt his papers and memoirs into proper order, but was prevented by the honour which the Count de Lippe, his Sovereign, did him [*T*]. He married in 1700 [*U*]. The long courſe of his travels, the fatigue of his profeſſion, and ſome private misfortunes in his family (*b*), had very much impaired his conſtitution; ſo that, after a variety of ailments, he died the ſecond of November 1716 [*W*], aged a little more than ſixty five years, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas at Lemgow (*c*). His *Hiſtory of Japan* is very much eſteemed [*X*]; for which the public

(*b*) Kœmpfer's *Life, ubi ſupra*, pag. xiv. In Father Niceron's *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 19. pag. 246. it is ſaid, that *the uneaſineſs he felt, on account of the debts he had contracted, in order to defray the great expences he had been at, very much impaired his conſtitution.*

(*c*) Kœmpfer's *Life, ubi ſupra*, pag. xv. which *Life* Dr. Scheuchzer informs us was extracted chiefly from Kœmpfer's manuſcript memoirs, journals, letters, &c. and his funeral ſermon by Bertholdus Haccius, a Miniſter at Lemgow. . . Dr. Kœmpfer is mentioned alſo in *Nova Litteraria Lipſienſia*, 1728.

metz, a pretended plant animal, which he ſhews to be a mere figment, occaſioned, perhaps, by ſome affinity of the name *Borometz*, with *Borannetz* in the Ruſſian, and *Borannek* in the Poliſh language, denoting a particular kind of ſheep about the Caſpian ſea, in Bulgarian Tartary and Choraſmia: on the bitter taſte of the waters in the Caſpian ſea: on the true Perſian native Mummy, called *Muminabi*: on the Torpedo, a ſingular fiſh, which benumbs the fingers of thoſe who touch it: on the *Sanguis Draconis* made out of the fruit of a coniferous palm: on the *Dracunculus*, or *Vena Medeni* of Arabian writers: on the *Andrum*, a ſort of *Hydrocele*, or watry rupture; and the *Perical*, an ulcer in the legs, two epidemical diſtempers among the *Malabarians*: on the Japoneſe way of curing the cholic by the Acupunctura or needle pricking, and on the Moza, a cauſtic in frequent uſe among the Chineſe and Japoneſe (24).

(24) Idem, ibid. pag. xiii, xiv.

[*T*] *He intended to digeſt his papers . . . but was prevented.*] That would have been the beſt time for it, as every thing was freſh in his memory: but his reputation and experience, and the honour he had of being appointed Phyſician to his Prince and family, ſoon involved him in ſo extenſive a practice, as chiefly prevented his purſuing ſo laudable a deſign with the vigour he himſelf deſired, and it deſerved: for theſe reaſons principally the *Amœnitates Exoticæ* were not publiſhed till the year 1712 (25).

(25) Idem, ibid. pag. xiv.

[*U*] *He married in* 1700.] His wife's name was Maria Sophia Wilſtach, only daughter of an eminent Merchant at Stolzenau, by whom he had one ſon and two daughters, who all died in their infancy (26).

(26) Idem, ibid.

[*W*] *He died . . . after a variety of ailments.*] In the latter part of his life he was frequently troubled with the cholic, of which he had two very ſevere fits, one in November 1715, and another at the beginning of 1716. The laſt fit laid him up for three weeks; nevertheleſs he recovered it ſo far, that he was able to attend his Prince and family, in quality of their Phyſician at Pyrmont; whence he returned, in July, to his country ſeat (27) at Steinholf near Lemgow in pretty good health. However on the 5th of September following he was ſuddenly ſeized with fainting fits and a vomiting of blood, which continuing all night, brought him very low. From that time he continued in a lingering condition, though not altogether without hopes of recovery, having gathered ſtrength ſo far as to be able to walk about the room: but on the 24th of October, having been troubled, ever ſince this laſt attack, with a nauſea and loſs of appetite; his vomiting of blood returned very violently upon him, and a fever, which laſting till the ſecond of November, carried him off on that day (28).

(27) It is ſaid he had inherited it from his anceſtors, in Niceron's *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 19. pag. 246.

(28) Kœmpfer's *Life, ubi ſupra*, pag. xv.

[*X*] *This hiſtory of Japan is very much eſteemed.*] Our author himſelf publiſhed, *Amœnitatum exoticarum Politico-Phyſico Medicarum Faſciculi* V. *quibus continentur variæ Relationes, Obſervationes & Deſcriptiones rerum Perſicarum & ulterioris Aſiæ multa attentione in Peregrinationibus per univerſum Orientem collectæ. Lemgoviæ* 1712. 4to. p. 912. This work, which is properly but an eſſay of what was afterwards publiſhed of our author, contains a great many ſingular, curious and uſeful obſervations. The peruſal of his *inaugural Theſes*, and his *Amœnitates exoticæ*, gave Sir Hans Sloane the firſt idea of his abilities, and prompted him to purchaſe all his curioſities, and manuſcripts. The work for which our author is ſo deſervedly eſteemed, is his *Hiſtoria Imperii Japonici* &c. or *the hiſtory of* JAPAN: *giving an account of the antient and preſent ſtate and government of that Empire; of its Temples, Palaces, Caſtles, and other buildings; of its metals, minerals, trees, plants, animals, birds and fiſhes; of the chronology and ſucceſſion of the Emperors, eccleſiaſtical and ſecular; of the original deſcent, religion, cuſtoms and manufactures of the natives, and of their trade and commerce with the Dutch and Chineſe. Together with a deſcription of the Kingdom of Siam. Written in high Dutch by Engelbertus Kœmpfer, M. D. Phyſician to the Dutch Embaſſy to the Emperor's Court; and tranſlated from his original manuſcript, never before printed, by J. G. Scheuchzer, F. R. S. and a member of the college of Phyſicians, London. With the life of the author and an introduction. To which is added, part of a journal of a voyage to Japan, made by the Engliſh in the year* 1673. *Illuſtrated with many copper plates. In* II *Vol. folio. London* 1728. This noble work is dedicated to the King by the learned tranſlator, who obſerves in his epiſtle, *that it gives an account of a mighty and powerful empire, which owes its greatneſs to itſelf, and the flouriſhing condition it is in, to its being debarred all communication with other nations* (29) *It unfolds the rules and maxims of a government, where the mutual checks, jealouſies and miſtruſts of Perſons inveſted with Power are thought the moſt effectual means to oblige them to a faithful diſcharge of their reſpective duties: It ſhews a long ſeries of eccleſiaſtical emperors, all deſcended from one family, who ſwayed the ſcepter of Japan for upwards of two thouſand years, and ſtill keep up their titles, rank and grandeur, though diſpoſſeſſed of the ſupreme power by the ſecular monarchs; It deſcribes a valiant and invincible nation, a polite, induſtrious and virtuous people, enriched by a mutual commerce among themſelves, and poſſeſſed of a country on which nature hath laviſhed her moſt valuable treaſures* (30). Dr. Kœmpfer ſays in his preface, that "if the pride and warlike humour *of the Japoneſe* "are ſet aſide, they are as civil, as polite and cu- "rious a nation as any in the world; naturally in- "clined to correſpond and entertain a familiarity "with foreigners, and deſirous to exceſs, to be in- "formed of their hiſtories, arts and ſciences (31)." He afterwards tells us, that beſides the private informations he received from thoſe who came to viſit him, he was particularly happy in the aſſiſtance of a diſcreet young man, by whoſe means he was richly ſupplied with whatever notices he wanted, concerning the affairs of Japan. This man, who was appointed to wait upon him, at his arrival in Japan, as his ſervant, was taught the Dutch language by him; after which he employed him to procure as ample accounts as poſſible, of the then ſtate and condition of the country, its government, the imperial court, the religions eſtabliſhed in the empire, the hiſtory of former ages, and remarkable daily occurrences, and this Japoneze was ſo very ſerviceable to our author, that he procured him and explained, whatever books he wanted (32). He had ſaid before; *I can aſſure the reader, that both my deſcriptions and repreſentations of things, though perhaps leſs elegant and perfect, are yet ſtrictly agreeable to truth, and without embelliſhments, ſuch as they occurred to me. I muſt own that as to the more private affairs of the empire, I could not procure full and ample informations enough: It is known, how difficult a matter it is for a foreigner to do it in any country, and I found by experience that it is much more ſo in Japan. Ever ſince the Roman Catholick religion hath been extirpated, the Dutch and Chineſe Merchants in a manner impriſoned, and the whole empire ſhut up to all commerce and communication with foreign nations, the natives muſt be extremely cautious and reſerved in their behaviour with regard to theſe foreigners, who are permitted to trade*

(29) This paradox is maintained and illuſtrated with the example of the Japoneſe Empire, by our author, in chap. 6 of the Appendix to his *Hiſtory of Japan*.

(30) Scheuchzer's Dedication.

(31) The Author's Preface, pag. iii.

(32) Idem, ibid. pag. iv.

lic is obliged to that great encourager of learning Sir Hans Sloane, who purchaſed, for a conſiderable ſum of money, all our author's curioſities both natural and artificial, as likewiſe all his drawings and manuſcript memoirs; and prevailed with the late learned Dr. Scheuchzer, to tranſlate the Japoneze Hiſtory abovementioned into Engliſh, which he has done in ſuch a manner as does the greateſt honour to his memory.

(33) Idem, ibid. pag. ii. *trade and are tolerated among them* (33). He afterwards declares, that all ſuch Japoneſe as have any tranſactions with the Europeans, are obliged to take an oath not to diſcover any thing relating to their government, country, &c. (34). Dr. Scheuchzer has given an excellent introduction to the hiſtory of Japan. "My "deſign therein, *ſays the learned tranſlator*, is in a "ſhort ſurvey of the preſent work, to point out ſome of "its peculiar excellencies, and to illuſtrate the whole "with a few additional remarks, tending to clear up "ſome doubtful points from the lateſt diſcoveries, and "to explain others which have been hitherto but "ſlightly, if at all, touched upon. As the tranſla- "tion and publication of this Hiſtory led me into "farther ſearches concerning the Empire of Japan, "and put me upon enquiring what other authors have "wrote on this ſubject, I thought that it would not "be unacceptable, nor altogether uſeleſs, to publiſh a "liſt of them, with ſome obſervations I made upon "peruſal, on the character, tranſactions and ſeveral "editions of the moſt conſiderable (35)." This introduction contains an ample catalogue of the authors, in the Library of Sir Hans Sloane, relating to the eccleſiaſtical, political, or natural hiſtory of Japan; and ends with a liſt, which is very curious, of the Japoneſe writers themſelves; *the far greateſt part whereof*, ſays Dr. Scheuchzer, *were brought by Dr. Kæmpfer into Europe, and are now in the valuable collection of Sir Hans Sloane* (36). A French tranſlation of this work, from the Engliſh, was publiſhed at the Hague in two volumes in folio, 1729, which is aſcribed to Mr. Des Maizeaux (37). There is alſo a ſecond edition of the French in 12mo. I.

(34) Idem, ibid.

(35) *Introduction by the Tranſlator*, pag. 17.

(36) Idem, ibid. pag. xvii.

(37) In Father Niceron's *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 19.

KONIG (GEORGE MATTHIAS) in Latin *Konigius*, Profeſſor of Poetry and of the Greek tongue, and Library-Keeper in the Univerſity of Altorf, deſerves a place here in the moſt particular manner: for I ſhould be ungrateful if I did not acknowledge that the book which he publiſhed in the year 1678 (*a*) is of very great uſe to me. And I do not queſtion but it is alſo very uſeful to a great many men of letters, notwithſtanding the defects that have been obſerved in it [*A*]. Our Konig died towards the end of the year 1698, at the age of fourſcore and two (*b*). He was the ſon of GEORGE KONIG (*c*), a native of Amberg, who died in the year 1654, having taught Divinity thirty eight years in the Univerſity of Altorf.

(*a*) Intitled, *Bibliotheca vetus & nova*. I quote it often, and ſometimes I criticize upon it.

(*b*) *Acta Eruditorum Lipſ.* 1699. pag. 360.

(*c*) Konig, *Bibliothec.* pag. 447. See his *Elogy* in Witten, *Memor. Theolog. renovatæ*, Decad. 8. pag. 1100, & *ſeq.*

[*A*] *The defects that have been obſerved in his work.*] A very learned man named John Mollerus, who in the year 1691 publiſhed at Hamburg an *Iſagoge ad Hiſtoriam Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ*, (An Introduction to the hiſtory of Denmark) had publiſhed four years before *Cimbriæ literatæ prodromus*, "An eſſay on the hiſtory "of the learned in Denmark"; in which, according to that liberty, which every ſubject of the republick of Letters ought to enjoy, he ſpoke very freely of the defects he had obſerved in Konig's work. Whereupon Daniel William Mollerus an Hungarian, and profeſſor of Metaphyſicks and hiſtory in the Univerſity of Altorf, roſe immediately againſt the critick, and was nevertheleſs obliged to confeſs, that a great part of the defects, that had been obſerved, were real defects. Now the critic's judgment, as he has expreſſed it in a preface (1), comes in ſhort to this. *Innumeros in* Opere Konigiano *autores eſſe omiſſos, de Antiquis pauciſſima ſatiſque confuſe in medium allata, è Recentiorum, etiam Polygraphorum, Scriptis quamplurimis plerumque vix unius aut alterius factam mentionem, ac raro Synopticam aliquam de Autoris patria, ætate ac vita, librique editi loco ac tempore, narrationem adjectam, manifeſtius eſt, quam ut latere lectorem eruditum, aut negari ab homine candido poſſit. Nomina etiam ſæpius, ut in Prodromo monui, & ſcripta falſa auctoribus eſſe attributa, circa patriam atque vitam illorum erratum, inedita pro editis venditata, & ex uno ſcriptore duos aut tres inepte procuſos, exemplis plurimis* ὀφθαλμοφανεστάτοις *poſſem oſtendere, ſi in expurgando hoc Augiæ ſtabulo tempus pariter atque operam vellem perdere, aut ſordes alius in præfationem hanc convectare.* i. e. "A great many authors are omitted in Konig's work; "he tells us but very few particulars of the antients, "and without any order; and he hardly mentions "a book or two of the moderns, even of thoſe who "wrote a great deal, and publiſhed a vaſt number of "works; he ſeldom gives us ſo much as a ſhort ac- "count of their life, in what country they lived, "and at what time; nor does he tell us when and "where their books were printed. This is ſo evi- "dent, that it cannot be unknown to the learned, "nor denied by any candid man. He does alſo often "give falſe names to the authors he mentions, as "I have obſerved in my eſſay, and aſcribes works to "them, which they never wrote. He blunders in "mentioning their native Country, and the time when "they flouriſhed; he gives us manuſcripts for printed "books, and makes two or three authors out of one. "I could prove all this by a great many inſtances, if "I would loſe my time and labour in cleanſing this "Augean ſtable, or carry the dirt out of it into this "preface." He adds that his opinion in this reſpect agrees with that of ſeveral of the moſt learned men. *Agnoverunt eandem, quotquot ex chori literarii primiceriis, de Opere Konigiano, aut eadem mecum, aut his etiam aſperiora judicarunt. Petrus ſcil. Lambecius, non alio, quam Rhapſodi, titulo Autorem dignatus* (*), *Dan. Georg. Morhofius* (†), & (*qui meum de eodem judicium ſuo verbotenus adjecit*) ἀκριβέστατος *Wilh. Ern. Tenzelius* (‡). *Alii item complures, quorum verba allegare ſupersedeo, cum rerum teſtimonia ipſi adverſario, nolenti volenti, veritatis confeſſionem extorſerint. Non audet enim is* Bibliothecam *hanc, cui patrocinatur*, veterem ac novam *pro accurata, aut talem, quæ Sæculi applauſum mereatur, venditare, ſed fatetur* nomen *in ipſa* interdum cum nomine eſſe confuſum, errata nonnulla commiſſa, & Autores aliquot omiſſos, *in qua ipſius confeſſione acquieſco.* i. e. "This has been acknow- "ledged by the moſt eminent men in the repub- "lick of letters, who paſſed the ſame judgment with "me, or even a more ſevere one, on this work of "Konig. As Peter Lambecius, who did not think "he deſerved a better name than that of a Rhapſodiſt. "Daniel George Morhoff, and the moſt ingenious "William Erneſt Tenzelius (who added my judg- "ment word for word to his) and a great many more, "whoſe names it is needleſs to mention, ſince the "matter is ſo plain, that my adverſary has been forced "to acknowledge the truth, whether he would or "not. For he dares not maintain that this *ancient "and modern Library*, which he undertakes to vindi- "cate, *is exact, or ſuch as to deſerve the approbation "of the world.* But he confeſſes, that *there is now and "then one name put for another*, that *there are ſome "blunders committed, and ſome authors omitted*, in "which confeſſion I agree with him." Obſerve that Mollerus does not deny Konig the reputation of an old Profeſſor, who had done ſome ſervice to the Republic of Letters.

(1) In the Preface to his *Iſagoge ad Hiſtoriam Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ.*

(*) See the paſſage from the moſt celebrated Tenzelius quoted below.

(†) P. 1. *Polybiſt. Literarii*, cap. 18. pag. 202.

(‡) In his German Dialogues, for March 1689, pag. 316, 317.

KOORNHERT (THEODORE) a native of Amſterdam, and Secretary to the City of Harlem in the ſixteenth Century, made himſelf famous by ſome very extraordinary

nary works on subjects relating to Religion (*a*). He is reckoned to have been one of those spiritualists or enthusiasts, who imagine that all the sects amongst the Christians were corrupted a great many ages ago, and that no man has a right to take upon him the office of a Minister of the Gospel without an extraordinary mission supported with miracles (*b*). And accordingly he condemned openly Luther and Calvin's undertakings, though he acknowledged that the Church of Rome was not the true Church. He wished that till such time as God should be pleased to raise reformers in all respects like the Apostles, all the Christian sects would unite together by way of interim [*A*]; his scheme being, that only the text of God's word was to be read to the people, without proposing to them any explication, and without prescribing the congregation any thing by way of commandment, or prohibition, but at most by way of advice. He did not believe that it is necessary, in order to be a true Christian, to be a member of any visible Church; and he acted accordingly [*B*], for he did not take the Sacrament either with the Roman Catholics or with the Protestants. He wrote very freely against the Reformed

(*a*) Hoornbeeck, *Summa Controv.* lib. 6. pag. m. 435.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *He wished.. that all the Christian sects would unite together by way of* interim.] Hoornbeck, who had read over Koornhert's books written in Dutch, explains this fancy of his to us, in the following words. *Iste Coonhert passim suis libris . . . aliquod schema Ecclesiæ communis erigendæ proponit, in quâ, vel solus Scripturæ textus legeretur, absque glossis & expositionibus, vel etiam admonitiones ex Scriptura sub aliorum judicio, non autem ex authoritate, aliquando fierent, ad modum alterius & novi Interim, usque dum novâ divinâque ad extruendam aliam Ecclesiam missione accederent Ministri quales Apostoli fuerunt, Ecclesiam ex Christi præscripto novam erecturi, quâ jam divina missione ad erigendam per Reformationem aliam Ecclesiam omnes, juxta eum, careant. Tomo primo, pag. ult. in delineatione istius Ecclesiæ sic loquitur.* " *Raro aut nunquam utuntur hic* " *humanis glossis non quod peccatum sit, sed quia incertum, a sole ad stellas, & a fonte ad cisternas re-* " *currere. Atque ita etiam nemo hic sibi (absque certa* " *& speciali missione) arrogat docendi officium, ut cum* " *authoritate mandet vel prohibeat, benè quidem ut sub me-* " *liori sententiâ admoneat, idque ex Scripturâ* (1)." i. e. " This Koonhert throughout his books . . . proposes " some form of a Church, in which the Holy Scripture is only to be read, without any gloss, or exposition, or at most some warnings from the Scripture, with " submission to other people's judgment, be sometimes offered, but not with authority; thus he would " establish a kind of new *Interim*, till there should " come some Ministers like the Apostles, with a new " and divine mission, to establish another Church, according to Christ's command; all the Ministers at " present wanting, according to him, such a mission " to establish a new Church by way of Reformation. " In the last page of the first volume of his Description of that Church he speaks thus: *These human* " *glosses or explications are seldom or never used, not* " *that it is a sin, but it is unsafe to go from the sun to* " *the stars, from the spring to the cistern.* And none " take upon them, without a certain and particular " mission, the office of a Minister, to command or " forbid any thing without authority, but only by " way of advice, from the Scriptures, and with sub- " mission to other people's better judgment." This Visionary would have the Magistrates command the Preachers not to say any thing but what was contained word for word in the Scriptures, and oblige the Laymen, upon pain of paying a fine, to part with all their Theological books. You will meet with a more accurate account of this in the following Latin words (2). *Hoc Libello vel Dialogo* (3), *ita sententiam suam exponit.* " *Existimo, magistratui significandum, quæcunque* " *scripta humana, glossas, dogmataque, quid impuri,* " *erroris & ambagis continere, a quibus omnibus immu-* " *nis est Scriptura, certam pandens salutis viam. Quare* " *reverenter rogandus esset, ut vellet ad modum novi* " *alicujus interim (& hoc ad tempus usque quo concorditer* " *decretum esset, qua doctrina sequenda foret) omnibus* " *Concionatoribus interdicere, ne è suggestu populum aliud* " *quid docerent, prælegerent, dicerentve, præter clarum* " *Scripturæ textum, citra unius sylabæ aut additionem* " *aut demtionem, quomodo in Veteri Novoque Testamento* " *solebat fieri. Hoc demum pacto sectus evaniturus.* " *Præterea populo sub mulcta injungendum esset, ut om-* " *nes suos libros de Scriptura tractantes, quæ ipsæ non* " *essent mera Scriptura, ad manus Magistratus defer-* " *rent, ibique servarentur, ut vel redderentur postmo-* " *dum suis Dominis, vel prout visum foret, de istis* " *disponeretur.*" *Hæc Coornhertus.* i. e. " In that " pamphlet or dialogue he expresses his opinion thus. " I think that we ought to give notice to the Magistrates, that all human writings, glosses and doctrines, contain something amiss, some errors, and " some ambiguities, from all which the Holy Scripture is entirely free, shewing us a safe way to salvation; the Magistrates therefore must be desired, " that they would be pleased to establish a kind of new " *Interim* (till such time as it should be unanimously " agreed what doctrine must be followed) and to forbid " all the Preachers to teach, read or say any thing " from the pulpit, but the bare text of the Scripture, " without adding or omitting one single syllable, as it " was the custom under the old and the new Testament. " This is the only method to make all sects vanish " away at last. And besides, the people must be ordered, under the penalty of a fine, to carry all their " books which treat of the Scriptures, and are not the " bare Scriptures, to the Magistrates, to be kept by " them, in order to be afterwards returned to the " owners, or otherwise disposed of, as it should be " thought proper." " Thus far Coornhert."

(1) Hoornbeeck, *Summa Controv.* lib. 6. pag. m. 435, 436.

(2) Idem, ibid. pag. 436, 437.

(3) That which is intitled, *De Minuendis Sectis*, i. e. " Of suppressing the " Sects."

[*B*] *He did not believe that it is necessary . . . . to be a member of any visible Church, and he acted accordingly.*] As he did not think, that there is now one single Church upon earth without a blemish, and governed by true Pastors, he took the sacrament no where. He did not deny but it was necessary, for the security of those that are weak, to establish an outward communion, but he pretended that no man had a right to claim a divine mission, or to teach that it is necessary to take the sacrament. This is the substance of the Latin passage which I shall now transcribe. *Coonhertus palam scribebat inter omnes sectas se nullibi Christi Ecclesiam deprehendere; Romanam nostrâ, quam ne quidam Ecclesiæ nomine dignabatur, meliorem esse*, Tom. 1. in Dialogis, fol. 484. *nec S. Cœnam ullibi idcirco participabat, quia veram Ecclesiam, & legitimos ministros scilicet desiderabat! unde & communionis illam esse necessitatem, quæ vulgo docetur, negabat.* Tom. 1. lib. Consistorium, *in initio.* Tom. 111. in Delineatione impartialis Ecclesiæ: *ubi statim à principio docet, posse nunc quem esse verum Christianum, utcunque non sit membrum visibilis alicujus ecclesiæ: rogatusque, quid præstaret, an extra visibilem Ecclesiam vivere, quousque ipse Deus per certos Ministros Ecclesiam restauret: an Ecclesiam, infirmorum gratiâ, non valentium vivere absque externâ illâ formâ, quin ad Sectarum partes prolabantur, colligere? respondit: prius quidem esse magis certum; at secundum videre sibi necessarium. Collapsam quidem esse Dei Ecclesiam, sed non apparere manifestum mandatum eam restaurandi: attamen vile aliquod pro infirmis adversus varios lupos defendendis, sub tali nempe libertate, qua nemo sibi arroget, à Deo se ad docendum missum esse, & Sacramentorum baptismi ac Cœnæ usus relinquatur liber, pro infirmis habendum; nullum verò istorum urgeri debere præceptum aut necessitatem* (4). i. e. " Coornhert wrote publicly, that amongst all " the sects he could meet no where with the Church of " Christ, and that the Church of Rome was better " than ours, which he would not honour even with " the name of a Church. *Tom. 1. In his Dialogues,* " *fol.* 484. Nor did he take the sacrament any where, " because there was no true Church, as he said, nor " any lawful Pastor: wherefore he denied that it is " necessary

(4) Hoornbeeck, *Summa Controv.* lib. 6. pag. 438.

Reformed Religion, and particularly againſt Calvin and Beza. *Ex oppugnatâ in herbis reformatione noſtrarum Eccleſiarum, præſertim noſtrâ Catecheſi, & probatâ ſibi nec noſtrâ Eccleſiâ nec aliis, ſolum intentus carpendis omnibus, & magnis impetendis nominibus; Calvinum dico, Bezam, Danæum, Saraviam, alios, gloriam hinc inanem inter ſuos aucupatus fuit* (c). i. e. "By oppoſing the riſing reformation of our Church, and eſpecially our "Catechiſm; by approving neither our Church, nor any other; by finding fault with "every thing, and particularly by attacking all our great men, as Calvin, Beza, Da-"næus, Sarrau, and others, he endeavoured to raiſe himſelf an empty glory with his "party." And he was conſidered as ſo great a diſturber of Religion, that the Magiſtrates of Delft baniſhed him their City, and the States of Holland came to ſeveral reſolutions, which made him complain that they revived the Inquiſition (d). Nothing, in his opinion, was more inconſiſtent with Reaſon and with the Goſpel, than the perſecuting of thoſe who are not of the Religion eſtabliſhed by law. He wrote upon this ſubject againſt Beza, and againſt Lipſius [C]. He died October the 20th 1590 (e), acknowledging the truth of the doctrine of Predeſtination, which he had ſo ſtrongly oppoſed [D]. They

(c) Hoornbeeck, *Summa Controverſiarum*, lib. 6. pag. 435.

(d) Voetius, *de Politica Eccleſ.* tom. 2. pag. 454.

(e) See the Advertiſement to the Reader, at the end of his *Reply to Juſtus Lipſius*. Obſerve that Konig has erroneouſly placed his death under the year 1599.

"neceſſary to take the ſacrament, as it is commonly "taught. *Tom. I. In the Book concerning Conſiſtories.* "*Tom. III. In the Deſcription of an impartial Church.* "Where he aſſerts, in the beginning, that a man may "be now a true Chriſtian, without being a member of "any viſible Church. And being aſked which was "better, to live out of a viſible Church, till God "ſhould reſtore the true Church by the means of un-"queſtionable Miniſters, or to gather a Church for the "ſake of the weak, who not being able to live with-"out an outward form of worſhip, would fall off to "one ſect or another? He anſwered that the former "is more certain, but that the latter ſeemed neceſſary. "That the Church now indeed was fallen, but that "there did not appear any poſitive command to reſtore "it. However that there ought to be a ſheep-fold to "protect the infirm flock againſt a great many wolves, "but yet with ſuch a liberty, that no man pretend to "be ſent from God to teach, and that the uſe of the "ſacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper be left "free: nothing of all this being urged as a com-"mandment neceſſary to be obeyed."

[C] *He wrote upon perſecution againſt Beza and againſt Lipſius.*] There is ſomething to cenſure in the following words from Voetius. *Cornhertus, qui Latino Dialogo contra Lipſii Politicam hanc cauſam agit, eundemque Dialogum poſtea contra Lipſii Reſponſum (cui tit. adverſus Dialogiſtam) defendit, idem Belgico ſcripto* Proceſſum de hæreticidio *edidit contra Bezam* (5). i. e. "Coornhert, who defends this cauſe againſt "Lipſius's politicks, in a Latin Dialogue, vindicated "that ſame dialogue afterwards againſt Lipſius's reply "(intitled againſt the dialogiſt). The ſame writer pub-"liſhed a book in Dutch intitled *A Diſpute about pu-"niſhing Heretics with death*, againſt Beza." It is not true that Koornhert's dialogue againſt Lipſius's politicks is in Latin; it is in Dutch (6). Voetius himſelf confeſſes it, in a paſſage which I ſhall ſoon quote. Obſerve that the title of that Dutch work anſwers theſe Latin words, *Lis, ſeu Proceſſus de Hæreticidio.* Koornhert's reply is in Latin (7). It had been longer, if he had not died ſo ſoon (8). Here follows the title of it. *Defenſio Proceſſus de non occidendis hæreticis contra tria capita libri IV Politicorum J. Lipſii: ejuſque libri adverſus Dialogiſtam confutatio. Sub extremum mortis fatum per ſuæ patriæ libertatis ſtudioſiſſimum* THEODORUM VOLCHARDUM COORNHERT *conſcripta.* i. e. "A defence of the diſſertation, in which it is pro-"ved that hereticks ought not to be capitally pu-"niſhed; againſt three Chapters of the IVth book of "John Lipſius's politicks; with a refutation of Lipſi-"us's book againſt the dialogiſt. Written by that "moſt zealous friend of the liberty of his country, "Theodore Volchard Coornhert, a little before his "death." The edition I make uſe of was printed at Hanaw in the year 1593. If you have a mind to ſee how much Lipſius was perplexed by this reply, read the following paſſage. *Lipſius petitus libello Belgico à* Diederico Volckero Coornhert, poſtea libro, de Una religione dicto Died. Coornhert *repoſito addidit, ſe* veram & probam *intelligere: ſed non explicat, & explicaturum ſe negat, quænam ſit vera & proba religio. Hinc dictus Cornhertus in refutatione libelli Lipſiani a.* 1591. *tit.* Defenſio proceſſus de non occidendis hæreticis, *&c. ita conſtrinxit* Lipſium, *ut à Papiſticâ, aut Ethnico-Machiavellicâ (quarum alterutram pectore premebat, quamvis tunc Leidæ conciones publicas frequentaret) ſe liberare non potuerit. Et hanc unam putant ex cauſis præcipuis fuiſſe, cur ſtatione Leidenſi turpiter deſertâ hypocriſeos larvam deponeret, ad partes hoſtiles transfugeret, atque ibi Papiſmi profeſſionem ſuſciperet* (9). i. e. "Lipſius being attacked in a Dutch book by Theo-"dore Volckard Coornhert, anſwered him in his "treatiſe intitled of *the one Religion*, in which he de-"clared, that he meant thereby the true and ſound "religion; but he did not explain, and even declared "that he would not explain which is the true and ſound "religion; which gave Coornhert an opportunity, "in his confutation of Lipſius's work, which he pub-"liſhed in the year 1591 with this title, *A Defence "of the diſſertations in which it is proved that hereticks "ought not to be capitally puniſhed &c.* to preſs Lip-"ſius ſo cloſely, that he could not clear himſelf of "being either of the popiſh religion, or of the hea-"then religion mixed with *Machiavelliſm* (for he was "really of one of thoſe religions in his heart, though "at that time he uſed to go to Church at Leyden.) "And it is thought that this was one of the chief "reaſons, why leaving his poſt at Leyden in a diſ-"graceful manner, and throwing off the maſk of hy-"pocriſy, he went over to the enemy, and profeſſed "the popiſh religion there." Add to this the remark (B) of the article LIPSIUS.

(5) Voetius, *de Politica Eccleſiaſt* tom. 2. pag. 386.

(6) *Plebeia (ſcriptio) futilis & conſcripta plebeio ſtylo.* Lipſius *in Præf. Libri de una Religione, adverſus Dialogiſtam.*

(7) He had wrote it in Dutch, but his executors had it tranſlated into Latin.

(8) See the Advertiſement to the reader at the end of that Reply.

(9) Voetius, *de Politica Eccleſiaſt.* pag. 433.

[D] *He died.... acknowledging the truth of the doctrine of predeſtination, which he had ſo ſtrongly oppoſed.*] O God, cried he when he was dying, it is from thee I received my ſoul, it is in thy power either to ſave it or to reprobate it, according to thy will and pleaſure: I have no reaſon to complain. *Obiit A.* CIↃIↃXC, *et quod valde obſervandum, is, qui tam impotenter de Prædeſtinatione multa ſibi nequaquam intellecta, adverſus Theologos noſtros conſcripſit, ſub mortem veritatem ejus in ſe ſentire & agnoſcere coactus fuit, ad Deum exclamans; "ſe animam ſuam ab eo poſſidere, quam Deo in-"tegrum ſit pro ſuo bene placito ſervare, an reproba-"re, ſibi nil eſſe quod conqueratur." Quod nil eſt, quam vim et ſummam prædeſtinationis divinæ in nobis aut ſolvendis aut abjiciendis pro Dei ſummo in nos omnes arbitrio, proprio ſenſu confiteri, et in morte ſincerius teſtari, quam tot infruitis & impetuoſis adverſus eam ſcriptis, per vitam* (10). i. e. "He died in the year "1590; and, what is very remarkable, this man, "who had ſo paſſionately wrote a great many things "concerning predeſtination, which he did not under-"ſtand himſelf, againſt our Divines, was when he "died forced to perceive the truth of it within him-"ſelf, and to confeſs it; crying out to God; *that "he had received his ſoul from him, which God could "either ſave or reprobate according to his will and "pleaſure, without leaving him any reaſon to complain.* "What was this, but to feel within himſelf the power "of predeſtination, and God's Sovereign authority o-"ver us; either to ſave or to damn us according to "his will, and dying to bear witneſs to that truth, "which during his life he had endeavoured to refute by "ſo many filly and paſſionate writings"? It was neceſſary to tranſcribe this paſſage, conſidering the reflections it contains, and thoſe which it may give the reader an occaſion to make.

(10) Hoornbeeck, *Summa Controv.* pag. 435.

They publiſhed an edition of his works in the year 1630, in three volumes in folio. I ſhall obſerve below that he began pretty late to ſtudy [*E*]. Lewis Guicciardini (*f*) mentions an excellent Engraver who was born at Harlem (*g*), and named THEODORE COORNHERT. He is undoubtedly the ſame who is mentioned in Freherus's *Theatre* [*F*], and who is the ſubject of this article. This is all that I had been able to collect from ſome Latin books, and I was ready to ſend it to the preſs with the ſix remarks, which the reader will find below; and I had no thoughts of making any additions to this article, but being told that there was a Life of our Coornhert written in Dutch, and prefixed to his works, I have procured ſome extracts from it, which will give me an opportunity to make this article much longer. I met with the following particulars in thoſe extracts. Coornhert was born in the year 1522 of an ancient and good family of Amſterdam. Being ſtill very young he took a journey into Spain and Portugal, and on his return he married contrary to what his father, who was dead, had ordered by his laſt will, and without aſking his mother's advice. As he had taken a wife who had hardly any eſtate, he was obliged to enter into the family of Reynold of Brederode Baron of Vianen, who made him his ſteward, and whoſe favour he gained; but yet he ſoon left him, becauſe he did not like a Court-life. He ſettled at Harlem, and gained a livelihood there by following his profeſſion of an Engraver. Being puzzled with ſome difficulties upon Theological ſubjects, he imagined that he ſhould meet with the ſolution of them in St. Auguſtin, and in ſome other fathers: ſo that he began to learn Latin at the age of thirty; and he made ſuch a conſiderable progreſs in that ſtudy, that he was ſoon capable to tranſlate Tully's Offices and ſeveral other works into Dutch; he underſtood Muſic and Poetry, and was very agreeable at an entertainment, but ſo as always to direct his diſcourſes to the edification of his neighbour, and he never went beyond the rules of temperance. He loved working, and had made it his conſtant practice never to be above ſix hours in bed. He was admitted a Notary in the year 1561, and Secretary to the city of Harlem in the year 1562, and Secretary to the Burgomaſters of the ſame City in the year 1564. In the years 1565 and 1566 he was ſeveral times ſent to the Prince of Orange Governor of Holland, and had ſeveral conferences with Henry of Brederode on account of the troubles [*G*], which began to ariſe in the Low-Countries, and of the famous petition which was preſented to the Dutcheſs of Parma in April 1566. He was taken up at Harlem and carried to the Hague, where he ſuffered a long and cruel impriſonment; during his confinement he compoſed ſeveral Poems in Dutch. His wife being perſuaded that he ſhould never be ſet free, endeavoured to get the plague, that by communicating it to him they might both die. He reproved her ſeverely for ſuch an attempt, forbidding her to do the ſame again, and deſiring her to wait patiently how Providence ſhould diſpoſe of him. He defended himſelf ſo dexterouſly that he was ſet at liberty, being only commanded not to leave the Hague; but hearing that there were freſh orders come from Bruſſels to impriſon him again, he ſtole away to Harlem, and thence he went into the country of Cleves, where he got a livelihood by his old trade of an Engraver. The States of Holland having taken the vigorous reſolution in the year 1572 to aſſert their liberty againſt the tyranny of the Spaniards, Coornhert returned into his own country, and was honoured with the office of Secretary to the States of the Province. He had endeavoured to put a ſtop to the diſorders and diſturbances which the ſoldiers committed; and was deputed to inform againſt them, which made him ſo odious to the commanding officers of thoſe daring troops [*H*], that in order to ſecure his life he was

(*f*) Lewis Guicciard. in *Deſcript. Belgii*, cap. de Antwerpia, pag. m. 118.

(*g*) He is miſtaken, for Coornhert was born at Amſterdam.

[*E*] *He begun pretty late to ſtudy.*] "I have ſeen at the Hague in Monſieur van Beuning's library the works of Theodore Volcard (11) Coornhert, in Dutch. He was an Enthuſiaſt, who had a very ready wit. He learnt the Greek and Latin tongues by himſelf (12) at the age of forty years, and made ſo great a progreſs in theſe two languages, that he could tranſlate any author into Dutch. He wrote ſeveral theological treatiſes, ſome of which have been refuted by Calvin and by Daneau. He wrote even againſt Lipſius, who anſwered him in his book *de una Religione*. The Dutch ſpeak of him as of a wonder. He died in the year 1590, at the age of 68 (13)." There are ſome exaggerations in this paſſage of Colomies. I have read in a very good author, that Koornhert was but thirty when he began to learn Latin (14). He was never thoroughly maſter it, and it is a great while ago ſince his writings have been much eſteemed. Obſerve that Boxhornius (15) relates moſt of the particulars contained in the paſſage quoted from Colomies.

(11) Obſerve that Volcard was not his name but his father's.

(12) It is obſerved in his *Life*, that Doctor *John Baſius*, who was afterwards Counſellor to the Prince of Orange, taught him Latin, but there is not a word ſaid of the Greek tongue.

(13) Colomiés, *Melanges Hiſtoriques*, pag. 63.

(14) *Vir ingenii quidem alicujus, ſed uti ὀφιμαθὴς (quippe ad annum ætatis demum xxx linguam Latinam cœpit addiſcere) ita, &c.* Hoornb. *Summa Controv.* pag. 435.

(15) Boxhorn. *in Theatro Hollandiæ*, cap. de Urbe Amſtelodamo, pag. m. 263.

[*F*] *In Freherus's Theatre.*] We read there, that Theodore Cornhertius, an excellent lawyer, followed his profeſſion with great reputation at Amſterdam his native place; that he left ſeveral works behind him, which he had done after the model of Martin Hemſkerk, whom he endeavoured to imitate. He was alſo a good Poet. He died at Gouda in the year 1590, at the age of ſeventy eight (16). This is our Coornhert: But it ſhould have been ſaid that he died at the age of ſixty eight, and not ſeventy eight. See the margin (17).

(16) Paul. Freher. *in Theatro*, pag. 1483. He quotes the *Academia Germ. Pictorum Joach. à Sandrart.*

[*G*] *He had ſeveral conferences with Henry of Brederode on account of the troubles.*] Coornhert had been ſteward to Rainold of Brederode, and had done him ſome ſervice. By this means he had made himſelf known in an advantageous manner to Henry of Brederode Rainold's ſon. He had conferences with him at Vienna, at Utretcht, at Amſterdam and at Harlem, concerning the means to maintain the liberty of his Country; and he perſuaded him to preſent to the Dutcheſs of Parma that petition, which had ſuch remarkable conſequences. He was the author of the firſt Manifeſto, which Prince William publiſhed in his Camp (18), and which was intitled, *An advertiſement to the inhabitants of the Low Countries, for the Law, for the King, and for the flock* (19). Bor, who mentions that Manifeſto in the fourth book of his hiſtory, *folio* 182, declared to ſome perſons, that he knew perfectly well, Koornhert had compoſed it (20.)

(17) It ſhould be *Engraver* and not *Carver*. And it ſhould have been ſaid, that he followed his profeſſion at Harlem and not at Amſterdam.

(18) In December 1566.

(19) This is the tranſlation of the Dutch title.

[*H*] *Having been deputed to inform againſt* the ſoldiers, *he became odious to the commanding officers of thoſe troops.*] The Captains who were conſcious of ſeveral extortions, found out a very effectual method to prevent their being known: they gave Koonhert a very bad character, repreſenting him as a dangerous Papiſt, whereby

(20) Taken from the Latin Extracts, which have been communicated to me of Theodore Koornhert's *Life*, written in Dutch.

was obliged to go into a voluntary baniſhment. He acquainted the Prince of Orange and the States of Holland with the reaſons which obliged him to look for a ſanctuary, and retired to Embden: he returned to Harlem when things were in a better ſituation, and engaged in controverſies, in which the moſt zealous Miniſters were his antagoniſts. He publiſhed ſeveral writings in defence of his cauſe, which he maintained by diſputations at Leyden and at the Hague; he went to live at this laſt place, that he might be the ſooner ready to enter the liſt. Theſe verbal diſputations being prohibited by the authority of the Sovereign [*I*], he petitioned the States and the Miniſters ſeveral times, particularly in the Synod held at Gouda, deſiring that theſe diſputations might be continued and completed; he preſented alſo a petition to the Prince of Orange upon the ſame ſubject, and ſupported it by ſeveral arguments. He humbly requeſted of him, that in caſe his whereby they expoſed him to a thouſand dangers. They had a very plauſible pretext to repreſent him thus; for he was continually aſſerting, that it was but juſt, and the intereſt of Holland, not to perſecute the Roman Catholics, but to perform the promiſe which the Prince of Orange had made them, concerning the free exerciſe of their religion, &c. Count de Lumei, who commanded the army in Holland, was very far from performing that promiſe. Koornhert blamed his conduct with ſome freedom; and was therefore traduced as a moſt curſed favourer of Popery. Count de Lumei, with whom they had made him very odious, ſwore his ruin, and gave orders to kill him. He was not ſafe either in the roads in the country, nor in the ſtreets in the towns. He applied to the Prince of Orange for his protection, but this was not ſufficient to balance the great credit which the Count had with the ſoldiers. So that Koornhert was obliged to retire into the country of Cleves (21). This happened in the year 1572. Obſerve that he was ſo far from favouring the cauſe of the Spaniards, that he was excepted by name from the Act of Oblivion, which Lewis de Requeſens cauſed to be proclaimed at Bruſſels in the year 1574, in favour of thoſe who within two months ſhould receive abſolution from a Prieſt (22). Let us relate here a ſtory which ſhews, that Koornhert did not love the Church of Rome, and yet wiſhed that the Papiſts might be allowed a liberty of conſcience.

(21) Taken from the Latin Extracts of Gerard Brandt's Dutch *Hiſtory*, which have been communicated to me, Part 1, book 9. pag. 535. under the year 1572.

(22) Ibid. Book 11, pag. 593.

The private exerciſe of their religion was prohibited in Holland in the year 1580. Some of them deſired Koornhert to draw up a petition to be preſented to the Prince of Orange, praying that they might have the free exerciſe of their religion in the Monaſteries at Harlem, and in the Church which the Proteſtants had abandoned when they made themſelves maſters of the great Church. Koornhert being obliged to appear before the Magiſtrates of Harlem to anſwer about that petition, delivered it into their hands according to the orders he had received, and declared that he did not pretend to defend it, nor to plead the cauſe of the Popiſh Church, which he conſidered as a neſt of murtherers, but that he was nevertheleſs perſuaded, that it was doing an injury to the Roman Catholics, not to keep the promiſe that had been made to them, and to refuſe them liberty of conſcience. The Burgomaſters gave this petition to the Prince of Orange, who referred it to the States. The latter ſent for the citizens of Harlem, who had ſigned it, and commanded them to blot out their names. They alſo ordered Koornhert to tear the rough-draught of it in pieces: all which was done accordingly (23).

(23) Ibid. book 12. pag. 667, 668. under the year 1581.

[*I*] *Theſe verbal diſputations being prohibited by the authority of the Sovereign.*] Here follow ſome particulars concerning the diſputations. They were begun at Delft in the year 1578, and were firſt occaſioned by a certain man, who had forſaken the Church of Rome, and turned Proteſtant; he gave ſuch reaſons for his changing his religion, as ſhewed that he was but very indifferently acquainted with both. Koornhert told him plainly, *You muſt now examine whether the religion you have choſen be better than that which you have left.* He was obliged to anſwer for theſe words; for there was a great outcry made about them, and a very odious conſtruction put upon them: and this occaſioned the conference that was held between Koornhert and two Miniſters at Delft, and in which they diſputed about the marks of the true Church. Koornhert undertook to prove, that the Churches which admitted the doctrines of Calvin and Beza, were falſe Churches; and grounded his aſſertion upon theſe three articles, that of predeſtination, that of juſtification, and that of puniſhing heretics. The conference was hardly begun, when the ſtates of the province put a ſtop to it. It was renewed by their order, and in the preſence of their Commiſſioners at Leyden April the 14th: but it continued only a day and a half, for Koornhert retired, complaining that his adverſaries made uſe of the ſecular power againſt him: he boaſted that he had ſilenced the two Miniſters, though he had not been ſuffered to attack them upon the laſt article (24). He pretended that his mentioning Calvin and Beza furniſhed his adverſaries with an evaſion, becauſe the Commiſſioners declared the States would not ſuffer that theſe two Miniſters of Geneva ſhould be concerned in that controverſy; ſo that Koornhert might expect to ſuffer from the reſentment of the States. Finding himſelf thus threatened, he declared that he would no more come to a meeting, where he had not full liberty to ſpeak. The Commiſſioners and the Miniſters went nevertheleſs to the place where the conference had been firſt held. They waited for Koornhert, ſent to his houſe, and took his abſence for a flight, and for an unqueſtionable proof of his defeat. The States of Holland prevailed with the Magiſtrates of Harlem to forbid him to publiſh any thing relating to this conference (25).

(24) That of puniſhing the Hereticks.

(25) Extracts from Gerard Brandt's, pag. 597. under the year 1578.

Some years after he wrote againſt the Catechiſm of Heidelberg, which the Reformed Churches had admitted. He dedicated his work to the States of the province, repreſenting to them with an exceſſive boldneſs the bad conſequences, which he pretended would attend the admitting of that Catechiſm, and the deſign, which he ſaid the Miniſters had to put every one under a neceſſity to think and to ſpeak as they did. He begged that theſe misfortunes might be prevented, and offered to prove his aſſertions. The Miniſters alſo preſented to the ſame States a writing full of complaints againſt Koornhert, and declared that they were ready to prove their propoſitions. The States, after mature deliberation, reſolved, with the approbation of the Prince of Orange, to make Koornhert diſpute with the Miniſters, in the preſence of fifteen Deputies. Hadrian Saravia, Divinity Profeſſor at Leyden, was choſen to maintain the cauſe of the Miniſters. They appointed a Notary for him, and another for Koornhert, that all that ſhould be ſaid on both ſides might be taken down in writing in the moſt authentic manner. The diſpute began at the Hague October the 27th 1583, and continued till the 3d of November, on which day Koornhert begged leave of the Commiſſioners to go to Harlem to ſee his wife who was dying. The diſpute began again November the 28th. But as Saravia had dictated very long writings to his Notary during four days following, the Deputies reſolved to ſend Koornhert home, that he might there compoſe his anſwer. It was ſtill more prolix than Saravia's writings, and was refuted by a reply of the Miniſters much more prolix ſtill. The States hearing that of above fifty articles, which were to be examined, ſo many meetings had been ſpent in treating of one only, judged that they would never ſee the end of this affair, and put a ſtop to it. Koornhert boaſted that he had gained the victory, and that he went on purpoſe to live at the Hague, that he might be more at hand to diſpute. Notwithſtanding the order of the States to break off the conferences, the parties continued to attack each other in writing (26).

(26) Ibid. B. 13. pag. 693, 694, 695. under the year 1583.

The Synod of South-Holland meeting at Gouda in Auguſt 1589, Koornhert, who lived in the ſame city, ſent a letter to the aſſembly, offering to begin the diſpute again. The Synod having read the letter, ſent it back to the author, declaring they had nothing more to do with him, and that if he deſired any thing he might apply to the States (27).

(27) Ibid. B. 15. pag. 759. under the year 1589.

his petition was rejected, he might at leaſt be ſuffered to continue to refute the errors in a modeſt and chriſtian manner, and to enjoy in this reſpect that liberty of conſcience, which had been ſo dearly bought; and in caſe this alſo was denied him, the laſt favour he begged was, that he might have leave to retire into ſome country ſituated near Holland, and in alliance with it, that he might employ the remainder of his life in compleating an Index to the Holy Scriptures; to the writing of which he had already applied himſelf twenty ſix years, and that he might alſo enjoy liberty of conſtience, and avoid the dangers to which he was expoſed, the hardſhips of poverty and want, and the offence which the Proteſtant Church might take at him. He aſked for a ſafe conduct, and promiſed that he would return to the Hague to finiſh the diſputation, as ſoon as it would be thought proper to recall him. All his petitions being rejected, he continued nevertheleſs to declare that he found a great many errors in the Catechiſm of Heidelberg; by which he only raiſed more enemies againſt himſelf; he was exclaimed againſt and expoſed from the pulpit, and in other places: he was loaded with injuries and ſlanders; and had a great many vexations to ſuffer, his conduct having prepoſſeſſed and exaſperated a great number of perſons againſt him. He ſuffered this adverſity with great moderation and conſtancy. It is very probable that the Prince of Orange protected him [K]. None in thoſe times wrote ſo ſtrongly as he did in favour of the liberty of his country, and of liberty of conſcience [L]. His writings againſt the doctrines of Predeſtination and of Original Sin were ſupported with ſo many arguments, that when the Conſiſtory of Amſterdam charged James Arminius, ſome years after, to refute them, that Miniſter anſwered, that he did not think that he himſelf or any other perſon could find in the holy Scripture wherewithal to refute thoſe arguments (*h*). When he had almoſt finiſhed his Dutch Tranſlation of Eraſmus's Paraphraſe (*i*), he had a fit of ſickneſs, during which time he gave ſtrong proofs of his patience and held very edifying diſcourſes till he expired, truſting in God's mercy, October the 29th (*k*) 1590. He was buried at Gouda (*l*); for he would not be buried at Amſterdam where he was born, nor at Harlem, where he continued longer than in any other place. He has been commended by Iſaac Pontanus in his deſcription of the City of Amſterdam, and by Grotius, and even by his adverſary Juſtus Lipſius. This is what I borrow from the Latin Extracts of Theodore Koornhert's Life written in Dutch, which Extracts have been communicated to me. I ſhall tranſcribe ſome other particulars from them in the remarks. the

(*b*) See hereupon the text of the article ARMINIUS, between the quotations (*b*) and (*c*).

(*i*) That of the New Teſtament.

(*k*) I have quoted an author above, who ſays the 20th. But this difference is owing probably to that which is between the old and the new ſtyle; and alſo to this reaſon, namely, that when a man dies in the night between the 19th and the 20th day of a month, ſome ſay he died the 19th and others the 20th.

(*l*) In the great Church, with a very honourable epitaph, written by his good friend Henry Laurence Spiegel. See Gerard Brandt, *Hiſtory of the Reformation in the Low-Countries*, book 15. under the year 1590.

[K] *It is very probable that the Prince of Orange protected him.*] It is certain that the Prince knew him to be a man of genius, a great lover of liberty, and a great enemy to the Spaniards; ſo that he judged him proper to be employed in the affairs of thoſe times. He made uſe of his pen on ſeveral occaſions; he charged him with divers commiſſions, and deſired that he ſhould be recalled from his baniſhment (28): and one can hardly comprehend how Koornhert had been able to ſtand his ground againſt the great number of his enemies, had he not been ſecretly ſupported by a powerful protection, artfully managed: for he had not the leaſt regard for the public doctrines of the Churches of Holland; he attacked the calling of the Miniſters, he condemned all the ſects, and would have the Roman Catholics enjoy a full liberty of conſcience, which conſidering the circumſtances of thoſe times would have been very dangerous. His cenſure of the Catechiſm of Heidelberg was ſo bold and abuſive, that ſince the States of Holland, who had it examined by a Profeſſor of Divinity and by a Miniſter, only ordered that the copies of it ſhould be lodged in the hands of the Magiſtrates (29), we ought to think that ſome perſons, who had an unlimited power, protected him. If the Prince of Orange had not been dead, when Koonhert went to live at Delft, I do not believe that the Magiſtrates would have commanded him to leave that city in four and twenty hours time, as they did in the year 1518 (30). Some perſons would have him impriſoned for the remainder of his life, but the Prince of Orange and the Sovereign Magiſtrates would not conſent to it (31).

(28) Taken from *Extracts of Koornhert's Life.*

(29) Ibidem.

(30) *Extracts from* Gerard Brandt, book 15. pag. 737.

(31) Ibid.

[L] *None . . . wrote ſo ſtrongly as he did in favour of the liberty of his country, and in favour of liberty of conſcience.*] Whilſt he was at Santen (32) in a voluntary baniſhment during the year 1574, he drew up the plan of a book, in which he deſigned to ſhew to all Chriſtian Princes, that the conduct of thoſe provinces which reſiſted the King of Spain and the Duke of Alva, was not a rebellion, nor a popular inclination to pull down images, but a conſequence of that ſovereign right which all nations have to defend their privileges, their laws, and liberty of conſcience. Add to this what I have related in the remark [H]. The Acts of the Pacification of Cologne, begun in the year 1579, publiſhed at Delft with a licence from the States, and with excellent notes by Haggai Albada, an intimate friend of our Koornhert, are thought to be the work of the latter. Euſebius Philalethes aſcribes all this to him in a book printed in the year 1617. See alſo Koornhert's firſt treatiſe againſt Juſtus Lipſius. In the year 1584 he wrote a pamphlet concerning the means of reſiſting the King of Spain; and ſhewed amongſt other things, that the Dutch muſt put themſelves under the protection of the French King. Being perſuaded that peace amongſt Chriſtians is one of the moſt important doctrines of the Goſpel, and that it could not be obtained but by reducing the articles neceſſary to ſalvation to a very ſmall number, and by ſuffering a diverſity of opinions with regard to the other articles, he endeavoured as much as lay in his power to put things upon that footing. He ſupported his opinion in this particular by the authority of the great Eraſmus (33), and agreed with two Doctors of the Reformed Church (34); it ſeems even that Prince William was a little inclined that way, Conſult Bor's Hiſtory, Book XXI, *folio* 107.

Koornhert was continually ſaying, that Luther, Calvin and Menno had briſkly attacked an infinite number of errors of the Roman Catholics; but that they ſucceeded very ill with regard to the horrid and impious doctrine of perſecuting for conſcience ſake; and that inſtead of refuting it effectually, they had rather confirmed it the more, each of them acting from that principle, when and where they could be maſters; having thus raiſed up a new Papacy by erecting a ſchiſmatical Church, which condemns all the other Churches. By this means, ſaid he, they have encouraged Popery to continue its ancient method; and they have not only gained nothing againſt its perſecuting maxims, but they have even introduced new confuſions, and new ſchiſms, by depriving men of the liberty of propheſying (35). As for him, he maintained that we ought to hate no man, and that all pious perſons, who by their faith in Jeſus Chriſt endeavour to imitate him, are good Chriſtians; and that the Magiſtrates ought to hold all peaceful inhabitants for good and loyal ſubjects (36). He was ſo full of that hypotheſis, that he made a ſacrifice of his reſt, and of all his temporal advantages, to aſſert it with all the courage, wit and learning he was maſter of (37).

(32) In the country of Cleves.

(33) *In Epiſtola ad Archiepiſcopum Panormitanum*, Operibus *præfixa.*

(34) Huybert Duyhuius, & Taco Sybrand.

(35) That is to ſay, of profeſſing all that their conſcience dictates to them.

(36) *Extracts* from *Koornhert's Life.*

(37) In the Dutch Diſtich, which Peter Hooft made to be put under his picture, it was ſaid, that he was unſatiable of learning and liberty.

I ſhall alſo make uſe of ſome Latin Extracts from a work of Gerard Brandt, I mean the Hiſtory he wrote in Dutch of the Reformation of the Low-Countries. They were made by the ſame perſon who communicated to me thoſe from Koornhert's Life, and who underſtands Dutch very well, and is very accurate. I believe that we may depend upon him.

KORNMANNUS (HENRY) a German Civilian, author of ſome pretty curious treatiſes [*A*], and which bore ſeveral impreſſions. He lived in the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century.

[*A*] *Author of ſome pretty curious treatiſes.*] That intitled *de Virginitatis jure Tractatus novus & jucundus, ex jure civili, canonico, patribus, hiſtoricis, poëtis, &c. confectus,* and that which is commonly joyned with it intitled, *Linea Amoris, ſive Commentarius in verſiculum Gl. viſus, colloquium, convictus, oſcula, factum,* have borne ſeveral impreſſions. The oldeſt edition that I know of is of Frankfort 1610. The ſubject is great and fruitful, but this author always rides poſt; he does not go to the ſcource of things, and publiſhes nothing but very true particulars, and is very fit for thoſe who love brevity. His other works are as follow. *Templum Naturæ hiſtoricum, ſeu de natura & miraculis quatuor Elementorum. De Miraculis vivorum, ſeu de natura, proprietatibus &c. hominum vivorum,* Frankfort 1614. *De Miraculis mortuorum, &c.* Some one has ſaid, that Kirchmannus, in his book *de Funeribus Romanorum* borrows a great number of particulars from this laſt work of our Kornmannus (1). Nevertheleſs I do not find that the treatiſe *de Miraculis mortuorum* was before 1610. Now the book *de Funeribus Romanorum* was printed in 1604. The author indeed gave a new edition of it in 1625, and he might have taken advantage of the treatiſe of our Kornmannus, with regard to his additions. This may be examined another time, in caſe there be opportunity for it.

(1) Anton. Bo-remans, *Var. Lect. Lection.* cap. 4. pag. 32.

KORTHOLT (CHRISTIAN) Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity at Kiel, was born the 15th of January 1633 at Burg in the Iſle of Femeren (*a*). He was educated very carefully in piety and learning, in his father's houſe, and at the ſchool of Burg till ſixteen years of age, after which he was ſent to Sleſwick where he continued his ſtudies two years. He afterwards ſtudied in the College of Stetin, and there gave public proofs of the progreſs he had made; he maintaining two theſes (*b*), the one *de veracitate & taciturnitate*, and the other *de natura Philoſophiæ ejuſque in Theologia uſu.* He was author of the latter. Going to Roſtoch in 1652, he aſſiduouſly frequented the Lectures of the Profeſſors, and maintained two other theſes (*c*) to great advantage, the firſt whereof he had wrote. His father's death obliged him to leave that Univerſity in a year; but he returned to it ſome months after, and there gave new proofs of his erudition, as well by the theſis or diſputation *de Chriſto* θεανθρώπῳ which he compoſed and defended publickly, as by the Lectures he read at home on Logic, Metaphyſics and Hebrew. He took his degree, in a ſolemn manner, of Doctor of Philoſophy in the year 1656; and afterwards went and ſtudied in the Univerſity of Jena, where he gained great reputation by the academical acts, wherein he was ſometimes reſpondent, and ſometimes moderator; and by the private Lectures he read on Philoſophy, the Eaſtern Tongues, and Divinity. He left the Univerſity of Jena in 1660; and went and viſited thoſe of Leipſic and Wittemberg, and returned afterwards to Roſtoch, where he diſplayed his capacity a variety of ways; ſo that, in February 1662, he was made Greek Profeſſor. He took his degree of Doctor in Divinity in December the ſame year. Not long before he had ſhewed his genius and learning, in three diſputes with Roman Catholics [*A*], in preſence of Chriſtian Duke of Mecklenburg. He married the 26th of April 1664; and the next year was invited to be the ſecond Profeſſor of Divinity, in the Univerſity founded juſt before in Kiel. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of it in 1666; and ſucceeded, in 1675, Peter Muſæus, who had had the firſt Divinity-chair there. He was ſo zealous for the proſperity of that new Univerſity, and ſo grateful for the kindneſs the Duke of Holſtein his maſter had for him, that he refuſed all the employments, though very beneficial and honourable, which were offered him in ſeveral places. This Prince beſtowed upon him, in 1680, the Profeſſorſhip of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities; and declared him Vice-Chancellor for life of the Univerſity in 1689. He diſcharged the duty of thoſe ſeveral poſts, and that

(*a*) Near the Baltick Sea in the country of Holſtein.

(*b*) i. e. *Diſſertations*, and not bare poſitions.

(*c*) The one *de Suppoſito & Perſona*, the other *de Sphæra activitatis.*

[*A*] *He had ſhewed his genius and learning, in three diſputes with Roman Catholicks.*] Here follow the particulars of it, as related in his funeral *Programma*. *An. M DC LXI, à Sereniſſimo Duce Mecklenburgico, CHRISTIANO, Principe eruditione, facundiâ, comitateque ſingulari prædito, per Cancellarium ejus, D. CHRISTOPHORUM KRAUTHOFIUM, invitabatur in aulam Suerinenſem, ad colloquium cum Pontificio Auſtriaco, EGGEFELDIO, viro quidem docto, ſed admodum ſupercilioſo, de religionis negotio, habendum. Quod & in conſpectu multorum aulæ Procerum, ac peregrinorum etiam, qui fortè tunc aderant, inſtitutum, ac poſtero die cum alio Pontificio Polono, ELLERNIZKIO, continuatum eſt Stinchenburgi, ipſo Principe præſente, qui eum illuc accerſitum clementerque acceptum toto octiduo ſecum retinuit. A quo & ſequenti anno M DC LXII denuo ad certamen, cum Pontificio quodam Pariſienſi, cui nomen de la BUISSON* (1) *erat, ibidem inſtituendum, provocatus comparuit, in eoque de graviſſimis religionis controverſiis cum omnium applauſu per aliquot dies diſputavit.* i. e.

" Anno 1661, Chriſtian Duke of Mecklenburg, a " learned, eloquent and gracious Prince, gave him " an invitation, by Chriſtopher Krauthof his chan- " cellor, to the court of Suerin, to engage in a re- " ligious conference, with an Auſtrian Roman Catho- " lic, EGGEFELD, a very learned but ſupercilious " man. This being begun before a great number of " Courtiers, and alſo ſtrangers who happened to be " there, was continued the next day with another " Roman Catholic, ELLERNIZK a Pole, at Stinchen- " burg, in preſence of the Prince, who having invi- " ted him thither, and received him in the moſt gra- " cious manner, detained him eight days, and being " again invited, the following year 1662, by the a- " bovementioned Prince, to engage in a controverſy " with one du BUISSON, a Roman Catholic of Paris, " he appeared, and diſputed, with univerſal applauſe, " during ſome days, upon the moſt weighty points in " religion."

(1) It ſhould be *du Buiſſon.*

his petition was rejected, he might at leaſt be ſuffered to continue to refute the errors in a modeſt and chriſtian manner, and to enjoy in this reſpect that liberty of conſcience, which had been ſo dearly bought; and in caſe this alſo was denied him, the laſt favour he begged was, that he might have leave to retire into ſome country ſituated near Holland, and in alliance with it, that he might employ the remainder of his life in compleating an Index to the Holy Scriptures; to the writing of which he had already applied himſelf twenty ſix years, and that he might alſo enjoy liberty of conſtience, and avoid the dangers to which he was expoſed, the hardſhips of poverty and want, and the offence which the Proteſtant Church might take at him. He aſked for a ſafe conduct, and promiſed that he would return to the Hague to finiſh the diſputation, as ſoon as it would be thought proper to recall him. All his petitions being rejected, he continued nevertheleſs to declare that he found a great many errors in the Catechiſm of Heidelberg; by which he only raiſed more enemies againſt himſelf; he was exclaimed againſt and expoſed from the pulpit, and in other places: he was loaded with injuries and ſlanders; and had a great many vexations to ſuffer, his conduct having prepoſſeſſed and exaſperated a great number of perſons againſt him. He ſuffered this adverſity with great moderation and conſtancy. It is very probable that the Prince of Orange protected him [K]. None in thoſe times wrote ſo ſtrongly as he did in favour of the liberty of his country, and of liberty of conſcience [L]. His writings againſt the doctrines of Predeſtination and of Original Sin were ſupported with ſo many arguments, that when the Conſiſtory of Amſterdam charged James Arminius, ſome years after, to refute them, that Miniſter anſwered, that he did not think that he himſelf or any other perſon could find in the holy Scripture wherewithal to refute thoſe arguments (*h*). When he had almoſt finiſhed his Dutch Tranſlation of Eraſmus's Paraphraſe (*i*), he had a fit of ſickneſs, during which time he gave ſtrong proofs of his patience and held very edifying diſcourſes till he expired, truſting in God's mercy, October the 29th (*k*) 1590. He was buried at Gouda (*l*); for he would not be buried at Amſterdam where he was born, nor at Harlem, where he continued longer than in any other place. He has been commended by Iſaac Pontanus in his deſcription of the City of Amſterdam, and by Grotius, and even by his adverſary Juſtus Lipſius. This is what I borrow from the Latin Extracts of Theodore Koornhert's Life written in Dutch, which Extracts have been communicated to me. I ſhall tranſcribe ſome other particulars from them in the remarks. the

(*b*) See hereupon the text of the article ARMINIUS, between the quotations (*b*) and (*c*).

(*i*) That of the New Teſtament.

(*k*) I have quoted an author above, who ſays the 20th. But this difference is owing probably to that which is between the old and the new ſtyle; and alſo to this reaſon, namely, that when a man dies in the night between the 19th and the 20th day of a month, ſome ſay he died the 19th and others the 20th.

(*l*) In the great Church, with a very honourable epitaph, written by his good friend Henry Laurence Spiegel. See Gerard Brandt, *Hiſtory of the Reformation in the Low-Countries*, book 15. under the year 1590.

[K] *It is very probable that the Prince of Orange protected him.*] It is certain that the Prince knew him to be a man of genius, a great lover of liberty, and a great enemy to the Spaniards; ſo that he judged him proper to be employed in the affairs of thoſe times. He made uſe of his pen on ſeveral occaſions; he charged him with divers commiſſions, and deſired that he ſhould be recalled from his baniſhment (28): and one can hardly comprehend how Koornhert had been able to ſtand his ground againſt the great number of his enemies, had he not been ſecretly ſupported by a powerful protection, artfully managed: for he had not the leaſt regard for the public doctrines of the Churches of Holland; he attacked the calling of the Miniſters, he condemned all the ſects, and would have the Roman Catholics enjoy a full liberty of conſcience, which conſidering the circumſtances of thoſe times would have been very dangerous. His cenſure of the Catechiſm of Heidelberg was ſo bold and abuſive, that ſince the States of Holland, who had it examined by a Profeſſor of Divinity and by a Miniſter, only ordered that the copies of it ſhould be lodged in the hands of the Magiſtrates (29), we ought to think that ſome perſons, who had an unlimited power, protected him. If the Prince of Orange had not been dead, when Koonhert went to live at Delft, I do not believe that the Magiſtrates would have commanded him to leave that city in four and twenty hours time, as they did in the year 1518 (30). Some perſons would have him impriſoned for the remainder of his life, but the Prince of Orange and the Sovereign Magiſtrates would not conſent to it (31).

(28) Taken from *Extracts of Koornhert's Life.*

(29) Ibidem.

(30) *Extracts from* Gerard Brandt, book 15. pag. 737.

(31) Ibid.

[L] *None . . . wrote ſo ſtrongly as he did in favour of the liberty of his country, and in favour of liberty of conſcience.*] Whilſt he was at Santen (32) in a voluntary baniſhment during the year 1574, he drew up the plan of a book, in which he deſigned to ſhew to all Chriſtian Princes, that the conduct of thoſe provinces which reſiſted the King of Spain and the Duke of Alva, was not a rebellion, nor a popular inclination to pull down images, but a conſequence of that ſovereign right which all nations have to defend their privileges, their laws, and liberty of conſcience. Add to this what I have related in the remark [H]. The Acts of the Pacification of Cologne, begun in the year 1579, publiſhed at Delft with a licence from the States, and with excellent notes by Haggai Albada, an intimate friend of our Koornhert, are thought to be the work of the latter. Euſebius Philalethes aſcribes all this to him in a book printed in the year 1617. See alſo Koornhert's firſt treatiſe againſt Juſtus Lipſius. In the year 1584 he wrote a pamphlet concerning the means of reſiſting the King of Spain; and ſhewed amongſt other things, that the Dutch muſt put themſelves under the protection of the French King. Being perſuaded that peace amongſt Chriſtians is one of the moſt important doctrines of the Goſpel, and that it could not be obtained but by reducing the articles neceſſary to ſalvation to a very ſmall number, and by ſuffering a diverſity of opinions with regard to the other articles, he endeavoured as much as lay in his power to put things upon that footing. He ſupported his opinion in this particular by the authority of the great Eraſmus (33), and agreed with two Doctors of the Reformed Church (34); it ſeems even that Prince William was a little inclined that way, Conſult Bor's Hiſtory, Book XXI, *folio* 107.

Koornhert was continually ſaying, that Luther, Calvin and Menno had briſkly attacked an infinite number of errors of the Roman Catholics; but that they ſucceeded very ill with regard to the horrid and impious doctrine of perſecuting for conſcience ſake; and that inſtead of refuting it effectually, they had rather confirmed it the more, each of them acting from that principle, when and where they could be maſters; having thus raiſed up a new Papacy by erecting a ſchiſmatical Church, which condemns all the other Churches. By this means, ſaid he, they have encouraged Popery to continue its ancient method; and they have not only gained nothing againſt its perſecuting maxims, but they have even introduced new confuſions, and new ſchiſms, by depriving men of the liberty of propheſying (35). As for him, he maintained that we ought to hate no man, and that all pious perſons, who by their faith in Jeſus Chriſt endeavour to imitate him, are good Chriſtians; and that the Magiſtrates ought to hold all peaceful inhabitants for good and loyal ſubjects (36). He was ſo full of that hypotheſis, that he made a ſacrifice of his reſt, and of all his temporal advantages, to aſſert it with all the courage, wit and learning he was maſter of (37).

(32) In the country of Cleves.

(33) *In Epiſtola ad Archiepiſcopum Panormitanum*, Operibus *præfixa.*

(34) Huybert Duyhuius, & Taco Sybrand.

(35) That is to ſay, of profeſſing all that their conſcience dictates to them.

(36) *Extracts* from *Koornhert's Life.*

(37) In the Dutch Diſtich, which Peter Hooft made to be put under his picture, it was ſaid, that he was unſatiable of learning and liberty.

I ſhall alſo make uſe of ſome Latin Extracts from a work of Gerard Brandt, I mean the Hiſtory he wrote in Dutch of the Reformation of the Low-Countries. They were made by the ſame perſon who communicated to me thoſe from Koornhert's Life, and who underſtands Dutch very well, and is very accurate. I believe that we may depend upon him.

KORNMANNUS (HENRY) a German Civilian, author of ſome pretty curious treatiſes [*A*], and which bore ſeveral impreſſions. He lived in the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century.

[*A*] *Author of ſome pretty curious treatiſes.*] That intitled *de Virginitatis jure Tractatus novus & jucundus, ex jure civili, canonico, patribus, hiſtoricis, poëtis, &c. confectus*, and that which is commonly joyned with it intitled, *Linea Amoris, ſive Commentarius in verſiculum Gl. viſus, colloquium, convictus, oſcula, factum*, have borne ſeveral impreſſions. The oldeſt edition that I know of is of Frankfort 1610. The ſubject is great and fruitful, but this author always rides poſt; he does not go to the ſcource of things, and publiſhes nothing but very true particulars, and is very fit for thoſe who love brevity. His other works are as follow. *Templum Naturæ hiſtoricum, ſeu de natura & miraculis quatuor Elementorum. De Miraculis vivorum, ſeu de natura, proprietatibus &c. hominum vivorum*, Frankfort 1614. *De Miraculis mortuorum, &c.* Some one has ſaid, that Kirchmannus, in his book *de Funeribus Romanorum* borrows a great number of particulars from this laſt work of our Kornmannus (1). Nevertheleſs I do not find that the treatiſe *de Miraculis mortuorum* was before 1610. Now the book *de Funeribus Romanorum* was printed in 1604. The author indeed gave a new edition of it in 1625, and he might have taken advantage of the treatiſe of our Kornmannus, with regard to his additions. This may be examined another time, in caſe there be opportunity for it.

(1) Anton. Borremans, *Variar. Lection.* cap. 4. pag. 32.

KORTHOLT (CHRISTIAN) Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity at Kiel, was born the 15th of January 1633 at Burg in the Iſle of Femeren (*a*). He was educated very carefully in piety and learning, in his father's houſe, and at the ſchool of Burg till ſixteen years of age, after which he was ſent to Sleſwick where he continued his ſtudies two years. He afterwards ſtudied in the College of Stetin, and there gave public proofs of the progreſs he had made; he maintaining two theſes (*b*), the one *de veracitate & taciturnitate*, and the other *de natura Philoſophiæ ejuſque in Theologia uſu*. He was author of the latter. Going to Roſtoch in 1652, he aſſiduouſly frequented the Lectures of the Profeſſors, and maintained two other theſes (*c*) to great advantage, the firſt whereof he had wrote. His father's death obliged him to leave that Univerſity in a year; but he returned to it ſome months after, and there gave new proofs of his erudition, as well by the theſis or diſputation *de Chriſto* Θεανθρώπῳ which he compoſed and defended publickly, as by the Lectures he read at home on Logic, Metaphyſics and Hebrew. He took his degree, in a ſolemn manner, of Doctor of Philoſophy in the year 1656; and afterwards went and ſtudied in the Univerſity of Jena, where he gained great reputation by the academical acts, wherein he was ſometimes reſpondent, and ſometimes moderator; and by the private Lectures he read on Philoſophy, the Eaſtern Tongues, and Divinity. He left the Univerſity of Jena in 1660; and went and viſited thoſe of Leipſic and Wittemberg, and returned afterwards to Roſtoch, where he diſplayed his capacity a variety of ways; ſo that, in February 1662, he was made Greek Profeſſor. He took his degree of Doctor in Divinity in December the ſame year. Not long before he had ſhewed his genius and learning, in three diſputes with Roman Catholics [*A*], in preſence of Chriſtian Duke of Mecklenburg. He married the 26th of April 1664; and the next year was invited to be the ſecond Profeſſor of Divinity, in the Univerſity founded juſt before in Kiel. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of it in 1666; and ſucceeded, in 1675, Peter Muſæus, who had had the firſt Divinity-chair there. He was ſo zealous for the proſperity of that new Univerſity, and ſo grateful for the kindneſs the Duke of Holſtein his maſter had for him, that he refuſed all the employments, though very beneficial and honourable, which were offered him in ſeveral places. This Prince beſtowed upon him, in 1680, the Profeſſorſhip of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities; and declared him Vice-Chancellor for life of the Univerſity in 1689. He diſcharged the duty of thoſe ſeveral poſts, and that

(*a*) Near the Baltick Sea in the country of Holſtein.

(*b*) i. e. *Diſſertations*, and not bare poſitions.

(*c*) The one *de Suppoſito & Perſona*, the other *de Sphæra activitatis*.

[*A*] *He had ſhewed his genius and learning, in three diſputes with Roman Catholicks.*] Here follow the particulars of it, as related in his funeral *Programma*. *An. M DC LXI, à Sereniſſimo Duce Mecklenburgico, CHRISTIANO, Principe eruditione, facundiâ, comitateque ſingulari prædito, per Cancellarium ejus, D. CHRISTOPHORUM KRAUTHOFIUM, invitabatur in aulam Suerinenſem, ad colloquium cum Pontificio Auſtriaco, EGGEFELDIO, viro quidem docto, ſed admodum ſupercilioſo, de religionis negotio, habendum. Quod & in conſpectu multorum aulæ Procerum, ac peregrinorum etiam, qui fortè tunc aderant, inſtitutum, ac poſtero die cum alio Pontificio Polono, ELLERNIZKIO, continuatum eſt Stinchenburgi, ipſo Principe præſente, qui eum illuc accerſitum clementerque acceptum toto octiduo ſecum retinuit. A quo & ſequenti anno M DC LXII denuo ad certamen, cum Pontificio quodam Pariſienſi, cui nomen de la BUISSON* (1) *erat, ibidem inſtituendum, provocatus comparuit, in eoque de graviſſimis religionis controverſiis cum omnium applauſu per aliquot dies diſputavit*, i. e.

(1) It ſhould be *du Buiſſon*.

" Anno 1661, Chriſtian Duke of Mecklenburg, a " learned, eloquent and gracious Prince, gave him " an invitation, by Chriſtopher Krauthof his chan- " cellor, to the court of Suerin, to engage in a re- " ligious conference, with an Auſtrian Roman Catho- " lic, EGGEFELD, a very learned but ſupercilious " man. This being begun before a great number of " Courtiers, and alſo ſtrangers who happened to be " there, was continued the next day with another " Roman Catholic, ELLERNIZK a Pole, at Stinchen- " burg, in preſence of the Prince, who having invi- " ted him thither, and received him in the moſt gra- " cious manner, detained him eight days, and being " again invited, the following year 1662, by the a- " bovementioned Prince, to engage in a controverſy " with one du BUISSON, a Roman Catholic of Paris, " he appeared, and diſputed, with univerſal applauſe, " during ſome days, upon the moſt weighty points in " religion."

that of Vice-Rector (*d*), which he had five times, with great ability, application and prudence. His death, which happened the 31ſt of March 1694, was a great loſs to the Univerſity of Kiel, and to the Republic of Letters which he had enriched with a very great number of works [*B*], and might have added many others, had he lived longer. He left ſome ſons, who tread very worthily in his ſteps (*e*) [*C*].

(*d*) It was in fact the ſame as Rector; becauſe there was no other Rector in Kiel but the Prince himſelf who founded the Academy.

(*e*) Extracted from his *Funeral Programma*, printed at Kiel in 1694.

KOTTERUS

[*B*] *He had enriched* the republick of letters *with a very great number of works.*] I have ſeen the catalogue of it, which was printed in Kiel, anno 1694. Some are in German, and others in Latin. Here follow the title of thoſe in the latter language. *Tractatus de Origine & Progreſſu Philoſophiæ Barbaricæ. Jenæ in* 4. 1660. *Tractatus de Perſecutionibus Eccleſiæ Primitivæ, veterumque Martyrum Cruciatibus. ibid. in* 8. 1660. Prodiit longè accuratior, & triplo auctior, *Kilonii ann.* 1689. *in* 4. *Valerianus Confeſſor, hoc eſt, Solida Demonſtratio, quod Eccleſia Romana hodierna non ſit vera* CHRISTI *Eccleſia; deducta ex Valer. Magni, Capuccini, Apologia Anti-Jeſuitica. Roſt. in* 12. 1662. Opuſculum illud auctius Kilonii in 4. eſt editum 1666. *Diſſertatio de Neſtorianiſmo. ibid. in* 4. 1662. *Tractatus de Calumniis Paganorum in veteres Chriſtianos. Roſtochii, in* 4. 1663. Longe auctior publicatus eſt Kilonii anno 1668 novoque planè habitu, in tres Libros diſtinctus, brevi, V. D. e Typographèo Kilonienſis proditurus eſt (2). *Exercitatio in Hiſtoriam Judith. Roſtoch. in* 4. 1663. *Exercitatio in Præfationem Hieronymi in Judith. ibid. in* 4. 1663. *Tractatus de Canone Scripturæ, Bellarmino, ejuſque propugnatoribus, Gretſero & Erbermanno Jeſuitis, oppoſitus. Roſtochii, in* 4. 1665. *Tractatus de Religione Ethnica, Muhammedana, & Judaica. Kilonii, in* 4. 1665. *Oratio de Scholarum & Academiarum ortu & progreſſu, præſertim in Germania, inter ſolemnia inaugurationis Academiæ Kilonienſis habita. Sleſv. in fol.* 1666. *Diſſertatio Hiſtorica de Philippi Arabis, Alexandri Mammææ, Plinii Junioris, & Annæi Senecæ, Chriſtianiſmo. Kil. in* 4. 1667. *Apologia pro Valeriano Confeſſore, adverſus Capuccinum Salisburgenſem, ibid. in* 4. 1667. *Tractatus de Variis Scripturæ ſacræ Editionibus. ibid. in* 4. 1668. Longe auctior vulgatus eſt Kilonii ann. 1686. *Pſeudadelphia Heiniana, D. Johanni Heinio, Theologo Reformato Marpurgenſi, oppoſita, ibid. in* 4. 1669. *Tractatus de Lectione Bibliorum in linguis vulgo cognitis. ibid. in* 4. 1670. Reviſus & auctus Plœnæ recuſus eſt anno 1692. *Funus Eccleſiæ Romanæ in Clemente IX Papa defunctæ. ibid. in* 4. 1670. *Papa Utopicus. ibid. in* 4. 1670. *Tractatus de Origine & natura Chriſtianiſmi ex mente Gentilium. Kil. in* 4. 1672. *Apologia pro Valeriano Confeſſore, adverſus Chriſtianum Fabrum, Gallo-Sebuſianum. Kil. in* 4. 1673. *Commentarius in Epiſtolas Plinii & Trajani de Chriſtianis primævis. ibid. in* 4. 1674. *Commentarius in Juſtinum M. Athenagoram, Theophilum Antiochenum, Tatianum Aſſyrium. Kil. in fol.* 1675. Auctior editus eſt Lipſiæ ann. 1686. *Diſſertatio de Viribus humanis in ordine ad Civilia & Spiritualia. Kil. in* 4. 1676. *Exercitatio anti-Salmaſiana de Pane ἐνσιουσίῳ, quem in Oratione Dominica petimus. in* 4. 1676. *Diſquiſitiones anti-Baronianæ. ibid. in* 4. 1677. *De Tribus Impoſtoribus Magnis, liber, Edvardo Herbert, Thomæ Hobbes, & Benedicto Spinoſæ oppoſitus. Cui addita Appendix, qua Hieronymi Cardani & Edvardi Herberti de Animalitate Hominis opiniones philoſophicè examinatæ. ibid. in* 8. 1680. *Diſquiſitio anti-Baroniana peculiaris de Reliquiarum cultu. ibid. in* 8. 1680. *Tractatus de Vita & Moribus Chriſtianis primævis per Gentilium malitiam affictis. ibid. in* 4. 1683. *Theſes Theologicæ XXV Diſputationibus publicis in Univerſitate Kilonienſi propoſitæ. ibid. in* 4. 1684. Prodierunt & ventilatæ ſunt altera vice 1686, ac rurſum anno 1692. *Tractatus de Proceſſu diſputandi Papiſtico. Cui ſubjuncta Diſſertatio de Hoſtiis Euchariſticis, ſive Pacentulis orbiculatis, quibus in S. Synaxeos adminiſtratione utimur. ibid. in* 4. 1685. *Exercitatio de CHRISTO CRUCIFIXO, Judæis ſcandalo, Gentilibus ſtultitia, Credentibus autem Dei potentia & ſapientia, 1. Cor. 1. 18, 23, 24. Ibid. in* 4. 1686. *Exercitatio de Atheiſmo Veteribus Chriſtianis, ob Templorum imprimis averſationem à Gentilibus objecto, inque eoſdem à noſtris retorto. Ibid. in* 4. 1689. *Silentium Sacrum, ſive, de Occultatione Myſteriorum apud veteres Chriſtianos Diſſertatio. Ibid. in* 4. 1689. *De Studio Belli ac Pacis Diſſertatio Theologica, in gratam memoriam redditæ divina clementia Cimbricis provinciis Concordiæ, reſtitutique feliciter Reverendiſſ. Sereniſſimique Sleſvici & Holſatiæ Ducis regnantis Dn.* CHR. ALBERTI. *Ibid. in* 4. 1689. *De Actionibus Forenſibus Exercitatio Theologica. Ibid. in* 4. 1690. *Alexander Papa Octavus Pſeudonymus. Ibid. in* 4. 1690. *De Magnanimitate Ariſtotelica, Chriſtianæ Modeſtiæ aliiſque veris Virtutibus inimica, Diſſertatio. Ibid. in* 4. 1690. *De Schiſmate, ſuperiori ſeculo Proteſtantes inter & Pontificios enato, Diſſert. Hiſtorico-Theologica, ib. in* 4. 1690. *Apotheoſis Papæa. Ibid. in* 4. 1691. *In Canonem* 6. *Nicænum Cardd. Baronio & Bellarmino oppoſita Exercitatio. Ibid. in* 4. 1691. *Miſcellanea Academica. Ibid. in* 4. 1692. *Diſquiſitio de Pontifice Romano. Ibid. in* 4. 1692. *De Rationis cum Revelatione in Theologia concurſu. Ibid. in* 4. 1692. *De Veterum quorundam locutione illa:* Filius Dei aſſumpſit Hominem. *Ibid. in* 4. 1692. *De Nominibus, quibus per ludibrium & contemptum Chriſtiani olim à profanis appellati: deque Notis occultis, quibus iidem ſe inſigniviſſe crediti, Diſſertatio: addita Mantiſſa, qua diſquiritur; Num filiola, quam octo dierum infans enixa eſt, Baptiſmi capax. Ibid. in* 4. 1693. *De Sacris Publicis, debita cum reverentia præſentiſque Numinis Metu colendis, Diatribe Aſcetica. Ibid. in* 4. 1693.

(2) It was publiſhed in 1698. See the *Acta Eruditorum* for Sept. 1698, pag. 420.

There was publiſhed after his death a treatiſe intitled, *Paſtor fidelis, ſive de Officio Miniſtrorum Eccleſiæ Opuſculum*, Hamburgi. 1695 (*), 12mo. See *Acta Eruditorum* (3). There has likewiſe been publiſhed his *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Novi Teſtamenti*, Leipſic, 1697, 4to. See the abovementioned *Acta Eruditorum* (4). [This is but an epitome which was not finiſhed by the author, and the imperfect condition in which it appears, made ſome think that it is not a wortk of Kortholt; however, that is not a ſufficient reaſon why it ſhould be aſcribed to another. It was reprinted at Hamburg in the year 1708 in 4to.] Addit. by the tranſlator.

[(*) It is 1696, in Father Niceron's *Hommes Illuſtres*, vol. 31. pag. 62. Paris 1735, 12mo] *Addit. by the Tranſlat.*

(3) For January 1696, pag. 7, & *ſeq.*

(4) For Sept. 1697, pag. 438.

[*C*] *He left ſome ſons who tread very worthily in his ſteps.*] He had ten children, five ſons and five daughters, whereof four of each ſex were living at his death, The two eldeſt daughters were then married; one to Mr. Lindeman profeſſor of phyſicks and metaphyſicks in Roſtoch; and the other to Mr. Paſch, Morality Profeſſor in Kiel (5). The oldeſt of the ſons, HENRY CHRISTIAN KORTHOLT, was ſtudying phyſic, and abroad at that time upon his travels. MATTHIAS NICHOLAS KORTHOLT and SEBASTIAN KORTHOLT, his brothers, had already given excellent teſtimonies of their genius. JOEL JOHN KORTHOLT, the youngeſt of all, purſued his ſtudies very happily, and was a very promiſing youth. *Natu minor*, theſe are the words of the funeral Programma. *JOEL JOANNES, pietatis & literarum ſtudio diligenter incumbens, optimam de ſe ſpem excitat, quam abunde jam impleverunt ætate profectibuſque multò majores, MATTHIAS, NICOLAUS, & SEBASTIANUS, pluribus præclaris bonæ indolis ingeniique excellentis ſpeciminibus editis.* i. e. "JOHN "JOEL, the youngeſt, applying himſelf aſſiduouſly "to piety and literature, gives the moſt hopeful pro- "miſes, which MATTHIAS, NICHOLAS, and SEBAS- "TIAN had already greatly fulfilled, they being much "older than he, and having made a much greater "proficiency in learning, and given many ſpecimens "of an excellent diſpoſition and genius." I have ſeen the diſſertation *de Poëtis Epiſcopis*, which Sebaſtian Kertholt publiſhed in 1699, and ſubmitted to the examination of the learned, *examini Eruditorum publico*, when he was preparing to receive his Doctor's degree in philoſophy: *Pro ſummis in Philoſophia honoribus impetrandis.* It is a very curious piece, and ſhews the author's great reading. Since the printing of this, I have ſeen two other of his works, of which I form the ſame judgment; the firſt is intitled *Diſquiſitio de enthuſiaſmo Poëtico*, and was printed at Kiel in the year 1696, in 4to. The other treats *de Puellis Poëtriis omiſſis ab Adriano Bailleto*, and was printed in the ſame city, in the year 1700, in 12mo, I have alſo heard that the author has been made poetical Profeſſor in the univerſity of Kiel in February 1701; and

(5) He cauſed to be printed in 1695, *Schediaſma de curioſis hujus ſæculi inventis quorum accuratiori cultui faciem prætulit antiquitas.* He is reprinting a new edition of it with large additions.

KOTTERUS (CHRISTOPHER) was one of the three Fanaticks, whoſe Viſions were publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1657, with the following title, *Lux in tenebris* [*A*]. He lived at Sprottaw in Sileſia, and his viſions began in June 1616. He fancied he ſaw an

that Matthias Nicholas, his brother, having been invited to be profeſſor of eloquence and poetry in the univerſity of Gieſſen, made his inaugural oration the 22d of June 1700. It treated *de antiqua eloquentia recentiorum perperam poſtpoſita à Carolo Peralto ſcriptore libri, cujus eſt titulus*, Parallêle des anciens & des modernes &c. I thought this oration a very good one. The elogium of this profeſſor may be ſeen in a letter of Mr. Majus (6), dated at Kiel the 22d of May 1700.

(6) Jo. Burchardus Majus, *Eloquentiæ & Hiſtoriæ Profeſſor Primarius.* His writings have gained him great fame.

[*A*] *The following title*, Lux in tenebris.] I took notice elſewhere (1) why this title was given it, and therefore will not repeat it here. This work was printed in 1657, at the expence of a rich patron (2) whom Comenius had met with in Amſterdam. It comprehends the viſions or revelations of our Chriſtopher Kotterus, thoſe of Chriſtina Poniatovia, and thoſe of Nicholas Drabicius. Comenius publiſhed an abridgment of them in 1660, with this title, *De Revelationum divinarum in uſum ſeculi noſtri factarum Epitome.* He republiſhed the whole work with additions, and under the following title, *Lux è tenebris novis radiis aucta* &c. This laſt edition contains the ſequel of Drabicius's Revelations till the year 1666. A Divinity Profeſſor in Franeker, a Pole, named Nicholas Arnoldus, wrote publicly and ſpeedily againſt this work, and anſwered Comenius's Apology. Des Marets (Mareſius) Divinity Profeſſor at Groningen, attacked this ſame work in his theſes *de tribus Videntibus*, anno 1659; and when he publiſhed ten years after, an anſwer (3) to a little piece of Comenius concerning the Millenium, he reproached him more than once, and with great ſtrength, for printing the pieces of thoſe three pretended Prophets. This work, in a few years, was contemned and forgot; but was prodigiouſly ſought after when the Turks beſieged Vienna 1683. Thoſe who had lodged the copies of it in garrets, where they had laid a long time, took them out, and ſold ſeveral at a high price; and had the Turks made themſelves maſters of Vienna, I do not doubt but a new edition of it muſt have been made, how dear ſoever the copies might have coſt. A great number were ſought after in France, and Mr. d'Avaux ſent ſome thither, whence we may very much wonder why Mr. Jurieu ſuppoſed, in 1691, that Drabicius was not known in Paris. This is an unpardonable ſuppoſition, becauſe he himſelf, not long before, had greatly contributed to ſpread the name of that fanatic all the world over. Beſides, he alledged this ſuppoſition as a proof of a ſtate-crime; for he pretended that the *Avis aux Refugiez*, i. e. "Advice to the "Refugees," as it mentioned Drabicius, could not have been writ in France. Theſe are particulars which my readers could hardly be induced to credit; and therefore it will be neceſſary for me to prove them, by giving an account of the reply that was made to him. Here then follows the anſwer which was made him by the author he accuſed (4).

(1) In the article DRABICIUS, citation (*r*).

(2) His name was Laurence de Geer.

(3) Intitled, *Antirrheticus, ſive Defenſio pii zeli &c. contra J. A. Comenium.*

(4) In the *Cabale Chimerique*, pag. 130, & *ſeq.* of edit. 2.

"The firſt of theſe proofs is, that the *Avis aux Re-* "*fugiez* was not writ in Paris. Now this he demon- "ſtrates thus.

(*) Pag. 18.

"The perſon (*), who wrote this *Avis*, gives a cir- "cumſtantial account of Drabicius's prophecies; he "has ſeen it, he has read it, and knows all the parti- "cularities concerning it.

"Now the Literati of Paris ſcarce know Drabicius's "name.

"Conſequently the author of the *Avis* is not in "Paris.

"If I ſhould deny his firſt propoſition, I am ſure he "could never be able to prove it; becauſe it does not "appear from the *Avis aux Refugiez*, that the author "of it knew any more of Drabicius, except that he "did all that lay in his power, to ſtir up a war againſt "the Houſe of Auſtria. Now could not any man of "letters know this, without having ever read the "books of that prophet?

"But the ſecond propoſition is ſtill more viſibly "falſe. For not to ſay that, during the ſiege of "Vienna, Drabicius's book was very much talked "of in France, and that ſeveral copies of it were ſent "for from hence; I my ſelf was deſired by a friend "of Roan to ſend him one, who does not know that "the great elogiums which Mr. Jurieu has beſtowed "on the prophetical triumvirate, I mean on Chriſtina "Poniatovia, on Kotterus, and on Drabicius, in a "(ã) work *more common, and more univerſally ſpread* "*than Almanacks*, as he himſelf boaſts (ẽ), mak- "ing uſe of the moſt juſt compariſon that was ever "employed; who does not know, I ſay, that the "great elogiums beſtowed on Drabicius, and ſo well "adapted to make this Prophet become the topic of "all converſations, have drawn on the panegyriſt ſome "very mortifying cenſures from the Biſhop of Meaux "(ĩ), and of Mr. Peliſſon (**), in books publiſhed "at Paris before the *Advice to the Refugees* was printed? "Who can doubt that the ſatyr entitled *l'Eſprit de* "*Mr. Arnauld*, which has been in ſo much vogue "ſince the year 1684, excited a curioſity in a num- "berleſs multitude of Frenchmen to ſee Drabicius's "prophecies, the plan (õ) whereof is drawn by Mr. "Jurieu in ſuch a manner, that he promiſes the pub- "lic, on one hand, from Drabicius, the ruin of the "Houſe of Auſtria; to the King of France the Im- "perial Crown; to the Turks the taking of Vienna, "Carinthia, Stiria; with the deſtruction of the com- "monwealth of Venice, and of the city of Rome? "And to promiſe, on the other hand, in the name of "the Proteſtants, *all that they can do to fulfil thoſe* "*prophecies?*" The Literati of Paris muſt have been very ſtupid, had they not enquired after a work of which Mr. Jurieu has given the following idea. "I "found, *ſays he* (5), in the prophecies of Kotterus, "Chriſtina, and Drabicius, which Comenius publiſhed, "ſomething great and ſurprizing. Kotterus, the firſt "of theſe three Prophets, is great and lofty; the "images of his viſions are alſo noble and majeſtic, "that thoſe of the antient prophets are not more ſo. "They all are wonderfully well concerted or drawn "up; they are all of a piece, and no inconſiſtency is "found in them. I cannot conceive how it was poſſi- "ble for a meer mechanic to hit upon ſuch exalted "things without the aſſiſtance of God. The two "years of Chriſtina's prophecy are, in my opinion, a "ſeries of miracles, as great as have happened ſince "the Apoſtles time: nay, I have not met with any "thing in the lives of the greateſt Prophets more mi- "raculous than what has befallen the maiden in "queſtion. Drabicius has alſo his loftineſſes, but then "he is much more difficult and obſcure. Theſe three "Prophets agree in foretelling the fall of the Anti-Chri- "ſtian Empire, as what muſt come to paſs very ſoon: but "on the other hand, ſo many things in them offend, "that one cannot well ſet one's heart upon them." Had not this excited a deſire of knowing Comenius's prophetical collection; at leaſt thoſe would have had ſuch a curioſity as had ſeen Peliſſon's *Reflections on the diſputes concerning Religion:* for when a writer has diſplayed a great deal of haughtineſs, it is impoſſible for a perſon not to feel ſome joy, when he ſees ſuch a writer mortified as Mr. Jurieu was by the following words of M. Peliſſon. "A Prophet, and more "than a Prophet; doubtleſs a forerunner of the *Mille-* "*nium* which he declares to us; who, at leaſt, aſſumes "the authority of reforming, correcting, and chaſtiſ- "ing at pleaſure, thoſe whom he has expreſly acknow- "ledged to be inſpired men and prophets (*); a "ſet of people whom the event has already proved to "be guilty of and hundred impoſtures; and whom "Heaven has juſt now confounded in the ſight of the "whole world, by the taking of Buda, though they "had aſſured us, in the name of God, that the "Chriſtians would never recover it by force of arms, "but by a treaty with the Turks (6)." He gave (7) expreſs proofs of all this, by citing Mr. Jurieu's own words (8); and the places where Drabicius declared ſo expreſly, that Buda ſhould never get out of the hands of the Turks but in an amicable way. When people are affected towards an author, as the Pariſians were with regard to Mr. Jurieu, they are ſo highly pleaſed to ſee ſuch an author convicted either of impoſture or fanaticiſm, that they will go to the ſource of ſuch a conviction. *But is it true*, ſay theſe people, *that Drabicius*

(ã) *Accompliſſ. des Prophet.* printed in the year 1686.

(ẽ) *XXI Paſtoral Letter* of 1689.

(ĩ) *Hiſt. des Variations*, lib. 13. num. 41. printed in 1688.

(**) *Reflex. ſur les differens de Relig.* Part 2. printed in 1687.

(õ) Tom. 2. pag. 291.

(5) *Préface de l'Accompliſſement des Prophéties*, printed in 1686.

(*) Chriſtopher Kotterus of Sileſia. Chriſtina Poniatouski of Bohemia. Nicholas Drabicius of Moravia.

(6) *Reflexions ſur les Differens de Religion*, Part 2. Sect. 17. pag. 435. edit. of Amſt. 1689.

(7) 501, & *ſeq.* See alſo *Chimeres de Mr. Jurieu*, Part 4. pag. 141.

(8) Thoſe which I quoted above, from the Preface to *Accompliſſ. des Prophecies.*

an angel under the form of a man, who commanded him to go and declare to the Magiſtrates, that unleſs the people repented, the wrath of God would make dreadful havock. Though he had received this order ſix times ſucceſſively, he yet did not put it in execution; he being diſſuaded from it by his paſtor and his friends: but imagining, in April 1619, that he ſaw the ſame ſpirit, who threatened him with eternal damnation in caſe he continued ſilent, he executed his commiſſion in a full aſſembly of the Magiſtrates, the 29th of Auguſt 1619. Kotterus was laughed at; the viſions or apparitions continued, and were followed by extaſies and prophetic dreams. The Elector Palatine, whom the Proteſtants had declared King of Bohemia, was introduced in theſe viſions. Kotterus waited upon him in Breſlaw in December 1620, and informed him of his commiſſion. He went to ſome other places, and at laſt, in the year 1625, to the Court of Brandenburg [B] (a). He got acquainted the ſame year with John Amos Comenius, who did all that lay in his power to promote his prophecies (b) [C]. Now as moſt of theſe

(a) Extracted from his *Revelations*, publiſhed by Comenius.

(b) Comenius, *Hiſt. Revelationis*, pag. 16, & *ſeq.*

bicius affirms ſuch a particular? may one not ſee this with one's own eyes, that no ſcruple may be left, to leſſen the ridiculouſneſs of ſuch a ſcene? Then the people in queſtion ſeek for one of Drabicius's books wherever they think it may be found: and if they cannot meet with any of them, they nevertheleſs treaſure up the name in their memory, and conſider it as worthy of ridicule.

No one can ſay that I digreſs from my ſubject; for ſince it is a falſity, in point of fact, to aſſert that Drabicius's name was ſcarce known in France in the year 1690, it belongs properly to this Dictionary; and it was proper for me to make uſe of all the proofs which refute this falſity.

Had Mr. Jurieu been contented with ſaying, that in comparison of the noiſe which Drabicius's name would have made in France, in caſe the Turks had taken Vienna, he was ſcarce known at Paris when the *Advice to the Refugees* was writ; I am of opinion that he would not have been in the wrong; for had Vienna been taken, Drabicius would have been more talked of than the Grand Viſier. The book which Jurieu wrote during the ſiege of that city, to praiſe and vindicate Comenius's three Prophets, by fine illuſtrations and learned commentaries, would have been tranſlated into ſeveral languages, and have made Drabicius, for a long time, the topic of converſations. Now his performance came to nothing with regard to Drabicius's memory, by the raiſing of the ſiege; the mighty Sobieſki, at the diſtance of two or three hundred leagues, deſtroyed a book that was juſt going to preſs. I began to know during the ſiege of Vienna, how greatly I had miſtook, in imagining that mankind were quite cured with regard to thoſe chimerical hopes that are ſo often grounded on viſions. I met every where with people, who ſpoke of nothing but Drabicius's prophecies, of the truth of which they ſeemed perfectly perſuaded; and who built ſo many caſtles in the air, that they were to deſtroy Babylon in an inſtant. They could not ſufficiently wonder how Drabicius came to gueſs ſo pat with regard to Tekely. This is what I wanted them to ſay; for I made it appear that Tekely, at that time the great actor of this Opera, makes no manner of figure in Drabicius's book, which is a perfect nullity I do not doubt but the French would have been vaſtly attentive, had the Grand Viſier ſucceeded in his enterprize; and they would gladly have aſſiſted the credulous, in making them believe as much as poſſible, with regard to Drabicius's viſions, ſince they promiſe the Empire to the King of France. It is therefore certain, that this falſe Prophet's name would have become infinitely more famous in Paris, in caſe the Turks had taken Vienna.

[B] *He went... in the year* 1625 *to the Court of Brandenburg.*] The Elector George William having heard the great noiſe which Kotterus's Revelations made, had a mind to ſee him. He then put it into the hands of the Divines of Francfort on the Oder, in order for them to examine it; after which he ſent for them twice to Berlin, the firſt time in 1625 and afterwards in 1626. The fame of our Kotterus having reached Straſburg, it made ſuch an impreſſion on one of the Burgomaſters there, that he ſent a meſſenger into Sileſia, to deſire Kotterus to explain to him ſixty two points; and to come to Straſburg where his prophetic miniſtry might be in greater ſafety. Kotterus anſwered the ſixty two queſtions; but excuſed himſelf from going to Straſburg, upon his declaring that he had no commiſſion for it from the Spirit, and permitted his picture to be ſent to the Burgomaſter (9).

(9) Comenius, *in Epit. Revelat.* Append. 3. pag. m. 209.

[C] *He got acquainted... with John Amos Comenius, who did all that lay in his power to promote his prophecies.*] After the Emperor's edicts, by which all Proteſtant Miniſters of Bohemia and Moravia, in the year 1624, were ordered to leave the country, it was reſolved in a private aſſembly, held in March in 1625, that the Miniſters of Bohemia ſhould retire into Poland, and thoſe of Moravia into Hungary; and that ſome of them ſhould be deputed with letters, both into Poland and Hungary, to prepare a reception for them. Comenius was ſent into Poland. Paſſing through Gortlitz in Luſatia, the tutor of young Count de Zerotin informed him, as a very conſolatory article of news, that the ruin of Antichriſt was at hand, ſince the Holy Ghoſt had revealed this to one Chriſtopher Kotterus, an honeſt man of Sileſia. He mentioned and read ſeveral paſſages in it; and becauſe Comenius made too many ſcruples, he adviſed him to go upon the ſpot, in order to confer with the Prophet. Comenius paſſing through Sprottaw deſired to ſee Kotterus, but was told by his wife that the Elector of Brandenburg had ſent for him. This was likewiſe confirmed to him by the Miniſter of the place (10), who aſſured him that Kotterus was a true Seer, and gave him his Revelations to read. Comenius waited for Kotterus, during which time he peruſed and meditated on the manuſcript in queſtion, and was amazed at it. Not long after he ſaw Kotterus, performed his journey, returned ſoon to Sprottaw, tranſlated the manuſcript of Revelations into the Bohemian language, and was fully convinced that they came only from God. He returned to Poland, and carried the Prophet thither, who informed him in the way, that he knew by Revelation that a Council would be held of all Chriſtendom, wherein the Pope would be depoſed, and a Canon enacted, forbidding all perſons hereafter to uſurp the title of univerſal Biſhop. Comenius repreſented to him, that he had not read that article in the manuſcript, to which Kotterus made the following anſwer, *I have not been ordered to write it, but I nevertheleſs heard it.* Being returned from Poland, Comenius left Kotterus, and went to Berlin, where he found that, even among the refugees of Bohemia and Moravia, a very different judgment was formed of this man; ſome conſidering him as a true Prophet, and eſpecially when the poſt brought advice, that the King of Denmark was raiſing a body of troops; others declared that Kotterus was a knave, who having ſpent his all, and not knowing which way to turn himſelf, had ſet up for a Prophet. *Alii rurſum ex iiſdem meis ſcabioſiſſima de Cottero effutiebant: helluonem, rei ſuæ decoctorem, deſperationeque ad prophetandum adactum dictitantes, miraque de prophetiis ipſius mendacia inter ſe ſpargentes, mihique referentes* (11). This gave Comenius ſome uneaſineſs; but Chriſtopher Pelargus, Superintendant General of the Churches of Brandenburg, who had examined Kotterus by the Elector's order, made him eaſy, by ſaying, that he ought not to queſtion the truth of this man's extraordinary miſſion, nor repent his having tranſlated his Revelations into the Bohemian Language. *Vides hanc Bibliothecam meam* (inſtructiſſimam habebat, celeberrimus ob eam totam per Germaniam, quo me ſecretius hoc colloquium expetentem introduxerat) *omnes Authores, antiquos & recentes conſului, ut quid de quæſtione illa, Utrum poſt Chriſtum & Apoſtolos, obſignatumque Novi fœderis Canonem, ullæ novæ admittendæ ſint, divi-*

(10) His name was *Abraham Mencelius.*

(11) Comenius, *Hiſt. Revelat.* pag. 21.

theſe things related to preſages of felicity with reſpect to the Elector Palatine, and unhappineſs for his Imperial Majeſty; it ſo fell out that David Wachſman, the Emperor's Fiſcal or Exchequer Attorney in Sileſia and Luſatia, ſet every engine at work to ſeize Kotterus, whom he looked upon as a ſeditious impoſtor. Accordingly Kotterus fell into his hands the ſecond of January 1627. He was examined, was thrown into a dungeon, and the ſentence of the Chamber of Appeals was waited for from Prague. The Fiſcal Attorney received it the 28th of April, but happening to die a little after, the purport of it was not known. Kotterus was taken out of the dungeon, and his wife and friends were allowed to viſit him; but he at laſt was ſet on the pillory [*D*], and baniſhed the Emperor's dominions, not to return upon pain of death. Upon this he went to Luſatia, at that time ſubject to his Electoral Highneſs of Saxony, and lived there unmoleſted till his death, which happened in 1647 (*c*). It is by an error of the preſs that he is ſaid, in Moreri's Dictionary, to have lived fourſcore and twelve years [*E*]. Comenius is inexcuſable for printing ſuch prophecies [*F*]. He had ſeen part of them evidently

(*c*) Extracted from the *Abridgment of his Revelations*, Append. 3. and of *Hiſtoria Revelationum*, pag. 21, 22.

næ vel Angelicæ, revelationes ſentiendum ſit cognoſcerem? ſed nemo me ſcrupulis liberare potuit. Ego igitur ad preces converſus, ardentiſſime invocabam Deum (ſæpe etiam noctu ſurgens & me in faciem provolvens) ut ne pateretur illudi Eccleſiæ ſuæ orans. Poſt omnia vero tandem penſitata divinitusque ſuggeſta, non aliud habeo quod dicam, niſi DEUM MISISSE ANGELUM SUUM, *qui nuntiaret nobis ſervis ea, quæ oportet fieri cito:* quæ ſunt Angeli verba Apoc. 22, 6. (12). The tranſlation in queſtion was not kept ſecret as the author ſays he deſired; but was ſhewn to perſons who would keep a copy of it by them, by which means the copies multiplied prodigiouſly in Bohemia; a circumſtance which however we need not wonder at, as it promiſed King Frederick an hundred triumphs. Some time after it was printed, in the Bohemian tongue, at Perna in Miſnia, with encomiums and marginal notes. However all the Miniſters were not caught in this trap. Two of them, with ſome of the Elders of their Church, blamed the copying of the book in queſtion. The intereſt of the true faith, and the danger to which they expoſed themſelves, were the two cauſes or motives which prompted them to vote for the ſuppreſſion of thoſe chimæra's, as being either a meer invention, or the wild dreams of an enthuſiaſt. *Scriptum illud (ſive id ab aliquo ingenioſo conflictum, ſive ab ipſo fanatico homine conſcriptum eſſet) ſupprimi petierunt. Duplex enim ſubeſſe periculum: & Conſcientiarum, ſi ſe homines a certo Dei Verbo ad incerta id genus figmenta abduci paterentur: & Corporis atque vitæ, ſi hæc in adverſariorum veniant manus* (13). In 1626, the Electreſs Juliana, mother of King Frederic, having informed a Moravian Nobleman of high diſtinction, who as well as herſelf was at that time a refugee in Berlin, that ſhe had received a letter from the King her ſon, to enquire whether it was poſſible to get a manuſcript copy of the prophecies of the Sileſian; the Nobleman abovementioned procured a copy of them; and not being able to preſent it himſelf, becauſe he was ſick, he employed Comenius, at that time in Berlin, to do it. Comenius, inſtead of delivering it to the Electreſs, went directly to the King, who was at the Hague, where being admitted to audience, he made a ſpeech to him; and told him, among other particulars, that ſince his Majeſty and his children were the principal characters in that divine Drama, the perſons poſſeſſed of it would have thought themſelves guilty of an abſurdity, had they not communicated it to his Majeſty. *Cujus* (Cotteri) *omnia cum ſint in ſcriptum relata, ibidemque Majeſtas Veſtra, cùm Progenie ſuâ, tanquam primaria in hac Dei Comœdia introducitur Perſona: abſurdum viſum eſt illis, qui ea ſuis hactenus cuſtodierunt manibus, ad notitiam Majeſtatis veſtræ hæc non deduci. Non quidem ut Majeſtati Veſtræ iſta præcisè credendi imponatur neceſſitas, ſed, Primùm, ut hæc apud Majeſtatem veſtram tanquam in archivo ſacro aſſerventur, in futurum teſtimonium: nè, ſi demùm poſt completa prædicta hæc palam fiant, ex eventu ſic eſſe collecta, ſuſpicari quis, aut calumniari poſſit. Deinde, ut occaſio ſit attendendi, num fortè divina providentia tales in eventus res diſponat. (Nam ſi de imminente rerum mutatione Politicos diſcurſus, vel Aſtrologicas prædictiones, aut ſimiles Prudentiorum conjecturas, cognoſcere non aſpernamur, cur hæc ab altiori venientia principio aſpernari libeat?) Curarunt itaque ex authentico deſcribi exemplar, quod Majeſtati veſtræ per me humili cum obſervantia exhibent: ſimulque exhibui* (14). This is not meant, adds he, to impoſe on your Majeſty the neceſſity of believing theſe things; but only to deſire you to keep them in your archives; in order that if they are confirmed by the event, no one may have room to object, that thoſe predictions were made after the event; and that you likewiſe may have an occaſion to obſerve from thence, whether providence prepares the way to thoſe great revolutions.

(12) Comenii, *Hiſt. Revel.* pag. 21.

(13) Ibid. pag. 23.

(14) Ibid. pag. 26.

The myſtery lies here; they would have Princes who are capable of executing a deſign, and intereſted in the execution of it, form ſuch a deſign, in hopes of ſucceeding in it. This is very frequently the firſt ſpring or motive of our Prophets and Apocalyptical Commentators, and of thoſe who favour and ſupport them. But to reſume the thread of our Hiſtory.

Comenius was graciouſly received and diſmiſſed by King Frederic, and went to Bohemia, whither Kotterus went alſo in October 1626, and was in conference with ſome Miniſters and Gentlemen (15).

The following paſſage does not appear to me accurate. *Quam turpiter vero in horum* (Cotteri & Drabicii) *& Chriſtinæ Poniatoviæ virginis Bohemiæ conatibus, qui ejuſdem omnino farinæ erant, juvandis modo dictus Comenius ſe dederit, è Voetii Diſpp. part. 2. p.* 1080 (16). i. e. "How ſcandalouſly the ſaid Comenius aſſiſted the "endeavours of Kotterus, Drabicius, and Chriſtina Po- "niatovia, a Bohemian maiden, who were all of the "ſame ſtamp, is manifeſt from Voetius. Diſp. part. "2. pag. 1080." Thus ſpeaks Hartnac, in his new edition of Micrælius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. He had juſt before condemned the pretended Prophecies of Kotterus, and Comenius who publiſhed them. He had been ſaying, that Drabicius's head and hand had been cut off, he having juſtly deſerved that puniſhment. *Interceptus in illo regno* (Hungariæ Drabicius) *capite manuque amputatis libro quoque cui titulus,* Lux in Tenebris, *infami loco combuſto dignam pœnam luit* (17). He adds immediately after, that it appears from pag. 1080, of Tom. II. of Voetius's Diſputations, that Comenius committed a moſt ſhameful fault in publiſhing the Revelations of the perſons in queſtion. I have conſulted this place in Voetius; but there is not ſo much as one word relating to Comenius, either in page 1080 or the following.

(15) Extracted from *Hiſtoria Revelationum*, publiſhed by Comenius, in the year 1659, pag. 15, & *ſeq.*

(16) Micræl. *Hiſtor. Eccleſ.* pag. 1324, edit. 1699.

(17) Idem, ibid. See citation (18) of the article DRABICIUS.

[*D*] *He at laſt was ſet on the pillory.*] Here follow Comenius's words. *Poſt aliquot adhuc menſium deliberationem ignominiæ pœna affecerunt tali. Eductum carcere collocarunt ad cippum fori, ferreo adſtrictum collari, affixaque ſupra caput ſcheda, cui inſcriptum fuit:* Hic eſt Pſeudo-propheta ille, qui prædixit quæ non evenerunt. *Horæ ſpatio ſic ſpectaculo relictus, per Lictorem urbe fuit eductus, exireque patriâ, nec in Cæſaris ditiones redire ſub capitis pœna, juſſus* (18). i. e. "After de- "liberating ſome months, the following puniſhment "was inflicted on him. Being led out of priſon, he "was ſet on the pillory with this inſcription over his "head: *This is the falſe Prophet, who foretold things "that never came to paſs.* Being thus left as a pub- "lic ſpectacle during an hour, a Serjeant led him out "of the city; and he was commanded upon pain "of death to leave his country, and not return into "the dominions of his Imperial Majeſty."

(18) *Hiſtoria Revelat.* pag. 28.

[*E*] *It is by a typographical error that he is ſaid, in Moreri's Dictionary, to have lived fourſcore and twelve years.*] He is ſaid to be born in the year 1585, and to have died in 1647: he conſequently lived ſixty two years, and not ninety two; but Printers often miſtake the figures 6 and 9 one for the other.

[*F*] *Comenius is inexcuſable for printing ſuch Prophecies.*]

evidently convicted of falſity by the event; and ſince his death, they have been more and more refuted by the courſe of affairs in Europe. The Turks who, according to Kotterus, were to ruin the Houſe of Auſtria, have reſtored it to its former glory by their continual

cies.] Heaven forbid that I ſhould pronounce judgment, with regard to my neighbour's thoughts. Thoſe myſteries belong only to God; but on ſome occaſions men may give their judgment on appearances; much more may I be allowed to relate, hiſtorically, the judgment of others with regard to Comenius's conduct. Whilſt he reſided in Pruſſia, ſome debates were made concerning him in the Courts of ſome Princes; and it was given as a caſe of conſcience, to examine, whether he would not deſerve the puniſhment enacted by the Law of God againſt falſe Prophets. He has been ſuſpected to have been Counſellor and Secretary to thoſe who meditated an inroad into Bohemia; and which would have been put in execution, had the Engliſh (19) furniſhed them the ſuccours deſired. He, and thoſe of his character were looked upon as the abettors of the war which Ragotzki and the Princes Radzivil undertook againſt Poland. The object that was ſet before their eyes, in order to excite them to take up arms, was the delivery of the Church from Papal tyranny. I relate nothing here but what I have good authority for, Arnoldus writing as follows to Comenius. *Prævaricatio illa, quam dicis, tanti tamen non fuit, ut ſuper ea in aulis Principum deliberaretur, caſus conſcientiæ formati viris doctis decidendi mitterentur, an ſim falſus Propheta, & conſequenter, an in me pœna divinitus in falſos Prophetas ſtatuta animadvertendum non eſſet, quod de te in Boruſſia cum adhuc morarer perſcriptum memini, & forte autographum illarum literum adhuc poſſideo. Tanti, inquam, non fuit illa prævaricatio, ut propter eam πολυπράγμων audirem, ac deſertâ ſtatione mea Profeſſoria, Magnatibus pro ſtabello in concitandis motibus bellicis eſſem, uti de te rumor eſt, qui à manu & conſiliis intimis fuiſſe illis diceris, qui in Bohemiam irruptionem ante annos moliebantur, ſi modo annuiſſent illorum votis Angli ſollicitati. Ego id non dico, quanquam ſtilus literarum tuo non ſit abſimilis. Jam per rumores in Boruſſia (uti, niſi me omnino fallat memoria, illinc ad te perſcripſi,) audiveram, Principes Radzivilios & Rakocium à vobis fuiſſe inductos, qui arma contra Polonos capeſſerent, ſpe liberandæ Eccleſiæ à tyrannide Pontificia, cujus rei haud exigua paſſim in volumine illo triuno extant argumenta. Ego tamen non definio* (20). i. e. "Nevertheleſs the prevarication you "mention, was not ſo great, as to occaſion deliberation about it in the Courts of Princes; and for caſes "of conſcience to be drawn up, and ſent to learned "men, in order that they ſhould give the deciſion of "them whether I am a falſe Prophet; and in conſequence thereof, whether the puniſhment which "Heaven inflicts on falſe Prophets ought not to be inflicted on me; which I remember was writ with regard to you, at the time that I reſided in Pruſſia; "and I happen ſtill to have the copy of thoſe letters "by me. I ſay, that that prevarication was not ſo "great, as to get me the name of *medling fellow*, "who, abandoning my Profeſſorſhip, am as an incendiary in ſtirring up the great to engage in war; as "is reported concerning you, who are declared to have "been the principal fomenter of thoſe, who intended, "in caſe the Engliſh had ſuccoured them, as was deſired, to have made an inroad into Bohemia ſome "years ſince. However, I don't pretend to affirm "this, although the ſtyle of the letters is not unlike "yours. I before had heard it reported in Pruſſia, "(which I informed you of by letter from thence, if "my memory fails me not) that the Princes Radzivil "and Ragotzki, had been excited by you, in order "that they ſhould take up arms againſt the Poles, in "hopes of freeing the Church from Popiſh tyranny, "whereof many ſtrong arguments or proofs, in many "places, appear in that three-one volume. Never"theleſs, I don't determine any thing." I don't wonder that Comenius ſhould have been ſuſpected of carrying on political machinations and intrigues of war; for a Divine who travels ſo much as he, and has buſineſs ſo often in the Courts of Princes, is a man who is not to be very much truſted. The Electreſs, mother to King Frederic, aſks whether a collection of Kotterus's Prophecies can be procured; the perſon to whom ſhe makes the application gets a copy tranſcribed; and not having an opportunity of preſenting it, he deſires Comenius to do it. The laſt mentioned, who is at Berlin, and could, in a quarter of an hour's time, preſent it to the Electreſs, chuſes rather to come to the Hague, in order to give it into King Frederic's own hand, and harangue him on the contents of the book in queſtion, which would, at leaſt, ſaid he, make him attentive to the occurrences (21). Theſe perſons foretel the things they deſire ſhould be attempted; and after this they ſet every engine at work, in order to engage all ſuch in the enterprize as they think fit for it. It is very probable, that the great application with which Comenius laboured at the reunion of the Proteſtants (22), proceeded from a deſire he had to form a powerful party, which might fulfill the Prophecies with temporal weapons. Another circumſtance did Comenius an injury: he was a man of parts and learning; he argued very ſenſibly on other matters, and in theſe like a man of wit; and there was nothing in his perſon that appeared like an enthuſiaſt. This made people conclude that he did not believe the things he uttered. There may be, and there ſometimes is, impoſture in extatic grimaces; but thoſe who boaſt their being inſpired, without ſhewing by their countenance or expreſſions that their brain is diſordered, and without ever doing any action that is out of nature, ought to be infinitely more ſuſpected of fraud, than thoſe who, from time to time, fall into ſtrong fits, as the Sybils did more or leſs.

(19) It was in Cromwell's time. See the article COMENIUS, remark [G], num. 6.

(20) Arnoldus, *Diſcurſu Theologico contra Comenium*, pag. 10.

(21) See about the middle of the remark [C] above.

(22) He owns, in his book *de Uno neceſſario*, that one of the three labyrinths in which he was bewildered was, the *Pſeudo-irenicum, ſive varia noxie prorſuſque exitioſe circa fidem deſſidentes Chriſtianos reconciliandi deſiderium*. See Spizelius, *in infelice Litterato*, pag. 1025.

Deus, ecce, Deus: cui talia fanti,
Ante fores ſubito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comtæ manſere comæ: ſed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument: majorque videri,
Nec mortale ſonans, adflata eſt numine quando
Jam propiore Dei (23).
. . . . . :
At Phœbi nondum patiens immanis in antro
Bacchatur vates, magnum ſi pectore poſſit
Excuſſiſſe deum: tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo (24).

(23) Virg. *Æn.* lib. 6. ver. 46.

(24) Ibid. ver. 77.

" He comes, behold the God, thus while ſhe ſaid,
" And ſhiv'ring at the ſacred entry ſtaid,
" Her colour chang'd, her face was not the ſame,
" And hollow groans from her deep ſpirit came.
" Her hair ſtood up; convulſive rage poſſeſt
" Her trembling limbs, and heav'd her lab'ring
" breaſt.
" Greater than human kind ſhe ſeem'd to look,
" And with an accent, more than mortal, ſpoke.
" Her ſtaring eyes with ſparkling fury roll;
" When all the God came ruſhing on her ſoul.
DRYDEN.

" Struggling in vain, impatient of her load,
" And lab'ring underneath the pond'rous God,
" The more ſhe ſtrove to ſhake him from her breaſt,
" With more, and far ſuperior force he preſs'd;
" Commands his entrance, and without controul,
" Uſurps her organs, and inſpires her ſoul."
DRYDEN.

I am willing to have it thought, that Comenius did not harbour any ſiniſter deſign. But what ſhall we ſay againſt thoſe who cenſure him for publiſhing Kotterus's Prophecies, as inſpired by heaven, even when the event had proved the falſity of them (25)? I will own that this appears to me quite inexcuſable. And with regard to Drabicius, could any one imagine that he was inſpired by heaven? Had heaven inſpired him, he would have been ſtrongly deſirous that Prince Ragotzki ſhould deſtroy the Houſe of Auſtria, and have known that heaven deſigned him for that mighty work. But had heaven been ſtrongly inclined to this, would he not have inſpired that Prince with a deſire of engaging in war againſt the Emperor, or at leaſt with ſome little credulity in favour of Drabicius? Here follows a circumſtance, that ſhews the obſtinacy of Comenius. His ſon-in-law (26) deſired Arnoldus, Profeſſor of Divinity in Franeker, to favour his father-in-law with his

(25) It was proved to him, by his own words, that he himſelf looked upon ſome of Drabicius's Predictions as falſe; that, for inſtance, which declared that Comenius ſhould be preſent in Preſburg at the coronation of the King of Hungary. Arnoldus, *in Diſcurſu Theologico contra Comenium*, pag. 42.

(26) His name was *Figulus*.

continual loſſes [G]. Kotterus has been greatly ſuſpected of having a deſign to ſtir up wars. The ſame ſuſpicions are entertained of a Miniſter, whoſe prophecies are more recent [H]. An advantage has been taken of ſome words which he had let fall

his good advice, he ſeeming to heſitate about the printing of the three Prophecies. Arnoldus adviſed him not to print them (27); his ſon-in-law did the ſame (28), and enforced his opinion with very ſtrong reaſons. But how ſhould Comenius follow the advice of two perſons, ſince he had paid no deference to the decree of the Poliſh Churches, which, after having examined the pretended Revelations of Kotterus and Chriſtina Poniatovia, ſentenced them to be for ever ſuppreſſed? *Cotterianæ & Poniatovianæ viſiones ut vanæ ad ſilentium & tenebras fuerunt ab illis condemnatæ* (29).

(27) *In Diſcurſu Theologico*, pag. 5.

(28) Ibid. pag. 56.

(29) Arnold. ibid. pag. 28.

[G] *The Turks who, according to Kotterus, were to ruin the houſe of Auſtria, have reſtored it to its former glory by their continual loſſes.*] See, on this occaſion, the indecent inſults of the author of *the advice to the Refugees*. *It is certain*, ſays he (30,) *that the glory and felicity of his imperial Majeſty in this war againſt the Turks are wonderful; and that God, to the eternal confuſion of the prophecies of your* DRABICIUS, *has given greater ſucceſs to the Prince than to the Emperour Charles V. That falſe prophet, more eager at curſing than Balaam, who, even when a neighbouring Monarch importuned him with mighty promiſes, would do nothing raſhly, pronounced againſt the houſe of Auſtria, during ſeveral years, the moſt dreadful curſes that came into his head; and had devoted it, as it were, to the furies and infernal Gods*, Diris & numinibus infernis, *becauſe it had perſecuted their religion. But the event has ſhewn that he did not underſtand the trade, and that he was not very expert at curſing. No man ever leſs deſerved the elogium which was beſtowed on Balaam, he whom thou bleſſeſt ſhall be bleſſed, and he whom thou curſeſt ſhall be curſt; and if all your prophetical imprecations are like thoſe of Drabicius, people will be extremely ſollicitous hereafter to be curſed by you; and you will be ſought for with greater importunity to utter them, than the King of the Moabites employed, to make the falſe prophet Balaam curſe his enemies.* Since the printing of the *advice to the Refugees*, the ſucceſs of the Emperor's arms has been interrupted ſometimes (31); but this has been but a ſhort reſpite for the Turk; their ill fortune ſoon diſplaying itſelf with its utmoſt fury. This fortune had like to have cruſhed them laſt year (32): She made them feel every were her indignation, in Dalmatia, Hungary, Poland and the Archipelago; and, if our Gazettes are to be credited, they loſt two naval battles in a very ſhort ſpace of time, laſt winter; thus the victors have not thought proper to purſue their victory, but rather to abandon the iſland of Chios. The new Sultan raiſes in ſome meaſure the hopes of the Port. They apply to him what Florus ſaid of Trajan, viz. that the empire, which was almoſt ruined by the indolence of former Emperors, was reviving, and reflouriſhing under Trajan. *Quibus inertia Cæſarum quaſi conſenuit atque decoxit, niſi quod ſub Trajano Principe movet lacertos, & præter ſpem omnium ſenectus imperii, quaſi reddita juventute, revireſcit* (33); but we do not find hitherto, according to the relations of our Gazetteers, that he has been very ſucceſsful. With regard to Tekely, who, during the ſiege of Vienna, was exhibited to us as Drabicius's chief Hero, we have lately been told in our news papers, that the Turks, quite weary with the continual malignity of his ſtar, have impriſoned him in the ſeven Towers.

(30) Pag. 357.

(31) For inſtance, when the Turks recovered Belgrade in 1690.

(32) I write this in October 1695, when our Gazetteers have already told us, that the Imperialiſts have ſuſtained a very inconſiderable loſs, in the battle of Lugos.

(33) Florus *in* Præmio, *Ext.*

This I wrote in October 1695. at a time when we ſaw a kind of ſuſpenſion of the great and glorious fortune of the imperial arms in Hungary. The Paris Gazettes daily magnified the victory which the Sultan had lately gained, whilſt the other News Papers were perpetually leſſening it. It was not yet known according to thoſe news-writers, to which party the conſequences of this battle would be favourable. The progreſs of the Turks would have confirmed the accounts given by the Paris news-writers, and refuted thoſe of Holland and Germany. But the Turks made no progreſs at all; they retiring a little after into their own territories, without atchieving one action that ſhewed them to be conquerors, whereby the conteſt was ended to the confuſion of the Paris news-writers. His imperial Majeſty's arms triumphed afterwards, and chiefly in 1697, when the Turks ſuſtained ſo complete, ſo ſhameful and prejudicial a victory, that the like can hardly be found in their annals. The Sultan, who was there in perſon, received ſo ſignal an overthrow on this occaſion, that he thought of nothing but peace; and accepted it in the following year on any conditions which the victors were pleaſed to preſcribe; conditions exceedingly glorious and advantageous to his imperial Majeſty. No falſe prophets ever met with ſuch cruel affronts, as thoſe which the prophecies publiſhed by Comenius received by this ſignal treaty of peace. The Emperor, whom they ſo highly menaced, mortified, humbled, and trod under foot the haughtineſs of the Turks, to whom they had promiſed ſo many conqueſts over the houſe of Auſtria. He added the ſplendor of an advantageous peace to the glory which had accompanied his arms; and which had made him triumphant, as well by the reduction of the ſtouteſt places, as by the gaining of ſeveral battles. All things are at his diſpoſal in Tranſylvania; he has made a kingdom (34), which was always elective, hereditary; and he formerly poſſeſſed but a little part of it, but is now maſter of the whole. What ſhall we ſay of the advantages and glory he gained by the treaty of Ryſwick; by the recovery of ſo many countries which had been taken from the Empire, or his allies; and by the reunion of Friburg and Briſac to the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria? If the Prince in queſtion is happy abroad, he is no leſs ſo at home; fecundity, marriages &c. give proſperity to his family. His ſecond ſon is to inherit almoſt the whole monarchy of Spain, by ſuch ſtipulations as France it ſelf has conſented to fix (35). Take warning by theſe confuſions of Comenius's falſe prophets, all you who had preſumed to menace, with the book of revelations, all thoſe who are not agreable to you.

(34) That of Hungary.

(35) I write this in June 1706, at a time when the News-writers mention a treaty of Partition of the Spaniſh Monarchy, agreed upon by France, England, and the States-General.

[H] *The ſame ſuſpicions are entertained of a Miniſter, whoſe Prophecies are more recent.*] What I have ſaid of Comenius, I apply to a famous divine of Rotterdam, who has explained the ſcripture prophecies, with an extreme bold pretence of his being inſpired. I do not take upon me to judge of his heart, and will allow it to be ſuppoſed, that he did not act againſt his conſcience; but no one ought to be offended with my declaring, that he has been ſuſpected to harbour no other deſign than that of exciting people to take up arms, and to ſet all Europe in a flame. The foundation of their belief is this, viz. his not ſhewing any ſigns of confuſion, after that the event had given the lie to his prophecies, in ſuch a manner as was quite indiſputable. *He entertained*, ſay theſe people, *ſo high an opinion of his own genius and knowledge, that he would have been ſeized with the deepeſt grief and fallen into a ſtate of the loweſt humiliation, by ſo flagrant a proof of illuſion and ignorance as his would be; but being inwardly convinced that he was not miſtaken or deceived, he has retained all the ſame good opinion he had before entertained of his underſtanding; and ſo the ill ſucceſs of a prophecy, which, with reſpect to him, was no more than a juggler's trick, has not humbled him in any manner.* They build likewiſe on this, viz. that after the example of Comenius, he has attempted to reunite the Lutherans and Calviniſts (36); in hopes, as 'tis ſaid, of increaſing the number of the troops to attack Antichriſt. Once again, I am willing that this ſhould be conſidered only as a faithful relation of what many think and ſay. Let us go farther, and ſee what one of his adverſaries has publiſhed (37). " A man muſt be ſtupid not " to ſee through ſo groſs an artifice, particularly when " he himſelf ſeems to give you notice of it; and leaves " here and there in his work, ſome traces as it were, " by which he may diſcover his ſecret to you hereaf- " ter, and ſecure himſelf from your reproaches. *It* " *is certain*, ſays he in one place, (*), *that frequently* " *prophecies, whether fictitious or true, have inſpired* " *thoſe, for whom they were made, with the deſign of* " *undertaking thoſe things which were promiſed them.* " Perſons of good ſenſe need no more than this, in " order to make them underſtand his intention, and " ſee into his views. And in another place; *The* " *world may perhaps be one day informed of the* " *chief*

(36) *See* Mr. De Meaux, *Addition à l'Hiſtoire des Variations.*

(37) Pelliſſon, *Chimeres de Mr. Jurieu*, Part 4. pag. 184, 185. Dutch edit.

(*) In the ſecond edit. of *l'Accompliſſement des Prophecies, à Rotterdam*, 1686, chap. 15.

fall in his book; and whereby, as it is ſaid, he diſcovered the ſecret of his deſign. The

" *chief motive, which prompted me to deliver my ſelf in* " *ſo deciſive a manner, and with ſo much confidence* " *on the explication of the prophecies.* It will be known " to us, moſt dear brethren, in the manner he ſhall " then think fit to explain it. If he be miſtaken, as " it is natural to believe he will, he will ſay; *I only* " *conjectured; but a good cauſe ought to have been ſup-* " *ported as well as poſſible; it was neceſſary to animate* " *our people by a little hopes. I know that prophecies, e-* " *ven ſuch as are fictitious, are uſed to produce the like* " *effect.* But if, on the contrary, the preſent Junc- " tures, the jealouſy of nations, the indignation con- " ceived by the Proteſtant States at ſeeing their reli- " gion attacked, or the diſputes of the French with " the Court of Rome, ſhould produce any important " effect that might give you freſh hopes: *I know ve-* " *ry well,* would he cry, *what I ſaid as early as the* " *year* 1686. *An Angel had ſpoke to me; but had I* " *revealed this at that time I ſhould have been looked* " *upon as an impoſtor: the angel himſelf had forbid me* " *to ſpeak of it. He ſpeaks to me again, and permits* " *me to declare this to you. Follow me; we are going* " *to begin this Kingdom of God of which you doubted,* " *and which you nevertheleſs begged of God every day* " *in your prayers.*" Were it true that Mr. Jurieu is guilty of the impoſture laid to his charge, he would have been afraid that the world would not have been able to dive into his ſecret; and therefore chuſing to preſerve the reputation of his good ſenſe at the expence of his honeſty, he would have let drop ſome words (38), that might diſcover the myſtery to the clear-ſighted.

(38) The two paſſages, for inſtance, quoted by Peliſſon out of the *Accompliſſement des Prophéties.*

The knaveries, that have been diſcovered among the petty Prophets of Dauphiné, have given occaſion to a very large commentary on the abovecited paſſage from Peliſſon. We need but read a work entitled, *Hiſtorie du Fanaticiſme de nôtre tems &c.* i. e. *The Hiſtory of the Enthuſiaſm of our Age; and the deſign there was of exciting the malecontents among the Calviniſts, in France, to take up arms.* It was printed at Paris in the year 1692. Mr. Brueys, author of the tract in queſtion, having collected a great number of paſſages out of Mr. Jurieu's book, to prove that this Miniſter ſet up for a Prophet, adds immediately after: " We nevertheleſs muſt not imagine, " that this Miniſter was himſelf perſuaded of the " truth of thoſe things of which he wanted to per- " ſuade others; he had an artful deſign in aſſuming " the air and manners of a Prophet; he knew per- " fectly well that he was not a Prophet; but he was " deſirous of impoſing on the people, in order to ex- " cite them to take up arms, and light up a civil war " in the heart of this country, in order to favour the " inclinations of our enemies. He was ſo full of this " deteſtable project when he wrote his Book of Pro- " phecies, that he cannot forbear diſcovering his de- " ſign to a reader of ever ſo little penetration. The " time in which he wrote it, the motives which " prompted him, and the touches that eſcape from " his pen, and on which occaſion he has inadvertently " let fall ſome drops of the venom, with which his " heart was filled: all theſe things diſcover the falſe " Prophet's deſign (39)." I ſhall not tranſcribe the proofs he has given of each of theſe remarks; and will only mention what he obſerves with reſpect to the laſt. *Here,* ſays he (40), *is what has eſcaped him in ſome part of his book, and which manifeſtly ſhews that he had no other view but to excite nations to take up arms.*

(39) Brueys, *Hiſtoire Fanaticiſme*, pag. 44.

(40) Ibid. pag. 51.

" The Prophecies that are inſerted in this piece, " had at firſt ſcandalized the moſt judicious of his " party, which he himſelf owns in the 2d edition of his " book. *There are ſome people,* ſays he (a), *who believe* " *that the hopes I give of a reſtoration in a few years,* " *may be of great prejudice.* He firſt endeavours to " ſhew that this need not be feared, and adds as fol- " lows. *It is certain,* ſays he, *that frequently Pro-* " *phecies, whether fictitious or true, have inſpired thoſe* " *for whom they were made, with the deſign of under-* " *taking thoſe things which were promiſed them.* Could " he have declared more expreſly the deſign he had " of running the hazard to vent falſe Prophecies, in " order to excite the malecontents of France to make " an inſurrection; and to fire them with a deſign of " attempting to procure themſelves, by force of arms, " that ſpeedy deliverance which he promiſed them? " Thoſe of his party had not only been ſcandalized " at his preſuming to publiſh Prophecies, but were ſtill " more ſo at his ſpeaking in too affirmative a tone. " It is ſtill himſelf who informs us of this. *With re-* " *gard to the remark,* ſays he (e), *which ſo many people* " *have made, viz. that I ſpeak too confidently of things,* " *which I ought perhaps to have propoſed, at moſt, as* " *weighty conjectures; the world may perhaps one day* " *be informed of the chief reaſon, which made me ſpeak* " *in ſo deciſive a tone, and ſo confident an air.* What " then is that chief reaſon which he does not dare to " mention, and which the world may perhaps be in- " formed of one day? Is he firmly perſuaded of the " truth of thoſe things which he declares? This is the " only motive, that ought to make a man of honour and " probity ſpeak with a reſolute affirmative tone of " voice. But if this be his, why does he not ſay " ſo? Is he afraid of ſpeaking the truth? Let us urge " him no farther on that ſubject; he is ſincerer than " we imagine; he himſelf has already told the chief " reaſon: had he not juſt before ſaid, *It is certain,* " *that frequently Prophecies, whether fictitious or true,* " *have inſpired thoſe for whom they were made, with* " *the deſign of undertaking thoſe things which were* " *promiſed them.* This is his chief reaſon, and we " muſt not look for any other. This falſe Prophet " did not expect that thoſe two paſſages would one " day be joined (41). He had deſignedly placed them " in two ſeparate volumes; but now they are toge- " ther; and they explain one another ſo naturally, " that a man muſt be blind not to ſee, that the reaſon " why Mr. Jurieu ſpeaks in ſo deciſive a manner, " and with ſo confident an air of the approaching de- " liverance, which he promiſed the Proteſtants of " France, was, becauſe he is of opinion, that fre- " quently Prophecies, whether fictitious or true, in- " ſpire thoſe for whom they are made, with the deſign " of undertaking thoſe things which are promiſed them."

(a) Tom. 1. *Addit. à l'Avis, ſec. edit.*

(e) Tom. 2. pag. 184.

(41) Brueys often repeats the conſequences he draws from the joining of thoſe two paſſages. *See particularly,* pag. 227, 230, 241.

Brueys ſeems ſo fully perſuaded of his having diſcovered the whole myſtery, that he repeats this obſervation more than once; nay he is ſo malicious as to remind the reader of the artifices of the heathens. I will alſo quote that paſſage. " This Miniſter pro- " miſed the Calviniſts that Popery ſhould have its " downfal, and the approaching deliverance of their " Church. He promiſed her thoſe things as from " God, by telling them that they were contained in " the oracles of the Revelations. It therefore was " not poſſible that thoſe Prophecies could inſpire thoſe " for whom they were made, with the deſign of un- " dertaking thoſe things which were promiſed them; " becauſe nothing has a greater aſcendant over the " mind of man than religion; and that all things " appear lawful to them, when they firmly believe that " God is on their ſide, and that they only execute his " orders. Thoſe who know the uſe which the artful " Greeks and Romans made of their Oracles, their " Southſayers, their Augurs; and of thoſe Prieſts " whom they called Haruſpices, Feciales, Præpetes " and Oſcines (42), whoſe employment was to foretell " the will of the Gods, whenever any important affair " was debated on; ſome in viewing the entrails of " the victims, the harmony, the flight, or various mo- " tions of certain birds. Thoſe, I ſay, who know " of what uſe theſe things were formerly, are ſenſible " that perſons of good ſenſe gave no manner of cre- " dit to them; and made no other uſe of them than " to inſpire nations and ſoldiers with the deſigns which " they promiſed them in the name of their Gods; " but which, in the main, was nothing but what " they themſelves had reſolved to do, before they con- " ſulted their oracles. Here we have directly the " pretended Prophecies of Mr. Jurieu, and his pretended " perſuaſion (43)."

(42) Theſe two names *Præpetes & Oſcines* were not given to Prieſts, but to Birds that were employed in Divination.

(43) Brueys, *Hiſt. du Fanaticiſme*, pag. 230, 231.

I again repeat, in this place, the proteſtation I already made, viz. that I do not here ſet my ſelf up as judge, but only relate what is ſaid by others. I indeed will not conclude this remark without obſerving, that in all ages and countries, Prophecies have been forged in order to excite people to rebellion. I could cite an hundred examples, but one will be ſufficient on this

occaſion. The Spaniards who rebelled againſt Charles V, ſpread a malicious propheſy, viz. that a Prince named Charles would reign over Caſtile; a Prince who would deſtroy and burn the country; but that a ſon of the King of Portugal would poſſeſs himſelf of Caſtile, and reſtore the country to a very flouriſhing condition. The ringleaders of the ſedition cauſed this Prophecy to be printed, and commanded every one of their partizans to keep a copy of it by them (44).

(44) See among the *Golden Epiſtles of Anthony de Guevara*, that which the Admiral of Caſtile wrote to the inhabitants of Seville, in 1520. It is the 13th of book 3. What I quote is pag. m. 65.

[*I*] *The things with which he is charged are a little too much exaggerated.*] If the reader examines carefully the following words of le Brueys, he will find ſuch an artful rhetoric in them as ought juſtly to be ſuſpected. "It is impoſſible but Mr. Jurieu's beſt "friends muſt own, that the ſole motive of his pub-"liſhing his predictions on the Revelations, was, in "order to excite the malecontent Calviniſts in France "to take up arms, in order that the League which "was then forming, finding this Kingdom divided "againſt itſelf, might have the eaſier opportunity of "ruining it entirely; and that the Calviniſts might "ſee their Religion re-eſtabliſhed on the ruins of "their country.

"Let any perſon now ſum up, if this can be done, "all the crimes and wicked attempts that are com-"prized in ſo execrable a project; the artifices, "fictions and impoſtures made uſe of, in order to "ſeduce the ſimple; the profanation of the holy "Scriptures and its ſacred Oracles; the impieties and "blaſphemies againſt the Holy Ghoſt; the violation "of the moſt ſacred Laws of the Chriſtian Religion; "the overthrowing the principles of the morality of "Jeſus Chriſt; the contempt of the conſtant practice "of the Church, and of the examples of the Mar-"tyrs; the forgetfulneſs of his own maxims; the "precepts of rebellion againſt the powers eſtabliſhed "by God; the exhortations to Subjects, Chriſtians "and Frenchmen to take up arms, and join thoſe "who have conſpired the ruin of their country; the "horrid wiſhes he prompts them to make for the de-"feat of our armies; the plundering of this Kingdom; "the deſolation of our provinces; the burning of our "Cities, the effuſion of blood, and the murther of "their fellow-citizens, friends and relations. In fine, "all the inhuman and barbarous actions which a civil "and inteſtine war could have added to the moſt fu-"rious and moſt bloody foreign war that was ever "known.

"*Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum.*
The ſenſe is,
"Strange, that Religion ſhould perſuade ſuch evils!

"Thus you ſee (to ſpeak of things as they really are) "the conſequences of Mr. Jurieu's falſe prophecies, "and the ſcope of the ſeditious writings of that fa-"mous defender of Calviniſm, who, to get the public "exerciſe of his Religion re-eſtabliſhed in France, "breathes into thoſe of his party greater fury, and "prompts them to greater cruelties than the barba-"rous Mahomet committed, in order to get his Alco-"ran eſtabliſhed (45)."

(45) Brueys, *Hiſt. du Fanaticiſme*, pag. 241.

(46) This is not the only anachroniſm in Mr. Brueys's book. We are told here, pag. 17. that Mr. Jurieu, tired with writing controverſial pieces and paſtoral letters, reſolved to take another courſe, and ſet up for a prophet. He did not begin his Paſtorals till after he had publiſhed his Prophecies. Brueys, pag. 14. ſpeaks of a peace concluded in 1682, but he ſhould have ſaid 1684.

I muſt here lay aſide the character of a mere copyiſt, and aſſume that of a critic. It is falſe to aſſert that a League of any kind was formed againſt France, at the time that Mr. Jurieu publiſhed his Predictions; for they were given out in March 1686, above two years before he had the leaſt ſuſpicion of the tranſactions that broke out in 1688; ſo that the anachroniſm which his adverſary has committed is a groſs blunder here (86). Had Brueys conſulted Nicole he would have been more equitable; and not have been ignorant that Mr. Jurieu, in publiſhing his explication of the Revelations, imagined that war would not have any ſhare in the events foretold by him. Nicole has done him juſtice as follows (47). "Who would not, "for inſtance, conſider as the menace, of a very "bloody war, the following lines from the preface of "his ſyſtem of the Church (48)? *We ſhall ſoon go and "eſtabliſh truth even on the throne of falſhood; and the "raiſing up of what was juſt before caſt down ſhall be "performed in ſo glorious a manner, that the whole earth "ſhall be aſtoniſhed at it.* What author ever wrote "in ſuch a ſtrain? And who would not imagine that "ſuch a diſcourſe would have been followed by an "army of a hundred thouſand Proteſtants combined "together, to reſtore the pretended reformed Religion "in France? Jurieu might even be accuſed of high-treaſon, and looked upon as a ſeditious perſon. It "is therefore proper to undeceive the world in this "particular, and to inform them that this diſcourſe is "not grounded on any conſpiracy formed againſt "France. . . . (49). All that he ſays here, tranſient-"ly, in ſo terrible a manner, is much leſs dreadful "when explained at length by his *Accompliſhment of "the Prophecies:* for it is there we ſee that this glo-"rious re eſtabliſhment of the pretended reformed (the "Calviniſts) will be brought about *without any, or "very little effuſion of blood* (*); or that it ſhall not "even be, either by foreign troops, or by a multitude "of Miniſters who ſhall ſpread themſelves over "France; but by the effuſion of the Spirit of God, "which ſhall reanimate the extended bodies of Enoch "and Elias; that is, according to Mr. Jurieu †, of the "Proteſtants who were formerly witneſſes to the truth, "and who having baſely abandoned it are now de-"prived of life, and ſtretched out in the great ſquare "of the city of Antichriſt; that is, over all France, "the principal part, according to him, of the Anti-"chriſtian Empire." There is another particular, in which Mr. Brueys appears to me blame-worthy; he inſinuating (50) that Mr. Jurieu is the oracle who was conſulted, in order for the ſetting up of a ſchool (51) where children ſhould be taught inſpiration. Here follows the deſcription of that infamous ſchool: *Could any one believe this who had not ſeen it? It was then that a ſchool was firſt opened, in which the art of Prophecy was taught; where people went to learn to foretel things to come; and where, after having paſt through the neceſſary trials, they imagined they received the Holy Ghoſt from the impure mouth of a ſacrilegious maſter, who pretended to breathe it with a kiſs into the mouths of thoſe wretched pupils* (52). This is a deſign of ſo horrid a nature, that it ought never to be declared, nor even ſo much as inſinuated without ſtrong proofs, that a Miniſter was ſo wicked as to ſuggeſt the plan of it. Brueys has given too much extent to the conſequences he draws from Mr. Jurieu's prodigious care to ſave the honour of the petty prophets (53). "He could ne-"ver be prevailed upon to revoke the particulars he "had publiſhed at firſt concerning this propheteſs (54); "and he entertained it with ſo much obſtinacy in "all his letters, that even after Heaven had recovered "the maiden in queſtion from her errors, and ſhe was "become a true and pious catholic, and had owned to "her Judges in what manner du Serre had ſeduced "her; ſtill this Miniſter perſiſted in what he had "advanced; was conſtant to his ſhepherdeſs notwith-"ſtanding her infidelity; and had even the impudence "to ſay, ſpeaking of her and of the other ſleeping "petty prophets, *that they might be become knaves, but "that they nevertheleſs had been prophets* . . . (55). This "Miniſter declared himſelf publickly in favour of "the petty prophets, in ſpite of all that the honeſt "men of his party could ſay to him; and maintained "that they were really inſpired, with an invincible "but affected obſtinacy, as I before obſerved; becauſe "he had his views, and would appoint ſucceſſors to "himſelf in prophecy, as he had already appointed "forerunners. . . . (56). Can we (57) wonder after this, "that Mr. Jurieu could not prevail with himſelf to "abandon a ſett of people, who had improved ſo well "by his leſſons; and that like a fond father, who is "blind to the faults of his Children, he would never "own the folly of thoſe to whom he had given birth?" The conſequences which are drawn from thence are not very juſt; for how many things are there, which men perſiſt obſtinately in maintaining, when they find them already done or formed, without knowing the whole guilt that was in their formation; which they would never adviſe to produce or form after a criminal manner, in caſe they were to be formed or produced? In this manner charity prompts us to extenuate, as much as poſſible, our neighbours faults, and to ſuſpend our own judgments, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt probabilities, in caſe they do not amount to a good proof.

(47) Nicole, *Préface de l'Unité de l'Egliſe*, pag. 24.

(48) This book of Mr. Jurieu was printed the ſame year with his *Accompliſſement des Prophéties*.

(49) Nicole, *Preface de l'Unité de l'Egliſe*, pag. 25.

(*) *Accompliſſement des Prophéties*, pag. 206. 207. See *Accompliſſement des Prophecies*, Part 2. pag. 188, 189, 206, 222.

† Mr. Jurieu, Part 2. pag. 175.

(50) Brueys, *Hiſt. du Fanaticiſme*, pag. 79.

(51) In a glaſs-houſe ſituated on a mountain of Dauphiné called de Peyra. Brueys, ibid. pag. 76, 77.

(52) Ibid. pag. 75, 76.

(53) Ibid. pag. 98.

(54) That is, the ſhepherdeſs of Cret.

(55) Brueys, *Hiſt. du Fanaticiſme*, pag. 106.

(56) Mr. Brueys, pag. 39. had ſaid, that Mr. Jurieu, like a great Prophet, would have forerunners, viz. Kotterus, Chriſtina Poniatovia and Drabicius.

(57) Brueys, *Hiſt. du Fanaticiſme*, pag. 145.

The reader will have a ſtill better idea of Mr. Brueys's raſhneſs, if he obſerves that Mr. Brueys, not contented with inſinuating his accuſation, propoſed it in clear

The things with which he is charged are a little too much exaggerated [*I*]; of which my readers may form a judgment, by examining the paſſages I have cited. The author of the *Thoughts upon Comets* aſſerted, that Drabicius's prophecies met with little credit [*K*].

and affirmative terms, not only againſt Mr. Jurieu the miniſter, but likewiſe againſt ſeveral others. *The moſt factious among the fugitive* (refugee) *Miniſters*, ſays he, (58) *who burnt with impatience to reviſit what they had left in France, conſidering that the ſtratagem which Mr. Jurieu had hit upon might promote their affairs; hearing how greedily the malecontents of that Kingdom received prophecies, which aſſured them of an approaching deliverance, and being perſuaded that there was no better way to prompt them to rebel; imagined that they ought not to let ſlip ſo fine an opportunity of lighting up, in the heart of the country, that civil war which was to give it its mortal wound, in hopes of ſeeing their religion riſe up again on the ruins of a monarchy which they imagined was near its deſtruction.* And yet theſe were the very Miniſters who, *at firſt*, had cried aloud againſt his prophecies; threatned to complain of them, and were offended at his ſpeaking in too affirmative a tone of voice: *but the falſe prophet having whiſpered his ſecret to them, and given them to underſtand*, that frequently prophecies, whether fictitious or true, have inſpired thoſe for whom they were made with the deciſion of undertaking thoſe things which were promiſed them; *and having told them in the ear*, that principal and ſecret reaſon they were to know one day, and which had prompted him to ſpeak with ſo confident an air; *they were ſoon agreed; his ſtratagem was approved in their ſecret council, and a reſolution was taken to propheſy, in order to excite people to take up arms.* Two things may be criticiſed here; for, in the firſt place, no proof can be given that the French miniſters were concerned in the horrid combination of thoſe ſeducers, who taught young children to pretend to inſpiration; and 2dly, it is falſe to aſſert that the French Miniſters had cried aloud againſt Mr. Jurieu's prophecies, and threatned to complain of them. Mr. Brueys alledges that falſe ſuppoſition an hundred times (59), though he has cited, page 216, a paſſage which might very eaſily have undeceived him. The paſſage is as follows. "The other thing they are offended at (theſe are "Mr. Jurieu's words) relates to the MILLENIUM. "*Several Divines of this country have murmured aloud, "and even threatned to complain of it.*" It is manifeſt that theſe loud murmurs and theſe threats to complain, came from the Flemiſh Divines, and not from the French Miniſters; and did not relate to the promiſes of an approaching deliverance &c. But the Millenium, a doctrine that is extremely odious to the Churches of Holland; and for which Mr. Jurieu would have been brought into trouble, had he not been favoured with human ſupports. But notwithſtanding theſe ſupports, complaints were made againſt him in the Walloon Synod, the members whereof inſerted a few words in an act or inſtrument, of which we may ſay what cardinal d'Oſſat ſaid of thoſe ſtrokes of the ſwitch, which the proxies of Henry IV received (60).

(58) Pag. 73.

(59) See pag. 30, 219, 220, 223.

(60) We felt them no more than if a fly had gone over our clothes. See the article of HENRY IV, citation (41).

[*K*] *The author of* Thoughts upon Comets *aſſerted, that Drabicius's prophecies met with little credit.*] He has been more equitable than the writer cited in the remark [*G*], and acknowledged that the Proteſtants had little eſteem for Drabicius. "The proteſtants themſelves, "*ſays he*, (61), are not very ſtrongly perſuaded that "Drabicius was a prophet. Some indeed fancy that he "was an enthuſiaſt, whoſe brain had been turned by his "reading the commentaries on the prophecies of the old "teſtament, and thoſe of the revelations; that after he "had filled his imagination with theſe ideas he looked "upon the emperors of Germany as ſo many Pharoes, "Sennacheribs, Nebuchadnezzars, and emiſſaries of the "great whore, *drunk with the wine of the wrath of "her whoredom*; and that he at laſt was perſuaded, "that God appointed him to command ſeveral princes to extirpate thoſe perſecutors. Thoſe who had "ſuffered theſe perſecutions, and imagined that divine "providence would one day puniſh the authors of ſo "barbarous a conduct, in all probability gave credit "to Drabicius's viſions. Nevertheleſs, moſt of them "paid little regard to them; eſpecially after finding "that he was deluded, and contradicted himſelf pretty often in a very viſible manner; in a manner "that cannot be excuſed but by having recourſe to a "great number of gloſſes, which make unbelievers "laugh more than the ſincere confeſſion of that man's "errors would; for, by the help of ſuch gloſſes, "which are multiplied as occaſion ſerves, there is no "falſe prophet but may find an apology.

(61) Pag. 785.

KRANTZ or KRANTZIUS (ALBERTUS) a famous Hiſtorian, and native of Hamburg [*A*], had no ſooner gone through his claſſical learning in his own country, but he ſet out upon his travels. He viſited the principal parts of Europe; and ſo ſtudiouſly cultivated the Sciences in his travels, that he became a very able man. He was Doctor of Divinity, and of the Canon Law, and Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Divinity in the Univerſity of Roſtoch; and was Rector there in 1482 (*a*). Thoſe who affirm that he was a Canon of Naumburg are miſtaken [*B*]. He went from Roſtoch to Hamburg, and was made a Canon in the Cathedral of that City. He did not enjoy, in an indolent manner, like ſo many of his brethren, this preferment, to which he had been raiſed; but ſpent his time in preaching, and reading theological Lectures. He was elected Dean of the Chapter of 1508, and went through the viſitation of his dioceſe, with the frame of mind of a man, who was deſirous of reforming ſuch diſorders as he ſhould find in it. He did the ſame in 1514. He did many good Services to the city of

(*a*) Chrytr. Part 1. *Chronici Saxonici*, pag. 496; *and* Petr. Lindebergius, lib 5. *Chron. Roſtoch.* cap. 11. *apud* Mollerum *Iſag. ad Hiſt. Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ* Part. 1. pag. 95, *& ſeq.*

[*A*] *A native of Hamburg.*] And not of Bamberg as Bellarmine, (1), John Gerard (2), Chriſtian Matthias (3), David Blondel (4), and Hottinger (5), affirm. This is out of all doubt, though a modern author has affected to be in ſuſpenſe on this occaſion. *Res in aprico eſt poſita, ac proinde riſu digna ιπoχὴ Mart. Diſenbachii* (†) *nupera, qui litem de loco ejus natali fovere quam decidere putavit conſultius.* i. e. "The thing is "evident; and therefore Martin Diſenbachius's doubt, "who imagined it to be more adviſeable to keep up "the diſpute with reſpect to the place where he was "born, than to fix and determine it, is trifling and "ridiculous."

(1) *De Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt.*
(2) *In Patrolog.* pag. 673. *apud* Mollerum, *Iſag. ad Hiſt. Cherſon. Cimbricæ*, Part. 1. pag. 95.
(3) *In Theatro Hiſtor.*
(4) *De Johanne Papiſſa.*
(5) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. 4. pag. 148.
(†) *In Diſſert. de morte Henrici VII.* pag. 71.
(6) Mollerus, *Iſag. ad Hiſtor. Cherſon. Cimbric.* Part. 1. pag. 95.

[*B*] *Thoſe who affirm that he was a canon of Naumberg are miſtaken.*] This is affirmed by two very learned authors; but Sperlingius, who is writing the life of Albert Krantz, will ſhew that they are miſtaken. *Sunt qui in Collegio etiam Canonicorum Numburgenſium aliquamdiu vixiſſe, ac Diaconi partes obiiſſe perhibent, & hos inter Duumviri celeberrimi, Henr. Meibomius Jun.* (†) *ac Conr. Schurtzfleiſchius* (‡). *Sed falli eos, ac Krantzium Numburgum forte nunquam vidiſſe, ſatis ſibi eſſe exploratum, Dn. Sperlingius nobis ſignificavit, in ipſa Krantzii Biographia prolixius ſententiam hanc impugnaturus* (7). i. e. "It is related by ſome, "that he reſided ſome time in the college of the ca"nons of Naumburg, and officiated in quality of Dea"con; and among theſe are two celebrated men, "Henry Meibomius the younger, and Conrard "Schurtzfleiſch. But I have been told by Sperlingi"us, that he is certain they are miſtaken; that, Krant"zius poſſibly never ſaw Naumburg; and that he will "refute this opinion in a more ample manner, in "Krantzius's Life."

(†) *In Introduct. ad Hiſt. Saxon. inſer.* pag. 72.
(‡) *In Diſſ. de Rebus Meclenburgicis*, §. 17.
(7) Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ*, Part. 1. pag. 96.

of Hamburg [C], and other Hanſe-towns; and was ſo famed for his abilities and prudence, that the King of Denmark himſelf appointed him arbitrator in a conſiderable conteſt [D]. He died the 7th of December 1517 [E], having been very ſenſible that the Church ſtood in great need of being reformed (b) [F]. Several good books of his are extant;

(b) *Extracted from* Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſon. Cimbricæ*, Part. 1. pag. 95, *& ſeq.*

[C] *He did many good ſervices to the city of Hamburg.*] One could not deny, upon pretence that this city began but in 1546 to have ordinary Syndics, what is inſerted in the Daniſh remonſtrance in anſwer to the apology of the Hamburgers in the year 1642, viz. that Albert Krantzius was Syndic of Hamburg; for that title, in his time, was given to thoſe perſons, who were deputed by the city on ſome particular affair. Now it is certain that Albert Krantz was ſent upon two or three deputations. He was preſent, in the name of the Hanſe towns at the aſſembly of Wiſmar, in the year 1489 (8); he went into France in the year 1497 to ſue for a truce; and to England in the year 1499, to deſire ſome privileges againſt pirates (9). Theſe particulars we are told by Mollerus in the above-cited work. His proofs are inſerted in the margin.

(8) Petr. Lindeb. *Chron. Roſtoch.* lib. 4. pag. 401. *apud* Mollerum, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſon. Cimbric.* Part. 1. pag. 97.

[D] *The King of Denmark himſelf appointed him arbitrator in a conſiderable conteſt.*] It was in 1500. Read what follows (10). *Quantam vero, in reliqua etiam Cimbria, Prudentia & integritate ſingulari ſibi conciliarit autoritatem, vel inde perſpicies, quod A.* 1500, *Johannes, Rex Daniæ, & Fridericus, Dux Holſatiæ, Arbitri ipſi Honorarii Partes, in Controverſiis, quæ cum Dithmarſis ſibi intercedebant, decidendis, deferre non dubitaverint* (*). i. e. "The great eſteem which his "prudence and integrity procured him in the reſt of "that country, is evident from this, viz. that in the "year 1500, John, King of Denmark, and Frederic, "Duke of Holſtein, did not ſcruple to make him "umpire, in a conteſt they had with the Dithmarſi."

(9) Haraldus Huitfeldius, *Chronic. Danic.* Part. 6. pag. 1021, 1022, & Ad. Tratſigerus, *Chron. Hamburg. MSto, apud* Mollerum, ibid.

(10) Mollerus, ibid. pag. 97, 98.

(*) *Vide* Huitfeldium, l. c. pag. 1035, & Ant. Heimreichii, *Chronicon Dithmarſiæ*, lib. 2. cap. 3. pag. 126, 127.

[E] *He died the 7th of December* 1517.] This we find by his epitaph; ſo that it is an error, to ſay with the continuators of Geſner and Theodore Zwinger, that he flouriſhed in the year 1520. Mollerus ought not to have looked upon this as an error in Geſner (11). Father Fournier the Jeſuit, and John Andrew Boſius have made a much greater miſtake. The Jeſuit ſays that he died in 1569 (12), and the other in 1570 (13). But theſe errors would be inconſiderable in compariſon of thoſe of a famous Profeſſor in Oxford (14), in caſe he took Albert Krantz to be the ſame with Albert the Great, Biſhop of Ratiſbon. But Mollerus who had charged him with it has found his miſtake, and acquits him entirely of that error. No one had taken notice of it to him; he himſelf diſcovered the error, and owns it publicly like a man of honour. See page 738, 739 of his treatiſe *De Scriptoribus homonymis*.

(11) Moller. *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſon. Cimb.* Part. 1. pag. 99.

(12) Lib. 4. *Notitia Orbis Geographicæ*, cap. 14. pag. 132. *apud* Moller. ibid.

(13) *In Diſſert. de comparanda Prud. & Eloq. civili*, num. 37.

(14) Degory Whear, *in Prælectionibus beimalibus de methodo legendi Hiſtorias*, pag. 252, 253. *apud* Mollerum, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſon. Cimbr.* Part. 1. pag. 94.

[F] . . . . *Having been ſenſible, that the Church ſtood in great need of being reformed.*] He perceived the neceſſity of this as well with reſpect to doctrine as morals, if we may credit Melchior Adam. "*Animadverſtit in doctrinâ ejus temporis multum fuiſſe errorum ſuperſtitionum; & mores Canonicorum ac Monachorum acerrime reprehendit; eoſque in ordinem redigere conatus eſt. Sed cum id fruſtra ſe tentare videret, quod perverſitas illorum hominum munita eſſet auctoritate Pontificis, dixiſſe fertur*; nunquam poſſe eos reduci ad me"liorem frugem, niſi prius à viris doctis expugnata "arce. *Interrogatus cur ſeſe ipſe non opponeret tam "craſſis erroribus, reſpondit:* ſe neque eruditione neque "ætate parem eſſe tantis negotiis (15)." i. e. "He ſaw "that there were, in the doctrine of the age in which "he lived, many errors and ſuperſtitions; and he in"veighed very ſharply againſt the morals of the Ca"nons and Friars, and uſed his endeavours to reform "them. But perceiving that this was a vain effort, "becauſe the perverſe conduct of that ſet of men was "defended by the Papal authority, we are told that he "declared, *that it would be impoſſible for them to be "made to conduct themſelves better till their fortreſs "ſhould be taken by learned men.* And it being aſked, "why he himſelf did not oppoſe thoſe groſs errors, "he anſwered that he had not learning enough, "and was too far advanced in years for ſo great an "undertaking." A circumſtance that recalls to my memory Teleſinus in Velleius Paterculus. This Teleſinus was General of the Samnites, and a very brave warrior. He bore a mortal hatred to the Romans, and advanced near Rome with an army of forty thouſand men, firmly determined to finiſh his exploit at once; and to effect this he was perpetually encouraging his ſoldiers with the following words. *It will be abſolutely neceſſary for us to deſtroy this city; for there never will be wanting a ſet of wolves, thoſe raviſhers of the liberties of Italy, ſo long as the foreſt wherein they ſhelter themſelves ſhall be ſtanding.* Paterculus's Latin deſerves to be tranſcribed here. *Circumvolans ordines exercitus ſui Teleſinus, dictitanſque adeſſe Romanis ultimum diem, vociferabatur eruendam delendamque urbem, adjiciens nunquam defuturos raptores Italicæ libertatis lupos, niſi ſilva, in quam refugere ſolerent, eſſet exciſa* (16). He did not reaſon amiſs. Albert Krantz judged in like manner, that ſo long as the Court of Rome ſhould be ſuffered to continue in all its ſtrength and vigour, it would be impoſſible ever to ſuppreſs the corruption of the Monks and Eccleſiaſticks. I muſt here animadvert on a flagrant act of inſincerity in Moreri, for this name we ought to give to his fault. He had read what Melchior Adam relates, viz. that Albert Krantz ſeeing the poſitions of Martin Luther againſt the doctrine of indulgences, cried; *He has too powerful adverſaries; he will not ſucceed; I adviſe him to deſiſt from his enterprize, and to ſhut himſelf up in his cell, in order to ſay, Lord have mercy upon me. Nihil effecturum eſſe contra tam potentes adverſarios, ſuum eſſe conſilium ut ab incepto deſiſteret. Frater, frater, inquit, abi in cellam tuam, & dic miſerere mei Deus* (17). What has Moreri done? He has caſtrated the paſſage? has taken but the laſt words of it; and turns them in ſuch a manner as though Krantz had condemned Luther's attempt. *Krantz*, ſays he, *bewailed this misfortune* (18), *in his expiring moments, which he had foretold in his life-time. It is affirmed that, at the juncture in queſtion, he often repeated the following words, ſpeaking againſt Luther; Frater, abi in cellam, & dic miſerere mei Deus.* i. e. "Brother, go into thy cell, and "ſay, God have mercy upon me." Though we ſhould not conſider many paſſages in Albert Krantzius's works, which teſtify the opinion he entertained with regard to the corrupt ſtate of the Church; the words which he ſpoke when he ſaw Luther's firſt poſitions, would alone ſufficiently diſcover's Moreri's prevarication. Conſider what follows (19). *Vitia, quæ doctrinam & cultum Eccleſiæ Romanæ publicum deformabant, agnovit, & quanto emendationis eorundem deſiderio teneretur, cum locis Scriptorum ſuorum plurimis, tum vocibus hiſce Cygnæis eſt teſtatus, quibus ſuum de Theſibus Lutheri Anti-Tezelianis in lectulo ſibi emortuali oblatis, judicium expoſuit* (†). Vera quidem dicis, bone Frater: ſed nihil efficies: Vade igitur in cellam tuam, & dic miſerere mei Deus. i. e. "He owned the vices and corruptions, "which deformed the doctrine and public worſhip of "the Romiſh Church; and how ſtrongly deſirous he "was that thoſe corruptions ſhould be reformed, ap"peared both by many paſſages of their writers, and "by theſe ſwan-like words, wherein he gave the opi"nion he entertained with regard to Luther's Anti"Tezelian Theſes, which were brought to him whilſt "he lay on his death-bed; *Good Brother, what you "ſay is true, but it is to no purpoſe; retire therefore "to your cell, and ſay, God have mercy upon me.*" I will conclude this remark with a paſſage which ſhews, that if Flaccius Illyricus did not employ Albert Krantz's authority againſt the Church of Rome in his catalogue of witneſſes of the truth, *Catalogus teſtium veritatis*, the compilers who followed him, made amends for that omiſſion; they having given good collections of thoſe particulars, which they had read in Albert Krantz, which favoured their deſign. Nay, the editors of the Frankfort edition have taken the pains to ſpecify thoſe things in marginal notes. Here follows the paſſage I promiſed (20). *Ipſi Theologi Proteſtantium cordatiores ſcriptoris hujus, licet Pontificii, atque adeo, ἀλλοφύλω, Lectionem ſibi habent commendatiſſimam, & Arma ex illo depromunt, quibus adverſus Eccleſiæ Romanæ Hyperaſpiſtas haud infeliciter κατ' ἄνθρωπον depugnatur, Invectivas ſcilicet in Vitia non Monachorum ſolum ac Canonicorum, ſed & Epiſcoporum atque Pontificum, παῤῥησιαστικὰς, crebraſque de ſtatu Eccleſiæ & Aulæ Pontificiæ corruptiſſimæ*

(15) Melch. Adam. *in Vitis Philoſophorum*, pag. 34.

(16) Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 27.

(17) Melch. Adam. *in Vitis Philoſoph.* pag. 34.

(18) That is Luther's Attempt.

(19) Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſon. Cimb.* Part. 1. pag. 98.

(†) *V.* J. Balth. Schuppii, *Speculum pœnitentiæ Niniviticæ*, pag. m. 18. *alioſque Theologos complures.*

(20) Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſoneſi Cimb.* Part. 1. pag. 110.

extant [G]; but he is not author of all that are aſcribed to him [H]. Some Criticks have fallen very foul on his reputation [I].

(†) *Centenario XV* Lectionum memorabilium, pag. 963, 977.

(‡) In *Breviario Pontificum.*

(§) In Lib. *de Script. Eccleſ.* pag. 304.

(**) *In Catalogo Autorum*, Operi *de Pſalmodia divina* præfixo.

(††) P. 1. *Bibl. Eccleſ.* pag. 278.

corruptiſſimo querelas. Quas uti à Matth. Flacio in Catalogo Teſtium Veritatis *miror omiſſas, ita à Joh. Wolfio* (†), *Joh. Conr. Dietericо* (‡), *aliiſque recentioribus, ſatis diligenter video eſſe congeſtas. Obſervationes etiam, quas Wechelianis Operum Krantzii editionibus acceſſiſſe diximus Marginales loca ejuſmodi ſtudioſe notarunt; obelo viciſſim hanc ob cauſam notatæ, & Impietatis inſimulatæ, à Rob. Bellarmino* (§), *Joh. Bona* (**) *& Aub. Miræo* (††), *qui Textum etiam ipſum ab Hæreticis eſſe vitiatum affirmare non erubeſcit.* i. e. "The more judi- "cious among the proteſtant Divines highly approve "the reading of this author, although a Roman Ca- "tholic; and borrow weapons from him, with which "they charge ſucceſsfully the Church of Rome; I "ſpeak of his invectives againſt the vices, not only "of the Friars and Canons, but alſo of the Biſhops "and Roman Pontiffs; and his repeated complaints "with regard to the exceeding corrupt ſtate of the "Church and Court of Rome: which, as I wonder "how they came to be omitted by Matthew Flacius "in his *Catalogue of the Witneſſes of the Truth*, ſo I per- "ceive they are diligently compiled by John Wolfius, "John Conrad Dietericus, and other modern writers. "The marginal remarks alſo, which I ſaid Wechel "added to the editions of Krantz's works, conſtantly "refer to ſuch kinds of paſſages; and, on that very "account, are branded as impious, by Robert Bellar- "mine, John Bona, and Aubertus Miræus, who do "not bluſh to affirm, that the Heretics have corrupted "the text itſelf."

[G] *Several good books of his are extant.*] A chronicle *Regnorum Aquilonarium, Daniæ, Sueciæ, & Norwegiæ.* Henry of Eppendorf tranſlated it into German, from the manuſcript of it which he found at Colen (21), and publiſhed his Tranſlation at Straſburg in the year 1545. He publiſhed the Latin text the next year in the ſame city. A ſecond edition of it was printed in the year 1562. John Wolfius, Counſellor to the Marquis of Baden, procured a third and fourth edition at Frankfort, in the year 1575, and in the year 1583 (22). II. The work intitled, *Saxonia, ſive de Saxonicæ gentis vetuſta origine, longinquis expeditionibus ſuſceptis; & bellis domi pro libertate diu fortiterque geſtis Hiſtoria; libris* 13 *comprehenſa & ad A. C.* 1501 *deducta.* The firſt edition is of Colen 1520, which was procured by John Soter or Heylius, and is dedicated to the Emperor Charles V. The work was printed in the ſame city in the year 1574, and in the year 1595. The Wechels printed three editions of it at Frankfort, in 1575, 1580 and 1621, which are preferable to the Colen editions. A German tranſlation of this work by Baſil Faber was printed at Leipſic in 1563, and 1582 (23). III. The work intitled, *Vandalia, ſive Hiſtoria de Vandalorum vera Origine, variis gentibus, crebris è patria migrationibus, Regnis, item, quorum vel autores fuerunt, vel everſores, Libris XIV à prima eorum Origine, ad A. C.* 1500 *deducta.* The firſt edition, which is of Colen 1519, was followed by three others at Frankfort (24), and one at Hanaw (25). The German tranſlation, printed in Lubeck in the year 1600, was by Mark Stephen Macropus (26). IV. The work intitled, *Metropolis.* It includes, in twelve books, the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Saxony, Weſtphalia and Jutland; with the Lives of the Prelates who, from 780 to 1504, enjoyed the twelve Biſhopricks of that country. Joachim Mollerus the younger, a native of the city of Hamburg, and Counſellor to the Dukes of Hamburg, firſt publiſhed this work, which he did, at Melanchthon's requeſt, from the author's original. This was the only manuſcript in being of that work; and Henry Bucholz, Biſhop of Lubeck, had given it to this Mollerus's father. The firſt edition is by Operinus at Baſil in the year 1548, which was followed by that of the year 1568, from the ſame preſs; and by two others (27), at Colen (28), and three more at Frankfort (29). V. The work entitled *Spirantiſſimum Opuſculum in Officium Miſſæ in optimum Ordinem pro ſancta & ſuavi Sacerdotum Eccleſiæ inſtitutione digeſtum* (30). That entitled *Ordo Miſſæ ſecundum ritum Eccleſiæ Hamburgenſis*, in Straſburg 1509, folio. *Conſilium de ordine & privilegiis creditorum in bonis ſuorum debitorum.* It is inſerted in the fourth volume *Reſponſorum Juris* printed at Frankfort in 1572. *Inſtitutiones Logicæ, compendioſæ admodum, pariterque abſolutiſſimæ, nec minus Latinæ*, at Leipſic, in 1517. *Grammatica culta & ſuccincta*, at Roſtoch 1506. In the Leipſic Library ſome Philoſophical treatiſes of Krantz, that were never printed, are found (31).

(21) In the Library of Reinhard Count of Weſterburg, Dean of Colen.

(22) *Extracted from* Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſon. Cimb.* Part. 1. pag. 35.

(23) Extracted from the ſame, pag. 100.

(24) In 1575, 1580 and 1601.

(25) In 1619.

(26) *Extracted from* Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſon. Cimb.* Part. 1. p. 102.

(27) In 1574 and 1596.

(28) *Extracted from* Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſon. Cimb.* Part. 1. pag. 103.

(29) In 1575, 1590 and 1627.

(30) It was printed at Roſtoch in 1506.

(31) *Extracted from* Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſon. Cimbr.* Part. 1. pag. 105, 106.

[H] *. . . . He is not author of all the works that are aſcribed to him.*] He did not write *Tractatus de Romanis Pontificibus, & præſertim de Victore II, alias Epiſcopo Eiſtettenſi*, which Father Jacob (32) aſcribes to him; nor the Life of Anſgarius, which the continuators of Geſner falſely aſcribe to him; nor of the *Scriptum de Imperii Romani interitu* aſcribed to him by Scherzerus (33).

(32) *Bibliothecæ Pontific.* pag. 243.

(33) *Apud* Mollerum, pag. 107.

[I] *Some Criticks have fallen very foul on his reputation,*] Krantzius, as well as many other great men, might have this motto, *per convicia & laudes* beſtowed upon him. Great elogiums have been beſtowed upon him by ſeveral learned men, (34), but then he has been ſtrongly attacked by ſome criticks. He is accuſed of publiſhing a great number of falſhoods with regard to the origin of nations; of giving very wrong citations of antient authors; of tranſcribing whole pages from other writers without naming any perſon; and of falſifying the monuments of hiſtory, to gratify his paſſions. Mollerus (35) names the authors of theſe various cenſures, and ſays ſomething in his vindication. He does not deny but that Krantzius was guilty of plagiariſm; he only endeavours to apologize for him, from its being the practice of the age. *Solenne præterea ei eſſe fatemur, Eginhardum, Witekindum, Herm. Contractum, Adamum, Helmoldum, Arnoldum Saxonem, Albertum Stadenſem, Gobelinum, Blondum, Cornerum, aliosque veteres, de verbo ad verbum exſcribere, ac non Periodos ſolum, ſed & paginas atque Capita integra, in ſua inde ſcripta, nulla plerumque Autoris mentione adjecta, transferre. Obſervatum id nobis in accuratiori Narrationum de iiſdem Rebus Collatione: Obſervatum & ante nos Vellejo, Reineccio, Meibomiorum Trigæ, Voſſio, Malincrotio, Conringio, Bangerto, Sagittario, Schurtzfleiſchio, Madero, quorum Teſtimoniis Lectores meos nolo obruere* (36). i. e. "I alſo own, that "he often copies literally Eginhard, Witekind, Her- "mannus Contractus, Adam, Helmold, Arnold the "Saxon, Albertus Stadenſis, Gobelinus, Blondus, "Cornerus, and other antient authors; and that he "borrows, not only periods, but even pages and en- "tire chapters, commonly without once mentioning "the author whence he copies them. I took notice "of this in my accurate compariſon of various rela- "tions of the ſame particulars. It alſo was obſerved "before me, by Vellejus, Reineccius, the Meibomii, "Voſſius, Malincrot, Conringius, Bangertus, Sagitta- "rius, Schurtzfleiſchius, Maderus, with whoſe teſti- "monies I ſhall not trouble my readers."

(34) See the catalogue of them in pag. 107, & *ſeq.*

(35) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 111, & *ſeq.*

(36) Ibid. pag. 112.

KUCHLIN (JOHN), Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity, was born in 1546, in a little town in the country of Heſſe, called Wettera. His father, who was a good honeſt mechanic, and had the charge of ten ſons and three daughters, whom he ſupported merely by the labour of his hands, deſigned him for learning; but was prevented by death from ſeeing him make any conſiderable progreſs. The Miniſter (*a*) of the place took care of the child with ſo much the more ſatisfaction, as he ſaw, that he made a good progreſs in Latin and Greek under Juſtus Wulteius Rector of the ſchool at Wettera. But when it was time to go to the Univerſity, Kuchlin had no ſmall difficulties to encounter on account of his poverty. However he did not loſe courage; he reſolved to ſeek his fortune; and for that purpoſe went to travel, as a young College-adventurer. He met

(*a*) John Pincier, brother-in-law to the Profeſſor Hyperius, Profeſſor of Divinity at Marpurg.

met with nothing at Frankfort. His landlord at Mentz carried him to the Jeſuits, who kept him no longer than till they found, that he would not abjure the Proteſtant Religion. All that he met with at Straſbourg was a letter of recommendation from John Sturmius to Brentius, who was Profeſſor at Tubingen. The latter did not keep him long; he thought him not ſufficiently inclined to the opinion of the Ubiquitarians. Kuchlin having got back the letter of Sturmius, went to Heidelberg, where he at laſt obtained what he ſought for; for Urſin procured him a ſubſiſtence, in order that he might continue his ſtudies at eaſe. The Univerſity of Heidelberg was then in a very flouriſhing ſtate. The young man made a conſiderable progreſs there for ſix years; after which he was ſent to teach in the ſchool at Neuſtad [*A*], where he had, among other collegues, Fortunatus Crellius and Frederic Sylburgius (*b*). He was afterwards admitted Miniſter, and ſettled in the Church of Tackenheim; which he ſerved faithfully, till after the death of the Elector Frederic in 1576, when Lewis his ſucceſſor baniſhed the Miniſters who would not become Lutherans. Kuchlin retiring to Heſſe his own country, and meeting with nothing but diſcouragement there, took refuge (*c*) by his wife's advice in the great Ark of the Refugees, I mean in Holland. He paſſed through Embden in 1577, and ſtaid there for ſome time, whence he was ſent for to Amſterdam to be Miniſter there [*B*]. He accepted the call, and diſcharged that poſt eighteen years; after which he exerted himſelf vigorouſly in the Rectorſhip of a College of Divinity, which the States of Holland had erected at Leyden in 1591, and of which he had from that time the direction for ſome months. It was in 1595 that he diſengaged himſelf intirely from his Church at Amſterdam, in order to apply himſelf wholly to the buſineſs of this College. He taught Divinity there till his death, which happened July the 2d 1606. He had married his two daughters to two learned men; one to Peter Bertius, and the other to Feſtus Hommius (*d*). All the Theological Theſes, which he had cauſed to be maintained at different times, have been collected in one volume in 4to at Geneva in 1613. Guy Patin has extremely commended him, and a little too much; for he calls him *one of the moſt learned men of his age* (*e*).

(*b*) He was his countryman and kinſman.

(*c*) Meurſius, whoſe words are quoted in the remark [*B*].

(*d*) Taken from his *Funeral Oration*, pronounced by Luke Trelcatius. *See alſo* Meurſius, *Athen. Batav.* pag. 182.

(*e*) Patin, Lettre 258. pag. 427. of the 2d tome.

[*A*] *He was ſent to teach in the ſchool at Neuſtad.*] The author of the *Diarium Biographicum* (1) tells us, that Kuchlin was rector of that ſchool; but his funeral oration, in which that preferment would not have been omitted, expreſly informs us, that he taught at Neuſtad when Baſil Pithopœus was rector there. There is another miſtake in the ſame *Diarium*; it repreſents as two different works *the Diſputationes Theologicæ ad Catacheſeos Eccleſiarum Belgicarum explicationem*, and the *Diſputationes de Religionis Chriſtianæ præcipuis capitibus*. They are one and the ſame book.

(1) Henningus Witte, *ad ann.* 1606.

[*B*] *He was ſent for to Amſterdam to be Miniſter there.*] Moreri examined ſo little the authors, which he conſulted, that he conſidered only the firſt part of the period of *Meurſius*. If he had had the patience to read the whole period, he would have ſeen the direct contrary of what he affirmed. He ſays that Kuchlin *was Miniſter at Emden and Groningen in the Low-countries*; but it is certain that he was not at Groningen. He had the choice between that City and Amſterdam, and he inclined rather to the former than the latter. However he was induced to fix upon the latter. Let us hear Meurſius (2). *Inſtinctu uxoris, quæ Belgica erat in Belgium abiit, Emdamque venit anno cIↃ IↃ LXXXVII, ubi cum operam aliquamdiu tam in ſchola quam in Eccleſia navaſſet, eodem tempore ab Amſtelodamenſibus & à Groeningenſibus evocatus fuit. Ille, cum propter Germanici idiomatis vicinitatem Græningenſes præferendos judicaret, à clariſſimo viro* D. Menſone Altingio *graviſſimis rationibus permotus fuit, ut operam ſuam Amſtelodamenſi Eccleſiæ addiceret.* i. e. "At the ſollicitation of his wife, who was born in "the Low Countries, he went thither, and came to "Emden in the year 1587, where having ſpent ſome "time in the ſervice of the ſchool and the Church, he "received at the ſame time an invitation from the in"habitants of Amſterdam and Groningen. He incli"ned to Groningen on account of the neighbourhood "of the German Idiom, but was at laſt prevailed up"on by that eminent man, Menſo Alting, upon ve"ry important reaſons, to devote himſelf to the ſer"vice of the Church of Amſterdam."

(2) *Athen. Bat.* pag. 182.

It is a great inſtance of negligence in the ſame Moreri, to ſay in general, that Kuchlin taught Divinity at Leyden. He ſhould have ſpecified whether he did this as Profeſſor in the Univerſity, or Principal of the College of Divinity. Meurſius would have furniſhed him with a clear account of this.

KUHLMAN (QUIRINUS) was one of the Viſionaries of the ſeventeenth Century. He was born at Breſlaw in Sileſia February the 25th 1651 (*a*), and gave great hopes by the early progreſs which he made (*b*). But it was interrupted by a ſickneſs, under which he laboured at eighteen years of age (*c*). He was thought to be dead on the third day of his illneſs. That day he had a terrible viſion. He thought himſelf ſurrounded with all the devils in hell, and this at mid-day when he was awake. This viſion was followed by another of God himſelf, ſurrounded by his Saints, and Jeſus Chriſt in the midſt. He ſaw and felt then things inexpreſſible. Two days after he had more viſions of the ſame kind (*d*); and when he was cured of his diſtemper, he perceived in reality a great change with regard to theſe ſights, but ſaw himſelf perpetually accompanied with a circle of light, on his left hand (*e*). He had no longer any taſte for polite learning. He (*f*) had ſometimes ſuch extatic diſtractions, that they hindered him from ſeeing and hearing thoſe who were with him; and he formed the plan of a vaſt number of books, which were ſo many methods to learn every thing, without much pains and to perfection. At nineteen years of age he left his country, where he had not juſtice done him ſufficiently, and went to ſee the Univerſities. He put out a ſecond edition of his epitaphs (*g*), a work which he had compoſed at fifteen years of age, and he publiſhed a Treatiſe of Morality (*b*); but as he made an extraordinary progreſs from day to day, he found the ſheets, which the Printer ſent to him, unworthy of him, ſo much was his knowledge increaſed during the courſe of the impreſſion (*i*). He had no value for the public

(*a*) *Epiſt. Theoſophicæ Leidenſes*, pag. 11.

(*b*) See his *Prodromus quinquennii mirabilis*, pag. 10, 11. and the Fragments of the Letter prefixed to it by him.

(*c*) *Prodom.* pag. 3.

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 6.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 11.

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 13, 14.

(*g*) Ibid. pag. 25.

(*b*) I believe that this book was intitled, *Moralis Heraldus Hiſtoricus.*

(*i*) *Prodrom.* pag. 26.

public lectures or diſputes of the Univerſity of Jena; and he would not have any other maſter than the Holy Ghoſt (*k*). His deſire to ſee Holland was ſo ſtrong as not to permit him to delay his journey thither, till he might ſee more clearly what would be the iſſue of the war, which had been ſo fatal to that country in 1672. He landed at Amſterdam (*l*) three days before the retaking of the City of Naerden (*m*). He went to Leyden a few days after; and was not there long before he met with Behme's works [*A*], of which he had never heard any mention before. The reading of them was like oyl thrown into the fire: he was ſurprized that Behme ſhould have propheſied of things, of which no body but Kuhlman himſelf had the leaſt knowledge (*n*). There was at that time in Holland one JOHN ROTHE, who undertook to propheſy [*B*]. Kuhlman contradicted the

(*k*) Idem, pag. 30.

(*l*) Sept. the 3d 1673.

(*m*) *Prodrom.* pag. 38.

(*n*) Ibid. pag. 40.

[*A*] *He was not at Leyden long before he met with Behme's works.*] Jacob Behime or Boehme was a Fanatic, of whom I ſhall ſpeak ſome time or other more fully. He was born in a village of Germany near Gorlitz in 1575; and when he had learned to read and write, he was taken from ſchool in order to be a ſhoemaker. He begun to exerciſe that trade at Gorlitz in 1594. He was ſeized with an extaſy in 1600, if we may believe what he has publiſhed in a book, which he intitled *Aurora*. This book was carried to the Magiſtrates of Gorlitz by George Richterus Dean of the Miniſters of that place; it was carried to them, I ſay, as containing a great many of the errors of Paracelſus and Wigelius; for Behme had amuſed himſelf with Chemiſtry in his youth. The Magiſtrates ſuppreſſed this *Aurora* as much as poſſible, and commanded the author to write no more. He was ſilent for ſeven years; but when he found that the director of the electoral laboratory had recommended him to a great many perſons of the Court as a good Chemiſt, he lifted up his head, and boldly oppoſed Richterus, and wrote above twenty books in the ſpace of five years. He died November 18, 1624 (1). A great many perſons have been infatuated by the viſions of this man. Kuhlman was not the leaſt of his admirers. Here is a paſſage, which will inform us of this. *Ejus* (Johannis Rothii) *inde veſtigia legit* Quirinus Kuhlmannus *Sileſius, Jacobi Bohemi ſimul propugnator, Calovii verò atque Scherzeri acerrimus inſectator. Sic enim in Bohemo redivivo C.* 12. In Muſeo meo ſolus paucis diebus plura didici ex uno Bohemo, quam ab omnibus ævi ſapientibus ſimul auditis diſcere potuiſſem. *Et in præfat. Operis ejuſdem.* Inter innumerabiles viſiones accidit, ut erepto mihi ex muſeo millena luminum millia circa me exorientium intueri daretur. *Plura ejuſmodi legi poſſunt apud Calovium in Anti-Bohemo, C.* 32. *& ſeq.* i. e. "His [John Rothe's] ſteps are followed "by Quirinus Kuhlman of Sileſia, who is a defender "of Jacob Behme, but a moſt zealous antagoniſt to "Calovius and Scherzer. For this he writes in his "*Bohemus redivivus*, C. 12. *I have learned more being "alone in my ſtudy from Behme, than I could have learned from hearing all the wiſe men of the preſent age "together.* And in the preface to the ſame work he "ſays thus: *Amidſt an infinite number of Viſions it "happened, that being ſnatched out of my ſtudy I ſaw "thouſands of thouſands of lights riſing round about "me.* More to this purpoſe may be read in Calovius's "Anti-Bohemus, C. 32 and ſeq."

(1) *Taken from* Micrælius, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* p. 1449, *& ſeq.* edit. 1699.

(2) Micræl. ibid. pag. 1324.

[*B*] JOHN ROTHE, *who undertook to propheſy.*] He was a native of Amſterdam, and had always led a very regular life; but he diſcovered very ſoon that he was of an extreme melancholy diſpoſition, and was fond of changing in matters of religion. *Ut a prima Lanugine ſummè melancholicus, ita in eligendis quas quoad Religionem ſequeretur partibus inconſtans plane ac deſultorius. Salden. in Otiis Theolog.* 194. (3). He was ſo charmed with the Sieur Labadie, that he devoted himſelf to his ſect, and uſed all his endeavours to procure him new Diſciples; but ſome time after he became a ſchiſmatic from him, and erected himſelf into the head of a party. He ſaid, that the glorious kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt was coming on; and he was not contented with the office of St John the Baptiſt, I mean, of forerunner and harbinger, but he pretended to be director of that great work, and more than ſtandard-bearer of this new world. *Hic a* Johanne Labadæo, *novo, ut videri volebat, Eccleſiarum Reformatore, morumque rigidiore Caſtigatore, ſub intenſioris Devotionis ſpecie, ita primum dementatus fuit, ut totus ei adhæſerit non tantum, ſed quoſcunque poſſet, ad familiam ejus novam pertrahere totis viribus allaborarit. Verum poſtea eo quod parem forſan non ferret, nedum ſuperiorem, quo loco Labadæum novæ devotionis artificem & præconem habere tamen tenebatur, quandiu civitati ejus adſcriptus eſſet, ſeceſſionem ab eo molitus eſt, glorioſum in Chriſto Regnum inſando ſtrepitu in terris, magno illo vexilliſero, multo felicius erecturus* (4). He boaſted of his revelations; he promiſed mountains and wonders to thoſe, who ſhould inliſt themſelves under his ſtandard; he diſturbed the Church and State by his libels; he ſaw nothing fall out, which he had foretold: and to compleat his misfortune he was ſhut up in the priſons at Amſterdam. See all this more particularly related in the following paſſage of Saldenus (5). *Hinc numeroſas vacillantium animarum copias colligere, ſocits ſuis aureos montes promittere, Eccleſiam Rempublicamque libellorum famoſiſſimorum plauſtris conturbare,* Servum Dei Johannem *Prophetamque eximium ſeipſum indigitare,* Revelationum *tandem extraordinariarum univerſa volumina in vulgus ſpargere, neque erubuit neque deſtitit. At quis tandem omnium horum exitus?*

(3) Saldenus, *in Otiis Theolog.* pag. 194.

(4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Idem, ibid. pag. 195.

Mons parturivit natuſque eſt ridiculus mus.

Eorum, quæ prædixerat, nihil evenit, evenêre è contra multa, quæ nec prædixerat nec præfugierat. Miſſo enim, quod erecturum ſe eſſe gloriatus erat, vexillo, & cum De Raatiis, Someris, Richarſoniis, *novi Regni deſignatis Aſſeſſoribus, redux in Patriam factus, ſolutâ ſocietate tribunitiâ & ſchiſmaticâ, patriæ urbis δεσμωτηρίῳ incluſus eſt: impetratâ ſimul pleniſſimâ facultate & poteſtate,* Prophetias *ſuas ludicras & ridiculas reſumendi & retractandi, periculumque faciendi, num prædicere certiuſcule forſan poſſit, quo tempore & modo ex illo ſuo erguſterio liberandus tandem ſit, quam multa alia prænunciavit.* i. e. "Hence he neither was aſhamed nor ceaſed to "collect a number of weak ſouls, to promiſe moun-"tains of gold to his companions, to diſturb the "Church and State with whole loads of libels, to "ſtyle himſelf *John* the ſervant of God, and an ex-"cellent Prophet, and at length to diſperſe among "the vulgar volumes of extraordinary revelations. "But what was the iſſue of all this?

"The mountain laboured, and produc'd a mouſe.

"Nothing of what he foretold fell out; on the other "hand many things happened, which he neither fore-"told nor foreſaw. For the ſtandard, which he boaſted "that he would erect, being laid aſide, he returned "into his own country with de Raats, Somer, and "Richarſon, the deſigned aſſertors of the new King-"dom; and his factious and ſchiſmatical ſociety being "diſſolved, he was ſhut up in priſon in his own na-"tive city; having full leave at the ſame time to "review and retract his abſurd Prophecies, and to "try whether he could foretell with any greater cer-"tainty, when and how he ſhould be ſet free, than "he had predicted many other things." Madam Bourignon did not ſuffer herſelf to be deceived by the chimera's of John Rothe; ſhe had a ſovereign preſervative againſt ſuch charms; that is, ſhe would have her Prophecy to be like the privileges of Gentlemen in Germany, who *hold them immediately of the Empire*; ſhe would be a Propheteſs in chief, and receive her revelations only from God, without any ſubordination, or any collaterals. However that be, let us ſee her judgment concerning John Rothe and Kuhlman. "Which (6) appeared then particularly upon the occa-"ſion of a famous and pretended Prophet of Hol-"land, who erected ſtandards to gather under them "the twelve tribes of Iſrael, whom he was to "reſtore; and he was followed by ſome good people,

(6) That is to ſay, that *God made her know by experience how far the preſumption and folly of the human mind, joined with the illuſions of the Devil, may go; having never permitted her to be deceived, for he diſcovered every thing to her internally.* Vie continuée d'Antoinette Bourignon, pag. 293.

(o) *Figulus figulo invidet, faber fabro.*

the proverb, which ſays that perſons of the ſame profeſſion envy each other (o) [C]; for he wrote in the moſt humble manner imaginable to this John Rothe (p). He ſtiled him a man of God, and John III, the ſon of Zacharias. He deſired the aſſiſtance of his knowledge, and pronounced a woe upon thoſe who did not hearken to him [D]. He dedicated to him his *Prodromus quinquennii mirabilis*, printed at Leyden in 1674. This was to be followed by two other volumes. He had a deſign to introduce in the firſt the ſtudies and diſcoveries which he had made ſince his firſt viſion till the year 1674. There would have been in it an hundred thouſand inventions, which would have aſtoniſhed all ages. *Multa millena millia inventa omnem ætatem ad ſtuporem provocantia* (q). The laſt volume would have been the key *to Eternity, and Æveternity, and Time*. He communicated his deſign to Father Kircher; and commending the excellent books which that Jeſuit had publiſhed, and particularly the *Ars Combinatoria ſive Ars magna ſciendi*, he let him know, that he had only ſketched out what himſelf had a deſign to carry much farther [E]. This

(p) The Letters which he wrote, and the Anſwers which he received, are printed under the title of *Theoſophicæ Epiſtolæ Leidenſes.*

(q) Pag. 33.

" beſides others, who without following him, gave " credit to his chimerical revelations. In ſome vi- " ſits, which he made her, ſhe eaſily diſcovered the " impoſture, tho' he aſſured her, that he had frequent " converſation with Angels and God, and told Madam " Bourignon, that he ſhould be for the future as a " God to her, ſince God would no longer diſcover " himſelf to her but by his means. She was ſo weary " of him, that ſhe would not ſee him any more, nor " open his Prophetic letters, which are at preſent " ſealed up among her papers. She adviſed her friends " to take care of him, ſince he was undoubtedly not " of God, for ſhe had applied to God expreſly to " know what he was, and God, upon her aſking him, " *Lord, is this man your Prophet?* had anſwered, *No*; " and upon her aſking again, *What is he then, Lord?* " he had anſwered, *he is a preſumptuous man, over* " *whom the Devil has great power*. God had given " her the ſame ſentiments of thoſe of his cabal, and " particularly of one Quirinus Kuhlman, who a little " before had publiſhed a letter addreſſed to this Gen- " tlewoman, in order to try whether he could mingle " together the ſpirit of God with the reveries of Satan, " of which the falſe Prophet's head was full, he wan- " dering up and down to ſeduce thoſe, who deſerved " to be miſled, on account of their ſlight eſteem of " the truth ſent from God (7)."

(7) *Vie continuée d'Ant. Bourignon*, pag. 293.

We find in Micrælius's continuator (8), that John Rothe being the ſon of a man, whoſe name was Zacharias, boaſted of being the forerunner of the Son of God with reſpect to the Laſt Judgment; and that in the year 1668 he declared on the part of King Melchiſedeck to the Emperor, the Kings, and Princes, that they ought to lay down their ſovereignties, ſince the Kingdom of Chriſt was at hand. That he was examined in 1677, and ſhut up in priſon by order of the States of Holland and Weſt Friſeland: and afterwards being ſet at liberty, was laughed at by every body, his Prophecies being found contrary to the event (9). The author ſhould have added, that he was cured of his viſionary humour, and married, and returned to the common courſe of life. He is living at the time I write this (10).

(8) His name is *Daniel Hartnaccius.*

(9) Micrælius, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 1324. edit. 1699.

(10) That is, in the year 1700.

[C] *He contradicted the Proverb, which ſays, that perſons of the ſame profeſſion envy each other.*] This was more edifying upon the whole, than what we have ſeen above. We have ſeen two expoſitors of the Apocalypſe write one againſt the other, though they agreed upon the pretended myſteries of the year 1689. But becauſe they came to this point of reunion by different paths, each of them would maintain his hypotheſis in prejudice to his brother-expoſitor. This was not right; and if the public had been leſs indulgent than it was, it ought not to have been thought at all ſtrange.

[D] *Pronounced a woe upon thoſe, who did not hearken to him.*] He declared in a thundering and redoubled manner (11), *Væ, væ! ſi prophetias ſervorum Dei ſpreveritis, ſeu Batavia, olim mirabilis, nunc miſerabilis ſprevit & moriens ſpernit.* i. e. " Woe! Woe! if you " ſhall deſpiſe the Prophecies of God, as Holland, " once flouriſhing, but now wretched and dying, deſ- " piſed them, and continues to do ſo." *Hoc anno*, adds he, *& hujus anni una die veniet & mors & luctus & fames Babylonis Belgicæ, & igne exuretur cæleſti, quia validus eſt Dominus Deus damnans eam.* i. e. " This year, and on one day of this year, death and " mourning and famine ſhall befall the Belgic Baby- " lon, and it ſhall be burnt up with fire from heaven, " becauſe the Lord God, who condemneth it, is " mighty." All this, becauſe they had exclaimed much againſt John Rothe, and laughed at his viſions. Kuhlman aſſerted, that heaven had declared for this Prophet by the great ſtorm on the 24th of May 1674, and by the rains, which happened in divers places May the 21ſt following (12). He referred to the Gazettes, which had mentioned this, and applied to his friend the celebrated words of an antient Poet. *O Miſelli Theoſophiſtæ & Diabologi! nullis verbis, calumniis, invectionibus eluditis Prophetam, nimium Deo dilectum,*

(12) Præfat. *Prodrom.*

Cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti (13).

(13) Ibid.

i. e. " O ye wretched Theoſophiſts and Speakers for " the Devil, with no words, calumnies, or reproaches " can you eſcape the Prophet, who is greatly favoured " by Heaven, for whom the æther fights, and the " winds agree to enliſt themſelves under his banner." He addreſſed himſelf particularly to Amſterdam (14), where the wind had torn up many trees, and did not omit the thunder, which fell upon the Church of Utrecht; but eſpecially he cried out a miracle (15), becauſe it had thundered on the 24th of March, the evening before John Rothe left Holland, when there was ſtill ſnow in the ſtreets, and ice in the canals. Theſe ſtorms, theſe thunders, theſe lightnings, according to him, were the forerunners of the ruin of the country. Notwithſtanding this the affairs of the United Provinces became more proſperous from that time. It is proper to remark all theſe things, in order to ſhew the ſpirit, which governs this ſort of people: they abuſe every thing; they find their pretended myſteries every where. We have inſtances of a later date.

(14) *In calce* Epiſt. ad Kircher. pag. 52.

(15) *Theoſoph. Epiſt.* pag. 36.

[E] *He let Father* Kircher *know, that he had only ſketched* (16) *out what himſelf had a deſign to carry much farther.*] Father Kircher did not trouble himſelf to defend his works, nor to vie in knowledge with this man. He ſtruck ſail before him, and declared, that having written only as a man he did not pretend to equal thoſe, who wrote by inſpiration. *Quod porro de* arte combinatoria, *cæteriſque* paradoxis meis, tum in polygraphia, tum in muſurgia, *jam publicæ luci traditis meliori modo fieri potuiſſe contendis, nil moror, cum* SCIENTIÆ TUÆ TAM SUBLIMIS ET Θεοδίδακτος *prorſus incapacem ineptumque me eſſe humili mentis obſequio fatear. Quæ ſcripſi ego divina aſpirante gratia*, humano more, *id eſt ſtudio & labore adquiſita ſcientia ſcripſi, non divinitus inſpirata aut infuſa, cujuſmodi puram inter mortales dari non exiſtimo ... Non dubitem quin tu pro* INCOMPARABILI INGENII TUI VASTITATE *meis nugis & majora & admiratione digniora ſis prodiſurus.* i. e. " With regard to what you ſay, that " what I have advanc'd in my *Ars combinatoria*, and other " *Paradoxes*, already publiſhed, might be improved, " I am not at all uneaſy about it, ſince I frankly own " myſelf incapable of your *ſublime and celeſtial know-* " *ledge*. What I have written, I have written *after* " *an human manner*, that is, by knowledge gained by " ſtudy and labour, not divinely inſpired and infuſed, " which I think is not to be obtained pure among men " ... I do not doubt, but that you, by means of the *in-* " *comparable and vaſt extent of your genius*, will pro- " duce diſcoveries much greater and more admirable " than my trifles." Our author took this for a ſerious complement, and did not perceive, that the Jeſuit ridiculed him. He took great care to publiſh Father Kircher's anſwers, and to uſe capital letters in thoſe paſſages where he thought himſelf praiſed.

(16) Innumeris ex arte combinatoria inveniri poſſe in Medicina Chymiaque, recte *paradoxis* tuis ſubjunxiſti; ſed hoc optarem (moneam libere) *ut magis interna quam externa, nucleum quam corticem quæreres.*

(11) *Ad calcem Epiſt. Kirceberi ſcriptæ*, pag. 51.

This Jeſuit wrote to him a civil anſwer, and gave him good advice [*F*], particularly with regard to his deſign of writing againſt the Pope [*G*]. For the reſt, the prophetic ſpirit had not made our Kuhlman renounce the pleaſure of being praiſed; for there was no compliment written to him, either by thoſe to whom he had ſent copies of his works, or by others, which he did not take the pains to prefix to his *Prodromus*. With reſpect to the commendations which he gives himſelf to his writings, they are undoubtedly very ſtrong (*r*); but as he declares, that every thing which he does comes from the incarnate Wiſdom (*s*), I will not determine, that it is a mark of pride (*t*). I am not certain when he left Holland, but have juſt ſeen a book (*u*), which acquaints us, that he wandered a long time in England, France, and the Eaſt [*H*], and that at laſt he was burnt in Muſcovy

(*r*) *In quibus majora in omni ſcibili eruuntur, quàm a nobis vel ullo homine expectantur.* Monit. ad Lector. *in limine* Epiſt. ad Kircher.

(*s*) *Omnia quæ poſſideo ſapientiæ incarnatæ non mihi venium adſcribenda.* Ibid.

(*t*) See *Entretiens ſur la Cabale chimerique*, printed in 1691, p. 109.

(*u*) *Diarium Biographicum Henningi Witte*, tom. 2. pag. 168.

[*F*] Kircher *gave him good advice.*] Kircher's ſecond letter plainly ſhews, that he had diſcovered the illuſion of the man, and that he laughed at him, when he ſays with ſo ſerious an air, *Magna ſane ἄπιστα καὶ ἀνυπόστατα promittis*, QUÆ UTI SUPRA OMNEM HUMANI INGENII CAPTUM LONGE CONSTITUTA SUNT, ITA EA QUOQUE A NEMINE HUC USQUE NON DICAM TENTATA, SED NEC COGITATA QUIDEM FUISSE AUDACITER AFFIRMO, *atque adeo aliud mihi ſuſpicari non liceat, niſi talem te divino munere ſcientiam adeptum eſſe, qualem ſacra pagina de* PROTOPLASTO & SALOMONE *teſtatur: explico* Adamæam, Salomonicam, *verbo* INFUSAM, *nulli mortalium niſi Tibi ſoli notam, cæteris inexplicabilem ſcientiam.* i. e. "You promiſe great and incredible things, "which *as they far tranſcend all human capa-* "*city, ſo I affirm boldly that they have never been at-* "*tempted or even thought of by any perſon hitherto*; and "therefore I cannot but ſuſpect, that you have ob- "tained by the gift of God ſuch a knowledge, as "the Scriptures aſcribes to *Adam* and *Solomon*, I mean "an *Adamic*, and *Salomonic*, in ſhort, an *infuſed* "knowledge, known to no mortal but yourſelf, and "inexplicable by any other." But what follows is a piece of charitable advice. All things being well conſidered Father Kircher adviſes him to keep this infuſed knowledge to himſelf, and not to expoſe himſelf to the raillery of an age ſo apt to ſcoff as ours. It ſeems indeed, that our age is more formidable to viſionaries than the preceding The Biſhop of Meaux has touched ſomething upon this in one of his letters; but I do not know whether at the bottom the appearances do not deceive us in this point (17). *Quicquid ſit*, it is Kircher, who ſpeaks, *ego ſane conſiderato rei non parvi momenti negotio, pro ſingulari quo te proſequor affectu etiam atque etiam quam obnixiſſimè contenderim, ne hanc tuam noviter obtentam ſcientiam Centraliſque abyſſi profunditatem ulli vana quadam jactantia oſtenderes, ne Tertii poſt Adamum Salomonis dicam & cum riſu nomen incurras. Potiſſimum hoc ſæculo ſarcaſtico, quo Criticaſtrorum, Thraſonum, & Sycophantarum non parvus eſt numerus, qui aliud non moliuntur quàm ut glorioſos aliorum labores canino dente rodere, ſannis ludibriiſque exponere non ceſſent.* i. e. "However that be, "having conſidered the whole affair, which is of no "ſmall importance, I earneſtly entreat you out of "the ſingular eſteem, which I have for you, not to "diſcover, out of vain glory, to any perſon the pro- "found knowledge lately obtained by you, leſt you "ſhould be ridiculed with the name of the third Solo- "mon after Adam; eſpecially in this ſarcaſtical age, "in which there is no ſmall number of pretenders to "criticiſm, boaſters, and ſycophants, who aim at no- "thing elſe, than to carp at the glorious labours of "others, and to expoſe them to contempt." And to make the greater impreſſion upon him by his remonſtrances, he owns to him what had happened to himſelf. He acknowledges to him, that he knew by experience, that a man expoſes himſelf to an infinite number of evils, when he raſhly and inconſiderately becomes an author. *Quanta malorum Ilias ex inconſiderata ſcriptione reſultet, ego jam* 40 annorum ſpatio *quo in hoc* omnium gentium & nationum theatro, *meam utut poſſum perſonam ago, frequenti experientia comperi.*

(17) See the article of ABARIS remark [*I*].

[*G*] *Particularly with regard to his deſign of writing againſt the Pope.*] Though Kuhlman imagined, that he was the perſon promiſed by Drabicius, and though he knew that Drabicius's promiſes related to the deſtruction of the Roman Antichriſt; yet he had an inclination to write to the Pope. He conſulted Father Kircher upon this point, and aſſured him, that he was paſſionately deſirous to communicate to the Pope his great ſecrets for the good of Chriſtianity. *A Te*, Reverendiſſime Pater, *peterem ne denegares mihi occaſionem præbere, qua* Pontificis Maximi *manibus propriis quædam Epiſtola à me in ſignum obſervantiæ tranſmittenda traderetur . . . Vellem enim* arcana ponderoſiſſima *ad Chriſtianæ Eccleſiæ commodum ſingulariter proficua*, candido ore ſtyloque candido, *tam admirabili tempeſtate Pontifici communicare*, amore Reip. Chriſtianæ impulſus. I do not know the particular good advice which he received from that Jeſuit upon this ſubject; he omitted them in the anſwer which he had received; for here is the manner in which he publiſhed that paſſage. *Quod denique de litteris ad ſummum Pontificem dandis, eidemque propriis manibus à me conſignandis te cogitare ſcribis . . . quæ ſcribo ut quanta cautela & circumſpectione Romæ procedendum ſit cognoſcas.* i. e. "As for what "you write, concerning your deſign to write to the "Pope, and delivering your letter to him by my "hands . . . which I write in order that you may "know with what caution and circumſpection things "are to be conducted at Rome." But he did not omit the place, where he was aſſured, that his great work dedicated to the Pope would be applauded and admired, provided that he left nothing in it, which might offend the cenſors of books, and took care not to aſcribe to himſelf an inſpired knowledge, *ſilentio quoque ſuppreſſa divinitus Tibi inſpirata ſcientia.* This laſt advice, though good in itſelf, was the leaſt probable to be reliſhed by him; for it is by boaſting of a celeſtial illumination, that a man ſtrikes the people with amazement (18). Let us ſpeak a word concerning the impoſtures or illuſions of falſe Prophets. About the time that Kuhlman was ready to write reſpectfully to the Pope for the good of Chriſtianity, he wrote to others his hopes of the approaching deſtruction of the Papacy. This is what the following words of Kuhlman ſignify, according to the ſtyle of our viſionaries. *O Pontifex* Clemens X! *an ſigilli mei* duplicatum Quinarium X *excedes, mox orbis aſpiciet univerſus? In* Clemente I *Petro & Lino jure præterito Epiſcopatus Romanus incepit: in* Clemente X *quid futurum ſit tempus evolvet.* i. e. "Pope Clement X! whether you will "exceed the *double Quinary* X of my ſeal, will the "whole world hereafter judge? In Clement I (Peter "Linus being very juſtly omitted) the See of Rome "began: what ſhall come to paſs under Clement X, "time will ſhew." I could name a man (19), who was greatly vexed, when the public was informed, that while he was declaiming furiouſly againſt Lewis XIV, he wrote letters to a Duke and Peer full of flattery towards that Monarch.

(18) See the Biſhop of *Meaux ſur l'Apocalypſe*, pag. 429. Holland edition.

(19) *Quem verſu dicere non eſt, Signis perfacile eſt.* Horat. *Sat.* 5. lib. 1.

[*H*] *He wandered a long time in England, France, and the Eaſt.*] I have juſt found ſeveral pieces of this Fanatic printed at London at his expence, ſome in 1681, and others in 1682. The firſt of theſe pieces, dated at London June the 24th 1681, is dedicated to Lewis XIV, with this familiar inſcription, *Salve, Ludovice XIV, Rex Liligere, ſalve.* The author exhorts that Prince to aſſert the *Regale*, which was ſo much ſpoken of at that time, and informed him, that Drabicius had promiſed him the city of Rome (20). We find in this collection a letter, which he wrote from Lubeck to Father Kircher in February 1676, *de Sapientia infuſa Adamæa, Salomonæaque*; and a piece, which he addreſſed to Mahomet IV, *de Converſione Turcarum.* It is dated at Conſtantinople Auguſt the 1ſt, 1678, The author ſet his myſtical ſeal to it at London May the 1ſt 1681, and ſignified to the Sultan, that the comet, which had appeared the preceding winter, preſaged the converſion of all nations; and he congratulated his Highneſs upon his having appointed a faſt one day throughout his Empire. *Aſpexiſti ante aliquot*

(20) *A Deo data ſcientia* ROMAM *nunc cribrans à* DRABICIO *Tibi olim promiſſa.*

covy October the 3d 1689, on account of ſome predictions which were actually ſeditious (x). I cannot tell whether he cauſed a medal to be ſtruck of him, as other modern Prophets have done; but the ſame book informs me, that there was a picture of him, under which ſo many titles were given him [I], that I believe the Monarchs of the Eaſt never aſſumed more. If it ſhould be thought that I ſpeak of him too ſeriouſly and too long, I would have the reader know that there is a ſerious air upon ſuch ſubjects as theſe, which is ten times worſe than raillery; and that it is proper that the world ſhould be informed of the prodigious variety of fanaticiſm. It is an evil more contagious than is imagined. The reading of Drabicius compleated the ruin of Kuhlman [K]. Thoſe who have not the *Prodromus* of the latter, have occaſion to read only three or four pages of Morhof's *Polyhiſtor* (y), in which they will ſee the magnificent promiſes and vaſt deſigns of this Fanatic.

(x) *Ob vaticinia quædam & ſeditionis motum concrematus.* Idem, ibid.

(y) From pag. 357. to pag. 361.

For the reſt, he was not one of thoſe inſpired men, who value themſelves upon their continence; he married more than once, if we may call a marriage, and not concubinage, that commerce between a man and woman, which wants the formalities, which the Canon and Civil Law have preſcribed. He underſtood likewiſe the art of getting money from people, and there were ſome, to whom he wrote in a magiſterial and prophetic ſtyle, that it was neceſſary for the advancement of the new Kingdom of God, that they ſhould raiſe ſuch and ſuch a ſum, in failure of which he threatened them with the moſt dreadful judgments from the vengeance of the moſt High. Van Helmont was one of thoſe who received ſuch letters, but he was not ſo ſimple as to be terrified by them, or to pay any regard to them (z).

(z) I have been informed of this by ſome perſons who knew Kuhlman.

KUSTER *aliquot menſes*, O Capitanee grandis ab Oriente Solis, *Cometam in-audite-ingentem, NUNTIUM REALEM REGNI JESUELITARUM, hoc eſt Reſtitutionis Populorum omnium ad Deum Unicum & Triunum! Bene Te, quod cor tuum coram Deo flexeris, & Proclamatione Dici pœnitentialis Catholici in Regnis tuis, inciperis adimplere Verba Dei ad Prophetam Drabicium?* Si Chriſtiani voluntatem meam in deſtruendo Antichriſtianiſmo, Doctrinâque pravâ & Idololatriâ exequi renuent, facient id Chriſtianis in opprobrium Turcæ & Tartari: quod horrori erit angelis meis & hominibus. i. e. " You, O " great Captain of the Eaſt, ſaw ſome months ago " a comet of an unheard of magnitude, A REAL " MESSENGER OF THE KINGDOM OF THE JESUE- " LITES, that is, of the reſtitution of all people to " the one-three-God. Happy are you, becauſe you " have bowed your heart before God, and by proclaim- " ing a faſt through the whole Empire, have begun " to fulfill the words of God to his Prophet Drabicius. " *If Chriſtians ſhall refuſe to perform my will in deſtroy- " ing Antichriſt, and falſe Doctrine, and Idolatry, the " Turks and Tartars will do this to the diſgrace of " Chriſtians; and the horror of my angels and men.*" He wrote to the Aga of Smyrna June the 28th 1678 (21). Some months after he dedicated to the Sieur Van Dam the myſtery of the 21 weeks of Kotterus, in which he declares, that the Houſe of Auſtria was about to loſe the Imperial Crown. By the piece *De magnalibus naturæ ultimo ævo reſervatis*, which he addreſſed *ad adeptos magoſque orbis terrarum*, at Geneva January the 30th 1682, it appears, that he went to the Holy Land. His *Arcanum microcoſmicum* is dated at Paris November the 1ſt 1681.

(21) Kuhlman was then in the Port of Smyrna on board a French ſhip. He was ſtill at Smyrna Oct. 27, 1678, as appears from the letter which he wrote to *James Van Dam*, the Dutch Conſul.

[I] *So many titles were given him.*] Here is what I find in the book which I have quoted (22). *In effigie quam Andreas Lippius edidit, ita celebratur:*

Alter Scaligerûm, Taubmannus, Grotius, Opitz,
Barthius, Iſcanus, Gryphius, Muretus, Eraſmus!
Henoch, Joſephus, Davides, Joſua, Moſes,
Elias, Daniel, Salomon, Eliſa, Johannes!
Cyrus, Alexander, Conſtantin, Karl, Fridericus!
Liligerus, Juvenis, Frigerani, Artiſta, Sophata:
O Pater, hæc tua ſunt! Hæc ad te cuncta reflexit.

(22) *Diarium Biographicum Henningi Witte*, Part. 2. pag. 168.

i. e. " In the picture of him publiſhed by Andrew " Lippius, he is thus celebrated.

" Another Scaliger, Taubman, Grotius, &c."

A little before it is ſaid, that he was ſometimes called LUDOVICUS LUDOVICI. The catalogue of his writings, ſuch as Mr. Witte gives it, does not contain the *Epiſtolæ Theoſophicæ Leidenſes*; but in compenſation for this it contains nine letters to Father Kircher; beſides *Epiſtolarum Londinenſium Catholica ad Wickleſio-Waldenſes, Huſſitas, Zwinglianos, Lutheranos*; beſides in High Dutch, *de cœleſti oſculo amoris, ſive Cogitationes Poeticæ ex Cantico Canticorum. Diſcurſus ſacri & profani de pulcherrimis virtutum floſculis. Mortalitas immortalis, ſive centum Epitaphia. Caduceator Hiſtoricus. Neo-Behmius illuſtratus, &c.*

[K] *The reading of Drabicius compleated the ruin of Kuhlman.*] Kuhlman had found in the prophecies of Drabicius two paſſages, which he applied to himſelf (23). The firſt contains theſe words (24: *Qui legit, intelligat! cum numerabitur quinque finem accipient Filii contumaciæ, conſpecto me poteſtatem habere in cœlos, terram, mare.* i. e. " Let him, who reads, underſtand! " when FIVE ſhall be numbered, the ſons of obſtina- " cy ſhall receive their end, it being perceived, that " I have power over Heaven, Earth, and Sea." Here is the other paſſage (25): *Abundantia benedictionis te* (Drabicium) *parata expectat Wratiſlaviæ, ac ſi oculis videas tuis.* i. e. " The abundance of bleſſing waits " thee (Drabicius) at Breſlaw, as if you ſaw with your " own eyes." Let us add to theſe two paſſages that which he took from the *Aſtrologico-Prophetic Prognoſtic* written by Paul Felgenhaver in 1647, and publiſhed in 1665, *Quantus error ſit pacis ſpes illud nobis duplicatus* QUINARIUS *demonſtrabit, cum venerit poſt paucos dies.* i. e. " How great an error it is to hope for " peace, the double QUINARY will ſhew, when it " ſhall come after a few days." He imagined, that he was that double *Quinarius*, which Felgenhaver had promiſed: two reaſons convinced him of this: one was, that his name was Quirinus; the other, that in 1674 it was five years ſince he had received an infuſed knowledge (25). He believed therefore, that the time promiſed by Drabicius, *cum numerabitur quinque finem accipient filii contumaciæ*, was come; ſo that he hoped to overthrow Antichriſt and Babylon with his pen in a ſhort time. Let us hear the Hallelujah which he thundered out beforehand: *Corruet Antichriſtus proprio ſuo judicio, & Babylon excidium ſuum properabit cum admiratione populorum. Hallel. Quem Cæſares armis potentibus non debellavere, juvenis inermis debellavit in virtute Jeſu Chriſti prælians. Hall. Stant Mercatores Antichriſti horrore procul trementes, deflent interitum ſuum inſperatum ab inſperato timore futurorum. Hall.* (27). i. e. " Antichriſt ſhall fall " by his own judgment, and Babylon ſhall haſten his " deſtruction to the admiration of all people. Hall. " He whom the Emperors have not ſubdued by pow- " erful arms, ſhall be ſubdued by an unarmed youth " fighting in the might of Chriſt Jeſus. Hall. The " merchants of Babylon ſtand trembling afar off, and " lament their unexpected deſtruction through the un- " expected fear of what ſhall come to paſs. Hall." If I had not ſeen with my own eyes all that I have tranſcribed, I could ſcarce have thought, that the extravagance of Fanaticiſm could have proceeded ſo far.

(23) *Epiſt. Theoſoph.* pag. 2.

(24) *Revelat.* 594. Feb. 7. *ann.* 1664.

(25) *Revelat.* 608. 24 May 1664.

(26) *Epiſt. Theoſophic.* pag. 2.

(27) This is what he wrote to his brother-prophet *John Rothe*, April 24, 1674, at Leyden. See *Epiſt. Theoſophic.* pag. ult.

☞KUSTER (LUDOLF), a very learned writer [A] in the beginning of the 18th Century, was born in February 1670 at Blomberg, a little town in the county of Lippe in Weſtphalia, and was ſon of Ludolf Kuſter, Magiſtrate of that place. His elder brother, who was an excellent ſcholar, inſpired him very early with a love to learning, and took a particular care of his education. This brother taught polite learning at Berlin in the College of Joachim, called ſo from the Elector, who founded it. Ludolf Kuſter was

[A] *A very learned writer.*] This appears from his works, the catalogue of which is as follows. I. *Hiſtoria Critica Homeri.* Francfort 1696 in 8vo, This book ſhews a great extent of reading; but our author did not value it much afterwards, when he had made a greater progreſs in learning. He thought that he had begun too early to appear in the world under the character of an author. In this tract he took upon him the name of *Neocorus*, which in Greek ſignifies a ſexton, as *Kuſter* does in High Dutch. The following book appeared under the ſame name; II. *Bibliotheca Librorum collecta a L. Neocoro.* Utrecht five tomes in 8vo. This work was continued from the month of April 1697 to the end of the year 1699. Mr. Kuſter was at firſt employed alone in this journal; but being afterwards engaged in ſome other works, he took into his aſſiſtance Mr. Henry Sike, who was afterwards Profeſſor of Hebrew in the Univerſity of Cambridge. They wrote in conjunction till June 1699, when Mr. Kuſter left this work to Mr. Sike, who continued it no longer than the laſt ſix months of that year. III. *Jamblichi de Vitâ Pythagoræ Liber, Græcè & Latinè cum novâ Verſione, Emendationibus, & Notis L. Kuſteri. Accedit Porphyrius de Vitâ Pythagoræ cum Notis L. Holſtenii & C. Ritterſhuſii; itemque Anonymus apud Photium de Vitâ Pythagoræ.* Amſterdam 1707 in 4to. Dr. Kuſter's notes are merely critical, in which he reſtores a prodigious number of paſſages in his authors. IV. *Suidæ Lexicon Græcè & Latinè. Textum Græcum cum Manuſcriptis Codicibus collatum à quamplurimis mendis purgavit, notiſque perpetuis illuſtravit, verſionem Æmilii Porti innumeris in locis correxit, indicesque Auctorum & Rerum adjecit Ludolfus Kuſterus Profeſſor Humaniorum Literarum in Gymnaſio Berolinenſi.* Cambridge 1705 three volomes in fol. In this edition Mr. Kuſter has collated the text of Suidas with three manuſcripts in the King of France's library in the Louvre, and marked the various readings of other manuſcripts. By this means he has corrected the text in a prodigious number of places. He has likewiſe corrected Æmilius Portus's tranſlation. His notes are ſhort, and in them he gives the reaſons of his corrections, whether taken from manuſcripts, or made by conjecture. He frequently points out the authors, whoſe words are quoted by Suidas without mentioning their names. He has likewiſe inſerted the obſervations of Dr. John Pearſon, Biſhop of Cheſter, written with his own hand in the margin of a copy of Suidas. Theſe Remarks are diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by the Biſhop's name. The author of a Latin letter dated at Oxford January 13, 1706 under the name of *C. Veratius Philellen* to *M. Lucilius Profuturus*, publiſhed by Mr. Le Clerc (1), obſerves, that though he had great expectations from Dr. Kuſter, yet this edition much ſurpaſſed it. *Et ſi multa a V. C.* Ludolfo Kuſtero, *exſpectaveram, attamen Expectationem meam ſuperavit nova Suidæ editio, quam ab aliquot Menſibus magnâ cum voluptate verſo.* And Mr. Le Clerc tells us (2), that this edition is very correct and very beautiful in all reſpects; and that the univerſity furniſhed part of the expence of it. However it was attacked by James Gronovius, upon which our author wrote, V. *Diatriba* L. K. *in quâ Editio Suidæ Cantabrigienſis contra Cavillationes* J. G. *Ariſtarchi Leydenſis defenditur:* inſerted in Monſieur Le Clerc's *Bibliotheque Choiſie Tom. XXIV. p.* 49 *& ſeqq.* and publiſhed ſeparately in 12mo. A new edition of it with additions was publiſhed under the title of *Diatriba Anti-Gronoviana* at Amſterdam 1712 in 8vo. VI. *De Muſæo Alexandrino Diatriba.* Inſerted in the VIII tome of Gronovius's collection of *Greek Antiquities.* VII. *Ludovici Savoti Diſſertationes de Nummis antiquis linguâ Gallicâ in Latinum tranſlatæ à L. Neocoro:* inſerted in the XI Tome of Grævius's *Roman Antiquities.* VIII. *Picturæ antiquæ ſepulchri Naſoniorum in Viâ Flaminiâ delineatæ & inciſæ à Petro Sancto Bartæriolo, explicatæ à Joanne Petro Bellorio: ex Italicâ Linguâ in Latinam tranſtulit L. Neocorus:* inſerted in the XII Tome of Grevius's *Roman Antiquities.* IX. *Ariſtophanis Comediæ undecim Græcè & Latinè.* Amſterdam 1710 in fol. The reader may ſee an account of this edition in the article of ARISTOPHANES (3), X. *Novum Teſtamentum Græcum cum Lectionibus Variantibus MSS. Exemplarium, Verſionum, Editionum, S. S. Patrum & Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum, & in eaſdem Notis. Accedunt Loca Scripturæ parallela, aliaque exegitica. Præmittitur Diſſertatio de Libris Novi Teſtamenti, & Canonis conſtitutione & S. Textûs Novi Fœderis ad noſtra uſque tempora Hiſtoriâ. Studio & Labore* Joannis Millii *S. T. P. Collectionem* Millianam *recenſuit, meliori ordine diſpoſuit, noviſque acceſſionibus locupletavit* Ludolphus Kuſterus. Rotterdam 1710 in fol. Dr. Kuſter in his *Preface* having highly applauded Dr. *Mill*'s work, obſerves, that thoſe, who would explode the uſe of Criticiſm upon the ſacred writings, as unprofitable and pernicious, labour under a great miſtake. For they cannot deny that there are various readings; and they dare not aſſert, that Robert Stephens or any other editor of the new teſtament were inſpired in ſuch a manner, as never to miſtake the true text of the ſacred writers, eſpecially conſidering the difference, which there is between the Manuſcripts, which they had in their hands. Thoſe different readings either are of ſome importance, or they are not. If the former, why ſhould thoſe valuable monuments of Antiquity be ſuppreſſed, by the aſſiſtance of which, we are enabled to diſcover the true reading of the ſacred text? If the latter, why ſhould not they be publiſhed, ſince they are ſo far from being any prejudice to religion, that they may be of the greateſt ſervice to it, by ſhewing the wonderful conformity between the vaſt number of manuſcripts, editions, verſions, and quotations of the ſcriptures, in every thing, even of the ſlighteſt nature? This will eaſily appear by comparing all the various readings collected with ſo much care by Dr. Mill; for except a ſmall number, all thoſe different readings are of no importance. However this does not diminiſh the value of that learned man's work, but on the contrary advances it; ſince the conſequence which may be drawn from it is this, that we have the ſacred text as perfect as is neceſſary to make it the foundation of our faith. Dr. Kuſter afterwards explains the nature and different ſorts of the various readings. It muſt neceſſarily be laid down as a principle, that of all the various readings of one and the ſame text there can be but one true. So that when we have the characters, by which we may know the true one, all the reſt are not to paſs for various readings, but for corruptions of the text, whatever may be the cauſe of them. Thus if we had the originals of the apoſtles now extant, there would be no various readings. But becauſe we have them not, and there is frequently reaſon to doubt which of all the various readings is the trueſt, we ought to take all the corruptions of the text for various readings, at leaſt they muſt be looked upon as ſuch till the true reading be certainly diſcovered by the principles of ſolid criticiſm. After this explication Dr. Kuſter divides the various readings into four kinds. I. Thoſe, which are improperly called ſo. II. Thoſe, which are ambiguous. III. True ones, but not very important. IV. Thoſe which are of conſiderable moment. Upon all theſe various readings he makes uſeful and judicious reflections: he obſerves, for inſtance, that the different manner of ſpelling of the ſame word among writers muſt not be taken for ſo many different readings, the orthography of the Greek Language not being the ſame at all times, nor in all places. Some authors write ἰφνίη, others ἰμφίνη; ſome ἀντῖ; others ἀντὶ, &c. There are ſeveral readings of this ſort in Dr. Mill's collection. As to thoſe, which are ambiguous, we are to place in this rank all thoſe collected from the quotations of the fathers, when it is uncertain whether they were ſo in their copies, or whether quoting them by memory they have not forgot the proper terms of the original. It is neceſſary

(3) Vol. 2. pag. 264.

(1) *Bibliotb. Choiſie*, tom. 9. pag. 187, *& ſeq.*

(2) Ibid. pag. 280.

was admitted there very young, and ſoon made a conſiderable progreſs in his ſtudies. Upon the recommendation of Baron Spanheim he was appointed tutor to the two ſons of the Count de Schwerin, Prime Miniſter of the King of Pruſſia, who, upon our author's quitting that ſtation, procured him from that Prince a penſion of four hundred livres. He had likewiſe a promiſe of a Profeſſorſhip of polite learning in the College of Joachim. Till this ſhould be vacant, Kuſter, who was then but between twenty five and twenty ſix years of age, reſolved to travel into Germany, France, England, and Holland. He went firſt to Francfort upon the Oder, where he ſtudied the Civil Law for ſome time, and thence to Antwerp, Leyden, and Utrecht, where he ſtaid a conſiderable time, and wrote there ſeveral works. Having collected ſome money by this means, and by reading Lectures upon the public Law to the German Noblemen, he left Utrecht in 1699; and took a voyage to England, from whence he went to France in the beginning of the year following. His chief employment there was to collate Suidas with three manuſcripts in the King's Library, which furniſhed him with a great many fragments, which had never been publiſhed. About the end of the year 1700 he returned to England, and in four years finiſhed his edition of Suidas, in which he laboured day and night. He related himſelf, that being one night awaked by thunder and lightning, he was ſeized with a dreadful apprehenſion on account of this work, ſo that he roſe immediately, and carried it to bed with him, with all the affection of a father for an only ſon. He was honoured with the degree of Doctor by the Univerſity of Cambridge, which made him ſeveral advantageous offers to continue there, but he was obliged to wave them, being recalled to Berlin, where he was inſtalled in the Profeſſorſhip which had been promiſed him. The firſt Profeſſor of the College of Joachim dying, our author imagined, that the date of his appointment, which he carried as high as the moment of his departure, and his new title of Library-keeper to the King, gave him a claim to that poſt of honour. But a Profeſſor, who was prior to him in the exerciſe of his function, obtaining that place, he extremely reſented it. At the end of the year the Treaſurer, who paid the Profeſſors, demanding a fee out of his ſtipend, Kuſter refuſed to allow it; and exclaiming the ſecond time againſt it as an injuſtice, propoſed at laſt to reſign his places for a ſum of money. The Treaſurer taking him at his word, he received ten thouſand livres, and returned to Holland, and went to Amſterdam, where he boarded for ſome time, and afterwards took an houſe. He had gained ſome money by his edition of Suidas, and was aſſiſted by ſome of his relations. But the expence of living at Amſterdam being great, he removed to Rotterdam, where he hoped to live cheaper; though he found himſelf miſtaken. He went ſome time after to Antwerp to confer with the Jeſuits with regard to his doubts about Religion; and being brought over by them to the Roman Catholic Religion, he abjured that of the Proteſtants on the 25th of July 1713 in the Church of the Noviciate belonging to the Jeſuits. The King of France rewarded him with a penſion of two thouſand livres, and as a mark of diſtinction ordered him to be admitted ſupernumerary Aſſociate of the Academy of Inſcriptions. But he did not enjoy this new ſettlement long; for he died on the 12th of October 1716 of an abceſs in the Pancreas, being forty ſix years of age. He was of an eaſy and quiet diſpoſition. He was a great maſter of the Latin tongue, and wrote well in it; but his chief excellence was his ſkill in the Greek language, to which he almoſt entirely devoted himſelf. He conſidered the hiſtory and chronology of Greek words (theſe were his uſual expreſſions) as the moſt ſolid entertainment of a man of letters.

Upon

ceſſary to proceed with caution in that caſe. In the mean time if the manner, in which a paſſage is quoted in the works of a father, does not appear in an antient manuſcript or verſion, nor in any other father of the Church, it is to be ſuppoſed, that the reading is falſe, and that the ſame is owing only to the forgetfulneſs of him, who makes the quotation. But if it be confirmed by the authority of one or two fathers of the Church, and not to be found in any manuſcript or verſion, the ſame ought to be ranked among theſe, which are doubtful. With reſpect to the various readings, which are of ſome importance, Dr. Kuſter makes ſome remarks omitted by Dr. Mill, and corrects ſome in which he believes that learned Divine to have been miſtaken. Dr. Mill, for inſtance, has ſet down a various reading from Suidas relating to a paſſage, which he thought that author had quoted from Luke XVI. 3. whereas it was really a quotation from Ariſtophanes. But as Dr. Kuſter has taken notice of ſome errors of Dr. Mill, on the other hand he ſometimes vindicates him againſt ſuch criticks, who have cenſured him without cauſe. He has compared the text with twelve MSS. which Dr. Mill never ſaw. Of theſe twelve there were nine in the King of France's library; but except one, which has all the books of the new teſtament, all the reſt contain no more than the four Goſpels. The tenth MS. belonged to Mr. Carpzovius, a Miniſter at Leipſic, and contains the four Goſpels. The 11th was brought from Greece by Mr. Seidel of Berlin; but it has not the four Goſpels. The laſt, which was one of thoſe, that Dr. Kuſter eſteemed moſt, was communicated to him by Mr. Bornier, who bought it at the public ſale of the library of Mr. Francius, Profeſſor of Rhetoric at Amſterdam. After the preface of Dr. Kuſter there follows a letter of Monſieur Le Clerc, concerning Dr. Mill's work, XI. *Epiſtola, in quâ Præfatio quam V. C. J. P.* [Jacobus Perizonius] *noviſſimæ Diſſertationi ſuæ de ære gravi præpoſuit, refellitur.* Leyden 1713 in 8vo, XII. *De vero uſu Verborum Mediorum apud Græcos, eorumque differentiâ à Verbis Activis & Paſſivis. Annexa eſt Epiſtola de Verbo Cerno ad Virum Clar. J. P. Auctore* Ludolpho Kuſtero, *Regiæ Inſcriptionum Academiæ ſocio.* Paris 1714 in 12mo. XIII. *Explication d'une Inſcription Grecque envoyée de Smyrne*, inſerted in the *Memoirs de Trevoux* for September 1715. XIV. *Examen Criticum Editionis noviſſimæ Herodoti Gronovianæ:* inſerted in Monſieur Le Clerc's *Bibliotheque ancienne & moderne*, Tom. V. p. 383, & ſeqq. There has been publiſhed in Holland under the name of Grævius, and with the title of *Nova Cohors Muſarum*, a little tract of Kuſter written in 1699 for the inſtruction of ſome young noblemen. Our author publiſhed a ſpecimen of a new edition of *Robert Stephens Theſaurus*, with great improvements, in Monſ. La Roche's *Memoirs of Literature*, Vol. V. p. 298, & ſeqq.

(a) *Memoires de Trevoux*, Mars 1717; *Nouvelles Litter.* du 19 Decemb. 1716, & du 9 Janv. 1717.

Upon this account he deſpiſed all other parts of learning; and Mr. Themiſeul relates in his Letters, that this zealous Grammarian meeting one day with Monſieur Bayle's *Commentaire Philoſophique* in a Bookſeller's ſhop, he threw it down, and ſaid, "This "is nothing but a book of reaſoning: *non ſic itur ad Aſtra* (*a*)." Since the writing of this, we have received a letter from the very learned Mr. Joſeph Waſſe [*B*], Rector

[*B*] *A letter from the very learned Mr. Joſeph Waſſe . . . containing ſeveral curious particulars concerning our author.*] Mr. Waſſe writes as follows. "Dr. Kuſter, "a tall, thin, pale man, ſeemingly unable to bear fa- "tigue, was nevertheleſs indefatigable and of an un- "common application to letters. He formed himſelf "under Grævius. I was acquainted with him from "1700 to 1714. Upon my collecting the *Remains of* "*Anacreon* for Mr. Barnes about 1702, he intro- "duced me to Dr. Bentley. *You muſt be known*, ſays "he, *to that Gentleman, whom I look upon, not only as* "*the firſt ſcholar in Europe, but as the beſt of friends.* "*I only hinted to him the difficulty I lay under in rela-* "*tion to the officers of the cuſtoms, and preſently after he* "*accommodated that troubleſome affair to my intire ſatis-* "*faction, without ſo much as once letting me know he* "*had any hand in it till near a year after:* unde ſatis "compertum mihi *Bentleium* eſſe re officioſum, non "verbis. *Many an excellent emendation upon Suidas* "*have I received from him.* I the rather mention "this, continues Mr. Waſſe, becauſe when that *Lexi-* "*con* was in the preſs, Kuſter with indignation ſhew- "ed me an anonymous letter in Latin addreſſed "to him, wherein he was adviſed not to treat the "Doctor with that diſtinction, if he intended his "book ſhould make its way in the learned world. "But to proceed, when he came to write upon Sui- "das, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of making "Indices of all the authors mentioned by the anti- "ents, Euſtathius particularly, and 19 Volumes of "commentaries upon Ariſtotle &c. of the hiſtory, "Geography, and chronological characters occaſional- "ly mentioned. Dr. Bentley prevailed upon me to "give him ſome aſſiſtance. Thoſe that fell to my "lot were chiefly Euſtathius on the Odyſſea, ſeven "or eight ſcholiaſts, Plutarch, Galen. You may "judge of Kuſter's diſpatch and application, when I "tell you, I could by no means keep pace with him, "though I began the laſt author Jan. 9. 1703, and "finiſhed him March 8th of the ſame year, and in "proportion too the remainder. Though I corrected "all the ſheets of the firſt volume, yet I never per- "ceived he had omitted ſome leſs material words, "nor ever knew the true reaſon. I have heard him "blamed too for not mentioning the names of one or "two perſons, who ſent him a few notes. But this was "occaſioned, I am confident, by the hurry he was "always in, and the great number of letters, memo- "randums, and other papers he had about him. As "I remember he tranſlated *de novo* in a manner five "or ſix ſheets a week, and remarked upon them; ſo "that the work was haſtily executed, and would have "been infinitely more perfect, had he allowed him- "ſelf time. Some people thought they aſſiſted "him, when they did not. A perſon of figure took him "into his cloſet after dinner, and told him he would "communicate ſomething of mighty importance, a "κειμήλιον, which in all difficulties had been many "years his oracle. In an ill hour I met Kuſter "tranſported with delight. We found it was *Budæus's* "*Lexicon*, large paper, with only the names of the "authors he quotes writ in the margin, without one "ſingle remark or addition. Kuſter, the beſt na- "tured man alive, was terribly put to it how to treat "one, that meant well, and continually enquired "what ſervice it did him, and triumphed that he "was able to contribute ſo largely to the worthy editor "of *Suidas*. Towards the cloſe of the work, Kuſter "grew very uneaſy, emaciated to the laſt degree, "cold as a ſtatue, and juſt as much alive as a "man three parts dead. Sure I was to hear eve- "ry time I called upon him, *O utinam illuceſ-* "*cat iſte Dies, quo huic Operi manum ultimam* "*imponam!* It may now be proper to acquaint "you in what manner this Gentleman uſed to relax "and forget his labours over a bottle (for even Scipio "and Lælius were not ſuch fools as to be wiſe always); "and that was generally in the Poetical way, or in "converſations, that turned upon antiquities, coins, "inſcriptions, and obſcure paſſages of the antients. "Sometimes he performed on the ſpinet at our muſic "club, and was by the connoiſſeurs accounted a maſter. "His chief companions were Dr. Sike, famous in "Oriental Learning, Davies, and Needham; Mr. "Oddy, who writ Greek pretty well, and has left "notes upon Dio, and a verſion of Apollonius Rho- "dius, which are repoſited in Lord Oxford's Library; "he is the perſon whoſe conjectures upon Avienus were "printed by Dr. Hudſon at the end of his *Geogra-* "*phers*; and Mr. Barnes the Greek Profeſſor; con- "cerning whom I beg leave to inſert a few particu- "lars known to none beſides myſelf. His mother "that was afterwards, was carried to Church to be "buried; but the nails of the coffin being ob- "ſerved to make her bleed, they immediately gave "her air, and ſhe recovered. Sir Eraſmus Smith of "Eſſex, aged near 60, and not intending to marry, "reſolved to adopt one of the ſcholars of Chriſt's "Hoſpital. Barnes was recommended by the maſter, "and approved of by the Knight, who offered to ſettle "an eſtate of two thouſand pounds a year upon him, "provided he would change his name. The mother, "a woman of ſenſe, was for it; but his father would "by no means interpoſe, and left it entirely to his "ſon to act as he pleaſed; and poverty was his option "and fate. The Knight afterward married, and had "iſſue, and often invited Joſhua to his houſe. I have "the ſame opinion of dreams that Petronius "had; however I cannot help relating one, that he "ſpoke often of. Two or three years before the in- "tended adoption, when he knew not what a verſe "was, he thought himſelf aſſaulted by a ragged boy, "who called himſelf Poverty. They fought a long "time, and Barnes at laſt killed him near a Church- "Door; upon which his father appeared in the ha- "bit of a genius, and congratulated him in words that "ended thus;

"*Felixque vincas, & domabis*
"*Pauperiem malè pervicacem.*

"He proteſted to me, that he told this next morn- "ing to his ſchool-fellows, and they acquainted him "with the ſenſe and meaſure. The event was, that "he got rid of poverty by marrying an old rich widow, "that knew nothing of Greek, but *admired and loved* "*the ſound of it*. His *Eſther* was thought to exceed "any thing of Duport's on Rhodomannus, and "pleaſed the Univerſity ſo much, that he ventured to "appear for the Profeſſorſhip, but was not well uſed "by the Electors. One of them (Dr. Montagu) told "me that the candidates examined each other "publicly; that Barnes challenged Mich. Paine to "ſpeak or write; both which he wiſely declin- "ed; then they opened *Ariſtophanes*, in which Barnes "appeared vaſtly ſuperior. However the Doctor "voted, but with reluctancy, for one of his own Col- "lege. This repulſe in a thing he had ſet his heart "upon, quite turned his head, inſomuch that he could "hardly bear the ſight of a Greek book for a long "time. At laſt he turned himſelf to Engliſh Hiſtory, "which made him known to numbers of Gentlemen, "whoſe regimen was too warm for a man of letters; "ſo that when I knew him, he ſeemed to be *nil niſi* "*magni nominis umbra*. When ſome of us pointed "out any of his miſtakes in *Euripides*, *Ye little Smatte-* "*rers*, ſays he, *I have forgot more Greek than any of* "*you ever knew*. Kuſter often amuſed himſelf in "challenging Barnes, though more than his match "in compoſition. Both ſpoke the language, but "neither readily. Both wrote in ſeveral meaſures; "Kuſter after much premeditation, Barnes generally in "eight or ten minutes. Kuſter's talent lay in the "Iambic and Hendecaſyllabon; the other was equally "ready in any kind of verſe; but when he corrected "any thing, it was for the worſe. In many trials I

Rector of Aynho in Northamptonshire, containing several curious particulars concerning

" never once saw Barnes hesitate. There lay once " before him some lines, among which the word " *Knapsack* occurred. Every body whispered (he " was a little deaf) *This must nonplus him*; but he " overheard them, and wrote on without being any " way disconcerted; *Silence*; τῆλυτον *is the proper term:* " *See Leo Imperator's Tactics, & Simocatta.* I am sen- " sible how frigid these trifles will appear to a reader, " who has time to criticise and invent; whereas they " appeared otherwise to those, who were *in re præsenti.* " One gave, *Nocte pluit notâ* &c: Barnes immediately " cries.

" Νυκτὸς ὕει πάσης, ὅκχυσι θεάματα πρῶι·
" Χθιζὴν δ' ἀρχὴν σὺν Διὶ Καίσαρ ἔχει.

" but afterwards allowed my correction μειρομένην " ἀρχήν. Another time some Dutch and Swedish tra- " vellers, who could speak English, suspecting collu- " sion, insisted, that a book should be opened by " one of their company. It was was done at these " words,

" *A Squire he had, whose name was Ralph*

" and Barnes writ

" Ὁπλεφόρος δέ οἱ ἦεν ᾧ οὔνομα ἔσκε Ραδήλφῳ,
" Ἥμισυ ἀρ οἱ ἀγῶνος ἐνίκετο ἀνδρεφόνοιο.
" Ἄλλοι Ῥάλφον ἔειπον ἐπισπόμενοι μένεϊ σφῷ
" Ῥαλφῶον δ' ἄλλοι ὀνομακλήδην καλέουσιν.
" Ἡμεῖς δ' ἔυτ ἐθέλωσι κασίγνηται Κλαρίοιο
" Ῥάλφον, Ραλφῶον τε Ραδήλφον τ' ἐξερέοιμεν,
" Μέτρον γὰρ πρώτη πέλεται ἐλεγείοισι ποιηταῖς
" Ὦ ἔπε' ὡς νῆας παρελαύνομεν ἀϊδματι πόντῳ.
" Ἐν δ' ἔπος ἀνδρὶ λόγοιο, κε ἂν μέτριος χαρίνδε
" Εἰ νοεροῖσι λέγωμεν, ἐνὶ χρόνῳ ἄρκιον ἔσται.

" In the last verse νοερὸς means rather what may be " *understood*, than one that understands. The wine " being but indifferent one evening, some body re- " peated Martial's *Quid te, Tucca, juvat* &c. which " Barnes rendered at the desire of the company, as I " remember, thus.

" Οἰνω τί σε, Τῦκκα, παλαιῷ μίξαι ὀφέλλει
" Ἐν Βρετικώνοις σκύφα τιθέντα κάδοις;
" Ποιήσεν τι γάρ ἐσθλὸν ὁ οὐκ ἀγαθὸς Διόνυσος
" Ἢ τί σοι εὐγενέτης Βάκχος ἔθηκε κακόν;
Ῥάδιον ἐν ἡμῖν, τόδ' ἄγος Διόνυσον ἐναίρειν,,
" Καμπάνω τε φέρειν τοξικὰ λυγρὰ θεῷ.
" Συμπόται ἀξιοι εἰσὶ τεοὶ τάχα πότμον ἐλισσῶν,
" Τίμιος ἀμφοτερεὺς ἀξιος ἦν μελέτης.

" Upon publication of *Suidas*, Kuster in a little time " grew very fat, and returning into Prussia found his " patrons retired from Court, and his salary precа- " rious. What was more, his principles, which in- " clined to what is now called Arianism, rendered " him not very acceptable to some persons. In a " little time measures were taken to make him un- " easy, and he retired to Amsterdam. It seems the " people of Berlin were of a different opinion from " an old Gentlewoman, who thought herself some- " body. She boarded in the same house with Kuster, " and heard him often speak of Pearson's manuscript " *Suidas. Is Mr. Kuster within, Madam?* said a " Gentleman. *I think he is; you are a young man;* " *I am glad you keep such company. You intend, I hear,* " *to give him a degree: I am sure he gives you a good* " *example. He is a devout Christian: he will go to* " *Heaven be sure, for he reads blessed Bishop Pearson* " *day and night.—Pray Madam, shorten your sermon;* " *I am in haste.—Ah these scholars, they love nothing* " *that's good.—Mary, call the Professor.* At Amsterdam " Kuster reprinted Dr. Mills's New Testament, and " published *Aristophanes*, and some additional remarks " upon *Suidas* under Mr. Le Clerc's cover. But his " banker failing, he was reduced to extreme poverty; " and happening at that very juncture to be invited " to Paris by his old friend l'Abbe Bignon, was unfor- " tunately prevailed on to join himself to the Galli- " can Church. He desired me to write to him as " usual, but never on the article of religion; de- " claring at the same time, how he had not been " obliged to make a formal recantation, or condemn " the Reformed by any express act of his; but merely " to conform. How far this is true, I know not; " what is certain is only, that he was promised all " the favour and distinction any convert could ex- " pect. He was presently admitted a Member of " the Royal Academy of Inscriptions, and in 1714 " in return for a paper of verses I sent him, made me " a present of his book *De vero usu verborum media-* " *rum*; χρύσια χαλκείων. The last I had from Kuster " contained only Queries upon *Hesychius*, on whom, " before he left England, he had made about five " thousand emendations. His Queries were not over " difficult; and from thence I guessed his health much " impaired; and it proved so indeed, for we heard " soon after, that he had been blooded five or six " times for a fever, and that upon opening his body, " there was found a cake of sand along the lower re- " gion of the belly. This, I take it, was occasioned " by his sitting in e manner double, and writing on " a very low table, surrounded with three or four " circles of books placed on the ground; which was " the situation we usually found him in. He had a " clear head, cool, and proper for debate; he be- " haved in a very inoffensive manner, and I am per- " suaded the last error of his life was almost the only " one, and will by charitable persons be placed in " good measure to the account of his deplorable cir- " cumstances; for if *oppression*, which only affects " a part, will, why shall not the loss of all one's for- " tunes, purchased with so much labour, *make a wise* " *man mad?* Let those only censure him, who in " plentiful circumstances have the spirit to serve their " country without place or title." We shall subjoin here the following letters of Dr. Kuster to Mr. Wasse.

" Viro doctissimo & amicissimo *Josepho Wassio* S. D.
" *Ludolphus Kusterus.*

" En tibi Epistolam à *Relando*, quæ de Apparatu " *Kohliano* te edocebit. Addidi Schedulam a *D. Leib-* " *nitio*, quæ specimen Collationis cum MSS. Guelfer- " bytanis continet. An integram Collationem ejus " operâ nacturi simus, proximè scire licebit, nam de- " nuo ad eum scripsi. In ultimâ ad me Epistolâ hæc " tantum eâ super re scripsit, non proletariâ diligen- " tiâ opus fore, ut MSS. illi cum editis conferantur. " In eadem Epistolâ miratur hiatus *Gervasii* eosdem " fuisse in MS. Cantabrigiensi, ac in Apographo ad " vos transmissо; subdubitatque annon forte per " ἀλειψίαν quædam in collatione prætermissa fuerint. " Sed mihi quidem nullum dubium est, quin lacunas " illas suppleturus fuisses, si MS. vester integer fuisset. " De Collatione *Pluti* & *Nubium* cum MS. Arunde- " liano tibi & Dom. *Daubio* gratias quam maximas " ago, speroque me itidem collationem *Pluti* cum MS. " Dom. *Wheleri* tuâ operâ nacturum esse. Audio & " Oxonii aliquas Aristophanes fabulas MSS. exstare. " Quare pergratum mihi, faceres, si eâ de re Literas " dare velles ad *Hudsonum* qui jam ante aliquot men- " ses prolixè mihi pollicitus est usum omnium illorum, " quæ in Bibliothecâ *Bodleianâ* hanc ad rem pertinen- " tia reperirentur. Refricabis igitur ipsi haud grava- " tim rei hujus memoriam. *Aristophanes* Dom. *Postle-* " *waitii* nondum ad manus meas pervenit, Appa- " ratus ad futuram editionem *Aristophanis* quotidie cres- " cit, omnesque hic non spernendam ejus Auctoris " Editionem sibi pollicentur, *Owenum* denuo ad incitas " redactum ex aliis quoque audivi, omnemque proinde " spem abjeci illum mihi unquam solvendo fore. Cla- " riss. *Bentleio* salutem meo nomine nunties plurimam, " eique dicas me responsum expectare ad id, quod de " *Suidâ* ad ipsum scripseram. Si vel ipse vel tu absens " eris, quæso per Literas hoc ipsum meo nomine roges. " Est enim res alicujus momenti; & Bibliopolæ identi- " dem me hac de re percontantur. Doctorem *Perkinsium* " (cui dicas, quæso, me sæpe hic Amstelodami cum " amico ejus *Thomsono* poculum in ejus salutem hau- " sisse)

cerning our author, which we ſhall preſent to the reader in the note.

" ſiſſe) *Sikium*, alioſque item meis verbis ſalutabis. Quan-
" do te hic expectabimus ? Sane deſiderium tui hic viden-
" di apud me creſcit in horas, ex quo mihi ſcripſiſti te
" huc venturum eſſe. *Clericus* te ſalutat, itidemque
" tuum expectat adventum. Vale, mi *Waſſi*, perſua-
" ſumque habe me in pauciſſimis te amare & diligere.
" Amſtelodami d. 18 Mart. St. Nov. 1707.

" P. S. Quæſo an ad Gradum Doctoris in Theologiâ
" Cantabrigiæ promotus es ? Id enim ex unis
" Literis tuis colligi poſſe videtur. Si ſic,
" ſcribas mihi eâ de re clarius, ut tibi eo no-
" mine gratulari poſſim."

" Viro doctiſſimo & longe amiciſſimo *Joſepho Waſſio*
" *S. P. D. Ludolphus Kuſterus.*

" In amicitiam noſtram me peccaturum credebam,
" ſi *Cronfeldio* ad vos redituro nihil ad te literarum
" darem, præſertim cum tam longo tempore nihil ad
" te ſcripſiſſem. Quamvis autem ob diuturnum ſilen-
" tium me negligentiæ in ſcribendo jure forſan con-
" demnare queas, non tamen ideo me in te amando,
" memoriamque tui recolendo ſegniorem fuiſſe conce-
" do; de quâ re, etiam me tacente, te minimè dubi-
" tare perſuaſus ſum, quippe qui ſciam, meum erga te
" animum jam à pluribus annis abunde tibi perſpec-
" tum eſſe. *Saluſtius* tuus quando tandem in Lucem
" exibit ? Ex *Cronfeldio* enim intelligo, eum ante
" diſceſſum tuum Cantabrigiæ (quod tamen ante ſpe-
" raveramus) non potuiſſe ad finem perduci. *Ariſto-*
" *phanes* meus prælo mox liberabitur, &, ut puto, proxi-
" mo menſe in lucem prodibit. Opto tantum, ut ex-
" pectationis, quam nonnullos de hac Editione con-
" cepiſſe video, reſpondere valeam. Nova Editio *Ire-*
" *næi* Pariſiis paratur, eaque prælum jam ſubit, ut ex
" Literis illuſtriſſimi *Bignonii* nuper intellexi. Plura
" *Cronfeldius* coram tibi narrabit. Vale, Vir amiciſſi-
" me, & me amare perge, Amſtelodami, d. xii Maii
" 1709.

" P. S. Cum proximè ad me ſcribes, quæſo fac me
" certiorem, annon de *Diodoro* aliquando eden-
" do ſeriò cogites. Nam ejus Libri Editio
" valde deſideratur."

" Amico optimo *Joſepho Waſſio* S. P. D. *Ludolphus*
" *Kuſterus.*

" Quamvis non dubitem te benè valere, meique me-
" morem adhuc vivere, id ipſum tamen ex te cognoſ-
" cere malo per literas, quarum me poſt longum illud,
" quo inter nos uſi ſumus ſilentio, ingens nunc deſide-
" rium tenet. Apud me quidem priſtinus ille, quo
" te proſecutus ſemper fui, amor integer adhuc & il-
" libatus durat, eoque firmiores in animo meo radi-
" ces agit, quo magis ad vetuſtatem accedit; tantum
" abeſt, ut diuturnitate temporis ſeneſcat. Qui has ti-
" bi reddet, eſt Juvenis doctus, nomine *Burgius*, Sile-
" ſius, à Clar. *Oleario*, Profeſſore Lipſienſi, mihi com-
" mendatus; quem viciſſim tibi trado, ſi forte ei vel
" Londini vel Cantabrigiæ aliquâ in re commodare
" queas. Cupidus enim eſt cognoſcendi viros doctos,
" ſtatumque rei literariæ in Britanniâ veſtrâ; quippe
" cujus rei gratiâ peregrinationem hanc ſuſcepit. Ego
" benè adhuc valeo, totumque me in Literas abdidi,
" & potiſſimum nunc in *Heſychio* perpoliendo occupa-
" tus ſum; ad quam rem & ſymbolam tuam expecto;
" non dubito enim, quin non pauca in eo Scriptore
" obſervaveris, quæ me alioſque fugerint. De Lite,
" quæ nuper *Clericum* inter & *Burmannum* exorta eſt,
" nota tibi omnia eſſe non dubito. Quamvis non
" diffiteor *Clericum* aliquando latus apertum adverſa-
" riis ſuis præbuiſſe, non tamen merebatur, ut tam
" indignis modis a *Burmanno* acciperetur. Effrænis
" enim illa Linguæ Licentia, & immodica verborum
" acerbitas, a viris doctis & humanitatem profitentibus
" quam longiſſimè abeſſe debet. De ſtatu rei Litera-
" riæ in Belgio noſtro plura coram ipſe *Burgius* tibi
" narrabit, ſub cujus diſceſſum has ipſas Literas raptim
" exaravi. Vale & me ama, Amſtelodami, d. 16.
" Sept. 1710.

" P. S. Si forte Cantabrigiæ hæ Literæ te offendant,
" rogo ut ſalutem meo nomine impertiaris
" amicis veteribus, *Perkinſio*, *Barneſio*, *Daviſio*,
" & aliis.

" P. S. Saluſtium tuum nondum vidi, ſed valde vide-
" re cupio." T

KYRIANDER (WILLIAM), a German Civilian, having begun his ſtudies of Civil Law in Germany, continued them in France and at Padua; and went afterwards to Venice, in order to join the practice to the theory by frequenting the bar (*a*). He undertook there a tranſlation of a work of Leander Alberti [*A*], which was printed at Cologne in 1567. You will find in Moreri, that he was Syndic of Treves, and that he publiſhed the Annals of that City [*B*]; but you will find there that he changed his Religion; and that his work was greatly decried on that account by the Jeſuits [*C*].

(*a*) Kyriander, *Præfat. Deſcript. Italiæ.*

[*A*] *He . . . undertook a tranſlation of a work of Leander Alberti.*] This work contains a Deſcription of Italy, and has not been deſpiſed by learned men. Read Voſſius, *Ch. XII. lib.* 3. *de Hiſtoricis Latinis* (1), and la Popeliniere, pag. 414. of the *Hiſtory of Hiſtories*. Kyriander made uſe of three Italian editions of the work, which he tranſlated into Latin; but I am ſurprized that he ſays nothing of the edition, which was enlarged with the Deſcription of the Iſlands near Italy. This edition was printed at Venice *appreſſo Ludovico de gli Avanzi* in 1561 in 4to. The Tranſlator was greatly in the wrong not to have followed this, and not to have added to his work this Deſcription of the Iſlands.

(1) Pag. m. 680.

[*B*] *He publiſhed the Annals of that City.*] It is a work in folio, and was printed at Deuxponts in 1603. Michael Hertzius does not mention this edition; he only takes notice of that of 1625, and pretends, that theſe Annals begin in the year of the world 966 (2). This is carrying them up above ſeven hundred years before the deluge. Zeiller (3) might have informed him, that he ſhould have ſaid 1966, and not 966. In the ſecond edition of Moreri printed in Holland it is 1066. This is carrying it back near ſix hundred years before Noah.

(2) Hertzius, *Bibliotheca Germanica*, num. 464.

(3) *De Hiſtoricis*, Part. 2. pag. 81.

[*C*] *He changed his Religion; and his work was greatly decried on that account by the Jeſuits.*] Let us ſee what Maſenius ſays: *Kyriander res Trevirenſium, ut fiaem Deo Principique ſuo violârat, perversè perſecutus eſt* (4). i. e. " Kyriander has written an erro-
" neous account of the Hiſtory of Treves, having
" before violated his faith to God, and his Prince."

(4) Maſenius, *in Dedicat. Compend. Hiſt. Trevir. apud* Magirum, *Eponymol.* pag. 498.

L.

LABE (LOYSA or LOUISA) a curtezan of Lyons, has been ranked among the French authors by la Croix du Maine, and du Verdier-Vau-Privas. She flouriſhed at Lyons under Henry II in the year 1555 (*a*), and her works were printed there the ſame year [*A*]. She did not act like curtezans in all reſpects; for if ſhe, on one hand, was of their turn of mind, in that ſhe would be well paid for her favours; on the other hand ſhe ſhewed a certain regard for men of learning which women of that character have not, ſhe indulging them the favour on free coſt. Her character will be better known by the paſſage cited below [*B*].

(*a*) La Croix du Maine, pag. 291.

[*A*] *Her works were printed at Lyons in* 1555.] They conſiſt of a dialogue in French proſe intitled, *Le Debat de Folie & d'Honneur*; i. e. "The Conteſt "between Folly and Honour," and ſeveral Poems of her writing (1), as alſo *Encomiums written by ſeveral Poets* in her honour, *in Greek, Latin, Italian, and French* (2).

(1) La Croix du Maine, pag. 291.

(2) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, *Bib. Françoiſe*, p. 822.

[*B*] *Her character will be better known by the paſſage cited below.*] I make no alteration in du Verdier's words. "Louiſa Labbe, *ſays he* (3), a curtezan of "Lyons, (otherwiſe called the beautiful rope-maker's "wife, her huſband being of that trade) was a very "ſkilful rider; for which reaſon the Gentlemen who "had acceſs to her, uſed to call her Captain Lewis. "She was a woman of wit, but not very beautiful. "She entertained at her houſe in the moſt obliging "manner, Lords, Gentlemen, and other perſons of "merit, with converſation, with muſic both vocal and "inſtrumental, in which ſhe was excellently well "ſkilled, with the reading of good Latin, Italian, "and Spaniſh authors, with which her cloſet was a-"bundantly ſtocked; and with the moſt delicious "ſweetmeats. In a word, ſhe uſed to communicate "to them the moſt ſecret things ſhe had; and, to ſay "all in word, was free of her body to ſuch as would "pay for it; however, not to all, and upon no ac-"count to mechanicks and perſons in a low way of "life, though they would have given her ever ſo "much. She was particularly fond of learned men, "who were ſo much in her good graces, that thoſe of "her acquaintance were preferred before any Noble-"man though of the higheſt diſtinction; and ſhe would "rather have indulged a favour to the one gratis, "than to the other for a great number of crowns, "which is contrary to the practice of women of her "profeſſion." This paſſage has been quoted in the continuation of the general critique of Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of Calviniſm* (4), and the following remark is added to it (5). "Demoſthenes would have been glad "had Lais the curtezan reſembled this; he would not "have made a voyage to Corinth to no purpoſe; nor "found by experience,

(3) Idem, ibid.

(4) Letter 18. pag. 595.

(5) Ibid. pag. 596.

"That at ſuch treats an author, like a fool,
"Muſt draw his purſe out, and pay down his rec-
"koning."

This female honoured and diſhonoured learning at the ſame time; ſhe diſhonoured it, by her leading the life of a proſtitute at the ſame time that ſhe was an authoreſs; and ſhe honoured it, becauſe the Literati were more favourably received by her gratis, than ignorant people, though they offered her a conſiderable ſum.

☞This being a curious article, and very imperfect in Bayle, becauſe he had not the materials for it, we ſhall endeavour to ſupply what is wanting in it.

LABBE (LOUISA). Writers are divided with regard to the true orthography of her name [*A*]. Her charms were ſo great, that her contemporaries laviſhed every kind of applauſe on her [*B*]. We ſhall here give an account of her works [*C*], which are very

[*A*] *Writers are divided with regard to the true Orthography of her name.*] LABE (1) is her true name, and not *Labbé*, *L'Abbe*, or *Labe*, as Bayle calls her. Our authoreſs, on account of her charms, was called the *beautiful rope-maker's wife*, becauſe her husband was of that trade; or rather, as father Colonia believes with probability enough, becauſe he traded in cordage and cables; a name ſhe left to the city in Lyons where ſhe lived, and which it retains to this day, it being called *Ruë Belle-Codiere*.

(1) From the remarks to the Paris edit. 1734, of Bayle's Dictionary, tom. 3. pag. 896. This author thinks her name was *Labbé*. *See alſo* Niceron, *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 23. pag. 242, 243. Paris 1703, 12mo.

[*B*] *Her contemporaries laviſhed every kind of applauſe on her.*] La Croix du Maine calls her a very learned woman, who wrote finely both in proſe and verſe, and adds that ſhe had the following words for her anagram, *Belle à ſoy*. Paradin, who was at Lyons in her time, and very probably was acquainted with her, beſtows an extravagant elogium on her, and applauds particularly her virtue and chaſtity. "Louiſa Labé (ſays "he) had a face, which reſembled more that of an "angel than of a human creature; but this was no-"thing in compariſon of the beauties of her mind, "which was ſo chaſt, ſo virtuous, ſo poetical, and "filled with ſuch excellent knowledge, that ſhe ſeem-"ed to have been created by Heaven, to be admired as "a ſhining miracle among men. For ſhe was not only "ſkilled in the Latin tongue, in ſuch a manner as is a-"bove the capacity of her ſex, but ſhe likewiſe excelled "ſurpriſingly in the poeſy of the vulgar tongues, "of which the works ſhe has left to poſterity are a "proof (2)." James Pollelier, a phyſician, mathematician and poet, wrote an ode in her praiſe, where-in he highly applauds her learning and merit. Others alſo wrote verſes in her commendation, and ſome of theſe are annexed to her works. Beſides her knowledge in languages and her talent at compoſition, ſhe played finely on the lute, and was a very ſkilful rider; a proof of her having been well educated, and that ſhe was not ſo meanly deſcended as the profeſſion of a rope-maker, which du Verdier aſcribes to her huſband, might make it to be ſuppoſed (3). The author from whom I now borrow, goes on to obſerve, that all the fine qualities which were admired in her, were depraved by a licentiouſneſs, which though more refined, than that of Lais or Phryne's, was not therefore leſs blame-worthy (4).

(2) Paradin, *Mem. de l'Hiſt. de Lyon*, pag. 355. fol.

(3) Niceron, *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 23. p. 244.

(4) Ibid. pag. 245.

[*C*] *We ſhall here give an account of her works.*] All the compoſitions ſhe left are compriſed in a book which is exremely ſcarce, and entitled *Ouvres de Louize Labé, Lionnoiſe. Lion. Jean de Tournes* 1556, in 16mo, pag. 176 not figured. However du Verdier dates it 1555; but I nevertheleſs am of opinion that there was an edition before that of 1556. He perhaps put that year, becauſe the dedication is dated the 24th of July 1555, and the book was publiſhed at the cloſe of that year. Louiſa Labé inſcribed this dedication to A. M. C. D. B. L. that is, *A Mademoiſelle Clemence de Bourges, Lionnoiſe*, who alſo was conſpicuous for her merit and learning. I find by Mr. de la Monnoye's manuſcript additions to the *Bibliotheques Françoiſes* of la Croix du Maine and du Verdier, that John Garou printed a ſecond edition of them in Roan the ſame year 1556 in 16° (5). The pieces contained in

(5) Ibid. pag. 247, 248.

very rarely met with. Among theſe are her elegies, of which we will give a ſpecimen [D].

She

in this collection are as follow: *Debat de Folie & d'Amour*; i. e. "Conteſt of Love and Folly." This is a very ingenious dialogue in proſe, the ſubject of which is as follows. Jupiter had invited all the Gods to a banquet. Love and Folly happened to come, at the ſame time, to the gate of the palace of that God, in order to be one of his gueſts; but the gate was ſhut, and only the wicket open. Folly ſeeing Love juſt going to ſtep one foot in, advanced in order to get before him, Love being thruſt upon, fell into a paſſion, but folly inſiſted that ſhe ought to have the precedency: upon this they fell a quarelling about their reſpective prerogatives: love finding he could not gain his point by reaſon and argument, bends his bow, and lets fly an arrow at folly, who baffles all his attempts by becoming inviſible; and a moment after ſatiates her vengeance on love by tearing out his eyes, and covering the place with a bandage, which could not be taken off. Venus complains to Jupiter againſt folly, and the God is determined to hear their cauſe. Apollo is council for love, and Mercury for folly; when Jupiter after hearing the debates and conſulting the reſt of the Gods, pronounced ſentence as follows: *On account of the difficulty and importance of your diſputes, and the diverſity of your opinions, we have ſuſpended your conteſt from this day to three times ſeven times nine centuries. In the mean time we command you to live amicably together, without injuring one another. Folly ſhall lead love, and take him whitherſoever he pleaſes; and when reſtored to his ſight, (after conſulting the fates) Sentence ſhall be pronounced* (6). This charming fiction has ſince been exhibited in a variety of lights, ſeveral Poets having laid claim to it.

(6) Ibid. pag. 249.

[D] *Her elegies, of which we will give a ſpecimen.*] There are three elegies, part of the third of which we ſhall tranſcribe, becauſe it relates to our Louiſa Labé. Her lines are as follow:

Quand vous lirez, O Dames Lionnoiſes,
Ces miens écrits pleins d'amoureuſes noiſes;
Quand mes regrets, ennuis, depits & larmes
M'orrez chanter en pitoyables Carmes,
Ne veuillez point condamner ma ſimpleſſe,
Et jeune erreur de ma fole jeuneſſe,
Si c'eſt erreur: mais qui deſſous les Cieux
Se peut vanter de n'être vicieux?
L'un n'eſt content de ſa ſorte de vie,
Et toujours porte a ſes voiſins envie.
L'un forcenant de voir la paix en terre,
Par tous moyens tâche y mettre la guerre.
L'autre croyant pauvreté être vice,
A autre Dieu qu'Or ne fait ſacrifice.
L'autre ſa foy a parjure il emploira
A decevoir quelqu'un qui le croira.
L'un en mentant de ſa langue lezarde
Mille brocards ſur l'un & l'autre darde.
Je ne ſuis point ſous ces planetes née,
Qui m'euſſent pu tant faire infortunée.
Oncques ne fut mon oeil marri, de voir
Chez mon voiſin mieux que chez moi pleuvoir.
Onc ne mis noiſe ou diſcord entre amis;
A faire gain jamais ne me ſoumis;
Mentir, tromper, & abuſer autrui,
Tant m'a déplû que medire de lui.
Mais ſi en moi rien y a d'imparfait,
Qu'on blame amour, c'eſt lui ſeul qui l'a fait,
Sur mon verd âge en ſes laqs il me prit,
Lors qu'exercois mon corps & mon eſprit,
En mille & mille euvres ingenieuſes,
Qu'en peu de temps me rendit ennuieuſes,
Pour bien ſavoir avec l'aiguille peindre,
J'euſſe entrepis la renommée eſtreindre
De celle là, qui plus docte que ſage,
Avec Pallas comparoit ſon Ouvrage,
Qui m'eût vû lors en armes fiere aller,
Porter la lance & bois faire voler
Le devoir faire en l'eſtour furieux,
Piquer, volter, le Cheval glorieux,
Pour Bradamante, où la haute Marphiſe,
Soeur de Roger, il m'euſt, poſſible, priſe.
Mais quoi? Amour ne put longuement voir
Mon coeur n'aimant que Mars & le ſavoir,
Et me voulant donner autre ſouci,
En ſouriant, il me diſoit ainſi:
Tu penſes donq, o Lionnoiſe Dame,
Pouvoir fuir par ce moyen ma flame:
Mais non feras; j'ai ſubjugué les Dieux
Es bas Enfers, en la Mer & es Cieux:
Et penſes tu que n'aye tel pouvoir
Sur les Humains, de leur faire ſavoir
Qu'il n'y a rien qui de ma main échape?
Plus fort ſe penſe, & plus tôt je le frape.
De me blamer, quelquefois tu n'as honte,
En te fiant en Mars, dont tu fais conte:
Mais maintenant, voy ſi pour perſiſter
En le ſuivant me pourras reſiſter.
Ainſi parloit, & tout echaufé d'ire,
Hors de ſa trouſſe une ſagette il tire,
Et decochant de ſon extrême force,
Droit la tira contre ma tendre ecorce;
Foible harnois, pour bien couvrir le coeur,
Contre l'Archer, qui toujours eſt vanqueur.
La Breche faite, entre Amour en la place,
Dont le repos premierement il chaſſe;
Et le travail qu'il me donne ſans ceſſe.
Boire, manger, & dormir ne me laiſſe,
Il ne me chaut de Soleil ne d'ombrage:
Je n'ai qu'Amour & feu en mon courage,
Qui me deguiſe & fait autre paroître,
Tant que ne peus moi même me connoître.
Je n'avois vû encore ſeize Hivers,
Lorque j'entrai en ces ennuis divers;
Et jà voici le troizieme Eté,
Que mon coeur fut par amour arrêté.
Le temps met fin aux hautes Pyramides,
Le temps met fin aux fontaines humides,
Il ne pardonne aux braves Coliſées,
Il met à fin les Villes plus priſées;
Finir auſſi il a acoutumé
Le feu d'Amour, tant ſoit-il allumé.
Mais, las! en moi il ſemble qu'il augmente
Avec le temps, & que plus me tourmente.
Paris aima Oenone ardemment,
Mais ſon amour ne dura longuement.
Medée fut aymée de Jaſon,
Qui tôt après la mit hors ſa maiſon.
Si meritoient elles être eſtimées,
Et pour aimer leurs Amis, être aimées.
S'étant aimé, on peut amour laiſſer,
N'eſt il raiſon, ne l'étant, ſe laſſer?
N'eſt il raiſon te prier de permettre,
Amour, que puiſſe à mes tourmens fin mettre?
Ne permets point que de Mort faſſe épreuve,
Et plus que toi pitoyable la treuve:
Mais ſi tu veux que j'aime juſqu'au bout,
Fais que celui que j'eſtime mon tout,
Qui ſeul me peut faire plorer & rire,
Et pour le quel ſi ſouvent je ſoupire,
Sente en ſes os, en ſon ſang, en ſon ame,
Ou plus ardente, ou plus égale flâme.
Alors ton faix plus aiſé me ſera,
Quand avec moi quelqu'un te portera (7).

(7) *Euvres de Louize Labe, Lionnoiſe. Lion,* 1556.

The ſenſe is,

" Ye Ladies of Lyons, when you ſhall read theſe compoſitions of mine filled with amorous conteſts; when you ſhall hear me ſing in doleful ſtrains, my uneaſineſſes, vexations, woes and tears, condemn not my ſimplicity, and the error of my ſilly youth, if it be an error; but what mortal under the cope of Heaven can boaſt perfection in all reſpects? One is not contented with his condition of life, and is eternally envying his neighbour. A ſecond, enraged to ſee the earth bleſſed with peace, ſets every engine at work to light up a war on it. Another imagining poverty to be a vice, offers ſacrifice to no other Deity but gold. A fourth employs his perjured faith, to deceive any perſon, who ſhall truſt in him. And a fifth lying with his venomous tongue, darts out a thouſand taunts and ſcoffs one upon another. Now I was not born under one of thoſe inauſpicious planets, which ſhould make me ſo unhappy in myſelf. My eye was never pained to ſee my neighbour more favoured with the ſmiles of fortune than myſelf. I never created ſtrife or diſcord among friends; and never was venal enough to hunt after profit; to lie, deceive and impoſe on ano-

She alſo wrote twenty four ſonnets [*E*], the firſt of which is in Italian. To the writings of our authoreſs are annexed *Verſes of various Poets in her praiſe.* Theſe conſiſt of twenty four pieces in different kinds of Poetry, one whereof is in Latin, four in Italian, and the reſt in French; but there are none in Greek, notwithſtanding the aſſertion of du Verdier. The laſt copy of verſes is of a very great length (20 pages) ſome particulars whereof being of uſe, ſhewing eſpecially her great bravery, we ſhall tranſcribe them below [*F*]. By them we find that ſhe was born about the year 1526 (*a*). La Croix du Maine has committed two errors, 1ſt in calling our authoreſs *Louiſa L'Abé*, inſtead of *Labé*; and 2dly, in giving her Dialogue the title of the *Conteſt of Folly and Honour*, inſtead of *Folly and Love* (*b*).

(*a*) See the proof of this in the cloſe of the remark [*F*].

(*b*) See Father Colonia's *Literary Hiſtory of the City of Lyons*, vol. 1. *and* Niceron, *Hommes Illuſtres*, vol. 23. pag 242, *&c ſeq.*

" ther, would have been as ungrateful to me as to " ſlander him. But if there are any imperfections " in me, Cupid only, as being the cauſe of them, " ought to be blamed. The amorous God caught " me, when very young, in his ſnares, at a time " when I exerciſed my body and mind in a thouſand " ingenious operations, which he ſoon rendred diſtaſte- " ful to me. So ſkilful was I in needle works, that I " would have attempted to eclipſe the renown of that " mortal, who, more learned than prudent, ſet her " works in parallel with thoſe of Pallas. Any per- " ſon who ſhould have ſeen me at that time, proved " in armour, carrying a lance, and ſhooting darts, " doing duty in furious battle, riding forward, and " turning the glorious horſe, would very poſſibly have " taken me for Bradamante, or the renowned Mar- " phiſa, a ſiſter to Rogero. But Cupid could not long " bear to ſee my heart inflamed with no other paſſions " but thoſe of war and learning; and being deter- " mined to involve me in different cares, ſpoke thus " to me: *O Lady of Lyons; thou fancieſt thou mayeſt " by this means, eſcape my flame; but thou art quite " miſtaken: for I have ſubdued the Gods, in Hell, in " the Seas and in Heaven. And thinkeſt thou that I " have no power over mortals; to make them ſenſible " that nothing eſcapes me? The ſtronger a mortal thinks " himſelf, the ſooner I ſtrike him. Thou ſometimes doſt " not ſcruple to cenſure me, relying on Mars who is " high in thy eſteeem. But now ſee whether, by conti- " nuing to follow his ſtandards, thou canſt be able to " reſiſt me.* Saying theſe words, and inflamed with " anger, he drew a ſhaft from his quiver, and letting " fly with all his might, levelled directly at my frail " body; too weak an armour to defend my heart from " the ever-victorious archer. Cupid had no ſooner " made a breach, but he marches into the place, " whence he firſt drives away quiet; and the inceſſant " toils, which he obliges me to undergo, will not ſuffer " me to eat, drink, or ſleep. The ſun or the ſhade " are equally indifferent to me; I have nothing " but love and fire in my courage, which diſ- " guiſes me to ſuch a degree, that I do not know " myſelf. I was not ſixteen years old, when I was " ſubjected to theſe various cares; and thirteen ſum- " mers are now paſt ſince my heart was firſt captivated " by love... Time deſtroys the moſt lofty pyramids, " dries up the moſt copious ſprings; does not ſpare " the moſt magnificent amphitheatres, nor the moſt re- " nowned cities. He alſo uſed to extinguiſh the fire of " love, how ſtrongly ſoever it might blaze; but alas; " time ſeems to encreaſe its ardors in me, and to " torture me ſtill more. Paris was fired with a ſtrong " paſſion for Oenone, but then his paſſion was not laſt- " ing. Medea was beloved by Jaſon, who ſoon after " turned her out of doors. Nevertheleſs they merited " eſteem; and love ought to have been repaid with " love... If a perſon may leave an object to whom " he is dear; is it not reaſonable that one who loves " and is not loved again ſhould grow tired? Is it not " reaſonable, O Cupid, for me to beſeech thee to per- " mit me to end my torments? Suffer me not to fall a " victim to death, and to find it more compaſſionate " than thou. But if thou wilt have my paſſion to be " laſting, cauſe the dear man, whom I eſteem as my " only treaſure; who alone has the power to make " me laugh or weep, and for whom I ſo often ſigh; " cauſe him, I ſay, to feel in his bones, in his blood, " in his ſoul, a more ardent, or at leaſt an equal flame. " Thy burthen will then be lighter, when another ſhall " aſſiſt me in ſupporting it."

[*E*] *She alſo wrote twenty four ſonnets.*] Our Louiſa declares her real ſentiments with regard to love, when ſhe ſays at the end of the eighteenth:

Permets m'Amour penſer quelque folie:
Toujours ſuis mal, vivant diſcretement;
Et ne me puis donner contentement
Si hors de moi ne fais quelque ſaillie.

The ſenſe is,

" Suffer me, Cupid, to entertain ſome wild notions; " living diſcreetly never agrees with me; and I am " never well pleaſed, but when I indulge myſelf in " ſome extravagant flight."

[*F*] *Some particulars being of uſe, we ſhall tranſcribe them.*] They inform us of her courage, and preſent us with a date, which is of ſome ſervice.

Louize ainſi furieuſe
En laiſſant les habits mols
Des femmes, & envieuſe
De bruit, par les Eſpagnols
Souvent courut, en grand' noiſe,
Et maint aſſault leur donna,
Quand la jeuneſſe Françoiſe
Perpignan environna.
Là ſa force elle de ploye
La de ſa Lance elle ploye
Le plus hardi aſſaillant,
Et brave deſſus la ſelle,
Ne demonſtroit rien en elle
Que d'un chevalier vaillant (8).

(8) Idem, ibid.

The ſenſe is,

" Louiſa thus furious, laying aſide the effeminate ha- " bit of her ſex, and panting after fame, often rode " fiercely among the Spaniards, and charged them " ſeveral times when the French troops inveſted Per- " pignan. There ſhe diſplays her ſtrength, there ſhe " repulſes, with her lance, the boldeſt aſſaillant; and " fighting with great bravery on horſeback, her every " action ſeems to ſpeak her a valiant Knight."

Perpignan was beſieged in 1542. Louiſa Labé was preſent at it, in a man's habit, when but a *Pucelle*, as the author cited by me ſtiles her, and before ſhe knew what love was; and conſequently at fifteen or ſixteen years of age; ſince according to the elegy quoted above (9), her breaſt began to be fired by love, and occaſioned her to quit a military life, *before ſhe was ſixteen.* But it was preſently after this ſiege, that ſhe laid aſide the ſword, as is manifeſt from the third elegy in queſtion, where ſhe ſays that *thirteen ſummers are now paſt, ſince my heart was firſt captivated by love.* For as this elegy was writ, the lateſt, in 1555, when our Louiſa wrote the dedication to her compoſitions; ſubſtracting 13 from that number gives us 1542, which was the very year of the ſiege of Perpignan. From all this it follows that Louiſa Labé was about twenty nine years of age in 1555, and conſequently was born about the year 1526 (10).

(9) In the remark [*D*].

(10) Niceron, *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 23. pag. 257.

LABERIUS (DECIMUS) a Roman Knight, and a Poet, had a wonderful talent at making of *Mimi* or Farces. He did not dare to refuſe Julius Cæſar, who was deſirous he ſhould play one of thoſe pieces, though extremely unſuitable to his age and condition.

condition. He made the beſt excuſe he could in the prologue [A]; and maliciouſly levelled ſome ſtrokes againſt Cæſar [B], which determined that Prince to mortify him a little, by preferring another Poet before him [C]. Laberius was rallied by Cicero that day (a), and paid him in his own coin [D]. He died ten months after Julius Cæſar (b). His

(a) That is, the day he played to pleaſe Jul. Cæſar.

(b) *Euſeb. in Chronico.*

[A] *He made the beſt excuſe he could in the Prologue.*] Macrobius has preſerved it; and ſays very judiciouſly, that a maſter, even when he beſeeches, employs a kind of authority which cannot be reſiſted (1). *Laberium aſperæ libertatis equitem Romanum Cæſar quingentis millibus invitavit, ut prodiret in ſcenam, & ipſe ageret mimos quos ſcriptitabat. Sed poteſtas non ſolum ſi invitet, ſed etſi ſupplicet, cogit. Unde ſe & Laberius à Cæſare coactum in prologo teſtatur his verſibus:*

(1) Auſonius, ſays more; *Quod eſt potentiſſimum imperandi genus, rogabat qui jubere poterat.* Præfat. Centon. Nupt. i. e. "Which is "the moſt powerful kind of "command, he "who might "have commanded, deſired."

Neceſſitas, cujus curſus tranſverſi impetum,
Voluerunt multi effugere, pauci potuerunt,
Quo me detruſit pæne extremis ſenſibus?
Quem nulla ambitio, nulla unquam largitio,
Nullus timor, vis nulla, nulla auctoritas
Movere potuit in juventa de ſtatu:
Ecce in ſenecta ut facile labefecit loco
Viri excellentis mente clemente edita
Submiſſa placide blandiloquens oratio?
Etenim ipſi Dî negare cui nihil potuerunt,
Hominem me denegare quis poſſet pati? &c (2).

(2) Macrob. *Saturn.* lib. 2. cap. 7. pag. m. 342.

"Laberius, a Roman Knight was invited by Cæſar, "upon the promiſe of a great reward, to come upon "the ſtage, and act a part in a farce of his own "writing. But power, not only when it invites, but "alſo when it ſupplicates, compels: and therefore La"berius declares himſelf to have been compelled by "Cæſar in the following prologue.

"Neceſſity, which all men ſtrive to ſhun,
"But few can do it, whither has it led me,
"In my old age? I, whom nor vain ambition,
"Nor bribes, nor fear, authority nor power,
"Could influence in my gay, youthful years;
"Behold how eaſily I'm drawn away
"By the ſmooth Rhetoric of a mighty man!
"For, can I any thing refuſe to him,
"To whom the Gods themſelves can nought refuſe?

[B] *He maliciouſly levelled ſome ſtrokes at Cæſar.*] Macrobius informs us of this (3). *In ipſa quoque actione ſubinde ſe, qua poterat, ulciſcebatur inducto habitu Syri, qui velut flagris cæſus præripientique ſe ſimilis exclamabat:*

(3) Macrob. ibid. pag. 344.

Porro, Quirites! libertatem perdimus.

& paulo poſt adjecit:

Neceſſe eſt multos timeat quem multi timent.

Quo dicto univerſitas populi ad ſolum Cæſarem oculos & ora convertit, notantes impotentiam ejus hac dicacitate lapidatam.

The ſenſe is,

"Whilſt he was upon the ſtage he preſently after had "his revenge in ſome meaſure, in the character of "Syrus, who, as tho' he were whipped, and running "away, cried aloud

"*Our darling liberties we* (Romans) *loſe.*

"and added a little after

"*He muſt fear many men, whom many fear.*

"At which words, all the ſpectators turned their eyes "on Cæſar, perceiving that he was affected with that "raillery." Father Briet did not attend duly to this paſſage, he ſuppoſing that Laberius did not ſatyriſe Cæſar till long after. *Procedente tempore ipſum Cæſarem offendit, & maximè hoc verſu*

Porro Quirites libertatem perdimus,

Item & iſto

Neceſſe eſt multos timeat, quem multi timent (4).

The ſenſe is

"In proceſs of time he offended Cæſar himſelf, and "particularly by the following verſe,

"*Our darling liberties we* (Romans) *loſe.*

"and likewiſe by this

"*He muſt fear many men, whom many fear.*

(4) Briet. *de Poet. Lat.* pag. 12.

[C] *Cæſar . . . preferring another Poet before him.*] Here follows another paſſage of Macrobius. *Ob hæc in Publium vertit favorem. Is . . . productus Romæ per Cæſaris ludos omnes, qui tunc ſcripta & operas ſuas in ſcenam locaverant, provocavit, ut ſinguli ſecum poſita invicem materia pro tempore contenderent. Nec ullo recuſante ſuperavit omnes; in queis & Laberium: unde Cæſar arridens hoc modo pronuntiavit:*

Favente tibi me victus es Laberi à Syro:

Statimque Publio palmam, & Laberio annulum aureum cum quingentis ſeſtertiis dedit. Tunc Publius ad Laberium recedentem ait: Qui cum contendiſti ſcriptor hunc ſpectator ſubleva (5). i. e. "On this account he "turned his favour to Publius. This perſon, coming "to Rome during the time that Cæſar exhibited "games, challenged all the dramatic writers to vye with "him: they accepting the challenge, he was victorious over all of them; and among others over La"berius, which made Cæſar, ſmiling, ſay as follows:

(5) Macrob. *Saturn.* lib. 2. cap. 7. pag. m. 344.

"*Crown'd with my favour, thou old bard* (*Laberius*)
"*By Syrus art o'ercome.*"

"Immediately after which he beſtowed the palm on "Publius, and gave Laberius a gold ring and five "hundred ſeſterces. Then Publius ſaid to Laberius as "he was going away: *Him, whom you contended with "when a writer, aſſiſt when a ſpectator.*" Laberius wrote ſome time after, a Mime or Farce, wherein he declared, that ſucceſs is as doubtful on the ſtage as elſewhere; and that if he had fallen from the firſt rank, his ſucceſſor would meet with the ſame diſgrace. *Sequenti ſtatim commiſſione mimo novo interjecit hos verſus:*

Non poſſunt primi eſſe omnes omni in tempore.
Summum ad gradum cum claritatis veneris,
Conſiſtes ægre; & quam deſcendas, decides.
Cecidi ego, cadet qui ſequitur, laus eſt publica (6).

(6) Macrob. ibid. pag. 345.

The ſenſe is,

"Immediately in the next conteſt, he inſerted the "following verſes in his new Mime:

"No man, at all times, can excell o'er others.
"When you've attain'd the higheſt point of fame,
"'Tis hard to ſtand; and when you once deſcend,
"You'll fall. My ſelf am fall'n, and he who follows
"Will alſo fall. To th' public, praiſe belongs."

I will here inſert a paſſage from Aulus Gellius (7). *C. autem Cæſarem ita Laberii maledicentia & arrogantia offendebat, ut acceptiores & probatiores ſibi eſſe Publii quam Laberii mimos prædicaret.* i. e. "Laberius's "arrogant ſatyr was ſo diſpleaſing to Cæſar, that he "declared publickly, that he was better pleaſed with "Publius's Mimes than with thoſe of Laberius."

(7) A. Gellius, lib. 17. cap. 14.

[D] *Laberius was rallied by Cicero that day, and paid him in his own coin.*] After that Laberius had played his pieces, Cæſar preſented him with a ring, and gave him leave to retire. Laberius went to look for a place among the Knights, but they ordered it ſo that he could meet with none. Cicero ſeeing him perplexed, ſaid, *recepiſſem te niſi anguſte ſederem.* i. e. "I am crouded, otherwiſe would have made room for "you." *Mirum*, replied the other, *ſi anguſte ſedes, qui ſoles duabus ſellis ſedere* (8), i. e. "It is ſurprizing "that you, who uſe to ſit on two ſeats, ſhould be croud"ed." Cicero killed two birds with one ſtone: He laughed at Laberius, and the great number of newly created Senators, whoſe number had been greatly augmented by Cæſar; *ſimul & illum reſpuens, & in novum Senatum jocatus, cujus numerum Cæſar ſupra fas auxerat* (9). But the anſwer accuſed him of trimming (10), i. e. of not being the true friend either of Cæſar or Pompey: *Cicero male audiebat, tanquam nec Pompeio certus amicus, nec Cæſari, ſed utriuſque adulator* (11). I will obſerve by the way, that Macrobius has confounded the ſeats of the Knights with thoſe of the Senators;

(8) Macrob. lib. 2. cap. 3. pag. 329.

(9) Idem, ibid. *and* lib. 7. cap. 3. pag. 582. *See alſo* Seneca, *Controverſ. XVIII.*

(10) *Exprobrata levitate Ciceroni.* Macrob. ibid. *Objiciens tanto viro lubricum fidei.* Idem, Macrob. lib. 7. cap. 3. pag. 582.

(11) Seneca. *Controverſ.* 18.

His verſes were not ſo much contemned by Horace, as may be imagined [*E*]. Moreri has committed ſome errors [*F*].

nators; he imagining that the Senators uſed to ſit on what were called the fourteen benches, (12), in which he is miſtaken; *Quod Cicero dixit*, niſi anguſte ſederem, *ſcomma fuit in C. Cæſarem, qui in Senatum paſſim tam multos admittebat, ut eos quatuordecim gradus capere non poſſunt.* i. e. "When Cicero ſaid, *I am crouded, otherwiſe &c.* it was to ridicule Cæſar, who admitted ſo many members into the Senate, that the fourteen ſeats or benches could not hold them." This had been the ſeat of the Knights ever ſince the law of Roſcius Otho.

(12) Macrob. *Saturnal.* lib. 7. cap. 3. pag. 582.

Sic libitum vano qui nos diſtinxit Othoni (13.

"——Such was the pleaſure of vain Otho

"Who ſeparated us."

(13) Juvenal. Sat. 3. ver. 159.

[*E*] *His verſes were not ſo much contemned by Horace as may be imagined.*] Here follows what Horace ſays:

Nec tamen hoc tribuens, dederim quoque cætera, nam ſic
Et Laberi mimos, ut pulchra poëmata miror (14):

"But this one ſort of excellence allow'd
"Doth not infer that all the reſt is good:
"For on the ſame account I might admit
"Laberius' Farce for Poems and for wit." CREECH.

(14) Horat. Sat. 10. lib. 1. ver. 5.

Mr. Dacier's note is thus. "Horace does not abſolutely condemn Laberius in this place, nor even cenſure "his works, he ſpeaking only comparatively of him. "Laberius's Mimes were agreeable, but not beautiful "and perfect Poems. And indeed they were not made "for that end; the Mimes conſiſting only of obſcene "Pleaſantries, for which reaſon Ovid calls them "*Mimos obſcæna jocantes*, and they were written in no "other view but to make the common people laugh. "Had Julius Scaliger underſtood Horace's thought, "he would not have condemned the judgment he "here forms of Laberius's Mimes (15).

(15) Dacier, *Remarques ſur Horace*, tom. 6. pag. 607.

[*F*] *Moreri has committed ſome errors.*] I. Laberius's prænomen is not Decius but Decimus. II. He lived ſo ſhort a time after Julius Cæſar, that it was not neceſſary to ſay he lived in *Auguſtus's time*. III. He never received preſents from Auguſtus. IV; nor does Macrobius ſay ſo. V. It is a falſity to aſſert that Cæſar made him a Roman Knight. Laberius delivers himſelf as follows in the prologue to the farce, which he played out of complaiſance to that Emperor.

Ergo bis tricenis annis actis ſine nota,
Eques Romanus Lare egreſſus meo
Domum revertar mimus (16).

"I who ſpent thirty years twice told, with Fame;
"Who left my houſe, a Roman Knight, ſhall now
"Return a Farcer."

(16) Macrobius, *Saturn.* lib. 2. cap. 7. pag. 343.

This is an indiſputable proof, that he was a Roman Knight independently of Cæſar. The circumſtance which miſled Moreri and many other writers (17) is, that Cæſar, at the end of the games, gave a ring to this farce player, as Macrobius informs us; but it is eaſy to find in this very place a proof of the juſtice of my cenſure. Here follows the whole paſſage. *Deinde cum Laberius in fine ludorum annulo honoratus a Cæſare e veſtigio in quatuordecim ad ſpectandum tranſiit, violato ordine, & cum detrectatus eſt* EQUES *Romanus, & cum mimus remiſſus, ait Cicero prætereunti Laberio & ſedile quærenti, recepiſſem te niſi anguſte ſederem* (18). i. e. "Afterwards when Laberius, being honoured "by Cæſar with a ring at the end of the Games, "would have paſt over to the fourteen benches, an af"front being put on the order, by a place being re"fuſed to a Roman Knight, and a Mime ſent back; "Cicero ſaid to him as he was paſſing by, and look"ing about for a ſeat; I am crouded, Laberius, other"wiſe would have made room for you." It is plain Macrobius ſays, that the order of knights was diſhonoured two ways; I, becauſe a Roman Knight was refuſed a ſeat; and II, becauſe a farce player was ſent from the ſtage to that part, where the Roman Knights uſed to ſit. From this we muſt neceſſarily infer, that Laberius was not obliged to Julius Cæſar for the honour of Knighthood. All that can be ſaid is, that he did an action derogatory to his character by playing on the ſtage, but was reſtored to his honour by Julius Cæſar. The ring, which he received from that prince, might be conſidered as a freſh patent of nobility, but this does not excuſe Moreri. Seneca confirms what was juſt now ſaid. *Divus Julius ludis ſuis mimum produxit* (*Laberium*) *deinde equeſtri illum ordini redditum juſſit ire ſeſſum in equeſtrio: omnes ita ſe coactaverunt ut venientem non reciperent* (19).

(17) Julius Cæſar liked him ſo well, that he made him a Knight. Dacier, *Rem. ſur Horace*, tom. 6. pag. 607.

(18) Macrob. *Sat.* lib. 2. cap. 3. pag. 329.

(19) Seneca. *Controverſ.* 13. *ſub fin.*

LABOURLOTTE (CLAUDE) one of the braveſt Captains of his age, owed his fortune entirely to his bravery, he being of ſo low an extraction, that it is ſtill diſputed whether he was a native of Lorrain or Franche Comté (*a*). It is ſaid he had been Count Charles of Mansfeld's Barber [*A*], and that he did him a ſignal ſervice [*B*]. He paſſed through

(*a*) See the remark [*A*].

[*A*] *It is ſaid he had been Count Charles of Mansfeld's barber.*] Bongarſius affirms this, in a letter written to Camerarius the 6th of Auguſt 1596, in which he ſent him advices with regard to the ſiege of Hulſt. *Some*, ſays he (1), *write that Labourlotte has been killed there* (2); *that man ſo renowned for his intrepidity and courage. He had formerly been barber to that Count Charles of Mansfeld who died in Hungary. The cardinal made uſe chiefly of this Labourlotte's intrepidity, and de Rone's counſel* (3). The author, who publiſhed in 1693 the hiſtory of Archduke Albert, does not own that Labourlotte had been a barber, but he does not ſay any thing that can prove the contrary. *His birth*, ſays he (4), *reſembles that of great men, which is frequently doubtful, Lorrain claims this honour, and Burgundy does the ſame. The name Claude favours the Burgundians. Whatever country he may have been born in, he certainly is well deſcended. The great numbers of enemies he has had, are a manifeſt proof of his extraordinary merit. The thunder of envy paſſes over buſhes, and ſtrikes lofty trees. They ſay that he was of mean extraction, and that he had handled the razor and lancet, before he wielded the ſword and pike; but thoſe who are exempt from prejudice ſpeak otherwiſe. They ſay that he indeed knew how to cure wounds; but that he had been prompted to this ſtudy, not from neceſſity, but out of curioſity and charity.* When d'Aubigne (5) relates that *Labourlotte was killed at a ſkirmiſh in the counterſcarp of fort Iſabella, which he recruited and furniſhed with freſh proviſions*, he adds, *that he was bewailed by the Archduke and his ſuperiors; but not by his companions, who burſting with envy, could not bear to think that merit ſhould have raiſed a country barber to the poſt of colonel.*

(1) Bongarſius's *Letters*, pag. 493. Hague ed. 1695.

(2) That was not true. See the remark [*E*] above.

(3) It is thus we muſt tranſlate the *Roſnii conſilio* of Bongarſius, and not *du Roſne*, as is done in the tranſlation of his Letters.

(4) *Hiſt. de l'Archiduc Albert.* lib. 4 pag. 263.

(5) *Hiſt. Univerſelle*, tom. 3. liv. 5. chap. 19. pag. 729.

[*B*] . . . *and that he did him a ſignal ſervice.*] He delivered him from a marriage that was very ungrateful to him. An author whom I have quoted won't believe this: he ſpeaks thus. "It is ſaid that "he gained Mansfeld's favour by ridding him of his "troubleſome wife; but I do not believe any thing "of this, he being a man of more honour than to "commit ſo vile an action (6)." The action indeed would be a very vile one, whatever pleaſure it might have given the Count. The reaſon why I ſay, that this writer's incredulity might be ill grounded is, that Grotius has hinted at this action; a plain indication that he did not believe that the report ſpread concerning it was idle. I will cite his words, they deſerving it, and informing us of Labourlotte's merit, with ſome circumſtances which are well expreſſed. *Huc* (7) *quoque ſe Claudius Burlota tranſtulerat, bonamque & extremam navavit operam, trajectus globo vir nobilis audaciæ, Lotharingus ortu, curandis olim vulneribus vitam*

(6) *Hiſt. de l'Archiduc Albert*, liv. 4. pag. 264.

(7) That is, *Iſabella.*

through all the military degrees, till he roſe to be commander of the Walloon troops in the Spaniſh ſervice. *Patria Lotharingus, virtutis ſuæ ſuffragiis ex gregario milite per omnes militarium honorum gradus ad Tribunatum evectus. Vallones aliquot annos magna cum laude gubernavit* (*b*). He was more fortunate than judicious [*C*]; he never engaging more willingly in an enterprize, than when it was extremely dangerous (*c*). He was wounded on ſeveral occaſions [*D*]; and at laſt was killed by a muſket ball, the 24th of July 1600 [*E*], as he was making an intrenchment between Bruges and Fort Iſabella. He had a great ſhare in the barbarous actions, which the troops of the Admiral committed in the territories of the Emperor in the year 1598 [*F*]. He left a ſon [*G*], who was a Dominican Friar, and a daughter who married Robert de Celles Baron de Foi, in the county of Liege near Dinant (*d*).

(*b*) Angellus Galluccius, *de bello Belgico*, lib. 13. pag. m. 35.

(*c*) *See* Strada, *Dec.* 2. lib. 8. pag. 513.

(*d*) *Hiſt. de l'Archiduc. Albert.* printed in the year 1693, pag. 264.

tam toleraverat: mox per facinus haud honeſtum conciliatus Mansfeldio ferebatur, dictus uxorem ejus ſuſtuliſſe: ſed nactus honores, ita ſe geſſerat, ut mereri majora ſemper judicaretur, quo mors ejus nec luctu apud ducem, nec apud ipſius novitati invidentes gaudio caruit (8). i. e. "To this place came alſo Claude Labourlotte, who "exerted himſelf to the utmoſt; he was ſurprizingly "intrepid; was born in Lorrain, and had ſupported "himſelf by practiſing Surgery. It is related that "he afterwards inſinuated himſelf into the favour of "Count Mansfeld, by an action no ways honourable, "viz. ridding him of his wife. But when raiſed to "honours, he behaved ſo well, that it was always "thought he deſerved more; and therefore the General was grieved at his death, but it was a ſubject "of joy to thoſe who envied his exaltation."

(8) Grotius, *Hiſt. de Rebus Belgicis*, lib. 9. *ad ann.* 1600, pag. m. 572.

[*C*] *He was more fortunate than judicious.*] Father Gallucci writes as follows on that occaſion (9). *Animoſus magis quam cautus, accerſere ſæpe non expectare mortem viſus eſt.* i. e. "He was more courageous "than circumſpect; and was frequently ſeen to go "in queſt of death rather than wait for it." He was "a man who would go upon any attempt, and was "not intimidated at any danger; he began a fight as "though he was ſure of victory. He was ordered out "upon, and headed all bold enterprizes. Thoſe perſons, who did not care to venture on thoſe occaſions, "and were eclipſed by his ſucceſs, called him a fortunate raſh man (10)."

(9) *De Bello Belgico*, lib. 13. pag. m. 35.

(10) *Hiſt. de l'Archiduc Albert*, pag. 264.

[*D*] *He was wounded on ſeveral occaſions.*] At the ſiege of Noion in 1593, that of Andres in the year 1596, that of Hulſt the ſame year, and at the battle of Newport in the year 1600. See Father Galucci (11). I fancy he is miſtaken as to the laſt wound. I do not find any other Hiſtorian who mentions this; and beſides, they all ſay that Labourlotte, a few days after the battle, led a conſiderable ſuccour to Newport, which contributed greatly to the raiſing of the ſiege that Prince Maurice had laid to that place. As to the wound at Hulſt, it was not mortal as Bongarſius pretended. What I cited from him in the firſt remark, was wrote the 6th of Auguſt 1596; he was not undeceived twenty days after; for he affirmed, in his letter dated the 27th of Auguſt of the ſame year, that Labourlotte was dead of his wounds; *Burlotta poſt Roſnium ex vulneribus obiit* (12). In this manner the miniſters themſelves of Princes are ſubject to publiſh falſe advices, and not to know quickly, that they are falſe. They ought to be more circumſpect on this article, than the perſon I am ſpeaking of was, whoſe abilities otherwiſe deſerve great elogiums. But when we examine him attentively, we cannot forbear ſaying that he too lightly believed agreeable news, and communicated it in too haſty a manner to his friends. Here follows a proof of this, taken from the ſame letter, wherein he affirmed that Labourlotte was dead:

(11) *In Hiſtoria Belli Belgici.*

(12) Bongarſii *Epiſt.* pag. 500. Hague ed. 1695.

You probably will rejoice, when you are told that the King of Spain is dead, and that the Spaniards will not accept of his ſon for King, as being born from an inceſtuous marriage. Rideas etiam, cum intelliges Regem Hiſp. mortuum, & filium repudiari ab Hiſpanis natum nuptiis inceſtis (13). This he wrote to his friend the 6th of Auguſt 1596. At that time all advices, which were diſadvantageous to Spain, were believed as eaſily as thoſe now (14) are, which are of diſadvantage to France.

(13) Idem, ibid. pag. 491.

(14) I write this in 1695.

[*E*] *He was killed... the 24th of July* 1600.] The author of the Hiſtory of Archduke Albert ſays, pag. 138. that it was the 25th of July in 264. he gives Labourlotte's epitaph, which ſays the twenty fourth of that month. This epitaph is of ſervice in the hiſtory of that brave man, and therefore deſerves to be copied here. "He lies buried at Lopogne, in a monument "whereon is the following epitaph. Here lies the "noble and illuſtrious Lord, Meſſire Claude Labour"lotte Knight, a Counſellor of War to the King, Co"lonel of twelve Companies of Luxemburghers, Lord "of Bernſtein, Boncour, la Vallée, Lopogne and "Baſi. He was killed at Fort Iſabella near Oſtend "the 24th of July in the year 1600 (15)." I do not think that this author copied accurately; for, to give an epitaph faithfully, the leaſt letter ought not to be changed in it; the barbariſms and ſoleciſms in it muſt be retained, unleſs the copyiſt gives only the ſubſtance of it. Here follows the epitaph as given by le Baron le Roi, which I fancy differs very little from the original. *Here lies the noble and illuſtrious Lord Meſſire Claude de Labourlotte, Knight, and of the council of war; Colonel of twelve companies of Luxemberghers, Lord of Berleſtein, Lord of Boncourt, La Vallée, Loppoigne, Baſy, who was killed near Oſtend in his Majeſty's ſervice the 24th of July* 1600. *Pray to God for for his ſoul.*

(15) *Hiſt. de l'Archiduc. Albert*, pag. 264.

(16) In *Topographia Gallo-Brabantiæ*, printed at Amſterſtam 1693, folio pag. 74.

[*F*] *He had a great ſhare in the barbarous actions, which the troops of the Admiral committed... in the year* 1598.] Their exactions and inhuman actions ſtrike with horrour thoſe who read them in Hiſtory. Read the deſcription which d'Aubigné has given of them in few words, in Chapter XIX, Book V of Vol. III. *Some Noblemen ſaying to Bourlotte*, adds he (17), *that the Emperor and the German Princes would reſent ſuch an outrage, he pointed to a cow, and ſaid*; as much as that ſtupid animal. It is to be obſerved that the Admiral who commanded thoſe troops was Francis de Mendoſa, whom I mentioned before (18).

(17) Pag. 718.

(18) Citat. (64) of the article GREGORY VII.

[*G*] *He left a ſon.*] I here correct my author. He ſhould have ſaid that Labourlotte left two ſons, Erneſt and Francis. The former was Lord of Loppoigne and died with iſſue; the latter was a friar, ſo that the ſiſter inherited their father's eſtate. See Topographia Gallo-Brabantiæ (19).

(19) Le Roi, *Topographia Gallo-Brabantiæ*, pag. 74.

LACYDES, a Greek Philoſopher and native of Cyrene, was the diſciple of Arceſilas and his ſucceſſor in the Academy (*a*). Some pretend that he did not follow his maſter's doctrine; but I fancy they are miſtaken [*A*]. He was very poor in his youth; and

(*a*) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 59.

[*A*] *Some pretend that he did not follow his maſter's doctrine; but I fancy they are miſtaken.*] Diogenes Laertius aſſerts that Arceſilas was the founder of the ſecond Academy, and that Lacydes founded the third. Ἀρκεσίλαος ἐστιν ὁ τῆς μέσης Ἀκαδημίας κατάρξας πρῶτος. *Arceſilas primus mediam invexit Academiam*..... (1). Λακύδης ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς νέας Ἀκαδημίας κατάρξας. *Lacydes novæ Academiæ princeps fuit* (2). But I had rather believe Cicero, who affirms that Lacydes retained Arceſilas's method, and that Carneades reformed it. *Cujus* (Arceſilæ) *primo non admodum probata ratio..... proxime à Lacyde ſolo* RETENTA *eſt: poſt autem confiſa à Carneade qui eſt quartus ab Arceſilæ* (3). Moſt authors agree that Carneades founded the third Academy. They ſuppoſe therefore that Lacydes adhered to Arceſilas's doctrines without making any innovation in them. See the remark [*A*] of the article CARNEADES.

(1) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 28. See alſo the ſame author in *Proœmio*, num. 14.

(2) Idem, ibid. num. 39. See alſo the ſame author in *Proœm.* num. 14.

(3) Cicero, *Academ. Quæſt.* lib. 4. cap. 6.

and nevertheleſs gained great reputation by his intenſe application to his ſtudies; not to mention that he ſpoke in a very graceful manner (*b*). He taught in a garden (*c*) which Attalus King of Pergamus had cauſed to be made [*B*]. This King ſending for him to court, he anſwered, that the pictures of Kings ſhould be viewed at a diſtance (*d*). He taught Philoſophy twenty ſix years (*e*), and gave up his employment to his own diſciples (*f*). He imitated his maſter in one laudable particular, viz. that he took a pleaſure in doing good, without caring to have it known [*C*]. The affection which a gooſe had for him is very remarkable [*D*]. He died of a palſy cauſed by his drinking to exceſs [*E*]. The particulars which Numenius relates concerning him, have all the air of a pleaſant fiction [*F*]. Moreri has committed ſome very egregious errors.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

(*c*) It was in the Academy.

(*d*) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 60.

(*e*) Idem, ibid. num. 61.

(*f*) Idem, ibid. num. 60.

[*B*] *He taught in a garden which Attalus King of Pergamus had cauſed to be made.*] Ὁ γοῦν Λακύδης ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ, ἐν τῷ κατασκευασθέντι κήπῳ ὑπὸ Ἀττάλου τοῦ βασιλέως· ᾧ Λακύδιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσηγορεύετο. *Lacydes igitur in Academia ſcholam habebat in horto quem Attalus Rex fieri curaverat, Lacydiumque ab ipſo appellatus eſt* (4). If we add to this the deſire he had that Lacydes ſhould reſide at his Court, it will be evident that he loved Philoſophy. Menage is groſly miſtaken here: he applies (5) to this Attalus what Plutarch (6) and Juſtin (7) relate of another Attalus's delight in Huſbandry. It is ſtrange he ſhould make ſuch a confuſion in chronology.

(4) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 60.

(5) Menage *in Diog. Laert.* lib. 4. num. 60.

(6) Plutarch. *in Demetrio.*

(7) Juſtin. lib. 36.

[*C*] *He took a pleaſure in doing good, not caring to have it known.*] This was one of Arceſilas's good qualities, as has been ſeen in the remark [*I*] of his article. Here follows a paſſage from Plutarch (8). "Becauſe that in Philoſophy children are born like to "their parents, Lacydes, one of Arceſilas's (9) diſci- "ples, aſſiſted with ſeveral others, at the trial of a "friend of his named Cephiſocrates, impeached of "high treaſon; at which trial the accuſer required "that Cephiſocrates ſhould produce his ring, which "had juſt before dropped; which Lacydes perceiv- "ing, he immediately ſet his foot upon it, and hid "it, becauſe the whole proof depended on that ring. "Cephiſocrates being cleared, went to pay his reſpects, "and return thanks to his Judges for the juſtice they "had done him; but one among theſe having ſeen "all that paſſed, ſpoke thus to him, *Thank Lacydes* "*for it*; and ſo told him the whole ſtory; Lacydes "not having once mentioned it to any perſon."

(8) Plutarch. *de Diſcrim. Adulat. & Amici*, p. 63.

(9) Plutarch had juſt before mentioned a ſecret good action of Arceſilas.

[*D*] *The affection which a gooſe had for him is very remarkable.*] It uſed to follow him every where, both at home and abroad, by night as well as by day. Read the following words of Pliny. *Poteſt & ſapientiæ videri intellectus his* (anſeribus) *eſſe. Ita comes perpetuo adhæſiſſe Lacydi philoſopho dicitur, nuſquam ab eo, non in publico, non in balneis, non noctu, non interdiu digreſſus* (10). When it died, Lacydes ſolemnized its funeral obſequies with as much magnificence, as if it had been his ſon or brother (11).

(10) Plin. lib. 10. cap. 22. pag. m. 408. *See alſo* Athen. lib. 13. pag. 606.

(11) Ælian. lib. 7. *Hiſt. Animal.* cap. 41.

[*E*] *He died of a palſy cauſed by his drinking to exceſs.*] Ἡτελιυτὴ δὲ αὐτῷ παράλυσις ἐκ πολυποσίας. *Mortuus eſt autem ex paralyſi quam ex immodica potione contraxerat* (12). Athenæus (13) relates that Lacydes and another Philoſopher named Timon were invited for two days together to a feaſt; and that, in compliance with the humour of the company, they quaffed luſtily. Lacydes gave it over the firſt day, and withdrew the inſtant he found he had enough. Timon ſeeing him quit the field cried out victory, but the next day he yielded firſt. He could not drink off the goblet that was carried to him. Lacydes was even with him. This is vaſtly unſeemly. Philoſophers ought never to diſpute for ſuch a victory. It is not only a fault to gain it, but alſo to ſtrive for it; and though the ignominy of the victor is greater than that of the perſon vanquiſhed, yet the latter deſerves to be ſtrongly cenſured. How many Chriſtian Philoſophers and even Divines have imitated Timon and Lacydes?

(12) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 61.

(13) Athen. lib. 10. cap. 10. pag. 438.

[*F*] *The particulars which Numenius relates concerning him, have all the air of a pleaſant fiction.*] Here follows the ſubſtance of his relation (14). Lacydes was vaſtly penurious in his houſe-keeping. He never truſted his ſervants with any thing; the place where the victuals was lodged was inacceſſible to them. He himſelf put in, and took out, whatever he wanted, and he never left it open; but to prevent his being troubled with the key, he laid it in a hole (16) which he ſealed; after which he uſed to let fall his ſeal into the pantry (17), through the key-hole. His ſervants diſcovering this cheated him whenever they pleaſed. They eaſily got the key; put it into the place whence they had taken it, and ſealed the hole. They drank, they eat, they plundered whatever they thought proper, laughing at him at the ſame time. Lacydes ſoon found that his wine and proviſions dwindled away; and not knowing whom to accuſe, he remembered to have heard, that Arceſilas taught that neither our ſenſes nor our reaſon comprehend any thing; and aſcribed the emptineſs of his bottles and baſkets to that incomprehenſibility. Such are the auſpices, under which he began to philoſophize in Arceſilas's ſchool, againſt the certainty of human knowledge. He even made uſe of that domeſtic experiment to prove that he was in the right to ſuſpend his judgment in all things. I do not, ſaid he one day gravely to a friend, tell you a hearſay; I myſelf know by experience, what I am going to tell you, and can ſpeak of it without the leaſt doubt. Upon this he told him the whole ſtory of his pantry. What could Zeno, added he, ſay againſt ſo powerful an argument, which has plainly ſhewn me the *acatalepſia?* Have I not reaſon to miſtruſt all things, ſince though I myſelf ſhut, ſealed, unſealed, and opened my pantry with my own hands, I do not find, in my pantry, the proviſions I had left in it? I find nothing but my ſeal, a circumſtance that will not let me think I am robbed. Here his friend could hold no longer. He laughed ſo loud and ſo long that the Philoſopher perceived his miſtake, and reſolved to take more care of his ſeal. However, his ſervants did not mind this; and whether they had learnt from the Stoics or other Philoſophers to diſpute againſt him, they unſealed his key, without minding to put his ſeal on it again; they would make uſe of another ſeal, and ſometimes of none at all. Lacydes would be in a paſſion when he found out their roguery; but they affirmed that they had not broke up any ſeals, and that he had forgot to uſe his ſeal. He then would hold forth in a long diſcourſe, to prove to them that he remembred perfectly well his having applied his ſeal, and would even ſwear it. They uſed to anſwer; you only joke, and mean to laugh at our ſimplicity. A Philoſopher, ſuch as you are, has neither opinion nor memory; for you yourſelf maintained the other day before us, that memory is an opinion. He would refute them by arguments different from thoſe of the Academics; but they addreſſed a Stoic, who taught them how to anſwer their maſter, and to elude all his proofs by the doctrine of incomprehenſibility, on which occaſion they would throw out a great many pleaſant jeſts. The worſt of it was, they continued to plunder the proviſions, and Lacydes ſaw his goods vaniſh away daily. He was ſtrangely puzzled: his principles inſtead of being favourable to him, were the very contrary; and he was obliged to behave like the vulgar. The whole neighbourhood ecchoed with his clamours and complaints; he proteſting by all the Gods and Goddeſſes that he was robbed. Πιστὸν εἰς ταμιήχανον, τὸν γείτονας ἐκεκράγει, καὶ τοὺς Θεούς. καὶ ἰοὺ ἰού, καὶ φεῦ φεῦ, καὶ νὴ τοὺς Θεούς, καὶ νὴ τὰς Θεάς, ἄλλας τε ὁσαι ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ ὀμνυόμεναι εἰσὶν ἀλλόκοτοι πίστεις, ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα ἐλέγετο βοῶν καὶ ἀξιοπιστούμενος. *Inops conſilii vicinos inclamare, appellare Deos: ſæpe hei mihi, proh facinus indignum, per Deos Deaſque omnes ingeminare, ac cætera id genus argumenta, quæ homini gravioribus in querelis, ubi fidem non impetrat, ſine arte natura ſuppeditat. Quæ quidem omnia magno clamore deplorata, magnam utique probabilitatis ſpeciem oſtendebant* (18); at laſt he reſolved not to ſtir out of his houſe, but watch his pantry door. Οἰκουρὸς ἦν φιλῶν τὸ ταμεῖον προκαθήμενος. *Domi deinceps hærebat perpetuo, ac procellæ*

(14) Numenius, *apud* Euſebium, *Præpar. Evang.* lib. 14. cap. 7. pag. 734, & *ſeq.*

(15) Τὸ ταμεῖον, *penus.*

(16) I do not follow the Greek where it is ſaid εἰς τι κοῖλον γραμματεῖον, *cava quadam in arcula.*

(17) Τὸ ταμεῖον, *penus.*

(18) Numenius, *apud* Euſebium, *Præpar. Evang.* lib. 14. cap. 7. pag. 736 [*B*].

errors [G]. The difference which Father Rapin found between Arcesilas and Lacydes is mere chimera. Philosophy, says he (g), grew *restless* under the former, and *contradicting* under the latter: now it is certain that it never was more contradicting than under Arcesilas.

(g) Rapin. *Reflex. sur la Philosophie*, num. 8. pag. m. 326.

cellæ suæ foribus assidebat (19). What did he get by disputing with his servants? He employed the method of the Stoics against them, and they answered him according to the manner of the Academics; they beat him with his own weapons. The affair ended at last thus. Lacydes being determined to rid himself once for all from the intolerable perplexity he was under, he plainly and frankly told his servants, we dispute one way in the schools, and live in a different manner in our families. Οὐδὲν δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὀφελῶν, ὑπεδύετο· εἰ τὸ σοφὸν αὐτῷ ἤρχεται, ἀπεκαλύψατο. Ἄλλως, ἔφη, ταῦτα, ὦ παῖδες, ἐν ταῖς διαλήψεσι λέγεται ἡμῖν, ἄλλως δὲ ζῶμεν. *Verum ubi nihil agit, secum ipse cogitans, quo sua sibi versutia recideret: tandem animi sensum palam ac sine fuco aperiens, nimirum, inquit, famuli, aliter hæc in schola disputamus, aliter vivimus* (20). This is a pretty tale, and Mr. de la Fontaine could work it up in a very jocose manner; but who does not perceive that it was forged by a pious fraud of the Stoics? This method is employed in all ages and countries. Men have always endeavoured, and they still endeavour, to ridicule the doctrine and person of their adversaries; and to effect this, they invent unnumbred fictions, if the least pretence can be found, to strain maliciously the consequences of their opinions. This passion or prejudice has been so blindly followed against the sceptics, that not only sincerity but even probability have been given up; for they never denied that, in the common conduct of life, men must govern themselves by the testimony of the senses. They only denied the certainty, that the absolute nature of objects is just as it appears. It is to be observed that Diogenes Laertius says no farther, than that our Lacydes, having sealed his pantry door, used to throw his key into it; and that his servants made use of that seal to steal provisions undiscovered by him.

(19) Idem, ibid. I approve of that translation more than that of Kuhnius, (who makes a friend watch on this occasion) in his notes on Diogenes Laertius, pag. 523. *Semper amicum cellæ penuariæ custodem domi reliquit.*

(20) Numenius, *apud* Eusebium, *Præpar. Evang.* lib. 14. cap. 7. pag. 736, C.

(21) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 59.

[G] *Moreri has committed some very egregious errors.*] I. Instead of saying that Lacydes's father *was born in Cyrene*, he should have said that Lacydes himself was born there. II. He ought not to have given into the error of Diogenes Laertius, with regard to his founding an Academy. III. He should not have fixed his death to *the fourth year of the 36th Olympiad.* This is not an error of the press; he adding, that *it was the 113th of Rome.* Had the Printers omitted something in the first calculation, they could not have mistook so exactly in the second. One may therefore be assured that they copied the manuscript exactly. Now what can be more absurd, than to imagine that Arcesilas lived *in the 120th Olympiad*, and that Lacydes his disciple died the last year of the 34th Olympiad (32)? IV. Though his death had been fixed to the fourth year of the 134th Olympiad, it nevertheless would have been an error; he not dying till about the second year of the 141st. This I prove as follows. Diogenes Laertius observes that Lacydes, who, began to be Principal or Head of the Academy, the 4th year of 134th Olympiad, died after he had taught Philosophy twenty six years. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ σχολαρχῶν ἀρξάμενος τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τριακοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, τῆς σχολῆς ἀφηγησάμενος ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη. *Obiit autem cum scholam administrare cœpisset quarto anno centesimæ trigesimæ quartæ Olympiadis, viginti sex annis in schola consumptis* (23). V. It is an absurdity to find in the above words, that Lacydes *began to be in reputation... after he had taught twenty six years* (24). VI. It would not be very just to say this of any Professor whatsoever; for if such a one should teach twenty five years without gaining any fame, he would run the hazard, generally speaking, to die without reputation.

(22) Moreri says so under *Arcesilas.*

(23) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 61.

(24) Moreri cites only Diogenes Laertius.

I am to observe that Father Hardouin is mistaken with regard to the time in which Lacydes the Philosopher died. *Obiisse dicitur*, says he (25), *anno 4 Olymp. CXXX.* He cites the 120th page of the London edition 1664, in folio, of Diogenes Laertius. But besides that we there find (26) the hundred and thirty fourth Olympiad, and not the hundred and thirtieth; it is certain that it relates to Lacydes's entrance into his Professorship, and not to his death. Father Labbe has committed but one of these two mistakes; he says (27), citing Diogenes, that *the Philosopher Lacydes died* the last year of the 134th Olympiad. Some one will perhaps ask me, if it can be proved that he did not die at that time? I answer that two proofs of it can be given. The 1st is, that he was not Head of the Academic School till after Arcesilas's death (28); and we know that Arcesilas was contemporary with Eumenes Prince of Pergamus (29), who did not succeed Philetærus till the 129th Olympiad. Father Labbe says so (30); for in order that this Philosopher should correspond with Eumenes, it was necessary that he should have lived till the 130th Olympiad. This being so, it cannot be said that his successor died the fourth year of the 134th Olympiad, for he taught twenty six years. My 2d proof is drawn from this, viz. that Attalus King of Pergamus caused to be made the garden of the Academy in which Lacydes taught, and that he sent for this Philosopher to his Court. It is hardly probable that these two particulars relate to the first year of his reign, that is, to the 3d year of the 134th Olympiad (31). Let us therefore say, that Lacydes did not die the year following; and let us remember, that if he had taught but a very few months in that garden, it would be absurd to suppose he had no other school but that, and even to observe, that it took its name from him. He therefore must have taught several years there; and consequently that he did not die a year after Attalus's accession to the throne. Seth Calvisius (32) has committed the same error as Father Labbe.

(25) Harduinus in Plin. lib. 10. cap. 22. pag. 408.

(26) That is in the Greek, for the Printers have left out the word *quartæ* in the Latin translation.

(27) Father Labbe, *Chronol. Franc.* tom. 2. pag. 301. *ad ann. Romæ*, 513.

(28) Diogenes Laertius, lib. 4. num. 60. *says that Lacydes is the only Philosopher, who resigned his Chair in his life time.*

(29) Diog. Laert. ibid. num. 38.

(30) Labbe, *Chronol. Franc.* tom. 2. pag. 285.

(31) *See* Father Labbe, ibid. pag. 300.

(32) Sethus Calvisius, *ad ann. Mundi* 3709. pag. m. 268.

LACISIUS (PAUL) a Regular Canon of the Congregation of Lateran in the sixteenth Century, was born at Verona (*a*). He taught the Latin tongue in the Priory of St. Fridianus, when Peter Martyr was Prior there (*b*), and as he approved the opinions of the Protestants, he accompanied him into Germany, where they both declared themselves Protestants in the year 1541. They continued some time at Zurich, and then at Basil (*c*), and going thence to Strasburg, they were detained there by Martin Bucer, who procured a Chair of Divinity Professor for Peter Martyr, and the Professorship of the Greek Tongue to Paul Lacisius (*d*), who died at Strasburg I know not when (*e*). His Latin Translation of Tzetzes's Chiliads was printed with the Greek Original in the year 1546 at Basil for John Oporin (*f*).

(*a*) Melch. Adam, *in Vita Petri Martyris*, pag. 33.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

(*c*) Idem, ibid. pag. 34.

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

(*e*) Idem, ibid. pag. 35.

(*f*) *Epitome Biblioth. Gesner*, pag. 657.

LÆSTRYGONES were a very brutish people, situated in Italy near Cajeta *. Their capital city was that which has been called *Formiæ* (*a*) [*A*]. Homer calls it Læstrygonia

(*a*) See the lines which I quote from Horace in the remark [*B*] of the article LAMIA a Roman family.

(*) Now called *Gajetta.*

[*A*] *This capital City was that which has been called Formiæ.*] Cicero leaves us no room to question it; for he applies to the City of *Formiæ*, the Epithet, which Homer gives to the City, in which Lamus and Antiphates reigned. *Si in hanc τηλέπυλον veneris Λαιστρυγονίην* (1) (*Formias Dico*) *qui fremitus hominum? quam irati animi* (2)? i. e. "When you come to Læstrygonia, which has such wide gates (I mean Formiæ), what a blustering noise you hear, and how passionate the men you meet with?" See also the seventeenth ode of the third book of Horace; and add to it the following words of the foregoing ode;

(1) That is to say, *Longe distantes habentem portas Læstrygoniam.* These two Greek words are borrowed from Homer, *Odyss.* lib. 10. ver. 82.

(2) Cicero, *ad Attic. Epist.* 13. lib. 2.

Læſtrygonia or the City of Lamus (*b*); it was becauſe Lamus King of the Læſtrygones and ſon of Neptune had built it (*c*). His dominions were pretty large (*d*). Antiphates, who reigned in that country when Ulyſſes landed there, was a very cruel man, who would have devoured all Ulyſſes's Deputies [*B*], had they not made their eſcape, after they had been witneſſes to the diſmal fate of one of their number (*e*). It is certain that the Læſtrygones have paſſed for men-eaters [*C*]. Moreri, inſtead of obſerving this, tells us that they uſed to *eat raw fleſh*. It is not known whether they paſſed from Sicily into Italy, or from Italy into Sicily; but that they had been ſettled in Sicily cannot be queſtioned; ſince the fields about the City of Leontium were called *Campi Læſtrygonii* [*D*]. Ovid ſuppoſes them to have been deſcended from Greek anceſtors (*f*). It is certain that Homer compares them with giants: but yet Bozius ought not to have inferred from thence, that according to the fables of the ancients, they waged war againſt the Gods; that Hercules fought againſt them, that they were deſtroyed by thunder-bolts, that for this reaſon the fields ſituated between Mount Veſuvius and Puteoli were called *Phlegræi Campi*, and that the flames of the Veſuvius come from thoſe which burn the Læſtrygones in hell. He pretends that Homer, Pindar, Polybius in his 2d book, and Strabo in his 5th book aſſert thoſe particulars (*g*); but he is miſtaken. The Læſtrygones did not till the ground, but they had cattle (*h*). Homer betrayed a great ignorance in Coſmography, when he ſuppoſed them ſituated in a climate, where the nights were very ſhort (*i*). It is not true that Thucydides imagined, the Læſtrygones were a fabulous Nation (*k*): he obſerves only, that it had been related, the moſt ancient inhabitants of Sicily were the Læſtrygones and the Cyclops, but that he has nothing to ſay of their origin, and that he does not know whence they came or what was become of them (*l*).

(*b*) Homer. *Od.* lib. 10. ver. 81.

(*c*) Euſtath. *in Homer.* ibid.

(*d*) *See* Horat. Ode 17. lib. 3. and *Silius Ital.* pag. m. 368.

(*e*) Homer. *Od.* lib. 10. ver. 117.

(*f*) Ovid. *Faſt.* lib. 4. ver. 69.

(*g*) See the book of Thomas Bozius, *de Italiæ Statu antiquo & novo adverſus Machiavellum*, pag. m. 64.

(*b*) Homer. *Od.* lib. 10. ver. 85.

(*i*) Homer, ibid ver. 86.

(*k*) Britannicus, *in Juven.* Sat. 14. ver. 20. aſſerts it.

(*l*) Thucydid. lib. 6. init. pag. m. 410.

Nec Læſtrygonia Bacchus in Amphora
Langueſcit mihi

i. e. "No wines by rich *Campania* ſent
"In my ignoble Caſks ferment.

CREECH.

By which he means the wine of Formiæ. Pliny's words are very expreſs. *Oppidum Formiæ, Hormiæ prius olim dictum: ut exiſtimavere, antiqua Læſtrygonum ſedes* (3), i. e. "The City of Formiæ, anciently called Hormiæ, is thought to have been the ancient habitation of the Læſtrygones."

(3) Plin. lib. 3. cap. 5. pag. m. 325.

[*B*] *Antiphates.... would have devoured all Ulyſſes's deputies.*] I beg leave to call thus the three men he ſent to take a view of the country. You will ſee by and by, that Antiphates devoured one of them, and vented his fury on Ulyſſes's ſhips, ſo that there was but one that eſcaped.

Inde Lami veterem Læſtrygonis, inquit, in urbem
Venimus; Antiphates terra regnabat in illa.
Miſſus ad hunc ego ſum, numero comitante duorum:
Vixque fuga quæſita ſalus, comitique, mihique.
Tertius è nobis Læſtrygonis impia tinxit
Ora cruore ſuo: fugientibus inſtat, & agmen
Concitat Antiphates, coëunt, & ſaxa trabeſque
Conjiciunt: merguntque viros, merguntque carinas.
Una tamen, quæ nos ipſumque vehebat Ulyſſen,
Effugit (4).

(4) Ovid. *Met.* lib. 14. ver. 233. This is taken from the 10th book of the *Odyſſ.*

"Forthwith outruſh'd a Guſt, which backwards bore
"Our Gallies to the Læſtrygonian ſhore,
"Whoſe Crown Antiphates the Tyrant wore.
"Some few commiſſioned were with ſpeed to treat;
"We to his Court repair, his Guards we meet.
"Two friendly flight preſerved, the Third was doom'd
"To be by thoſe curs'd Cannibals conſumed.
"Inhumanly our helpleſs Friends they treat:
"Our Men they murther, and deſtroy our Fleet.
"In time the wiſe Ulyſſes bore away.

GARTH.

Hence it came, that this barbarous Læſtrygonian uſed to be mentioned as an inſtance of cruelty and want of hoſpitality. *Quis non Antiphaten Læſtrygona devovet?* Who does not curſe Antiphates the Læſtrygonian? ſays Ovid, in the ninth elegy of the ſecond book *de Ponto*. In another place he expreſs himſelf thus:

Nec tu conferis urbem Læſtrygonis unquam
Gentibus, obliqua quas obit Iſter aqua (5).

(5) Ovid. Eleg. 10. lib. 4. *de Ponto.*

"Never pretend to compare the City of Læſtrygon,
"with thoſe nations, who live where the Danube
"runs with turnings and windings."

I omit ſeveral other paſſages, and ſhall only tranſcribe the following lines from Sidonius Apollinaris.

Biſtonii ſtabulum regis, Buſiridis aras
Antiphatæ menſas, & Taurica regna Thoantis,
Atque Ithaci ingenio fraudatum luce Cyclopem (6).

(6) Sidon. Apollon. *Carm.* 22. pag. m. 170.

"The ſtable of the King of Biſtonia, the Altar of
"Buſiris, the table of Antiphates, the reign of Thoas
"King of Taurica, and the Cyclop, who was blinded by Ulyſſes's artifice."

[*C*] *The Læſtrygones have paſſed for men-eaters.*] Add to the proofs alledged in the foregoing remark the following words of Pliny. *Eſſe Scytharum genera, & quidem plurima, quæ corporibus humanis veſcerentur, indicavimus. Idipſum incredibile fortaſſe, ni cogitemus in medio orbe terrarum, ac Sicilia & Italia fuiſſe gentes hujus monſtri, Cyclopas & Læſtrygonas* (7). i. e. "That there are nations amongſt the Scythians, and even many, who feed upon human fleſh, is what we have already ſhewed. This would perhaps ſeem incredible, if we did not know, that in the midſt of the earth, even in Italy and in Sicily there have been ſuch monſters, as the Cyclops and the Læſtrygones."

(7) Plinius, lib. 7. cap. 2. pag. m. 6.

[*D*] *The fields about the City of Leontium were called Campi Læſtrygonii.*] See Pliny (8) and his commentator Father Hardouin, who quotes a paſſage from Polybius, in which it is obſerved, that they who had been poſſeſſed of Leontium and the lands about it, were called *Læſtrygones*. He quotes alſo theſe words from Silius Italicus:

(8) Idem, lib. 3. cap. 8. pag. 344.

Prima Leontinos vaſtarunt prælia campos
Regnatam duro quondam Læſtrygone terram (9).

(9) Silius Italicus, lib. 14. ver. 127. pag. m. 591.

"The firſt battles laid waſte the fields of Leontium,
"where the cruel Læſtrigon reigned of old."

See Dauſqueius's notes on theſe words of the ſame Poet,

Poſt dirum Antiphatæ ſceptrum & Cyclopea regna (10).

(10) Idem, ver. 33. pag. 581.

"After the cruel government of Antiphates, and the
"reign of the Cyclops."

LÆVIUS, a Latin Poet. It is not well known when he lived, but he was, very probably, more ancient than Cicero. He had made a Poem intitled, *Erotopægnia*, that is to ſay, *Love Games*. Aulus Gellius (*a*) quotes two lines from it. Apuleius (*b*) quotes ſix

(*a*) *Noct. Attic.* lib. 2. cap. 24.

(*b*) Lib. 17. ca. 21.

ſix lines of this ſame Poet, but he does not tell us from what work he borrowed them. Lævius had alſo compoſed a Poem intitled, *The Centaurs*, which Feſtus quotes under the word *Petrarum*. I ſhall take notice of ſome miſtakes [*A*].

[*A*] *I ſhall take notice of ſome miſtakes.*] Since Voſſius (1) was acquainted with the two quotations, I have ſet down, it is very ſurprizing that he ſhould have placed Lævius amongſt thoſe poets, of whom we know only that they lived before Charles the Great. But this is a trifling miſtake, if compared with the blunder of an author (2), who corrects Lævius into Livius in Aulus Gellius, and pretends that this writer quoted Livius Andronicus. How could he quote from that Livius a paſſage in which a law is mentioned (3), which was made in the year 656 after the building of Rome; how I ſay, could Livius Andronicus be quoted for this, who was already a grown man in the year 514 after the building of Rome? For one of his plays was acted that year (4). The author whom I refute pretends that Nævius and Pacuvius flouriſhed after Livius Andronicus. But did he not obſerve a particular in Aulus Gellius, which proves that this Livius could not have the leaſt knowledge of the Licinian Law. For Aulus Gellius tells us (5), that Nævius had his plays acted in the year 519 of Rome, and that he bore arms in the firſt Punic war.

(1) *De Poet. Lat.*

(2) Philip. Carolus, *Animadv. in A. Gellium*, pag. 162.

(3) It is Licinius's Sumptuary Law.

(4) It is the firſt that was acted at Rome. *See* Cicero *in Bruto.*

(5) Lib. 17. cap. 21.

LAIS a famous curtezan was born at Hyccara a City of Sicily [*A*]. She was carried into Greece, when her native place had been plundered by Nicias General of the Athenians. She ſettled at Corinth, which was the moſt proper City in the world for women of her trade [*B*]; and ſhe gained ſuch a reputation there, that there was never a curtezan who enticed more people to her than ſhe did [*C*]. She had been informed in a kind of

[*A*] *She was born at Hyccara a City of Sicily.*] Plutarch acquaints us with this in the account he gives us of the taking of that City (1). The inhabitants of it were ſold, and Lais met with the ſame fate. She was carried into Peloponneſus; and was ſtill a virgin then (2). Some moderns aſſert that ſhe was ſold at Corinth (3); but they did not conſult Pauſanias nor his tranſlator, from whom they might have known that ſhe was firſt ſold at Hyccara; and then carried to Corinth. Pauſanias agrees in every particular with Plutarch. He aſſerts, like the latter, that ſhe was ſtill a young maiden (4). Solinus obſerves only that ſhe was born in Sicily (5), without telling us exactly in what City: but Athenæus, in his thirteenth book, page 588, quotes three authors (6), who aſſert expreſly, that ſhe was of Hyccara in Sicily. One of theſe three writers obſerves, that ſhe was a ſlave when ſhe went to Corinth. Ἀφ' ἧς αἰχμαλώτου γενομένη ἦκεν εἰς Κόρινθον. *From which* (City of Hecara) *ſhe went to Corinth being a captive* (7). This refutes the moderns whom I have mentioned. Stephanus Byzantinus (8) alſo aſſerts that ſhe was of Hyccara, and he quotes (9) Syneſius, who called her ὑκκαρικὸν ἀνδράποδον, *The Hyccarian ſlave.* But on the other hand he quotes (10) Neanthes, who wrote the lives of Illuſtrious Perſons, and who aſſerts that ſhe was born at Craſtus a City in Sicily. He quotes even Timæus as ſaying that ſhe was born at Eucarpia in the ſame Iſland. And yet we have ſeen juſt now, that Timæus, as quoted by Athenæus, makes her a native of Hyccara. And as there is not one author, that mentions a City in Sicily named *Eucarpia*, I think that Berkelius's (11) conjecture is very probable, namely that Stephanus Byzantinus made uſe of a copy of Timæus, in which the tranſcriber wrote εὐκαρπία inſtead of ὑκκαρα. Caſaubon obſerves (12) that Lais's native place, like that of Homer and of ſome other illuſtrious perſons, has not been exactly known; and he quotes Solinus, who ſays, *Lais eligere patriam maluit quam fateri* (13). i. e. "Lais "would rather chooſe a country for her own, than "declare which was her native ſoil." Caſaubon adds that ſome ſuppoſe ſhe was born at Pancarpia in Phrygia (14). But his memory deceived him here; he remembered in ſome meaſure to have read that ſome ſay ſhe was born at Eucarpia in Sicily, a place which Stephanus Byzantinus mentions in the article of Eucarpia in Phrygia: hereupon his notions mingled together in his head; he imagined he had read that Pancarpia in Phrygia was the native place of Lais, according to ſome writers. The Sieur Pinedo goes infinitely farther than Caſaubon, in his Parallel of Homer with this Courtezan; he pretends that ſeveral Cities claimed the glory of being Lais's native place. *Celebres meretrices urbes etiam ſi Diis placet illuſtrant: de qua* (Laïde) *decertabant quædam civitates haud ſecus ac de Homero* (15). i. e. "Even Curtezans, forſooth, illuſ- "trate their native places; ſeveral cities claimed the "glory of having produced Lais, as others did with "regard to Homer."

(1) Plutarch. *in Nicia*, pag. 533. *See alſo* in Alcibiade, *ſub finem.*

(2) Ἔτι κόρην; *ſtill a virgin.* Idem, *in Nicia*, pag. 533, C.

(3) Thomæus, *De Varia Hiſt.* lib. 1. cap. 81. One of the Commentators on Alciat's *Emblemata*, pag. m. 330. Du Verdier Vauprivas, *Diverſes Leçons*, liv. 3. chap. 6. pag. m. 284.

(4) Παῖδα ὖσαν, *being a child.* Pauſanias, lib. 2. pag. 45.

(5) Solin. cap. 5.

(6) Polemon, Nicephorus, and Timæus.

(7) Polemo, *apud* Athen. ibid.

(8) *In voce* Τυκαρὶς.

(9) *In voce* Εὐκαρπία.

(10) *In voce* Κραστὸς.

(11) In Stephan. *in voce* Εὐκαρπία.

(12) In Athen. pag. 869.

(13) Solin. cap. 5.

(14) *See* Pinedo *in* Stephanum, *Voce* Ευκαρπία.

(15) Pinedo, under the word Κραστὸς. See the ſame under the word Τυκαρὶς.

[*B*] *Corinth .... was the moſt proper City in the world for women of her trade.*] You ought not however to believe all that Lotichius relates of it. He aſſerts that the Corinthians in their ſolemn devotions prayed to the Gods to increaſe the number of the Curtezans (16): Whereupon he quotes Athenæus, who ſays nothing like it. But Lotichius was perhaps miſled by giving too much credit to the following words of Eraſmus. *Tantus* Corinthi *honos habebatur meretricibus, ut quemadmodum ex autoribus docet Athenæus, illic in templo Veneris proſtarent, atque in ſolemnibus precibus illud addi ſoleat, ut Dii augerent meretricum numerum. Quin & illud refert meretrices facto ſacro Veneri, Civitatem extremo periculo laborantem ſervaſſe placata Venere* (17). i. e. "Curtezans were ſo much honoured "at Corinth, that they ſtood to be hired in the Tem- "ple of Venus, and in the publick prayers it was "added, that the Gods would be pleaſed to encreaſe "the number of curtezans, as Athenæus relates from "other authors; he tells us alſo, that the curtezans, "having appeaſed Venus by a ſacrifice offered to her, "delivered the City of an imminent danger." Eraſmus exaggerates here: Athenæus ſays only, that there was an ancient Law at Corinth, by which it was enacted, that when the City ſhould make public ſupplications to Venus for ſome important affair, they ſhould gather together as many curtezans as could be found, that they might aſſiſt at the proceſſion, pray to that Goddeſs, and continue the laſt in her temple (18). The reſt of Eraſmus's account is very accurate; for it is certain that Athenæus relates, that it was thought the Curtezans of Corinth had very much contributed to the preſervation of Greece, by the prayers they offered up to Venus at the time of Xerxes's invaſion: He adds that the Citizens of Corinth uſed to promiſe a certain number of thoſe creatures to Venus, if ſhe granted them the favours they prayed for; and that Xenophon the Corinthian made ſuch a promiſe to her, in caſe he ſhould be conqueror at the Olympick Games. Having gained the victory, he performed his promiſe very punctually; he conſecrated twenty five maidens to the ſervice of Venus, and offered them to the Goddeſs during the Ceremony of the ſacrifice, which he made to her after his return from the Olympick Games. Theſe twenty five maidens began even the Hymn, which was ſung whilſt they were ſacrificing the victim. Concerning this whoredom of the Corinthians, ſee Eraſmus's proverbs (19), where he quotes a remarkable paſſage from Strabo (20)

This is ſufficient to prove the aſſertion in my text, and at the ſame time to ſhew that the heathens could not pretend, that the abominable actions which they aſcribed to their Gods, were only poetical ſtories: for we have here a moſt flouriſhing City, the very laws and worſhip of which ſhew it was believed there, that the Curtezans did a very acceptable ſervice to Venus by proſtituting themſelves, and that their interceſſion with her was greatly effectual to divert public misfortunes: which ſhews that they believed the ſtories that were reported concerning the adulteries of this Goddeſs.

[*C*] *There was never a Curtezan who inticed more people to her than ſhe did.*] Propertius (21) aſſerts it very poſitively.

(16) Lotichius in *Petronium*, pag. 232.

(17) Eraſm. Κορινθιάζεσθαι, in Proverb, id eſt: *ſcortationibus ac luſtris indulgere, lenocinium-que excercere.* It is the 68th Proverb. *Cent.* 3. *Chiliad.* 4. pag. m. 904.

(18) Athenæus, lib. 13. pag. 57. *ex* Chamæleonte Heracleote *in Libro* de Pindaro.

(19) Eraſmus, in Proverbium *Non eſt cujuſlibet Corinthum appellare.* It is the 1ſt of the 4th Century, of the 1ſt Chiliad, pag. m. 132.

(20) Strabo, lib. 7. pag. m. 261.

(21) Propert. lib. 2. Eleg. 6.

of revelation, that ſhe would ſignalize herſelf, and get a conſiderable ſum of money; for ſhe dreamt once that Venus appeared to her to acquaint her with the arrival of ſome very rich cuſtomers [*D*]. The moſt illuſtrious Orators, and even the moſt unſociable Philoſophers fell in love with her. All the world knows that Demoſthenes went on purpoſe to Corinth to paſs a night with her, but was diſguſted by the high price ſhe put upon her favours [*E*]. It is alſo well known how ſtrong an affection Diogenes the Cynic had for her [*F*], and notwithſtanding his poverty and ſlovenlineſs he found her very kind. It is pretended that ſhe did not love him, and that he was ridiculed on that account. The anſwer he made to it was very ſmart [*G*]. Some aſſert (*a*), that the envy ſhe

(*a*) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 588.

Non ita complebant Ephyrææ (22) *Laidos ædes,*
Ad cujus jacuit Græcia tota fores.

(22) That is to ſay of Corinth, for the ancient name of that city was *Ephyra*. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 4.

i. e. "Lais's houſe at Corinth was too ſmall for the "number of her lovers, for all Greece lay down at "her door."

Plutarch's expreſſions are as ſtrong as they could be. He aſſerts that all Greece was in love with Lais, that the two ſeas fought together for that woman (23), and that ſhe had an whole army of lovers (24). Ἴσε δήπουθεν ἀκοῇ Λαΐδα τὴν ἀοίδιμον ἐκείνην καὶ πολυήρατον ὡς ἐπέφλεγε πόθῳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μᾶλλον δὲ ταῖς δυσὶν ἦν περιμάχητος θαλάτταις. i. e. "You have heard, "no doubt, of Lais, that celebrated and lovely wo- "man, who enflamed the hearts of all Greece, ſo "that even two ſeas fought for her." See her epitaph in the remark [*K*].

(23) Plutarch, *in Amatorio*, pag. 767.

(24) Ἀποδράσαθα τῶν ἄλλων ἐραστῶν κρύφα μέγαν στρατόν. i. e. "Secretly "eſcaping an "whole army of "other lovers." Idem, ibid.

The Lady Jacquette Guillaume aſſerts in page 77. of her *Dames illuſtres* (25), or *Illuſtrious Ladies*, "that one of the chief lovers of Lais a publick Cur- "tezan raiſed a ſtatue to her like that of Pallas, and "cauſed the following Inſcription to be ingraved "on it; *To the Deity of Lais, for triumphing over the "wit of all the Philoſophers, and over the courage of "all the conquerors.*" I wiſh ſome credible author, or ſome author at leaſt, had been quoted for this particular; for the perſon whoſe words I have tranſcribed, is not ſo accurate as to make us depend upon her teſtimony.

(25) That book was printed at Paris in the year 1665.

[*D*] *She dreamt once that Venus appeared to her to acquaint her with the arrival of ſome very rich cuſtomers.*] It was Venus ſurnamed Melænis or the Black, who appeared to her. She had under that name a temple conſecrated to her in one of the ſuburbs of Corinth (26). The reaſon of that ſurname was thought to be this, namely that men generally ſpeaking apply themſelves to the multiplication of their ſpecies in the night time (27), and not in the day time like brutes (28). If this be the true reaſon of the ſurname of *Melænis*, one cannot ſee why Venus the Black ſhould appear in a dream to young Lais, who was not uſed to be ſo nice as to make any diſtinction between the day and the night with regard to the pleaſures of love. However it be, there was an Orator, who mentioned that dream in one of his pleas. Read only the following paſſage from Athenæus. Ἡ καὶ Ἀφροδίτη ἡ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἡ Μελαινὶς καλουμένη, νυκτὸς ἐπιφαινομένη ἐμηνύσε ἑταιρῶν ἔφοδον πολυταλάντων· ἃ Ὑπερίδης μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστογόραν δευτέρῳ (29). i. e. "Venus ſurnamed the Black at "Corinth appeared to her (Lais) in the night, and "acquainted her with the arrival of ſome lovers, "who were immenſely rich, as Hyperides relates in "his 3d Oration againſt Ariſtagoras."

(26) Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 2.

(27) Idem, lib. 8. cap. 6.

(28) Compare this with what is obſerved above, in the article of the 3d Duke of GUISE, quotation (45).

(29) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 588.

[*E*] *Demoſthenes went on purpoſe to Corinth to paſs a night with her, but was diſguſted by the high price ſhe put upon her favours.*] This ſtory has been very prettily dreſſed in the French tongue by Monſ. le Puys (30). Aulus Gellius relates it as follows (31). *Lais Corinthia ob elegantiam venuſtatemque formæ grandem pecuniam demerebat: conventuſque ad eam ditiorum hominum ex omni Græcia celebres erant: neque admittebatur, niſi qui dabat, quod poposcerat. Poſcebat autem illa nimium quantum. Hinc ait natum eſſe illud frequens apud Græcos adagium,* οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς. *Quòd fruſtra iret Corinthum ad Laïdem, qui non quiret dare quòd poſceretur. Ad hanc ille Demoſthenes clanculum adit; &, ut ſibi ſui copiam faceret, petit: at Lais* μυρίας δραχμὰς ἢ τάλαντον *popoſcit. Hoc facit nummi noſtratis denariûm decem millia. Tali petulantia mulieris atque pecuniæ magnitudine ictus expaviduſque Demoſthenes avertit; & diſcedens, Ego, inquit, pœnitere tanti non emo. Sed Græca ipſa, quæ fertur dixiſſe, lepidiora ſunt,* οὐκ ὠνοῦμαι, *inquit,* μυρίων δραχμῶν μετανίλειαν. i. e. "Lais the Corinthian got a great deal of money "by her beauty; for a vaſt number of the richeſt "men flocked to her from all parts of Greece; nor "would ſhe admit any man to her embraces but who "paid her the price ſhe aſked: and ſhe uſed to aſk "an extravagant price. Which gave riſe to this Pro- "verb ſo common among the Greeks; *It is not in "every man's power to ſail to Corinth.* For they "went thither to no purpoſe, who could not give "her her own price. Demoſthenes went ſecretly to "her, and deſired to lie with her. But Lais aſked him "ten thouſand Drachms, or a talent, which makes "ten thouſand denarii, of our [that is Roman] mo- "ney [about 317 pound ſterling]. Demoſthenes being "ſhocked and frightened at the woman's faucineſs, "and at her extravagant price, went away, ſaying, "he would not buy a repentance ſo dear. But the "Greek words he is ſaid to have ſpoken on this occa- "ſion are ſmarter ſtill. *I will not pay ten thouſand "drachms*, ſaid he, *for a repentance.*"

(30) In his *Amitiez, Amours, & Amourettes.*

(31) Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* lib. 1. cap. 8. *ex* Sotionis. *Libro cui Titulus,* Κέρας ἀμαλθείας.

[*F*] *It is ..... well known how ſtrong an affection Diogenes the Cynic had for her.*] She did him the curteſy intire; he kiſſed her *gratis*. This is what Ariſtippus's ſervant repreſented to his maſter, when he ſaw him ſpend great ſums upon that harlot. But Ariſtippus anſwered, I pay her well, not to prevent others from enjoying her, but that I may enjoy her myſelf. Ὀνειδιζόμενος ὑπὸ εἰκείου, ὅπου μὴ αὐτῇ τοσοῦτον ἀργύριον δίδως, ἡ δὲ παρῆκα Διογένει τῷ κυνὶ συγκυλίεσθαι. ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐγὼ Λαΐδι χορηγῶ πολλὰ, ἵνα αὐτὸς αὐτῆς ἀπολαύω, οὐχ' ἵνα μὴ ἄλλος. (32). Ariſtippus was the moſt eaſy man in the world with regard to his miſtreſſes: he was not in the leaſt jealous of them; nor did he care whether or not they beſtowed upon others the ſame favours they granted him. This he declared to Diogenes, who had told him (3), *you lie with a common whore; either forſake her, or be a Cynic like me. Do you think it is impertinent*, anſwered Ariſtippus, *to lodge at a houſe, where there have been ſeveral other lodgers, or to embark on board a ſhip, which has carried ſeveral other paſſengers? No*, ſaid Diogenes: *Well then*, replied Ariſtippus, *it is not more impertonent to lie with a woman, whom ſeveral other men have already known* (34). Here follows a very diverting deſcription of the dreſs, in which theſe two Philoſophers uſed to ramble about Lais's houſe, if we may believe Taſſoni. *Ma che bel vedere Diogene Cinico col Mantello di romagnuolo ſquarciato, e rappezzato, la barba ſqualida, ſenza camicia, e lordo, e pidocchioſo far dell' innamorato, paſſeggiando lungo la porta della famoſa Laide, e dall' altra parte comparire il ſuo rivale Ariſtippo, tutto profumato, e attilato, ſputando zibetto, e mirarlo di torto, e levargli il muro; e la Signora ſtarſi alla geloſia, pigliandoſi guſto di vederli paſſeggiare al ſereno* (35). i. e. "But what a pretty thing was it to ſee Diogenes "the Cynic with a cloak of coarſe cloth all ragged, "and patched up, with a dirty face, without a ſhirt, "and naſty and louſy, ſetting up for a lover, and "walking before the famous Lais's door; and on the "other hand to ſee his rival Ariſtippus appear, all "perfumed, neatly dreſſed, ſpitting civet, looking "with an evil eye upon the other, and climbing upon "the wall; and the Lady ſtanding at her window, "and taking a delight in ſeeing them walk in the "dew."

(32) *Athen.* lib. 13. pag. 588.

(33) Idem, ibid.

(34) See the *Nouvelles Lettres de la Critique du Calviniſme*, pag. 550. There is in Du Verdier, *Bibliotheque Françoiſe*, pag. 989. a very pretty Poem upon this ſubject, written by Peter de Brach, of Bourdeaux.

(35) Taſſoni, *Penſieri Diverſi*, lib. 7. cap. 11. pag. 228.

[*G*] *The anſwer he made to it was very ſmart.*] When he was told that Lais did not love him, he made the following anſwer; *I do not imagine that the wine I drink, or the fiſhes I eat love me, and yet I take a pleaſure in living upon them.* Plutarch acquaints us with

(b) It was *Phryne.*

ſhe bore another curtezan (*b*) made her admit the poor as well as the rich, that ſhe might diſtinguiſh her ſelf by the great number of her gallants. Others maintain that it was only when ſhe was old that ſhe uſed to proſtitute her ſelf for a trifle [*H*]. There are authors who tell us that ſhe was only a bawd in her old age [*I*]. Some pretend that notwithſtanding

with this particular; Amiot did not well underſtand his words, for he ſuppoſes that Ariſtippus anſwered, *I love neither wine nor fiſh, though I take ſome pleaſure in uſing them.* Here follow the Greek words, which offer no ſuch thought. Ἀρίσιππος τῷ καλήγορεῦντι Λαΐδος πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς οὐ φιλούσης, ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι κὴ τὸ οἶνον οἴεται κὴ τὸ ἰχθὺν μὴ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἡδέως ἐκαλέρῳ χρῆται. i. e. "A perſon repreſenting to "Ariſtippus, that Lais did not love him, do you "think, *anſwered he*, that the wine or the fiſhes "love me? And yet I uſe both with pleaſure (26)." On another occaſion he made an anſwer, which has been mentioned by ſeveral authors, and which ſhews more evidently ſtill, that though he uſed to go often to Lais, yet he was by no means a ſlave to his paſſion. *Cum eſſet objectum habere eum Laida, habeo, inquit, non habeor à Laide* (37). i. e. "It being objected to "him, that he was in Lais's power; he anſwered I "keep Lais, but I am not kept by her." The anſwer is ſhorter ſtill in Athenæus (38), ἔχω κὴ οὐκ ἔχομαι. i. e. "I keep, but am not kept." This anſwer is mentioned by ſeveral authors; Diogenes Laertius does not omit it in his Life of Ariſtippus; and Lactantius relates it after the following manner. *Ariſtippo Cyrenaicorum magiſtro cum Laide nobili ſcorto fuit conſuetudo, quod flagitium gravis ille philoſophiæ doctor ſic defendebat, ut diceret, multum inter ſe, & cæteros Laidis amatores intereſſe, quòd ipſe haberet Laidem, alii verò à Laide haberentur. O præclara, & imitanda bonis ſapientia: huic verò liberos in diſciplinam dares, ut diſcerent habere meretricem. Aliquid inter ſe, ac perditos intereſſe dicebat, ſcilicet, quod illi bona ſua perderent, ipſe gratis luxuriaretur. In quo tamen ſapientior meretrix fuit, quæ philoſophum habuit pro lenone, ut ad ſe omnis juventus doctoris exemplo, & authoritate corrupta, ſine ullo pudore concurreret* (39). i. e. "The founder "of the Cyreniac ſect converſed with Lais the "noted Curtezan, and that grave teacher of Philoſo"phy pretended to vindicate that wickedneſs by ob"ſerving, that there was a great difference between "him and the other lovers of Lais, for that Lais was "in his power, and they in her's. Oh! the noble "wiſdom, proper to be imitated by all good men! "You may give him your children to educate, that "they may learn to keep a whore. He pretended "that there was ſome difference between him and "profligate men, namely this, that they ſquandered "away their eſtates, whilſt he rioted *gratis*. Wherein "however the Curtezan ſhewed the greateſt wiſdom, "who made a pimp of a Philoſopher, that the young "ſtudents ſhould not be aſhamed to go to her, being "encouraged thereto by the example of their teacher." This Father of the Church's reflection is not entirely well grounded; Lactantius, it ſeems, did not well underſtand the Philoſopher's thought. His meaning was this. "I go to Lais's houſe; I have a right to do "it; Ἔχειν γυναῖκα *Græci dixerunt, ut Latini* habere "mulierem, *de eo qui ad eam pro ſuo jure cum vole*"*bat, ventitabat . . . Latinæ dictionis exemplum habes* "*apud Terentium in Andria I.* 1. Quis Chryſidem ha"buit? *Qua de re Muretus variar.* (40); but ſhe does "not govern or rule over me: I am ſtill the maſter of "this correſpondence, and can put a ſtop to it when"ever I pleaſe." He did not mean, as Lactantius ſuppoſes, that this correſpondence coſt him nothing. We have ſeen above, how Ariſtippus's ſervant complained of his maſter's expences on this account. I muſt not forget to obſerve, that this Philoſopher dedicated ſome of his works to Lais (41).

(36) Plutarch. *in Amatorio*, pag. 750, D.

(37) Cicero, Epiſt. 26. lib. 9. *ad Familiares.*

(38) Lib. 12. pag. 544.

(40) *Lect.* 6, 7. Menag. ad Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 75.

(41) Diog. Laert. lib. 1. num. 84, 85.

[*H*] *Others maintain, that . . . . when ſhe was old ſhe proſtituted herſelf for a trifle.*] Epicrates wrote ſome verſes, in which he abuſed her moſt cruelly. When ſhe was young, ſaid he (42), ſhe was ſo proud on account of her riches, that it was a more difficult matter to have acceſs to her, than to Pharnabazus. But now ſhe is old it is the eaſieſt thing in the world to have one's will of her. She goes and drinks in any place. She admits to her embraces both the old and the young indifferently. She is become ſo humble and meek, that ſhe even begs for the curteſy. Athæneus relates theſe lines of Epicrates, extracted from a work entitled *Anti-Lais.* Monſieur Baillet has omitted it in his collection of the books entitled *Anti.* It is impoſſible to reconcile together the authors who mention Lais. According to Epicrates, ſhe was almoſt inacceſſible when ſhe was young. Another author aſſerts that ſhe was ſurnamed Axine on account of her ſhyneſs, and becauſe ſhe extorted large ſums of money from her lovers. Ὅτι Λαὶς κὴ ἀξίνη ἐκαλεῖτο. ἤλεγχε δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπώνυμον τοῦτο τῆ ἤθους ἀγριότητα, κὴ ὅτι πολὺ ἐπραίτειτο, κὴ εἴ μᾶλλον παρὰ τῶν ξένων, ἅτε ἀπαλλαττομένων θᾶττον (43). i. e. "Lais was called Axine; which ſurname was "given her to ſignify her ſhy temper, and that ſhe "would get too much money, eſpecially from ſtrangers, "becauſe they were to go away very ſoon." She would demand too much, and gave no quarter in that reſpect. *Neque admittebatur niſi qui dabat quod popoſcerat: poſcebat autem illa nimium quantum* (44). She was particularly guilty of an exceſſive covetouſneſs with regard to ſtrangers; for as they were ſoon to go back, ſhe knew that they would not have time to bargain with her, and that if ſhe did not receive a large ſum at once from them, ſhe ſhould not meet with another opportunity to get again what ſhe might have bated of her price. See Ælian's Greek words quoted above (45). Athenæus repreſents her of a much eaſier temper. He aſſerts that ſhe made no difference between the poor and the rich, οὐ διακρίνασα πλούσιον ἢ πένητα (46). She took nothing from Diogenes. She acted probably like the charitable Phyſicians, who viſit their poor patients *gratis*; but ſhe made the rich pay the more for it, as ſeveral Phyſicians do, who accept no money from the poor.

(42) Epicrates, *in Anti Laïde, apud* Athen. lib. 13. pag. 570.

(43) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 14. cap. 35. See alſo the 5th chap. of the 12th book, where Ariſtophanes Bizantius is quoted for this particular.

(44) A. Gellius, lib. 1. cap. 8. tranſlated above, quotation (31).

(45) Quotation (43).

(46) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 588.

[*I*] . . . *Some pretend that ſhe was only a bawd in her old age.*] There was no Deity among the Heathens, that was more faithfully ſerved than Venus; for the women who proſtituted themſelves, uſed to make their proſtitution laſt as long as they could; and when old age made them unfit for the trade, they did not however give over the ſervice, but ſet up for teachers of young maidens, and procured interviews and meetings between lovers. This is what Claudian reproaches Lais with.

Haud aliter juvenum flammis Ephyreïa Lais
E gemino ditata mari, dum ſerta refundit
Canities, dum turba procax, nocteſque recedit
Ambitus, & raro pulſatur janua tactu,
Seque reformidat ſpeculo damnante ſenectus,
Stat tamen, atque alias ſuccingit lena miniſtras,
Dilectumque diu quamvis longæva lupanar
Circuit & retinet mores, quos perdidit ætas (47).

(47) Claudian. lib. 1. *in Eutropium*, ver. 90.

i. e. "Thus the Corinthian Lais, grown rich by the "love of young men, and the ſpoils of two ſeas, "when old age came upon her, when the croud of "lovers forſook her, when ſhe was obliged to lie "alone all night, and there was ſeldom any knock"ing at her door, when ſhe was frightened at her own "face ſeen in the glaſs, yet ſhe would continue her "antient trade; ſhe turned a bawd, and though a "decrepit old woman, ſhe could not leave her beloved "ſtew. Her inclinations were ſtill the ſame, though "ſhe could not gratify them on account of her old "age."

This puts me in mind of thoſe invalids, who have ſometimes been mentioned in our News-Papers. As they are no longer able to bear arms, they are ſent on the ſea-coaſt, to exerciſe the militia there. Or, if you want another compariſon, conſider that mule, of which a Greek Hiſtorian ſpeaks (48). As ſhe had ſerved the Athenians a long time, ſhe was diſcharged from any labour, and was ſuffered to graze wherever ſhe would. But that ſhe might not be entirely uſeleſs, ſhe uſed to walk before the waggons, and encouraged in ſome manner the horſes or oxen that drew them: for which reaſon it was ordered that ſhe ſhould be

(48) Plutarch. *in Vita M. Catonis.*

notwithſtanding the pleaſure ſhe took in diſtinguiſhing herſelf by the great number of perſons who courted her favours, yet ſhe left Corinth, where ſhe had always a crowd of lovers, and went into Theſſaly to meet a young man with whom ſhe was paſſionately in love [*K*]. The women of that country entertained ſuch a jealouſy againſt this beautiful creature, that they got rid of her in a very cruel manner. They enticed her into the temple of Venus, and ſtoned her to death (*c*), or, according to others, they knocked her down with the chairs they happened to meet with there. It is not a general opinion amongſt authors, that ſhe died after that manner [*L*]. I have obſerved in another place (*d*), that Apelles taught her her trade; and it ſeems indeed, that he got her maidenhead, if we conſider only the authors I have quoted. See (*e*) the anſwer he made to thoſe who ridiculed him for chooſing a raw unexperienced girl; but if we examine things critically we ſhall find reaſons to queſtion this ſtory [*M*]. The conjecture of thoſe who aſſert that

(*c*) See the remark [*K*].

(*d*) In the article APELLES, remark [*E*].

(*e*) Ibid.

nouriſhed all her life-time at the expence of the public.

I muſt not omit to obſerve a miſtake of the learned Barthius. He imagined (49) that Syneſius gives us the Hiſtory of Lais in the letter in which he mentions a Curtezan, who was the firſt miſtreſs of a maſter of a ſhip, then of a rhetorician, afterwards of a footman, then a public proſtitute, and laſtly a bawd. It is certain that Lais is not meant there, but the mother of a rhetorician, who was lately married to Syneſius's niece, which unequal match he very much diſliked. Here follows the whole paſſage. Πλὴν εἰ μή τι λέγουσιν ὅσοι κὴ τὸν νυμφίον ἡμῖν μητρόθεν ἀποσεμνύουσι γενεαλογοῦντες αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν φήμῃ Λαΐδος. ἡ γὰρ Λαὶς ἔφη τις ἤδη λογογράφος, ἀνδράποδον, ἢν Ὑκκαρικὸν ὠὴ Σικελίας ἐωνημένον, ὅθεν ἡ καλλίπαις ἡ τεκοῦσα τὸν περιβόητον. κὴ αὐτὴ πάλαι μὲν ἐπαλλακεύετο ναυκλήρῳ δεσπότῃ. ἔπειτα μέν τοι ῥήτορι, κὴ τοῦτῳ δεσπότῃ. τρίτῳ μετ' ἐκείνους ὁμοδούλῳ κὴ λάθρᾳ τῇ πόλει. ἔπειτα λαμπρᾶς τῇ πολεῖ, κὴ φειδὼ τῆς τέχνης, ἧς ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὑπὸ χαλαρᾷ ῥυπῇ καθέλυσε, τὰς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ παιδοτρίβει, κὴ τοῖς ξένοις ἀνθικαθίστησιν. i. e. "Unleſs it be, that they ſay ſomething to the purpoſe, "who extoll this bridegroom on account of his mother's family, making him deſcend from the famous Lais. Who, as a certain Hiſtorian relates, "was a ſlave from Hyccara, bought in Sicily, whence "came alſo this mother of beautiful children, who "brought forth that celebrated man. And ſhe herſelf was "formerly kept by a maſter of a ſhip, who was a freeman, afterwards by a rhetorician, alſo a freeman, "and then by one of her fellow-ſervants; to whom "ſhe proſtituted herſelf in an unknown city, and afterwards became a public harlot, being the chief of her "trade. But when the wrinkles of her face made "her unfit for the ſervice, ſhe inſtructed young girls "in it, whom ſhe offered her cuſtomers inſtead of "herſelf." Here is a perſon of whom it may be well aſſerted that her laſt ſtate was worſe than the firſt; for her proſtitution was leſs pernicious than the trade of a bawd, which ſhe followed at laſt.

(49) Barthius, *Animadv. ad lib.* 1. Claudiani *in Eutropium*, ver. 95. p. 1291, edit. in 4to.

(50) Syneſius, Epiſt. 3. pag. 21. Mr. Bayle followed Tho. Naogeorgus's tranſlation into Latin, and the Baſil edit. 1588, in 8vo.

[*K*] *She went into Theſſaly to meet a young man, with whom ſhe was paſſionately in love.*] What we have juſt now obſerved concerning Lais's poverty and her trade of a bawd, does not agree with Plutarch's account of her; for he aſſerts that when this Curtezan left Corinth ſhe had a whole army of lovers there, and that the women of Theſſaly killed her only out of envy for her great beauty. Ἐκεῖ δὲ αὐτὴν αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπὸ φθόνου κὴ ζήλου διὰ τὸ κάλλος εἰς ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης προαγαγοῦσαι κατέλευσαν κὴ διέφθειραν (52). i. e. "The women there, out OF ENVY and jealouſy OF HER "BEAUTY, having conducted her into the Temple "Venus, ſtoned her there to death." The Theſſalian, with whom ſhe fell in love, was named Hippolochus, if we may believe Plutarch; but Athenæus calls him Pauſanias (53). They both agree that the Temple of Venus, in which ſhe was killed, had a ſurname which ſignified that crime. According to Plutarch, it was called the Temple of Venus the Manſlayer, Ἀφροδίτης ἀνδροφόνου, and according to Athenæus the Temple of Venus prophaned, ἀνοσίης Ἀφροδίτης. They built a tomb to Lais on the banks of the river Peneus with this epitaph.

(51) In the two preceding remarks.

(52) Plutarch. in *Amatorio*, pag. 768, A.

(53) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 589.

Τῆς δὲ πόθῳ ἡ μεγάλαυχος Ἀνίκητός τε πρὸς ἀλκὴν
Ἑλλὰς ἰδμαλόεν κάλλιος ἰσοθέου,
Λαΐδος, ἣν τέκνωσεν Ἔρως, θρέψεν δὲ Κόρινθος,
Κεῖται δ' ὑγροτάταις Θετταλικοῖς πεδίοις (54).

(54) Athen. ibid.

i. e. "Proud Greece, invincible by her courage, has "been vanquiſhed by the heavenly beauty of this "Lais, whom Love begot, and Corinth educated; "here ſhe lies in the celebrated fields of Theſſaly."

By this particular Athenæus refutes thoſe, who aſſerted, that ſhe was buried in the ſuburb of Corinth called Clanion. It is true however that there was a monument erected to her in that ſuburb (55). But there might be one there and another at the ſame time in Theſſaly; for though the Corinthians were not poſſeſſed of her corps, yet they would, no doubt, raiſe a tomb to her, on which they cauſed a lioneſs to be engraved, whoſe forefeet reſted on a ram (56). See Alciat's *Emblemata* (57). According to Pauſanias, the lover, whom Lais went to meet in Theſſaly was named Hippoſtratus. Let us obſerve here that Geuſius's conjecture does not in the leaſt appear to be well grounded: he imagines that the women of Theſſaly, made Lais fall a ſacrifice to Venus, becauſe ſhe had rendered herſelf odious to that Goddeſs, by her ambition in pretending to be equal to her, or even to excell above her in beauty. He grounds his conjecture on their carrying her into the Temple of Venus, though they might very eaſily have killed her any where elſe. *Veriſimile eſt*, ſays he (38), *quod hæc Lais ab invidis & furioſis iſtis fœminis non ſimpliciter necata, ſed tanquam piacularis victima Deæ Veneri in ejus templo immolata fuerit; quia forma ſua & pulchritudine Veneris ipſius gloriam affectaſſe, imo obſcuraſſe, & ita indignationem & iram ejus in ſe excitaſſe videbatur. Nam quare ipſam non in alio loco, in foro, platea, vel ædibus occiderunt? Quare ipſam in Veneris templo lapidibus & ſcamnis obruerant, niſi propterea, ut Laida Veneris æmulam coram ipſa Venere in ſacrificium mactarent?* i. e. "It "is probable that Lais was not killed by theſe envious "and furious women, but that ſhe was offered up in "the Temple of Venus as a piacular ſacrifice to that "Goddeſs, becauſe ſhe pretended to vie with Venus, "or even to excell her in beauty, by which ſhe drew "upon her the hatred and indignation of that Goddeſs. For why did they not kill her in any other "place, in the market-place, for inſtance, in the ſtreet, "or in an houſe? Why did they kill her by throwing ſtones and benches at her in the very Temple of "Venus, if it were not to make Lais the rival of "Venus fall a ſacrifice in the preſence of Venus herſelf?"

(55) Pauſan. lib. 2. pag. 45.

(56) Pauſan. ibid.

(57) The 74th, pag. m. 329.

(58) Jacobus Geuſius, *Theologus & Medicus Friſius*, *in* Tractatu de Victimis humanis, Part 2. pag. 482, 483.

[*L*] *It is not a general opinion amongſt authors that ſhe died after that manner.*] Some aſſert (59) that ſhe was choked with an olive ſtone, in which caſe her death had been much like Anacreon's. Others pretend ſhe died in the venereal act. Οὐχὶ Λαὶς μὲν τελευτῶσ' ἀπέθανε βινομένη. i. e. "Lais was not yet dead, ſhe "died in the venereal act." This was a glorious death for a perſon who had conſecrated herſelf to the ſervice of the Goddeſs Venus; it was dying in the bed of honour, and when ſhe was giving ſignal proofs of her loyalty. It is as when a warrior is killed in battle. It has been ſaid, that an Emperor ought to die ſtanding. But according to the principles of the Heathens, a Curteſan ought to be in a quite different poſture to die glorioufly. Lais in her profeſſion did what Veſpaſian required from the Emperors.

(59) Ptolem. Hephæſt. *apud* Photium, pag. m. 472.

(60) Philetærus, in *Venatrice*, *apud* Athen. lib. 12. pag. 587. *See* Bigar. *de des Accords*, liv. 1. folio 181 *verſo*, 182, & 191.

[*M*] *There are reaſons to queſtion this ſtory.*] Let us remember that Lais was born the fourth year of the 89th Olympiad; and that Apelles being at ſea was by ſtreſs of weather forced to put into the harbour of Alexandria under the reign of Ptolomy the ſon of Lagus (61), and that the reign of that King could not begin before the 114th Olympiad. The moſt favourable

(61) Above, quotation (9) of the article APELLES.

that there have been two curtezans named Lais [*N*], is grounded on this obſervation, namely, that the applying all that is ſaid of Lais to one and the ſame woman, is inconſiſtent with Chronology. It is not at all probable that ſhe was Alcibiades's daughter (*f*), nor that ſhe wrote books [*O*]. There is a very pretty epigram in Auſonius concerning this

(*f*) See the remark [*T*].

vourable ſuppoſition, which the authors of that ſtory could make, would be to ſay, that Apelles was but twenty years of age, and Lais twenty five at the time they ſpeak of, and that he arrived at Alexandria the firſt year of Ptolomy's reign; whence it would follow that he was born the firſt year of the ninety firſt Olympiad. But according to this ſuppoſition, would he not have been near fourſcore and fifteen, when Ptolomy the ſon of Lagus begun his reign? And is it probable, that at ſuch an age, he had been able to undergo the fatigues of the ſea, and to perform what he is ſuppoſed to have done at the Court of Egypt? Would none of the authors who are extant, have mentioned his great age? Theſe difficulties cannot be removed, but by making Lais's virginity laſt longer; that is to ſay, by ſuppoſing that this painter being twenty years old, ſent for her to the entertainment, when ſhe was already forty or at leaſt thirty five years old. Now theſe ſuppoſitions are not in the leaſt probable, and are inconſiſtent with the accounts we meet with in the ancient authors. It would be much more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that Apelles was twice as old as Lais; it is infinitely probable that this Lady begun her wicked trade very ſoon, and therefore that it was not Apelles who debauched her firſt. Obſerve that the fountain of Pyrene, whence it is ſuppoſed ſhe was returning when her beauty ſtruck him, was at Corinth. Wherefore if this ſtory were true, it would follow from thence, that he continued ſome time in that city, and I do not believe that any author ever aſſerted it poſitively.

[*N*] *It is conjectured that there have been two courtezans named Lais.*] She, who is the ſubject of this article was carried to Corinth, when Nicias commanded the army of the Athenians in Sicily; that is to ſay, the ſecond year of the 91ſt Olympiad. She was then ſeven years old, if we may believe the Scholiaſt on Ariſtophanes (62). Now ſince Demoſthenes did not dare to go to Corinth but ſecretly, in order to enjoy Lais, it follows that he was not a young ſcholar then, but a man who had already gained a great reputation. We ought therefore to ſuppoſe that he was at leaſt thirty; ſo that Lais would have been then threeſcore and ſeven years old (63). There is not therefore the leaſt probability, that Demoſthenes would have cared to ſee her, nor that ſhe would have aſked him a large ſum of money. It was therefore another Lais who aſked the Orator that ſum; whence it follows that there have been two courtezans named Lais. The difficulty will be very great ſtill, though it were ſuppoſed, that Demoſthenes took a journey to Corinth at the age of about twenty years; for our Lais would have been then about threeſcore. I find that ſeveral authors ground their opinion, that there have been two Lais's, on a paſſage in Athenæus, where it is aſſerted that Alcibiades always had two concubines with him, namely, Damaſandra the mother of Lais the younger (64), and Theodota who took care of his funeral when he had been killed in a town of Phrygia. There is ſome ſtrength in that paſſage of Athenæus, for it ſuppoſes that there had been one Lais before her who was Damaſandra's daughter. But it is ſtill liable to a great many difficulties. In the 1ſt place, Athenæus, who relates ſo many particulars concerning Lais, does never make the leaſt diſtinction; he goes on throughout his whole diſcourſe, as though there had never been but one Lais? Does an author expreſs himſelf after ſuch a manner, when he is perſuaded that there have been two perſons of that name, and when he would acquaint his readers with it? II. Plutarch, ſpeaking of Lais the daughter of Alcibiades's concubine, aſſerts poſitively, that ſhe was born at Hyccara in Sicily, and that ſhe was carried from thence a ſlave. Ταύ̃ης λέγεσι θυγατέρα γενέσθαι Λαΐδα, τὴν Κορινθίαν μὲν προσαγορευθεῖσαν, ἐκ δὲ Ὑκκάρων Σικελικῆ̃ πολίσματος αἰχμάλωτον γενομένην (65). i. e. "They ſay, that her "daughter was Lais, who was called the Corinthian, "though ſhe was born at Hyccara a town in Sicily, "whence ſhe was carried away a ſlave." So that according to Plutarch, the ſame Lais, whom Athenæus calls the younger, is ſhe who was born in Sicily before the 91ſt Olympiad; ſo that if the courtezan who demanded a large ſum of money from Demoſthenes differ from this, it will follow from thence, that there have been three Lais's; for ſhe, who would be the firſt according to Athenæus, would be anterior to the Sicilian, who was ſold at Hyccara the ſecond year of the 91ſt Olympiad, and would have been leſs capable ſtill than the ſecond of Athenæus, to have received a viſit from Demoſthenes. In the 3d place, the large ſum of money demanded from that Orator, does evidently ſuppoſe that the courtezan who aſked it, was ſtill very young. A woman does not put ſo high a price upon her favours, when ſhe is paſt thirty five. Now as it is very probable that Alcibiades's concubine had been already delivered of Lais, when that General died in the 1ſt year of the 94th Olympiad, it would follow from thence, that Lais was at leaſt twenty five years older than Demoſthenes. If therefore that Orator at the age of thirty had taken a journey to Corinth with a deſign to enjoy Lais, he would have loved a woman of fifty, who aſked about four thouſand livres for one night's lodging with her. Λαΐδος μυρίας δραχμὰς πέλαντον *poposcit, hoc facit nummi noſtratis denarium decem millia* (66). For my part, inſtead of ſuppoſing two Lais's, I ſhould rather think that the authors, who were very inaccurate with regard to Chronology (67), applied to a courtezan of that name a ſtory of Demoſthenes, which related to another Lady of pleaſure. Obſerve that Athenæus aſſerts in another place, that Alcibiades being General of the Army had two concubines with him, Timandra the mother of Lais the Corinthian, and Theodota the Athenian (68). This is hinting plainly enough that Timandra was then already mother of Lais; and it is certain, that the ſame Lais, who was born in Sicily, has been ſurnamed the Corinthian. Plutarch aſſerts it poſitively (69). Obſerve alſo that Athenæus calls the mother of Lais ſometimes Damaſandra, and ſometimes Timandra, and that he aſcribes to Theodota the care of Alcibiades's funerals. But Plutarch aſſerts, both that Timandra was Lais's mother, and that ſhe buried Alcibiades (70).

[*O*] *It is not at all probable . . . that ſhe wrote books.*] Pliny (71) relates two particulars, which he had read in the works of a woman named Lais. He quotes her the firſt time with Elephantis, and the ſecond with Salpe, and ſoon after he mentions a midwife called Sotira. It is well known that Elephantis had compoſed ſome books which abounded with obſcenities. See the remark [P] of the article HELENA, and Suetonius, in the forty third chapter of the life of Tiberius, and the forty third Epigram of the twelfth book of Martial. Galen aſſerts (72) that Elephantis wrote a treatiſe of *Coſmeticks*. I have explained the ſenſe of that word in another place (73). Salpe was of the Iſle of Leſbos (74), and had compoſed a work of Jeſts, of jokes and pleaſantry, but it is not probable that Pliny quoted her with regard to this work. *Lais & Salpe*, ſays he (75), *canum rabioſorum morſus, & tertianas quartanaſque febres, menſtruo in lana arietis nigri, argenteo bracchiali incluſo.* i. e. according to du Pinet's French tranſlation; *Lais and Salpe, both of them famous Curtezans, aſſert that if the menſtrual blood be wrapped up in the wool of a black Ram, and put in a ſilver bracelet, it ſerves to cure the bite of a mad dog, as alſo the tertian and quartan ague.* i. e. hinting very plainly, that both theſe women wrote books of preſcriptions. Father Hardouin aſſerts that Salpe wrote *de remediis muliebribus* (76), *of remedies proper for women.* The ſecond paſſage in Pliny, where Lais and Elephantis are mentioned together, hints the ſame thing. *Quæ Lais & Elephantis inter ſe contraria prodidere de abortivis, carbone e radice braſſicæ, vel myrti, vel tamaricis in eo ſanguine exſtincto: item aſinas non concipere tot annis, quot grana hordei contacta ederint, quæque alia nuncupavere monſtrifica, aut inter ipſas pugnantia, cum hæc fecunditatem fieri iiſdem modis, quibus illa ſterilitatem, prænunciaret, melius eſt non credere* (77).

(62) *Ad Plutum.*

(63) Demoſthenes was born the 4th year of the 98th Olympiad. See *Exercitationes Palmerii apud* Lloyd, *Voce* Lais, *& apud* Menagium in Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. num. 75.

(64) Τῆς Λαΐδος νεωτέρας μητέρα. i. e. "The mo-"ther of Lais "the younger." Athen. lib. 13. pag. 574.

(65) Plutarch. *in Alcib. ſub fin.* pag. 213, D.

(66) A. Gellius, lib. 1. cap 8. *Denarium decem millia*, amount, according to Gaſſendi, to 3722 livres, French money.

(67) *See* Scaliger *in Euſebium*, num. 786. pag. m. 49.

(68) Athen. lib. 2. pag. 535.

(69) Plutarch. *in Alcibiade, ſub fin.* pag. m. 213.

(70) Ibid.

(71) Plin. lib. 28. cap. 7.

(72) Galen. *in Libris κατὰ τόπους.*

(73) Above, remark [*A*] of the article CRITO, num. 4.

(74) Athen. lib. 7. pag. 321, 322.

(75) Plin. lib. 28. cap. 7. pag. 588.

(76) Harduin. *in Indice Autor. Plinii.*

(77) Plin. lib. 28. cap. 7. pag. 587.

this courtezan's looking-glaſs [*P*]. I forgot to obſerve that ſhe was ſo paſſionately in love with Eubates, that ſhe obliged him to promiſe her marriage [Q], but he found means to evade his promiſe. Notwithſtanding her great beauty, it was impoſſible for her to conquer

That is to ſay, according to du Pinet's tranſlation; *As for what the Courtezan Lais* (*) *and the Poeteſs* § *Elephantis aſſert, of the menſtrual blood, that it is proper to make the fœtus melt away in the mother's womb, and of a coal of the root of a Cabbage, or of a Myrtle tree, or of a Tamarisk extinguiſhed in the ſame blood, we ought not to believe it, for they abſolutely contradict each other. We ſay the ſame of what they obſerve farther, namely, that a ſhe-aſs will continue as many years without conceiving, as ſhe has eat grains of oats tainted with menſtrual blood. Nay theſe two Courtezans relate monſtrous things upon this ſubject, which ought by no means to be believed; for what the one preſcribes as proper to get children, the other preſcribes as proper to prevent conception.* This tranſlator (Du Pinet) has took upon him to determine a particular, which Pliny does not mention. He aſſerts boldly that the Courtezan Lais is hinted at here, and he means undoubtedly the ſame, who is the ſubject of this article. If he had determined it only in a marginal note, it would not have been ſo great a raſhneſs; but he aſſerts it as though it were a true tranſlation of his original: Which is an inexcuſable boldneſs. Father Hardouin has been infinitely more modeſt. He confeſſes, that he does not know whether Pliny quoted one of the two Courtezans, who were called Lais, and he ſtiles her, whom Pliny quoted, a Midwife, *Obſtetrix* (78). If I did not meet in Pliny's words with preſcriptions for tertian and quartan agues; if they contained only remedies againſt barrenneſs, and preſcriptions for miſcarriages, I could eaſier believe, that he quoted a work written by our Lais, or aſcribed to ſome famous Courtezan: for few perſons are better acquainted with the means to facilitate or prevent conception, and to make a fœtus vaniſh away, than women of Lais's trade; a trade which includes the wicked art of being ſerviceable to thoſe, who dread a publick diſgrace; in a word, a trade which ends in this art, to which alone it is at laſt reduced, when age does not ſuffer a woman to perform any longer the other functions of it. But upon the whole, I do not think it probable that our Lais wrote books. I would not however deny, that thoſe which Pliny quotes, and which he oppoſes to thoſe of another wicked woman, named Elephantis, have been aſcribed to our Lais. I queſtion, whether an honeſt matron, well ſkilled in the uſe of ſecrets, and a midwife by trade, would have been pleaſed with being named together with Lais: For that name as well as thoſe of Chryſis, and Thais, and ſuch others, was uſed to be particularly applied to bad characters in the works of the poets. And it was, no doubt, this cuſtom which was followed in a book printed in France towards the beginning of the ſixteenth Century with this title; *Dialogue de l'Aretin, où ſont deduites les Vies, Moeurs et déportemens de Lais & Lamia Courtiſanes de Rome.* i. e. "A Dialogue of Aretini, containing an "account of the lives, manners and behaviour of Lais "and Lamia, Courtezans of Rome." Ariſtænetus gives his ſweetheart the name of Lais (79), underſtanding by that name, not only his miſtreſs, a girl, he loved (80), but alſo a girl, who loved him, and granted him all favours without exception; for he obſerves that her bones were almoſt flexible, and ſo ſoft that the impreſſion of his embraces remained upon them almoſt as upon the fleſh that covered him. Οὕτω μέν τοι σύμμετρα καὶ τρυφερὰ τῆς Λαΐδος τὰ μέλη, ὡς ὑγροφυῶς αὐτῆς λογίζεσθαι τὰ ὀστᾶ τῷ περιλυπουμένῳ δικεῖν τοιγαρῶν ταῦτα μικρῆ γε ὁμοίως ἀϊ ἀπαλότητα συναπομαλάττεται τῇ σαρκὶ, καὶ ταῖς ἐρωτικαῖς ἀϊσκάλαις ὑπείκει. *Lais's members are ſo ſoft and delicate, that if you preſs them a little cloſe, her very bones ſeem to be tender and flexible. For by their tenderneſs they receive impreſſions almoſt like the fleſh, and yield to the lover's embraces* (81).

(*) She was a Sicilian courtezan who retired to Corinth, where ſhe became ſo famous, that there was never a Greek Prince but thought himſelf happy, if he could but lye one night with her.

(§) She was a proſtitute, who became famous, by an abominable Poem ſhe wrote.

(78) Hardouin, *in Autor. Indice Plinii*, pag. 117.

(79) See his firſt *Letter*, in which he gives a very particular account of his miſtreſs's beauty.

(80) Λαΐδα τὴν ἐμὴν ἐρωμένην; i. e. *Lais my miſtreſs.* Ariſt. *Epiſt.* 1. lib. 1. *init.*

(81) Idem, ibid. pag. 6.

[*P*] *There is an Epigram in Auſonius concerning this Courtezan's looking glaſs.*] Auſonius only tranſlated an epigram of Plato, which is in the anthologia; but he ſucceeded very well in his tranſlation.

Laïs anus Veneri ſpeculum dico: dignum habeat ſe
Æterna æternum forma miniſterium,
At mihi nullus in hoc uſus, quia cernere talem
Qualis ſum nolo; qualis eram nequeo (82).

(82) Auſon. Epig. 55.

i. e. "I Lais, being now an old woman, conſecrate "my looking-glaſs to Venus. Let her, whoſe beauty "is everlaſting, uſe it for ever, it is worthy of her: "I have no longer any occaſion for it; ſince I do not "care to ſee myſelf in it as I am now, and I cannot ſee my ſelf as I was formerly."

This ſuppoſes that Lais outlived her beauty, ſo that her looking glaſs became an uſeleſs and even diſagreable furniture to her. This agrees with the authors I have mentioned in the remarks [H] and [I], but not with Plutarch. See the remark [K].

You will meet, in the commentaries on Alciat's emblems, with ſome Latin verſes, in which Lais's mournful complaints are very prettily deſcribed. They were grounded on two reaſons; the firſt was, that ſhe found herſelf quite ugly, when ſhe looked in her glaſs; the ſecond, that ſhe ſtill felt the fire of luſt burn within her breaſt. She complained that ſhe had all the warm deſires of youth in a body almoſt decrepit. This was a ſad thing indeed.

Et tamen idem animus ſtimulos ſub pectore eoſdem
Et noto ſenſit fervida corda Deo;
Sic ſecum: Facie nimium vivacior, ô mens,
Cur dudum hæc anus eſt, tuque puella manes (83)?

(83) *Emblem. Alciati*, pag. 330. edit. Patav. 1661, in 4to.

i. e. "She has ſtill the ſame inclination; the ſame "luſt inſpires her breaſt; ſhe feels ſtill in her heart "the arrows of that God who is not unknown to her: "She ſpeaks thus to herſelf, too much livelineſs ap"pearing in her face, O my mind, why ſhould you "continue young, when my face is long ſince grown "old?"

The truth of the matter, is, that an old Courtezan of Venice was repreſented under Lais's name. *Accepi pridem a Viris Italici ſoli, id ſcriptum fuiſſe in quandam meretricem Venetam, quæ ætatis lapſo ſeu decuſſo flore, quoties ſe in ſpeculo conſpiceret, fronte jam rugis obſita, miſere contabeſcebat, et nihilo ſegnius ardore tentiginis premebatur* (84). i. e. "I have been told late"ly by ſome Italians, that this was written againſt a "certain Courtezan of Venice, whoſe face abounded "with wrinkles, either through age or by the decay "of her beauty, and who whenever ſhe looked in her "glaſs, was ſadly grieved, and yet continued to feel "the fire of luſt rage never the leſs in her breaſt." This hint is borrowed from Horace.

(84) Ibid.

Dices, heu (quoties te ſpeculo videris alterum)
Quæ mens eſt hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit?
Aut cur his animis incolumes non redeant genæ (85).

(85) Horat. Ode 10. lib. 4. ver. 6

i. e. "Ah thou ſhalt ſay, whene'er the Glaſs
"Shall ſhew thee quite another face,
"Ah whilſt I was a vig'rous boy,
"Why did not I this mind enjoy!
"Or ſince I now ſo freely burn,
"Why won't my former face return!

CREECH.

]Q] *She was ſo paſſionately in love with Eubates, that ſhe obliged him to promiſe her marriage.*) Her paſſion muſt have been exceedingly ſtrong, ſince ſhe would ſubmit to the laws of wedlock (86), under which ſhe would not have been at liberty to continue her trade. She communicated to Eubates the deſign ſhe had to marry him: he ſeemed to conſent to it; for he was afraid ſhe would ſerve him ſome ill turn; but he did not lie with her: he put that affair off, till the games were over, in which he was to contend for the prize. He gained it; and never thought of performing his promiſe of marriage. He returned to Cyrene, his native place, taking only Lais's picture with him. He imagined that by doing this he acquitted himſelf of his promiſe. The wife he had at Cyrene thought herſelf under

(86) Ἡράσθη αὐτοῦ θερμότατα, καὶ περὶ γάμου λόγους προσήνεγκεν. i. e. "She loved him "paſſionately, "and offered to "marry him." Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 10. cap. 2.

quer the Philoſopher Xenocrates's continency [*R*]. She defended herſelf once very artfully againſt Euripides, who reproved her juſtly [*S*]. Tatian has cenſured the heathens for the monument which they erected to this diſſolute woman (*g*). He mentions Turnus the Sculptor who had made it, whence we may infer that he was a famous maſter in his art; and yet neither Pliny nor any other writer mention him in the leaſt. I ſhall take notice in one ſingle remark of Moreri's error, and of thoſe that occur in ſome other Dictionaries [*T*]. There never was a more extravagant boldneſs than that of Anthony de

(*g*) Tatian, *Contra Græcos*, pag. m. 170.

under an obligation to reward ſo noble an inſtance of continence; wherefore ſhe cauſed a beautiful ſtatue to be erected to her huſband. I am apt to think, that Ælian, who relates this ſtory (87), ſpoiled and enervated it entirely. Clemens Alexandrinus tells it in fewer Words (88), but he calls Ariſtotle the perſon, whom Ælian names Eubates, and he quotes the Book of Iſter περὶ ἰδιότητος ἠθῶν. *Concerning the nature of exerciſes.* He does not agree with Ælian in every particular.

[*R*] *It was impoſſible for her to conquer the Philoſopher Xenocrates's continency.*] She had laid a wager that ſhe would oblige this Philoſopher to divert himſelf with her at the ſport of love. She feigned to be frightened, and with this pretence ſhe took ſanctuary in his houſe, and continued there all night, but he did not touch her. When ſhe was called upon to pay the wager, ſhe anſwered that ſhe did not pretend to lay a wager about a mere block, but about a man. Thus an ancient interpreter of Horace (89) relates this fact. Diogenes Laertius aſcribes this to the Courtezan Phryne, and does not mention the wager. He tells us (90) that ſhe took ſhelter in Xenocrates's houſe, pretending ſhe was purſued, and as there was but one bed in the houſe, ſhe deſired the Philoſopher to let her have half of his, to which he conſented. Afterwards ſhe propoſed ſome other queſtions to him, but to no purpoſe. So that when ſhe was aſked, how things went between them, ſhe anſwered, that ſhe had lain with a block and not with a man. Some aſſerted that Xenocrates's Diſciples put Lais once into his bed, and that he was ſo fully determined to keep his continency, that he ſuffered ſeveral times his privities to be cut and even burnt. Ἔνιοι δὲ Λαΐδα φασὶ παραχαλκῆναι αὐτῷ τὰς μαθήτας, τὴν δὲ ὕστως εἶναι ἐγκρατῆ, ὥστε καὶ τομὰς καὶ καύσεις πολλάκις ὑπομεῖναι περὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον. The Latin tranſlation is as follows, *Quidam vero diſcipulos Laidem illi injeciſſe in lectulum tradunt, illumque adeò fuiſſe continentem, ut cùm ſe ad libidinem incitari præſenſiſſet, & ſecare & urere verenda ſæpè pateretur* (91). We have reaſons to complain here both of the Greek Author, and of his tranſlator. The latter adds of his own accord, that Xenocrates perceived the rebellion of luſt was coming upon him (92); and as for Diogenes Laertius, he does not tell us what became of Lais; he puts her into the Philoſopher's bed, without relating what ſhe did there, nor how ſhe got out of it again, and inſtead of compleating his account of this particular ſtory, he falls upon diſcourſing on a general fact, namely the means which Xenocrates had ſeveral times made uſe of to be proof againſt love.

[*S*] *She defended herſelf once very artfully againſt Euripides, who reproved her juſtly.*] Euripides with a pen in his hand was ready to compoſe ſomething in a garden. Lais obſerving him in that ſituation went to him, and aſked him; Τί βουλόμενος ἔγραψας σὺ τραγῳδίᾳ Ἔρρ' αἰσχροποιὲ (93); i. e. "What do you "mean by theſe words in your tragedy; Go and be "hanged, you that commit obſcene actions?" what he meant by certain expreſſions which he made uſe of in one of his tragedies (94), to repreſent in the general a man committing obſcene actions. He was amazed at ſuch an impudent queſtion, and anſwered to Lais, *you are yourſelf one of thoſe I hinted at.* Σὺ γὰρ εἶναι τὶς ἔφη δοκεῖς Αἰσχροποιός. (95). i. e. "You, ſays he, ſeem to be one of thoſe who commit obſcene ac"tions." She fell a laughing, and quoted a line to him (96), in which he aſſerted, that no action was obſcene, unleſs the perſon that committed it thought it obſcene: Τί δ' αἰσχρὸν εἰ μὴ τοῖσι χρωμένοις δοκεῖ; "Is "there any thing obſcene, but what ſeems ſo to thoſe "who commit it (97)? We are not told whether Euripides was ſilenced by this argument *ad hominem*, or whether he made any reply; but it is certain that Lais could not get off more wittily, and more artfully puzzle her cenſurer. This maxim would extend the Philoſophical ſin as far as is poſſible, and would be of the moſt dangerous conſequence. Wherefore the Philoſopher Antiſthenes (98) corrected it after this manner, Αἰσχρὸν τόγ' αἰσχρὸν κἂν δοκῇ κἂν μὴ δοκῇ. i. e. "What "is obſcene, is ſo whether or not it ſeem obſcene to "the perſon who commits it." Stobœus aſcribes this correction to Diogenes the Cynick (99), and not to Antiſthenes as Plutarch does (100).

There are reaſons to queſtion the truth of this converſation; for ſince Euripides died in the 93d Olympiad (101), when Lais could be but about fifteen or ſixteen years old, it is not in the leaſt probable that this Poet diſcourſed with this courtezan either upon that ſubject or upon any other. The Reader will be the better convinced of this, if he conſider that Euripides paſſed the latter part of his life at the court of Archelaus, whither it is not obſerved by any Author that Lais ever went. Though it be never ſo much ſuppoſed, that there have been two Courtezans of that name, this will not remove the difficulty. For the firſt muſt be ſhe, who was ſold when Hyccara was plundered by Nicias. But, according to the Scholiaſt on Ariſtophanes, ſhe was then but ſeven years old. From this Chronological account that Scholiaſt urges a very good objection from the mention, that is made of Lais in Ariſtophanes's Plutus, a Play that was acted at a time when Lais could not yet be famous. *Docte et acutè dubium movet, aitque Ariſtophanem dicere ea, quæ rationi temporum nequeunt convenire; quippe cum eo tempore quo Plutum fabulam dabat, non potuerit Lais eſſe valde celebris, quippe quæ a Nicia imperatore capta fit in Sicilia ſeptennis* (102). i. e. "He does with "learning and judgment ſtart a difficulty, obſerving "that what Ariſtophanes ſays is inconſiſtent with Chro"nology. For Lais could not yet be very famous, "when his Plutus was acted, ſince ſhe was but ſeven "years old, when ſhe was taken in Sicily by the ge"neral Nicias." The objection vaniſhes away, if it be ſuppoſed, that we muſt read Nais inſtead of Lais in that Poet's Plutus. You will meet with that correction in Athenæus (103). It is certain that there has been a Courtezan named Nais, and ſeveral Authors have probably miſtook her for Lais. It was perhaps with Nais, that Euripides had the converſation we have mentioned.

[*T*] *I ſhall take notice in one ſingle remark of Moreri's errors, and of thoſe of . . . . ſome other Dictionaries.*] Moreri's firſt blunder is his aſſerting that Lais lived in the year 420 ſince the building of Rome. According to this ſuppoſition ſhe muſt have lived towards the end of the 111th Olympiad. Judge whether this can be ſaid of a perſon, who was carried from Sicily to Corinth the ſecond year of the 91ſt Olympiad. We cannot have recourſe here to the ſuppoſition of two Lais's; ſince Moreri mentions but one, and obſerves alſo expreſsly, that he means Lais *born in a little Town in Sicily, called Hyccara.* This Lais is evidently the ſame who was ſeven years old when Hyccara, her native place, was taken, the ſecond year of the 91ſt Olympiad. Secondly, it is not true that Plutarch aſſerts, *ſhe was thought to be the daughter of Alcibiades.* Moreri could not clear himſelf by charging Amiot with this falſity, for it is plain that in this phraſe, *l'on dit que Lais . . . . etoit ſa fille* (104), i. e. "it is ſaid, "that Lais . . . . was her daughter," the word *Sa* (her) relates to Timandra, Alcibiades's concubine, and not to Alcibiades. The Greek words (105) leave not the leaſt room for an equivocation. How could Alcibiades be Lais's father, ſince he did not go into Sicily but with Nicias? Was not Lais then already ſix or ſeven years old. Thirdly; it is not true that *Lais went to Alexander's Camp.* She had been dead a long while before Alexander was born. This blunder was occaſioned by Amiot: for as he did not underſtand a paſſage in Plutarch (106), in which there are ſome words wanting, he took it into his Head to tranſlate

(87) Idem, ibid.

(88) Ὅτε Κυρηναῖος Ἀριστοτέλης Λαΐδα ἐρᾶσαν ὑπερεάρα μένος, ὁμωμοκὰς οὖν τῇ ἑταίρᾳ, ἢ μὴν ἀπάξειν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, εἰ συμπράξειεν αὐτῷ τινα πρὸς τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς, ἐπειδὴ διεπράξατο. χαριέντως ἐκτελῶν τὸν ὅρκον, γραψάμενος αὐτῆς ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ὁμοιοτάτην εἰκόνα, ἀνέστησεν εἰς Κυρήνην. i. e. "Of all the lovers of Lais, "Ariſtotele of "Cyrene is the "only one that "ſlighted her. "For after he "had promiſed "this courtezan "upon oath, "that he would "take her with "him into his "own country, "in caſe ſhe aſ"ſiſted him in "gaining the "victory over "his antago"niſts; when "ſhe had done "it, he evaded "his oath in a "comical man"ner, writing to "her, that he "had raiſed a "ſtatue to her at "Cyrene, which "was very much "like her." Clemens Alexand. *Stromat.* lib. 3. pag. 447.

(89) *In Horat. Satyr.* 3. lib. 2.

(90) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 7.

(91) Diogen. Laert. lib. 4. num. 7.

(92) *Cum ſe ad libidinem excitari præſenſiſſet.*

(93) Machon. *apud* Athen. lib. 13. pag. 582.

(94) In his *Medea*, where we meet with this line, Ἔρρ' αἰσχροποιὲ, καὶ τέκνων μιαιφόνε. i. e. "Go and be "hanged, you "that commit "obſcene acti"ons, and are "tainted with "the murther "of your own "children."

(95) *Apud* Ath. lib. 13.

(96) It is the 5th verſe of Euripides's *Æolus* in Barnes's edition.

(97) Machon, *apud* Athen. lib. 13.

(98) *See* Brodæus, *Miſcellan.* lib. 6. cap. 19.

(99) *See* Leopardus, *Emendat.* lib. 2. cap. 6.

(100) Plutarch. *de audiend. Poet.* pag. 33.

(101) See the remark [*EE*] of his article.

(102) Valeſius, *Not. in Notas Mauſſaci ad Harpocrat.* pag. 124.

(103) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 592. *See alſo* Harpocration, *voce* Naïs.

(104) Amiot's French tranſlation of *Alcibiades's Life*, towards the end.

(105) Ταύτης λέγουσι θυγατέρα γενέσθαι Λαΐδα.

(106) In the treatiſe of *Love*, pag. m. 796. edit. in 8vo, 1621.

de Guevara. He has related a thouſand ridiculous falſities concerning Lais [*U*], as though he had met with them in the writings of the Ancients. I had almoſt omitted to mention the ſtory of Myron the Statuary [*X*].

tranſlate it thus; Lais *atteinte de l' amour d' Hippolochus .... quitta le Mont d' Acrocorinthe .... et s'en alla honnêtement au grand Camp d' Alexander.* i. e. "Lais being in love with Hippolochus, ... left "Mount Acrocorinthus, ... and went modeſtly to "the great Camp of Alexander."

Charles Stephens is miſtaken, when he aſſerts, that Lais went from Sicily to Corinth, that ſhe might get more money by proſtituting herſelf. She was not ſeven years old when ſhe went to Corinth; nor did ſhe go thither of her own accord: ſhe had been bought at Hyccara by a man, who took her with him into Greece as a ſlave. Neither Lloyd nor Hofman have corrected this blunder. I can hardly believe that Charles Stephens borrowed from credible Authors what he relates; I. that Lais being gone into Theſſaly was ſo much beloved there by the young men of that country, that they uſed to pour wine before her door. II. That the Theſſalian women out of envy ſtabbed her, whilſt a divine Service was performing in the Temple of Venus, at which the men were not ſuffered to be preſent. III. That for this action the country of Theſſaly was viſited with the Plague, which did not diſcontinue, till they had built a Temple to Venus ἀλλοσίᾳ (107). Lloyd and Hofman have tranſcribed theſe three blunders.

(107) The Paris edition of the year 1620 has the word ἀνοσίᾳ *impious*, which is right.

[*U*] *Anthony de Guevara ... has related a thouſand ridiculous falſities concerning Lais*]. I ſhall not loſe my time in refuting them; and ſhall even tranſcribe but a few of them. He aſſerts (108) that ſhe was of the Iſle of Bithrite, in the Confines of Greece, *and, according to what the Chroniclers wrote of her, ſhe was the daughter of an High-Prieſt of Apollo's Temple, who lived at Delphos, a man highly ſkilled in the magical art, by which knowledge he foretold the ruin of his daughter. Now this laſcivious Lais was in her prime under the reign of the celebrated King Pyrrhus ... who being a young man of ſixteen or ſeventeen, went into Italy, to wage war againſt the Romans ... This laſcivious Lais continued a long while in King Pyrrhus's Camp, ſhe went with him into Italy, and returned with him from the war .... She retired into the City of Corinth, with a deſign to ſettle there, and was there waited upon and courted by ſeveral Kings, Lords and Princes.* He relates afterwards the ſtory of Demoſthenes, and finiſhes his account with obſerving, that Lais died at Corinth at the age of three ſcore and twelve. How can a man be ſo bold as to publiſh ſo many falſities? There was above an hundred and thirty years between the birth of Lais, and Pyrrhus's expedition againſt the Romans, and above forty between the death of Demoſthenes and that ſame expedition. And yet ſuch an Impoſtor has miſled ſome men of wit: for it is from him Brantome relates a great many fabulous ſtories concerning Flora (109): not to mention Du Verdier Vau-Privas, who aſſerts, that Lais continued a long time in Pyrrhus's Camp in Italy (110). He had read this in Guevara, and he took it for current money.

(108) Ant. de Guevara, *Epit. dorées*, liv. 1. pag. m. 262. of the French tranſlation made by Guterry.

(109) See the article of the ſecond FLORA remark [*F*].

(110) Du Verdier, *Diverſes Leçons*, liv. 3. chap. 6. p. 185.

[*X*] *The ſtory of Myron the ſtatuary.*] It is one of the *ridiculous ſtories of a gray-haired lover*. Myron, a man venerable by his hoarineſs, went to Lais, and aſked to lie one night with her. He was ſent back without hardly any hearing. He imagined he gueſſed at the true cauſe of his being thus ſlighted. He flattered himſelf, that if he did but preſent himſelf with brown hairs, he would certainly enjoy his love. He altered therefore the colour of his head, and returned to Lais; *you fool*, ſaid ſhe to him, *you aſk me a favour, which I have already refuſed to your father*. Auſonius relates this very prettily (111).

(111) Auſon. *Epigram.* 17. pag. m. 17.

Canus rogabat Laïdis noctem Myron:
Tulit repulſam protinus.
Cauſamque ſenſit: & caput fuligine
Fucavit atra candidum.
Idemque vultu, crine non idem Myron,
Orabat oratum prius.
Sed illa formam cum capillo comparans,
Similemque non ipſum rata,
Fortaſſe & ipſum, ſed volens ludo frui,
Sic eſt adorta callidum:
Inepte, quid me, quod recuſavi, rogas,
Patri negavi jam tuo?

Coſtar has made a collection of witty ſayings, which are aſcribed to different perſons, and has put this anſwer of Lais amongſt them. "Spartian, *ſays he* (112) "relates, that an old man, whoſe hair was quite grey, "to whom the Emperor Hadrian had refuſed ſome fa- "vour, went ſome days after to aſk it again, having "painted his hair with the fineſt black he could meet "with. The Prince diſcovering the artifice, anſwered "him wittily, *The favour you aſk me, I have al- "ready denied your father*. Yet according to Auſo- "nius, it was the Courtezan Lais that made ſo inge- "nious an anſwer, though it be not mentioned by Athe- "næus, who took ſo much care to tranſmit to us all "the witty ſayings of this beautiful Lady." If the conjecture of ſome moderns be well grounded, we ought not to wonder at Athenæus's ſilence with regard to this witty ſtroke of Lais. For they pretend that Auſonius invented it (113). I mean that having read the Emperor Hadrian's anſwer, he feigned that Lais made it, and turned it into an epigram. I am apt to think, that this anſwer comes from a woman rather than from the Emperor Hadrian; for one cannot eaſily imagine plauſible reaſons why an old man after a refuſal, ſhould take it into his head, that if he appeared as a man without grey hairs, he would obtain from that Prince the favour he deſired. But one can eaſily underſtand why he ſhould entertain ſuch hopes, if he had made his addreſſes to a Lady. It may therefore, in my opinion, be ſaid that the writers of Hadrian's life, men of an indifferent taſte, and very inaccurate, miſtook for his own jeſts thoſe which he only related. He had read ſomewhere what Lais is ſuppoſed to have anſwered to Myron; or perhaps he had read, that this anſwer was made to ſome other old lover by ſome other Courtezan; he told the ſtory to his friends, which being told over and over again, loſt its moſt material circumſtances; ſo that at laſt Hadrian paſſed himſelf for the inventor. *Joca ejus plurima extant. Nam fuit etiam dicaculus. Unde illud quoque innotuit, quod quum cuidam caneſcenti quiddam negaſſet, eidem iterum petenti, ſed infecto capite, reſpondit, Jam hoc patri tuo negavi* (114). i. e. "There are a great many of his jokes extant, "for he uſed to jeſt, &c. *The reſt is the ſtory mentioned above, quot.* (112).

(112) Coſtar, *Suite de la Defenſe de Voiture*, pag. 55.

(113) *Scaliger in hunc locum Auſonii. Baptiſta Pius*, in *Annotationibus poſterioribus*, apud *Vinetum in Auſonium*, Epig. 17.

(114) Spartian. *in Hadriano.*

I muſt not cloſe this remark without obſerving that Monſieur Coſtar does too much commend that witty ſaying of Lais. I confeſs that this anſwer does not want ſprightlineſs, and that it was very proper to mortify the lover, and to afford the Courtezan the pleaſure of ridiculing the good old man. But after all ſhe argued very wrong, and againſt the rules of her own trade. *I have refuſed the ſon, how much more ought I to refuſe the father?* This is the principle of a Courtezan, this the ground of all her arguments; but ſhe on the contrary ſuppoſes, that becauſe ſhe denies the father, a decrepit old man, ſhe ought alſo to deny the ſon a ſtrong and vigorous young fellow. This is renouncing her own principle, and acting againſt the fundamental rules of her trade.

Let us obſerve that Myron muſt not have been young, when Lais was in her prime. He flouriſhed in the 87th Olympiad (115) ſeven or eight years before ſhe was born.

(115) Plinius, lib. 34. cap. 8. pag. m. 108.

LAMBECIUS (PETER) one of the moſt learned men of his time was born at Hamburg in the year 1628. He went very young to ſtudy in foreign countries, at the expence of his uncle the learned Luc Holſtenius. He made ſuch a conſiderable progreſs, that at the age of nineteen he publiſhed a work (*a*), which was extremely applauded. He continued eight months at Toulouſe at the houſe of the Archbiſhop Charles de Monchal,

(*a*) Intitled, *Lucubrationum Gellianarum Prodromus.*

Monchal, and two years at Rome at Cardinal Barberini's. He was choſen Profeſſor of Hiſtory at Hamburg January the 13th 1652, and appointed Rector or Principal of the College of that ſame City January the 12th 1660. He had taken his degree of Doctor of Law in France ſome years before. He ſuffered a thouſand vexations in his own country, both becauſe the ſcholars would not obey him, and becauſe his enemies charged him with heterodoxy, and even atheiſm, and cenſured bitterly his labours and writings. An unhappy marriage, which he contracted [*A*] in the year 1662, compleated his misfortunes; ſo that he willingly hearkened to the hints which the Queen of Sweden gave him, who adviſed him to retire to another place. He left therefore his wife and his native place, and took a journey to Vienna, and having had the honour to pay his reſpects to his Imperial Majeſty he went to Rome, and publickly profeſſed there the Roman Catholic Religion: it was long before this he had abjured Lutheraniſm [*B*]; but he had continued nevertheleſs to profeſs it outwardly. He returned to Vienna towards the end of the year 1662, and was very kindly received by the Emperor, who appointed him immediately his Sub-Library-Keeper, and afterwards his Library-Keeper in Chief, with the title of his Counſellor and Hiſtoriographer. *D. 27 Novemb. 1662, Præfectura Biblioth. Auguſtæ vicaria, A. autem ſequenti 1663 D. 26 Maij ſuprema ejuſdem, qua Math. Mauchterus Th. D. ſe abdicaverat, Ephoria cum Conſiliarii atque Hiſtoriographi Cæſarei titulo, collata* (*b*). He continued in that employment till his death. and gained a very great reputation by the works which he publiſhed [*C*]. He had begun ſeveral others,

(*b*) Mollerus, *ubi infra*, quotation (*c*), pag. 539. He refers to a *Letter* of Lambecius, which will be quoted in the remark [*B*].

[*A*] *An unhappy marriage which he contracted.*] One may ſay of ſeveral learned men, that they behave themſelves with regard to matrimony, as Pomponius Atticus did with regard to Poetry. *Attigit quoque poeticen: credimus ne ejus expers eſſet ſuavitatis* (1). They will taſte it, that they may not be quite ſtrangers to the ſweets of it. But I do not think that Lambecius had ſuch a deſign; for he married an old woman, and as ſhe was very rich, it is probable that the only pleaſure he expected from his marriage, was that of having a large eſtate. But he was very much diſappointed in his hopes. The old Lady was ſo covetous, that ſhe would not ſuffer her huſband to make uſe of any of her riches. She declared her mind ſo ſoon upon this ſubject, that it was not yet a fortnight after the nuptials had been celebrated, when Lambecius being diſguſted and tired with his condition, left his houſe and his native country, never to return thither any more. Here is my voucher. *Ad hæc adverſa poſtquam tædium Conjugii, inauſpicato A. 1662. cum Vetula divite, ſed parca, atque avara (A. 1690. Hamburgi defuncta,) contracti, acceſſit, haud difficulter a Chriſtina, Suecorum Regina, Hamburgum delata, perſuaderi ſibi eſt paſſus, ut, duabus poſt nuptias Hebdomadibus vix elapſis, Patriam & Uxorem d. 14. Apr. 1662. deſereret, ac Vindobonam commigraret* (2).

(1) Cornelius Nepos, *in Vita Attici*, cap. 18.

(2) Moller. *Iſagoge ad Hiſtoriam Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ*, Part 3. pag. 538.

[*B*] *It was long before this he had abjured Lutheraniſm.*] Nihuſius a famous proſelyte to the Roman Catholic Religion, had the direction of Lambecius's ſtudies in Holland. He began to be his converter, after which James Sirmond the Jeſuit completed the work at Paris. He endeavoured to perſuade his new convert to enter amongſt the Jeſuits, but he could not prevail with him. Let us ſee how theſe particulars are proved. *Cætui Eccleſiæ Romanæ publice ſe aggregavit.* (*) *Sacris enim ejus diu ante jam erat initiatus, cum in Batavia a Barth. Nihuſio, Apoſtata celebri, ac Studiorum ipſius Academicorum Ephoro, tum in Gallia a Jac. Sirmondo, Jeſuitarum doctiſſimo; ſed externa Lutheraniſmi Profeſſione cives incautos hactenus fefellerat. Conſtat id mihi ex Illuſtris Gudii, quo familiariter ille apud Exteros eſt uſus, Narratione, & Gallica, quam idem aſſervabat, Claud. Sarravii, Senatoris Pariſienſis, ad Salmaſium Epiſtola. Huic enim ille jam A. 1647. ſignificat, Lambecium, Holſtenii ex Sorore Nepotem, a Sirmondo in Jeſuitarum eum Societatem pertrahere conato, & Milleterio perſuaſum, ad Pontificios defeciſſe* (3). i. e. "He profeſſed the Roman Catholic Religion publicly, for he "had been already ſecretly inſtructed in that Religion, "firſt in Holland by Barth. Nihuſius, a famous "apoſtate, who had the direction of his ſtudies in the "Univerſity, and afterwards in France by James Sir"mond, one of the moſt learned Jeſuits; but by pro"feſſing the Lutheran Religion outwardly, he had till "that time impoſed upon the unwary. This I knew "certainly from the illuſtrious Gudius's account, with "whom he converſed familiarly abroad; and from a "letter of Claudius Sarrau Counſellor in the Parlia"ment of Paris, to Salmaſius; which the ſame Gu"dius kept. In that letter it is obſerved that even ſo "early as the year 1647, Lambecius, Holſtenius's ne"phew by his ſiſter, was gone over to the Roman "Catholics, being perſuaded to it by La Milletiere, "and by F. Sirmond, who alſo endeavoured to draw "him over into the ſociety of the Jeſuits."

(*) V. Epiſt. ad Ren. Franc. Sluſium, *Libro I Operis* de Biblioth. Vindeb. *inſertam.*

(3) Moller. *in Iſag. ad Hiſt. Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ*, Part. 3. pag. 538.

[*C*] *He gained a very great reputation by the works which he publiſhed.*] Let us mention thoſe which he had publiſhed before he was Library-keeper to the Emperor. The firſt was his *Prodromus Lucubrationum Gellianarum*; i. e. "An Eſſay of Obſervations on A. "Gellius;" printed at Paris in the year 1647. The ſecond, if I am not miſtaken, was, *Origines Hamburgenſes, ſive Liber Rerum Hamburgenſium primus ab V. C. & A. C.* 808 *ad* 1225. *Adjecta eſt tum duplex Vita Anſgarii à Remberto, & Gualdone ſcripta, ac notis Lambecii illuſtrata, tum diplomatum libri hujus hiſtoriam illuſtrantium Enneas* (4). i. e. "The Antiquities of "Hamburg, or the Hiſtory of that City from its "building in the year 808, to the year 1225, Book "the firſt. To which are added two Lives of Anſga"rius, the one written by Rambertus, and the other "by Gualdo, illuſtrated with Lambecius's Notes; as "alſo nine ancient Records ſerving to illuſtrate the "Hiſtory contained in that Book." He deſigned to carry on that Hiſtory till his own time, but he publiſhed only the ſecond book of it. *Liber ſecundus Rerum Hamburgenſium ab A. C.* 1225 *ad A.* 1292, *una cum diplomatum vetuſtorum, lucem ei afferentium, Mantiſſa Chronologia & Auctario Libri I ab A.* 808 *ad* 1072. *Diſſertatione de Aſino ad Lyram, Monumento Ædis Cathedralis Sepulchrali inſculpto, Scriptorum Autoris Catalogo, & Epiſtolis tandem Joh. Chriſtiani, L. Baronis à Boineburg, & H. Conringii ad eundem encomiaſticis* (5). i. e. "The ſecond Book of the Hiſtory of Hamburg, from "the year 1225, to the year 1292. To which are "added antient Records diſpoſed in a Chronological "Order, and a Supplement to the former Book from "the year 808 to the year 1072, a Diſſertation "upon this inſcription *An Aſs playing on the Harp*, "which is engraved on a tombſtone in the Cathedral "Church, a Catalogue of the Author's Works, and "laſtly commendatory Letters from John Chriſtianus, "Baron of Boineburg, and H. Conringius to Lambe"cius." Here follows the judgment, which the author, whom I often quote in this article, paſſes on theſe two words. *Ambo libri (in quibus, præter nimii in patriam Affectus veſtigia, paſſim obvia, & ab eodem ſubinde profluxerunt, παραπάμματα, nihil facile reprehendas) ſumma diligentia & fide ſunt congeſti, & Narrationum ſingularum Veritas Locis Scriptorum ac Diplomatum Antiquiſſimorum, cum judicio ſelectis, confirmata* (6). i. e. "Both theſe Books (in which there is hardly any "thing to cenſure but his too great partiality for his "native country, and ſome overſights, of which he "is guilty in ſeveral places) are compiled with great "care and faithfulneſs; and the truth of every par"ticular is ſupported by paſſages quoted from an"cient authors and records, very judiciouſly choſen." In the year 1655 Lambecius publiſhed at Paris a book in folio, in which he diſplayed very great learning; I mean his *Animadverſiones ad Codini Origines Conſtantinopolitanas,*

(4) Printed at Hamburg in the year 1652, in 4to.

(5) Printed at Hamburg in the year 1661, in 4to.

(6) Moller. *in Iſagoge ad Hiſtor. Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ*, Part. 3. pag. 541.

others, which he had not time to finish, being surprized with death in April 1680 (c) [D].

(c) Taken from Mollerus, *Isagoge ad Historiam Chersonesi Cimbricæ*, Part. 3. pag. 537, & *seq.*

tinopolitanas, & ad Anonymi Excerpta & ad Leonis Imp. Oracula. i. e. "Remarks on Codinus's antiquities "of Constantinople, and on the Fragments of an Ano- "nymous Writer, and on the Emperor Leo's Decrees." I shall say nothing of the Orations he published in the year 1660, nor of some other books of his which are extant. I come now to that voluminous work, which he compiled at Vienna, and of which the reader will get a true notion by the following words of Monsieur Baillet. "Tho' the catalogue of the manuscripts of "the Emperor's library at Vienna be divided into eight "volumes in folio, yet it is not compleat; the author's "untimely death deprived us of so curious and im- "portant a work. Lambecius undertook to give us "in this large work an account of the manuscripts "which are lodged in that library, and he has done "it in a critical and historical manner; for he de- "signed to exert all his skill and learning in that ca- "talogue; whereby he has very much distinguished "himself from all the other compilers of catalogues, "whom we have mentioned. It must be confessed "that there are a great many very remarkable and "curious particulars in that prolix and noble com- "mentary. But the author might have brought the "substance of the long discourses contained in so "many volumes, within a much narrower compass, "if he had considered the means and leisure of private "persons, rather than the magnificence and majesty of "his Prince (7)."

(7) Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 2. pag. 250.

[D] *He was surprized with death in April* 1680.] I keep to that date, because I believe that Nesselius (8) deserves in this respect more credit, than they, who suppose (9) that Lambecius died in September 1679. Meibomius might perhaps be easily reconciled with Nesselius with regard to the day; for the 24th of March according to the old stile, belongs to the month of April according to the new stile. But these two authors differ widely with regard to the distemper of which Lambecius died. The one says it was the plague, the other a dropsy. *Henr. Meibomius Jun.* (*) *Pestе illum Viennensi Epidemia obiisse perhibens, ad d.* 24. *Mart. A.* 1680. *Successor autem ipsius, Dan. Nesselius, qui Hydropem mortem ejus acceleraſſe testatur* (†), *ad M. Aprilem ejusdem A.* 1680 (10). i. e. "Henry Meibomius the Younger says, that he died "March the 24th 1680 of the plague, which was epi- "demical at Vienna: but his successor Daniel Nesselius "asserts that his death was occasioned by a dropsy, "and happened in April the same year 1680."

(8) He succeeded Lambecius in the post of Library-Keeper.

(9) Henningus Witte supposed it in his *Diario Biographico.*

(*) *In Introd. ad Hist. Sax. inf.* pag. 62. 42.

(†) *In Supplemento Operis de Biblioth. Cæsarea*, A. 1690 edito *V. Tenzelii Colloqu. Monstr.* M. Oct. A. 1690, pag 946.

(10) Moller. *in Isagoge ad Hist. Chersonesi Cimbricæ*, Part. 3. pag. 540.

LAMBERT, Bishop of Liege, or rather, of Maestricht. It is a pretty general opinion, as I have observed in another place (a), that he was killed by Pepin's order, at the instigation of Alpaide: but the fact is not very certain. We shall examine it below [A]. So many authors have wrote his Life, that the account of it is become exceedingly

(a) In the article of ALPAIDE.

[A] *We shall examine it here below.*] We shall make use of the arguments, which the Baron Le Roy urges in one of his books. His opinion is that neither Pepin nor Alpaide were concerned in St. Lambert's murther. He grounds his opinion (1) I. On the silence of Godescalcus a contemporary writer. Here then we have a reasoning grounded on the negative argument, of which Dr. John de Launoi knew so well how to make an advantage. This Godescalcus ascribes the massacre committed on the body of St. Lambert to no other cause, but to the murther of two brothers, who were related to Dodon. These two brothers had abused Lambert, for which reason they were killed by two of this prelate's relations. Dodon a powerful Lord, who had great credit with Pepin, would not suffer this murther to go unpunished, nor would he revenge himself only on mean and inconsiderable persons: he resolved therefore to get rid of St. Lambert, for whose sake his two cousins had been killed. This, according to Godescalcus, is the true cause of that Bishop's death: he does not say the least thing of Pepin nor of Alpaide. II. Monsieur le Roi (2) observes, that the first who charged Pepin with this murther, was a Canon of Liege named Anselmus, who lived in the eleventh Century. This Canon observes, as well as his predecessors, that Dodon caused St. Lambert to be murthered, in order to be revenged of the death of his two relations: but he gives us also an account of Alpaide's resentment against that prelate, as though this too had been a tradition. III. It is observed (3) that Sigebertus (4) suppressed the antient cause, which all the authors had mentioned, and spoke only of the new cause, which Anselmus had begun to publish. Let us see how errors get ground and encrease successively and by degrees. The authors, who wrote after Sigebertus, have not in the least mentioned the ancient cause, or they have blended it together with the new one, and added to the latter a thousand circumstances unknown to the former historians (5). Monsieur Le Roi quotes very grave authors, who intirely explode the new tradition, and who answer the arguments that are offered against the proof grounded on Godescalcus's silence. It is pretended that he suppressed the true cause of St. Lambert's Martyrdom, for fear of exasperating Pepin's successors. Father Mabillon answered to this, that since men did not scruple to publish that Charles Martel was damned, why would they not have been bold enough to assert, that this Prince's Father caused a Bishop to be put to death? *Ut hæc ratio valuerit in Godescalco, inquit Mabillon, cur eam causam dissimulavit Stephanus, qui sub extremis Carolinæ stirpis regibus vivebat? Sane longe atrocior erat fabula de Caroli Martelli damnatione, quam tamen Hincmarus Remorum Archiepiscopus, Adrevaldus, aliique auctores imperante Carolo Calvo Martelli abnepote in vulgus jactare non debuerunt. Unde omnino incertum videtur, an Landebertus ob increpitum de pellicatu Pipinum cæsus sit, at vero alienum omnino videtur a tanti Principis bonitate & clementia, ut cædis illius fuerit auctor* (6). i. e. "Though this rea- "son might have prevailed with Godescalcus, says "Mabillon, yet why should Stephanus omit that "cause, who lived under the last Kings of the Ca- "roline family? The story which is told of Charles "Martel's damnation is more shocking still, and yet "Hincmarus, Archbishop of Rheims, Adrevaldus, "and other authors, who lived under Charles the "Bald, the grandson of Martel's grand-child, did not "scruple to publish it. It is therefore very uncertain, "that Lambert was killed for reproving Pepin on "account of his concubine; and such a murther seems "to be quite inconsistent with that Prince's good na- "ture and mild temper." Father Jourdan, quoted by Monsieur Le Roy, does not question but Pepin married Alpaide in due form, after he had divorced Plectrude. *Such marriages*, indeed, *and such divorces were prohibited by the Christian law, but yet, they were still permitted by the human laws in those times, even amongst Christians. These second marriages had nothing disgraceful nor infamous in them, in the eyes of the world* (7). That historian observes (8), *that Pepin and Alpaide had been parted long ago, when Lambert was murthered in the year* 708. Alpaide, adds he, *was not concerned in that murther, since she had been parted from Pepin in the very beginning of that Century, and was retired into a Monastery. . . . Ado, was the first who, after* 180 *years time, charged Pepin and Alpaide with the murther of that Saint.* Hadrian Valesius quoted by the same Monsieur le Roi, observes, that notwithstanding the Canons of the Church, men used to take a second wife during the life of the first, from whom they were divorced, and that Pepin followed that custom. He asserts however that others maintained, that Pepin was never divorced from Plectrude, and that he never married Alpaide, and that Bede favours that opinion. He is in the right to add, that when the Historians supposed that

(1) Jacobus Le Roi, *in Typog. Hist. Gallo-Brabant.* lib. 7. cap. 2. pag. 250.

(2) Ibid. pag. 251. *ex* Carolo le Cointe, *Ann. Eccles. Franc.* tom. 4. pag. 476.

(3) Idem Le Roi, ibid.

(4) *Sanctus Lambertus Pipinum Principem increpare ausus, quod pellicem Alpaidem Plectrudi legitimæ uxori suæ superduxerit, à Dodone fratre ipsius Alpaidis Leodii martyrizatur.* Sigebert. *ad Christi ann.* 698. *under which he erroneously places Lambert's death.* Jacobus le Roi, *in Topogr. Hist. Gallo-Brabant*, pag. 251.

(5) Jacobus le Roi, *in Topogr. Hist. Gallo Brabant.* lib. 7. cap. 2. pag. 252.

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) Jourdan, *Hist. de France & de la Maison Roiale*, tom. 3. pag. 569, &c. quoted by Le Roi, *Topogr. Hist. Gallo-Brabant.* pag. 252.

(8) Quoted by the same, ibid. pag. 253.

ceedingly perplexed [*B*]. I have read only that which was printed at Liege in the year 1657, written by the Sieur de Boſe de Montandre. It is intitled, *Le Courtiſan Chretien immollé en Victime d'Etat à la paſſion de la Cour : ou St. Lambert Eveque de Tongres & Martyr, ſacrifié pour les intérets de l'honneur conjugal.* i. e. "The Chriſtian "Courtier made a State-Victim to the Paſſion of the Court : or St. Lambert Biſhop of "Tongeres and a Martyr, offered a Sacrifice to the dignity of the married ſtate."

that Pepin married Alpaide, it was probably with a deſign to flatter the defendants of that Prince, who reigned in France (9), leſt Charles would be thought to have been a baſtard, which had been a diſgrace to the Royal Family. *Certe haud parum ſimile veri eſt, finxiſſe hoc in Principum ſuorum gratiam Auctores, qui dominantibus Pipini poſteris, ſcripſere, & Alpaidem, quæ viva Plectrude juſta et legitima Pipini conjux eſſe non poterat, uxorem Pipini poſteriorem vocaviſſe, ne Carolus ex pellice ſuſceptus crederetur, ceu regio generi aliqua inde nota inureretur* (9).

(9) Hadr. Valeſius, *Rerum Francicarum*, tom. 3. lib. 23. p. 379. *apud* Le Roy, ibid.

We meet in the ſupplement to Moreri's dictionary, with Monſieur Godeau's arguments againſt thoſe, who in this particular follow Sigebertus's Chronicle. But theſe arguments do only perplex the matter. One thing ſeems certain to me, namely, that it is to no purpoſe, with regard to the true cauſe of St. Lambert's murther, to know whether Alpaide was married in due form, or whether ſhe continued to be Pepin's concubine. For ſince the Church condemned ſeverely thoſe marriages which were contracted after a divorce, Biſhop Lambert might ſtill call Pepin's commerce with Alpaide a concubinage, though Pepin had married her. So that even the ſuppoſing of a marriage does not render improbable the opinion of thoſe, who aſſert that Pepin was reproved. And as the miſtreſs of a Prince has generally more power with him than a lawful ſpouſe, one may eaſily underſtand that Alpaide might prevail upon Pepin to put the cenſorious Biſhop to death, without ſuppoſing that Pepin had married her with all the neceſſary formalities. Father Jourdan's chronological obſervation is, in my opinion, the ſtrongeſt argument that can be urged againſt Sigebertus.

[*B*] *So many authors have wrote his life, that the account of it is become exceedingly perplexed.*] This is father Mabillon's obſervation. Monſieur le Roy has furniſhed me with it. *Sanctus Landebertus .... plures habuit vitæ ſuæ ſcriptores, Godeſcalcum Diaconum Leodienſem ſupparem. Stephanum Epiſcopum Leodienſem ineunte ſæculo* x. *Anſelmum ejuſdem Eccleſiæ Canonicum medio ſæculo* xi. *Nicolaum itidem Canonicum, & Reinerum Monachum ſæculo* xii. *Denique Ægidium Aureæ Vallis Cœnobitam medio ſæculo* xiii. *Felicior certe futurus, ſi vel unicum eumque diligentem habuiſſet. At S. Landeberto, id quod pluribus ſanctis, accidit, ut dum auctores alius poſt alium ipſius res geſtas illuſtrare exornando ampliſcandove moliti ſunt ; eas è contrario incertis ac fabuloſis narrationibus inepte obſcurarint atrocibuſque mendis fœdârint* (10). i. e. "Several authors have "written St. Lambert's life, as Godeſcalcus a Deacon "of Liege, who was almoſt his contemporary ; Ste"phanus Biſhop of Liege in the beginning of the "tenth Century ; Anſelmus a Canon of the ſame "Church in the middle of the eleventh Century ; "Nicholas alſo a Canon, and Reinerus a Monk in "the twelfth Century ; and laſtly Ægidius a Monk "of Orval in the middle of the thirteenth Century. "It had been happier for him, if he had had but "one hiſtorian, but a careful and accurate one. But "he met with the ſame fate as many other ſaints. "Whilſt ſeveral authors one after another pretend to "ſet off their actions, by commending or extolling "them, they do on the contrary diſguiſe and perplex "them by uncertain and fabulous accounts, and ſpoil "them entirely by falſe circumſtances." This is very juſtly obſerved ; it is hinting the true cauſe, and real ſpring of ſo many impertinent and falſe ſtories, with which the lives of the ſaints abound. The multiplying of panegyricks and lives will always produce that effect. No writer is fully ſatisfied with the wonders, which they, who went before him, have related ; he muſt add new ones to them ; and that much more for the ſake of the book and of its author, than of the Hero whoſe actions are deſcribed.

(10) Mabillonius, *in Commentario ad Vitam S. Lamberti, apud Baronem* Le Roi, *in Topogr. Gallo-Brabant.* pag. 251.

Except, however, the writers of Legends ; for very often they are much more concerned for the reputation of the Saint, than for any thing elſe ; but it is becauſe the greater the Saint's Reputation is, the more it is capable to encreaſe the number of his Votaries, and conſequently of alms given out of devotion. Let us tranſcribe here a beautiful paſſage of Lewis Vives, in which the Reader will ſee that falſe zeal condemned, which makes the lives of the Saints abound with ſo many idle and fabulous ſtories. *Quæ de iis ſunt ſcripta, præter pauca quædam, multis ſunt commentis fœdata, dum qui ſcribit affectui ſuo indulget, & non quæ egit divus, ſed quæ ille egiſſe eum vellet, exponit : ut vitam dictet animus ſcribentis, non veritas. Fuere qui magnæ pietatis loco ducerent mendaciola pro religione confingere : quod & periculoſum eſt, ne veris adimatur fides propter falſa, & minimè neceſſarium : quoniam pro pietate noſtra tam multa ſunt vera, ut falſa tanquàm ignavi milites atque inutiles oneri ſint magis, quàm auxilio* (11). i. e. "What has been written concerning them, a "few particulars only excepted, is entirely ſpoiled with "fictitious ſtories, whilſt the Author, indulging his "own zeal, relates, not what the Saint has really done, "but what he wiſhed he had done. So that it is the "paſſion of the writer, and not the truth that dic"tates the ſtory. Some have imagined that it was a "great piece of piety, to tell lies for the ſake of Re"ligion : which is not only needleſs, but even dan"gerous, leſt the falſe accounts diſcredit thoſe that are "true : and our Religion is ſupported by ſo many "true facts, that thoſe which are falſe ought to be "exploded, as ſo many lazy and uſeleſs Soldiers, "which are a burthen rather than a help."

(11) Ludov. Vives, *de tradendis Diſciplinis*, lib. 5. pag. m. 360. *See alſo* lib. 2. pag. 90, 91.

LAMBERT (FRANCIS) a Franciſcan Friar born at Avignon, was one of the firſt in France, who left his Convents to embrace the Lutheran Religion. He arrived at Wittemberg in January 1523 (*a*). He taught Divinity, and ſet out with explaining the Prophecy of Hoſea. The Commentary he wrote on that Prophet was printed at Straſburg in the year 1525 in 8vo. He dedicated it to Frederic Duke of Saxony, and inſerted in it in his Dedication an account of the martyrdom of John Caſtellanus, who had been burnt at Mentz becauſe he followed the Reformed Religion. He added to his Commentary on the fourth chapter of Hoſea a treatiſe *De Arbitrio hominis vere captivo contra impios liberi arbitrii aſſertores.* i. e. "Of man's will being really enſlaved, "againſt the impious aſſertors of free-will." He had publiſhed in the year 1524 his Commentary on Solomon's Song ; and he obſerves in his dedication to Francis I, that he had already ſent to that Prince his treatiſe on marriage *De ſacro & fidei Conjugio* ; and that he had inſerted there a letter, in which he gave that Prince an account of the reaſons why he renounced Popery, and married a wife (*b*). He publiſhed ſeveral other Commentaries on the Holy Scripture ; and ſome books of Controverſy [*A*], which have been

(*a*) *See* Seckendorf, *Hiſt. Lutheran.* lib. 2. pag. 40.

(*b*) *Ex* Geſneri *Biblioth.* folio 249 *verſo*, & 250.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral other .... Books.*] The following works are ſet down in the Oxford Catalogue. *Commentarii Evangelici in Regulam Minoritarum, unde palam fit quid de Monachorum Regulis ſentiendum ſit.*

been long while out of date. He had a great ſhare in Luther's eſteem [B]. I do not well know when he left Wittemberg; but I believe it was in the year 1526; and I know that he ſettled at Marpurg, that he was Divinity Profeſſor there, and that he died there April the 18th 1530 (c). He was one of the chief perſons whom the Landgrave of Heſſe employed to eſtabliſh the Reformation in his dominions [C].

(c) Seckendorf, *Hiſt. Lutheran.* lib. 2. pag. 41. Freher, *in Theatro*, pag. 104.

i. e. "An Evangelical Commentary on the Inſtitutes "of the Franciſcan Fryars, whence it appears plainly, "what we ought to think of the Inſtitutes of the "Monks." *in* 8*vo. Commentarii in Amos, Abdiam, Jonam, Micheam, Nahum et Habacuc.* i. e. "A Com-"mentary on Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Michah, Na-"hum, and Habakkuk." Printed at Straſburg, in "the year 1525. *in* 8*vo. Farrago omnium fere rerum Theologicarum. ſc. Paradoxa.* i. e. "A mixture of all kind of Theological matters, as Paradoxes." *in* 8*vo. De Fidelium Vocatione in Eccleſiam, et ad miniſteria ejus, deque Vocatione Matthiæ per ſortem.* i. e. "Of the "calling of the Faithful into the Church, and to the "office of Miniſters there; and of the calling of "Matthias by caſting Lots." *in* 8*vo. Exegeſis in Apocalypſin.* i. e. "A Expoſition of St. John's Revela-"tion." At Baſil in the year 1539. *in* 8*vo.* This is not the firſt Edition of his Commentary on the Revelation: for here follows what Bullinger tells us of it. *Monſieur Francis Lambert, a learned and very pious man, has very much ſtudied* the Revelation; *he read publick Lectures on that Book in the noble Univerſity of Marpurg, and ſince compoſed and publiſhed an Expoſition of it in ſeven Books in the ſaid City in the year* 1528 (1). Geſner mentions our Lambert's Commentary on Joel, and on St. Luke's Goſpel (2). In Geſner's Epitome we find *Antitheſes Verbi Dei et inventorum hominum.* i. e. "God's word oppoſed to the inventions of men." *Confeſſio de Symbolo fœderis nunquam rumpendo quam communionem vocant, in qua ſpectari poteſt quid Marpurgenſi colloquio effectum ſit* (3). i. e. "A Confeſſion "concerning the never breaking through the bond of "the Covenant, which is called Communion, in which "may be ſeen what has been done in the Conference "held at Marpurg." *De Prophetia, Eruditione, Linguis, deque Litera et Spiritu.* i. e. "Of Prophecy, "Learning, and Languages; and of the Letter and "the Spirit." *Commentarius de cauſis excæcationis multorum ſæculorum.* i. e. "A Treatiſe concerning the "blindneſs which prevailed during ſeveral ages." *In Acta Apoſtolorum et Libros Regum.* i. e. "On the "Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Books of the Kings." *De Cœlibatu regni filii perditionis.* i. e. "Of Celibacy "under the Reign of the Son of Perdition." *De Differentia Stimuli carnis et Satanæ nuncii.* i. e. "Of "the difference there is between the thorn in the fleſh, "and the meſſenger of Satan."

(1) Bullinger, Preface to his hundred Sermons on the Revelation. I make uſe of the French tranſlation, printed for John Creſpin, in the year 1525, in 8vo.

(2) Printed the 2d time at Straſburg in 1525, in 8vo.

(3) Printed in the year 1530.

[B] *He had a great ſhare in Luther's eſteem.*] That Reformer ſpoke of him in the following words in a Letter he wrote to Spalatinus. *Adeſt Johannes ille Serranus, vero nomine Franciſcus Lampertus, imaginibus quoque nobilis, inter Minoritas viginti annos verſatus, & generali* (ibi forte legendum eſt: *Generalis* (4)) *officio functus, ob perſecutionem exul, & pauper factus. De integritate viri nulla eſt dubitatio: teſtes ſunt apud nos, qui illum & in Francia & in Baſilea audierunt, tum Baſileenſis ſuffraganeus ille Tripolitanus, cum Pellicano, dant illi pulchrum teſtimonium. Et quanquam nos abundemus Lectoribus optimis, tamen, ſi quid poterit, non abjiciemus: mihi per omnia placet vir, & ſatis ſpectatus mihi eſt, quantum homo ſpectari poteſt, ut dignus ſit, quem in exilio paululum foramus & juvemus. Sed tu meam noſti facultatem, ut non ſit opis meæ illum alere, qui ipſe alienis vivo: videretur mihi Principi perſuadendum, ut jam non perdat, ſed in charitate Chriſto fœneret viginti aut triginta florenos, in eum collocandos, donec vel a ſuis tribulibus, vel proprio ſtipendio ſeſe ſuſtentet de labore ſuo* (5). i. e. "John Serranus, or, as his true "name is, Francis Lambert, is with me, a man of "a noble family; who continued twelve years amongſt "the Franciſcans, and has been there General of the "Order (or perhaps rather *Superior of a Monaſtery*) "but being now perſecuted and baniſhed, he is in "want. The man's honeſty cannot be queſtioned. "We have witneſſes to it here, who have heard him "both in France and at Baſil, and the ſuffragan "Biſhop of Tripoli at Baſil, with Pellicanus give "him a very good Character. And though we have "here a great many very good Readers, yet if he "can do any thing, we ſhall not neglect him. I like "him very well in every reſpect, and I am perſuaded, "as much as a man can be perſuaded with regard to "another, that he deſerves to be a little ſupported "and aſſiſted in his baniſhment. But you know my "eſtate is ſuch, that I cannot aſſiſt him, ſince I my-"ſelf live by other people's charity. I think we "ought to perſuade the Prince to grant him twenty "or thirty gilders, till he be aſſiſted by his own "countrymen, or till he can get a livelihood by his "own works: which will not be ſquandering the "money away, but rather lending it charitably to "Chriſt himſelf, and at an intereſt." We find by this paſſage, that our Lambert took the fictitious name of *John Serranus*, that he was of a noble family, that he had been a Franciſcan during twenty years, that he had been preferred to ſome employment in that order, that he had made ſome ſtay at Baſil, whence he had a good certificate of his morals. Luther (6) wrote a Preface to the Book which this Ex-monk of Avignon publiſhed concerning the *Inſtitutes of the Franciſcans.* It appears from another Letter of Luther that this Proſelyte making himſelf ready to go to Zurich, that he might be nearer to France, ſome perſons endeavoured to get him ſome money from the Elector to pay the expence of his journey (7). If that Letter of Luther had been written to Spalatinus in Auguſt (8) 1523, we ſhould infer from thence that Lambert altered his mind, becauſe they gave him ſome employment in the Univerſity; ſo that what Seckendorf adds, namely, that he had nevertheleſs compoſed at Wittenberg, and dedicated to the Elector his Expoſitions of ſome Prophets, of Solomon's Song, and of St. Luke's Goſpel (9), would not be referred to its proper times and there would be a *tamen* (nevertheleſs) pretty ill-placed. But it is probable, that Luther wrote that letter in Auguſt 1526, whence we muſt infer that the *tamen* is right, and that the journey to Zurich was not undertaken, becauſe Lambert was called into the Country of Heſſe, as I ſhall relate in the following remark.

(4) I think it ſhould rather be *Guardiani.*

(5) Luther. *Ep.* lib. 2. pag. 121. *apud* Seckendorf, *Hiſt. Lutheran.* lib. 2. pag. 40.

[C] *He was one of the chief perſons, whom the Landgrave of Heſſe employed to eſtabliſh the reformation in his Dominions.*] He had been recommended to that Prince as a man diſtinguiſhed by his piety, by his wit, and by his learning, and capable to confound and ſilence all the Popiſh Doctors. He was ſent therefore to the Synod that was held at Hamburg, October the 21ſt 1526. Lambert offered there to a publick diſputation 150 Lutheran propoſitions, and defended them in a victorious manner againſt all the objections of the ſuperior of the Franciſcans of Marpurg. The Landgrave gave every one leave to enter the liſts, and ordered his Chancellor to tranſlate Lambert's Theſes into German, whenever any perſon deſired it. After the diſputation he commanded the Monks and Nuns to leave their Convents, and applied their income towards ſupporting the Univerſity and Hoſpitals of Marpurg: he eſtabliſhed Lutheran miniſters in the churches, and cauſed all the images to be pulled down. Lambert was appointed Divinity profeſſor in the Univerſity founded at Marpurg in the year 1527 (10).

(6) See his *Letters*, lib. 2. pag. 128.

(7) Seckendorf, *Hiſtor. Lutheran.* lib. 2. pag. 40.

(8) Seckendorf mentions that month, but he does not mention the year.

(9) *Scripſerat tamen* Lampertus *Wittembergæ & Electori dedicaverat, teſte* Chytræo, lib. 12. fol. 346, *Enarrationes in Prophetas aliquos, in Canticum Salamonis, & Hiſtoriam Lucæ.* Idem, ibid. Obſerve that he dedicated his *Commentary on Solomon's Song* to Francis I, and that *on St. Luke* to Spalatinus; ſo that Chytræus is miſtaken.

(10) *Taken from* Seckendorf, *Hiſt. Lutheran.* lib. 2. who quotes Chytræus. *See alſo* Paul Freher's *Theatre*, pag. 104. and obſerve that according to Freher and ſeveral others, the Univerſity of Marpurg was founded in the year 1626.

LAMECH, deſcended from Cain in a direct line, was in the ſeventh generation, reckoning from Adam. It is obſerved in the holy Scripture (a) that he had two wives, the one named Ada and the other Zilla; it is imagined that there is ſome hidden myſtery in this obſervation, and that it is deſigned to ſhew us whence Polygamy had its firſt riſe. It did not begin amongſt the deſcendants of Seth, who feared God, but in the wicked

(a) Geneſ. chap. iv.

wicked and corrupted poſterity of Cain, and that too by ſuch a man as Lamech [*A*], who himſelf tells his wives that he would kill a man. Such an origin, ſay they, cannot but be diſgraceful. However it be, the marriage of this firſt tranſgreſſor of the Law of Monogamy, eſtabliſhed in Paradiſe, would not appear to have been attended with any mark of reprobation, if we were to judge of it by temporal bleſſings; for there came from it ſome children, who had the ſkill to invent many uſeful things [*B*]. Now the inventors of arts have been ſo much eſteemed, that moſt of them were placed amongſt the Gods. It was therefore a very great honour, and conſequently a conſiderable temporal advantage to have the wit neceſſary to invent; but it does by no means follow, from thence that God approved Lamech's Polygamy. There are but four children of this man mentioned in Geneſis (*b*); but Joſephus aſſerts (*c*) that he had threeſcore and ſeventeen children by his two wives. Lamech's diſcourſe to his wives is a riddle to me [*C*]; and I confeſs ingenuouſly that it is beyond my capacity. *I ſhall kill a man*, ſays he to them (*d*), *I being wounded, and a young man I being hurt; for if Cain be avenged ſevenfold, Lamech ſhall be avenged ſeventy ſevenfold.* A great many Commentators are of opinion, that Lamech aſſerts here he had killed Cain [*D*], and Tubal-Cain. For

(*b*) See the remark [*B*].

(*c*) *Antiq.* lib. 1. cap. 2.

(*d*) Gen. chap. iv. Mr. Bayle quotes the French tranſlation made at Geneva; and as it differs a little from our Engliſh tranſlation, we thought it proper to follow the French here.

[*A*] *And by ſuch a man as Lamech.*] The author of the *Polygamia triumphatrix* was an odd man indeed, who ſpent his health to eſtabliſh the doctrine of the plurality of wives, though one only had been too much for him (1). He ſtiles the reſolution which Lamech took to marry two an heroic action (2), and he commends him extremely for being the firſt who examined with the utmoſt attention that order of God, *Be fruitful and multiply*; and who having duly weighed it, put himſelf in a condition to perform it to the utmoſt of his power by marrying two wives (3). None dared to undertake it before him; the memory of Eve's fault and the conſideration of Adam's baniſhment, had filled people's minds with fear. Lamech was the firſt who dared to venture himſelf with an undaunted courage, without minding the difficulties he had conſidered. He made a commentary, not indeed in words, but by his actions, on the text of that univerſal law, *Be fruitful and multiply*; a law, which is a downright commandment, and not a mere bleſſing only. *Ipſe autem inſuper habitis omnibus imminentibus & præconceptis difficultatibus, heroico animo hoc primus auſus, & proprio facto verba legis catholicæ (creſcite & multiplicamini) non benedictoria tantum, ſed ſimul imperatoria, explanare, & bono exemplo omnibus ſuis poſteris præire voluit* (4). By this means he paved the way, and gave a good example to thoſe who ſhould come after him. Thus you ſee, how that poor author had prepoſſeſſed himſelf in favour of Polygamy; it was his darling fancy, he imagined that the Scripture mentioned Lamech's two marriages as an admirable deed, whereas Divines maintain very juſtly that the Scripture deſigned thereby to condemn Polygamy in its very infancy.

(1) See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for April 1685, Art. 1. and 2.

(2) *Polygam. triumph.* pag. 188.

(3) Ibid. pag. 191.

(4) Ibid.

[*B*] *The ſkill to invent many uſeful things.*] Jabal and Jubal the ſons of Adah, Tubal-Cain and Naamah (5) his ſiſter, whoſe mother was Zillah, are Lamech's four children mentioned in the Scripture. Jabal invented the uſe of tents; Jubal invented ſome muſical inſtruments; Tubal-Cain invented ſeveral braſs and iron tools. The Holy Scripture, which acquaints us with theſe particulars, does not aſcribe any invention to Naamah; but if we may believe the Rabbies, ſhe invented the art of working wool, and of making linnen (6).

(5) Joſephus ſuppoſes that ſhe was Tubal-Cain's daughter.

(6) *Apud* Genebrard. in Chron. *and in the margin of the French tranſlation of Joſephus.*

[*C*] *Lamech's diſcourſe to his wives is a riddle to me.*] It is not an eaſy matter to gueſs how the original words of Lamech's diſcourſe ought to be tranſlated. The French tranſlation of Geneva, which I have quoted, renders them in the future tenſe, *I ſhall kill*, and repreſents Lamech to us as a man who is to receive ſome wound before he kills. But in the vulgar Latin tranſlation it is rendered in the præter tenſe, *I have killed*; and as for the wound one does not know what to make of it; for this phraſe, *occidi virum in vulnus meum*, is a barbariſm, which ſignifies nothing in Latin, and which may ſignify any thing, as ſoon as we are got rid of the rules of Grammar. Some interpreters, who are very well ſkilled in the Hebrew tongue (7), tranſlate that paſſage neither in the præter tenſe nor in the future tenſe; but they make a conditional propoſition of the whole. *I would kill a man by wounding him, and even a young man with a ſtick or with my fiſt, if they offered to attack me.* Now how can we come at the true conſtruction of a period, which may be rendered in the future tenſe as well as in the præter tenſe, in the optative mood, as well as in the indicative? But though we could get over the Grammatical ſenſe, it would ſignify but little, ſince we ſhould ſtill have to examine what Lamech deſigned to ſay to his two wives; now this is no trifling difficulty. Nothing ſeems more improbable to me, than the opinion of thoſe, who imagine that all this is nothing but a rodomontade of Lamech (8). Others take it for a threatning to kill his wives, if they continued to vex him by their clamours and diſputes (9). But others, on the contrary, take it for an interrogation deſigned to comfort them under their fears; they were afraid leſt ſome perſon might kill him; and he encourages them by theſe words; *Have I killed a man &c* (*a*)?

(7) *Apud* Rivetum, *Oper.* tom. 1. pag. 186.

(8) *See* Rivetum, *Oper.* tom. 1. pag. 187.

(9) *See* Heidegg. *Hiſtor. Patriarch.* tom. 1. pag. 212.

* (*a*) *Others take it for an interrogation . . .* Have I killed a man?] This is alſo the opinion of the Reverend Mr. Shuckford: and as Lamech's diſcourſe may be a riddle to ſeveral of our readers, as it was to Mr. Bayle, we beg leave to lay here before them the explication of the ingenious Gentleman we have mentioned juſt now. "The deſcendants of Cain, *ſays he* (*), "lived a long time in ſome fear of the family of "Adam, leſt they ſhould attempt to revenge upon "them Abel's death. It is ſuppoſed (§) that it was "for this reaſon that Cain built a city, that his children might live near together, and be able more "eaſily to joyn and unite for the common ſafety. "Lamech endeavoured to reaſon them out of their "fears, and therefore calling his family together, he "argued with them to this purpoſe: *Why ſhould we "make our lives uneaſy with theſe groundleſs ſuſpicions? "We have not killed a man, nor offered any injury to "our brethren of the other family; and ſurely reaſon "muſt teach them, that they can have no right to hurt "us. Cain indeed, our anceſtor, killed Abel; but "God was pleaſed ſo far to forgive his ſin, as to "threaten to take ſevenfold vengeance on any one that "ſhould kill him; if ſo, ſurely they muſt expect a "much greater puniſhment who ſhall preſume to kill "any of us; if Cain ſhall be avenged ſevenfold, ſurely "Lamech or any of his innocent family ſeventy ſeven-"fold.* This I take to be the meaning of the ſpeech "of Lamech to his wives, *Gen.* iv. 23. Moſes has "introduced it without any connection with what "went before or what follows after, ſo that at "firſt ſight it is not eaſy to know what to apply "it to; the expreſſion itſelf is but dark, and the ex-"poſitors have attempted to explain it very imper-"fectly . . . The moſt probable ſenſe of the word is, "I think, that which I have given them in the pa-"raphraſe above. *I have ſlain a man*, ſhould be "read interrogately, *have I ſlain a man?* i. e. I have "not ſlain a man, *to my wounding*, i. e. that I ſhould "be wounded for it; *nor a young man to my hurt*, "i. e. nor have I killed a young man, that I ſhould "be hurt or puniſhed for it. And this is the ſenſe, "which the *Targum* of Onkelos moſt excellently gives "the place. *I have not killed a man*, ſays Onkelos, "*that I ſhould bear the ſin of it, nor have I deſtroyed a "young man, that my offspring ſhould be cut off for "it.*" ADD. REM.

(*) Shuckford's *Connection &c.* vol. 1. pag. 9, &c.

(§) Menochius in Loc.

[*D*] *A great many commentators are of opinion that*

For it is a pretty general tradition, that Lamech, who always loved hunting, continued to take that diverſion, even when he was almoſt blind with age (*e*). He uſed then to take his ſon Tubal-Cain with him, who not only ſerved him for a guide (*f*) but alſo gave him notice when and where he was to ſhoot at any beaſt. Now it happened once that as Cain was lying down in a thicket, Lamech's guide obſerving ſomething that moved there, gave him notice of it, whereupon Lamech ſhot his arrow and killed Cain. He was extremely vexed at it, and beat his guide ſo ſeverely, that he left him dead on the ſpot. Thus, ſay they, one may put a reaſonable ſenſe on Lamech's words, which according to the vulgar Latin tranſlation runs thus, *Occidi virum in vulnus meum, & adoleſcentulum in livorem meum.* i. e. "I have ſlain a man to my wound, and a young "man to my bruiſe." Here is a diſtinction between the manner after which he killed the man, namely by a wound, and the manner after which he killed the boy, by bruiſes which rendered his body black and blew. This ſtory and the circumſtances with which it is attended, abound with abſurdities [*E*]. Suidas pretends, that Lamech killed two brothers of Enoch, and married their wives (*g*).

(*e*) *See* Perer. in Geneſ. cap. iv. ver. 23, 24. Heidegg. *Hiſt. Patriarch.* tom. 1. pag. 211.

(*f*) Others ſay, one of his ſervants led him.

(*g*) Suidas *in* Λάμεχ.

You will meet with large collections upon all this in a Diſſertation or Theſis (*h*), which was held at Wittemberg in the year 1673, *ſub præſidio Joh. Wilhelmi Hillegeri*, under John William Hillegerus.

(*b*) *De Homicidio & Vindicta Lamechi.*

Lamech aſſerts here, he had killed Cain.] A commentator (10), who is otherwiſe very judicious and learned, has been much miſtaken here; for he imagines that to be the moſt probable explication of Lamech's ſpeech. He alledges two arguments for it. Firſt, ſays he, Cain's poſterity continued till the flood; and yet Moſes makes it end at Lamech and his ſons, for which no other reaſon can be given but this, namely that Cain's life ended in the generation of Lamech who killed him. Secondly, ſays he, the only reaſon why Moſes would relate the murther committed by Lamech, was to hint thereby the unhappy death of Cain. I could refute theſe arguments ſeveral ways, but I ſhall only obſerve that Pererius ſuppoſes a fact which is not the leaſt probable, namely, that Moſes deſigned to let the world know that Lamech killed Cain. If ſuch had been his deſign, would he have left ſo great a darkneſs in the fourth chapter of Geneſis with regard to that particular? Was there in Cain's death any thing myſterious, that muſt be wrapped up in ſo many enigmatical expreſſions? Indeed, if it could be proved that Moſes had ſuch a deſign, one might apply to him this verſe of the Goſpel, *Never man ſpake like this man* (11), and cry out, *Tacui, Domine, quia tu feciſti.* i. e. "I was "dumb, O Lord, becauſe thou didſt it." One would never pardon this in an uninſpired author. However, I do not pretend to refute, generally ſpeaking, the opinion of thoſe, who take for ſigns of inſpiration in the accounts given us by Moſes, ſome ſingularities, which are of ſuch a nature, that an author would never have made uſe of them, had the direction of his work been left to him alone (12).

(10) Pererius, in Geneſ. cap. 4. ver. 23, 24.

(11) In the Goſpel of St. John, chap. vii. ver. 46.

(12) *Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres*, for July 1686, Art. 2. in the beginning.

[*E*] *This ſtory and the circumſtances with which it is attended, abound with abſurdities.*] I. It is a very ill-contrived ſuppoſition to aſſert, that Lamech was almoſt blind (13), through age, whilſt Cain his great-grand-father's father was ſtill living. II. It is abſurd to make him go a hunting in ſuch a decrepit old age, that he could not ſee the game, and wanted a guide to tell him when he was to ſhoot his arrow. III. It is abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the reaſon why he made the ſpeech before us to his two wives, was, that they abuſed him in his old age, either becauſe they could not reſiſt his exceſſive laſciviouſneſs, or on account of his children's ſavage temper. *Hanc tradunt hiſtoriam, Lamechum in ſenectute male tractatum eſſe ab uxoribus, vel propter nimiam ejus libidinem atque laſciviam, vel propter truculenta filiorum ejus ingenia* (14). What likelihood is there, that at ſuch an age he would have given two wives reaſon to complain of his too frequent careſſes? IV. It is abſurd to ſuppoſe, that when Lamech had committed that double murther, his wives refuſed to lie any more with him, becauſe that Cain's offspring was to periſh according to the oracle, after the ſeventh generation (15): this, I ſay, is abſurd; for it is ſo far from being true that God threatened Cain to make his iſſue fail or periſh after the ſeventh generation, that on the contrary, he had aſſured him, that whoſoever ſhould ſlay Cain, vengeance ſhould be taken on him ſevenfold. V. It is more abſurd ſtill to ſuppoſe (16), that Lamech took his two wives with him to Adam, and deſired him to reprove them for refuſing him their bed: and that when Adam had begun his lecture, he was interrupted in ſuch a manner as loaded him with confuſion. *You are a fine man indeed*, ſays Lamech's wife to Adam, *to reprove us: let your cenſure fall upon yourſelf firſt, you, who after ſo many years have not lain with your wife.* I omit obſerving that Lamech's ſuppoſed old age does not agree with the eagerneſs with which he endeavoured to bring his wives to reaſon with regard to conjugal embraces: I do not ſay, that the recrimination had been imagined with a little more probability, if it had been ſuppoſed, that Lamech was cenſured by Adam at the requeſt of his two wives, and upon their complaint; but I aſſert, that ſince according to the fancies of the Rabbies, Adam continued but an hundred and thirty years after Abel's death, without lying with Eve, it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that he was cenſured for it, as though he did not lie with Eve when Cain was killed. Voſſius the younger miſtook here Lamech Noah's father for Lamech who married two wives. *Judæorum eſt fabella*, ſays he (17), *Lamechum de uxoribus conqueſtum eſſe apud Adamum, illum his juſſiſſe ut ad maritum reverterentur ac ſui facerent copiam. Iſtas reſpondiſſe Adamo ut ipſe prius ſuæ ſatisfaceret conjugi, à qua jam per centum & triginta annos propter ſcelus Caini eſſet ſeparatus. Verum quis adeo ſit hebes, ut non videat narratiunculam hanc eſſe ineptiſſimam? Ex ea ſequeretur Lamechum qui à Setho ſeptimus fuit diu fuiſſe antequam Sethus naſceretur.* i. e. "The Jews "relate the following ſtory. Lamech, *ſay they*, com-"plained of his wives to Adam, who commanded "them to return to him, and to ſuffer him to enjoy "them. But they anſwered him, that he ſhould firſt "ſatisfy his own wife, from whom he had been parted "an hundred and thirty years on account of Cain's "crime. But who is ſo blind as not to ſee the filli-"neſs of this ſtory, ſince it ſuppoſes that Lamech, who "was the ſeventh from Seth, exiſted long before Seth "was born?" VI. It is abſurd to ſuppoſe that Tubal-cain being ſtill a boy was killed by his father. How could he have been the inventor of ſeveral braſs tools, as the Scripture ſuppoſes he was? Let us obſerve here that Joſephus does not in the leaſt mention that pretended murther of Lamech; ſo that Toſtatus, who quotes him for that ancient tradition (18), was deceived by his memory.

(13) Some ſuppoſe him quite blind. See *Polygamiâ triumphatrix*, pag. 185.

(14) Pererius, in Geneſ. cap. iv. ver. 23, 24.

(15) Gedalia *in Caton. Fab. &* Hottinger, *Hiſt. Oriental. apud* Lyſerum, *Polygamia triumph.* pag. 192.

(16) Aben Ezra, *apud eundem.*

(17) Iſaac Voſſius, *Diſſert. de ætate Mundi*, cap. 4. pag. 14.

(18) *See* Pererius, in Geneſ. cap. iv. ver. 23, 24.

LAMECH the ſon of Methuſelah, and Father of Noah, was the ninth perſon after the Creation including Adam (*a*); he lived ſeven hundred ſeventy ſeven years. Iſaac Voſſius (*b*) complains, that Sigiſmund Gelenius inſerted in the Latin Tranſlation of Joſephus a particular, which is not in the Greek text of that Jewiſh Hiſtorian; namely, that Adam was ſtill living in the time of Lamech: this critic, at the ſame time that he cenſures

(*a*) Geneſ. v.

(*b*) *De Vera ætate Mundi*, pag. 13, 14.

censures this blunder, commits another himself; for he mistakes Lamech Noah's father, for Lamech descended from Cain, as we have shewed it in the last remark of the foregoing article.

LAMIA, a Roman family. It was a branch of the family of the Ælii [*A*], and it was probably admitted into it only by adoption; for it was supposed to be descended from LAMUS (*a*) Neptune's son, and King of the Læstrygones, who lived in a city, which was afterwards called *Formiæ*. This is Horace's opinion [*B*]. Such an ancient descent as that, with which the Poet compliments his friend ÆLIUS LAMIA, was doubtless the reason why Juvenal, designing to hint at a Lady of the first quality, describes her in these words, *quædam denumero* LAMIARUM (*b*); i. e. "one of "the family of the Lamiæ," that is, of an high descent. It is very probable that the person to whom Horace inscribes the seventeenth Ode of his 3d book, and whom he commends also in several other places, was the father of LUCIUS ÆLIUS LAMIA (*c*), who died towards the latter end of Tiberius's reign in the year 786 after the building of Rome; he had been Governor of Syria [*C*], whence he was removed and appointed Governor of Rome. He was honoured with a Censor's funeral (*d*). From him was perhaps descended ÆLIUS LAMIA, Domitia Longina's husband, whom Domitian took away from him. He put him to death some time after [*D*]. There was also one LUCIUS ÆLIUS LAMIA, who was banished, because he had taken Cicero's part against Piso with too much zeal. He afterwawas rds an Ædile, and then Prætor after Cæsar's death in the year 711 after the building of Rome. It is imagined that it was he, who being reputed dead, so that the funeral pile on which he was laid was already kindled, recovered his senses by the action of the fire [*E*]. Consult Streinius's Roman families, and Glandorp's *Onomasticon* (*e*).

(*a*) Homer, *Odyss.* lib. 10. ver. 18. mentions this Lamus, who lived, says he, in a great city.

(*b*) Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. ver. 383.

(*c*) Glandorp, *Onomast.* pag. 14. supposes the person mentioned by Horace to be the same who died in the year 786: but this is making him live too long.

(*d*) See the remark [*C*] quotation (5).

(*e*) Pag. 14, *&c.*

[*A*] *It was a branch of the family of the Ælii.*] The Antonini, Roman Emperors, were descended from this family; it consisted of seven or eight branches, all plebeian; that of the Cati, that of the Tubero's, that of the Galli, that of the Stilo's, that of the Præconini, that of the Sejani, and that of the Lamiæ (1). It is not asserted by any author, that the Ælii were descended from Lamus King of the Læstrygones, but it was said of the Lamiæ; the latter must therefore have been admitted into the family of the others by adoption.

(1) *See* Glandorp. *Onomast.* pag. 10, *& seq.*

[*B*] *This is Horace's opinion.*] He speaks thus:

(2) Ode 17. lib. 3. *init.*

Æli vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,
Quando & priores hinc Lamias ferunt
Denominatos, & nepotum
Per memores genus omne fastos;
Autore ab illo ducis originem
Qui Formiarum mœnia dicitur
Princeps, & innantem Maricæ
Littoribus tenuisse Lyrin
Late tyrannus.

"Great Sire, from antient Lamus sprung,
"As noble a descent, as long;
"(From him, the spring, thy gen'rous blood
"In undisturbed streams had flow'd;
"From him the Lamias took their name,
"And swell the annals of our fame:
"Thy gen'rous blood roul'd nobly down
"From him that fill'd the Formian throne,
"Where swoln with rain swift Lyris roars,
"And washes fair Maurica's shores;
"A potent sceptre grac'd his hand,
"And measur'd out a wide command)."

CREECH.

The antient Romans were as silly as men are at present with regard to genealogies. Of how many families was it not said, that they were descended, either from one of Hercules's fellow-travellers, or from some other man famous in the fabulous times? Silius Italicus imagined, that Lamus had reigned at Cajeta (3). See Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (4).

(3) *Et regnata Lamo Cajeta.* Sil. Ital. lib. 8. ver. 530. *See* Dausqueius's *Notes.*

[*C*] LUCIUS ÆLIUS LAMIA ... *Governor of Syria.*] He had only the title of it, which he did not keep long. The injustice he suffered in that respect, raised his reputation. *Extremo anni mors Ælii Lamiæ funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandæ Suriæ imagine tandem exsolutus urbi præfuerat. Genus illi decorum, vivida senectus; & non permissa provincia dignationem addiderat* (5). i. e. "Ælius Lamia dying "towards the end of the year, was buried as a censor. "He was Governor of Rome, having been at length "discharged from his government of Syria, of which "he never had but the title. He was of a noble fa"mily, and enjoyed a lively old age. The refusing "his government to him added fresh glory to his "character." He had commanded in Africa (6).

(4) Lib. 1. cap. 34.

(5) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 6. cap. 27. *ad ann.* 786.

(6) Idem, lib. 4. cap. 13.

[*D*] ÆLIUS LAMIA... *Domitian put him to death.*] I mention him in the article of DOMITIA LONGINA, and quote there the necessary authorities. Juvenal hints at this Lamia's death in his fourth satire.

Sed periit postquam Cerdonibus esse timendus
Cæperat, hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madente (7).

(7) Juvenal, *Sat.* 4. *in fine.*

"But when he dreadful to the rabble grew
"Him, who so many Lords had slain they slew."

DRYDEN.

[*E*] LUCIUS ÆLIUS LAMIA .... *being reputed dead ... recovered his senses by the action of the fire.*] Here follows Valerius Maximus's account of this. *L. quoque Lamiæ prætorio viro æque vocem fuisse super rogum constitit* (8). i. e. "It is certain, that L. Lamia, who "had been a Prætor, recovered his speech on the "Pile." Pliny mentions it also (9).

(8) Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 8. pag. m. 118.

(9) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 52.

LAMIA, a City in Thessaly. It is chiefly remarkable on account of the battle which was fought in its territories between the Athenians assisted by the other Greeks; and Antipater Governor of Macedonia, after the death of Alexander. This battle proved very fatal to the Athenians, and to several other Cities of Greece (*a*). Suidas is mistaken when he asserts that Antipater lost the victory (*b*).

(*a*) Diod. Siculus, lib. 18. Pausanias, lib. 7. pag. 215.
(*b*) Suidas in Λάμια.

LAMIA, Neptune's daughter. The Greeks asserted that the Africans had called her *Sibylla*, that she was the first woman that ever propheſied, and that Jupiter had a daughter by her, who was called Hierophyle, and who was one of the Sibyls (*a*). Others assert, that Lamia was a beautiful African woman [*A*], by whom Jupiter got several

(*a*) Pausan. lib. 10. pag. 327.

[*A*] *Others assert that Lamia was a beautiful African woman.*] There are many authors, who agree in supposing that Lamia was born in Africa. Doris or Duris (1) asserts it; Hesychius does the same. The Scholiast

(1) In Suidas, under the word Λάμια.

several children, all which Juno deſtroyed out of jealouſy, which gave their mother ſuch a terrible grief, that ſhe not only became ugly, but even ſo cruel, that ſhe uſed to take other people's children and murther them (*b*). This gave riſe, undoubtedly, to the vulgar traditions, which the Poets followed in their Tragedies [*B*]. There is another particular related of Lamia, or of the LAMIÆ, namely, that they could take and leave their eyes when they pleaſed. They put them by when they were at home, and took them again when they went abroad. This is the emblem of curioſity, and of ſelf-love [*C*]. Philoſtratus deſcribes them as very laſcivious [*D*]. I cannot tell whether the firſt LAMIA [*E*] was thus called on account of what the fables reported of the Lamiæ, or whether the latter borrowed their name from that fiſh. Moreri's blunders are not conſiderable [*F*].

(*b*) Suidas, in Λαμία. *See what* Aſpaſius in *Ariſt. de moribus* lib. 7. cap. 5. ſays of a *Lamia of Pontus.*

Scholiaſt on Ariſtophanes (2) tells us, ſhe was the daughter of Belus and Libya. Conſider the following paſſage from Euripides.

(2) *In Pacem.*

Τὶς τἄνομα τὸ ἐπονείδιστον βροτοῖς
Οὐκ οἶδε Λαμίας τῆς Λιβυστικῆς γύη (3).

(3) Euripides, *apud* Bochart. *Geograph. Sacra.* lib. 1. cap. 33.

i. e. " Who does not know the opprobrious name of " Lamia, a woman born in Arabia?"

Diodorus Siculus relates, that Ophellas King of Cyrene going to meet Agathocles, who was waging war againſt the Carthaginians, formed a Cave, in which, it was ſaid, Queen Lamia was born (4). Bochart (5) imagines that the name of Lamia comes from the Punic word *Laham* or *Lahama*, which is ſtill in uſe at this time amongſt the Arabians, and ſignifies to *devote*.

(4) Ἄντρον εὐμεγέθες, κιττῷ καὶ σμίλακι συναρεισὶς ἐν ᾧ μυθεύουσι γεγονέναι βασίλισσαν Λαμίαν. i. e. " A large cave, " covered with " ivy and ſtones, " in which it is " reported Queen " Lamia was " born." Diod. Siculus, lib. 20. *Apud* Bochart, ibid.

[*B*] *The vulgar traditions, which the Poets followed in their tragedies.*] Horace gives them very good advice upon this ſubject.

Ficta voluptatis cauſa ſint proxima veris,
Nec quodcunque volet, poſcat ſibi fabula credi,
Neu pranſæ Lamiæ vivum puerum extrahat alvo (6).

(5) Ibid.

(6) Horat. *de Art. Poet.* ver. 338.

i. e. " Be ſure whatever pleaſant tales you tell,
" Be ſo like truth, that they may ſerve as well:
" And do not Lamia's eating children feign?
" Then ſhew them whole, and make them live
" again.

CREECH.

Philoſtratus obſerves that the Lamiæ were very fond of human fleſh (7). Amongſt the old womens tales, that are uſed to be told in ſome countries, there are many in which Fairies are introduced, that are great eaters of children.

(7) Σαρκῶν καὶ μείλιγα ἀνθρωπείων ἐρᾷν. i. e. " They love " fleſh, eſpecially human " fleſh." Philoſtrat. in *Vita Apollon.* lib. 4.

[*C*] *This is the Emblem of Curioſity and ſelf-love.*] Conſult Plutarch (8) who tells you, that after the example of Lamia, who was blind at home, and who when ſhe deſigned to go abroad took her eyes out of a box, which ſhe had on purpoſe to keep them in, each of us curiouſly pries into the defects of our neighbours, though we make no uſe of our eye-ſight to diſcover our own vices.

(8) Plutarch. *de Curioſitate, init.* pag. m. 515, 516.

[*D*] *Philoſtratus deſcribes them as very laſcivious.*] He obſerves (9), that out of laſciviouſneſs they inticed the men they had a mind to devour at a proper time and place; and that they chiefly delighted to eat beautiful boys, when they were become very fat and plump. It was not, I think, an eaſy matter to grow fat in the ſervice of thoſe lewd creatures. Philoſtratus ought to have taken notice of this objection. One might perhaps apply here the explication which has been given of the fable of Diomedes King of France, who made his mares feed upon the fleſh of his gueſts. This ſignifies, according to ſome perſons, that he obliged them to gratify the luſt of his daughters, till theſe men were nothing but ſkin and bones. *Diomedes Thraciæ Rex, cùm aliquot haberet filias ſalaciſſimas, cogebat hoſpites ut earum libidinem ſatiarent; dictus ob id equas humanis carnibus paſcere: equa enim & mulier ſolæ animalium appetunt marem etiam prægnantes; unde equiendi vocabulum, ut ait Ariſtoteles* (*), *trahitur malediclo in fœminas procaces: comedunt verò carnes humanas, cùm viros exſugunt, & cœitu emaciatos ad tabem perducunt; ut rectè Solomon* (†) *à mulierum conſuetudine revocet adoleſcentes, ne fruſtrà gemere incipiant, poſteaquàm carnes ſuas conſumpſerint* (10). i. e. " Diomedes King of Thrace having ſome very laſcivious " daughters obliged his gueſts to ſatisfy their luſt: for " which reaſon he was ſaid to feed his mares with " human fleſh: for a mare and a woman are the only " living females that long for the male, even when " they are pregnant: hence, as Ariſtotle tells us, *equire* " *to deſire to go to the horſe*, is applied to laſcivious " women by way of reproach. They eat human " fleſh, when they ſuck up the ſubſtance of the " men, and throw them into conſumptions by their " frequent embraces: So that Solomon is very much " in the right to diſſuade men from converſing with " women, *leſt* they in vain *mourn at the laſt, when* " their *fleſh and* their *body are conſumed.*"

(*) Ariſt. *de Gener. Animal.* lib 4. cap. 4. Idem, *Hiſt. Animal.* lib. 6. cap. 18.

(†) Prov. v. 11.

(10) Balthaſar Bonifacius, *Hiſt. Ludicra*, lib. 5. cap. 2. pag. m. 125.

[*E*] *The fiſh* LAMIA.] It is of a monſtrous bigneſs, and prodigiouſly voracious. The whole body of a man has ſometimes been found in the belly. See John Ray's hiſtory of fiſhes, and the following remark, where I cenſure Calepin.

[*F*] *Moreri's blunders are not conſiderable.*] I. Phavorinus, who is a modern author (11) ought not to have been quoted, II. Leſs ſtill ſhould he have been quoted before Suidas. III. Inſtead of ſaying that the ancients gave the Lamias the name of *Lares*, *Genii*, or houſhold Gods, it ſhould be ſaid *Larvæ*, *Spectres*. IV. Rhodiginus ſhould not have been quoted, but Philoſtratus, from whom he extracted all that he relates concerning the Lamias (12). V. However the twenty ninth book ought to have been quoted and not the forty ninth, for his *Antiquæ Lectiones* contain but thirty books. VI. Pliny ought not to have been cited, ſince he ſays nothing of the fiſh called Lamia (13). And yet Moreri wanted an author who conſidered the Lamias as an *extraordinary fiſh*. This calls to my mind a falſe quotation, which I have obſerved in Calepin. He quotes Pliny, *lib.* 29, *cap.* 24. immediately after theſe words. *Lamia item piſcis eſt (unde & Lamiarum ſtrigum nomen, quod ut Lamiæ ſunt voraciſſimæ, à* λαιμὸς *guttur) tanto oris rictu, tantæque voracitatis, ut & loricatum hominem devoraſſe compertum ſit. Itaque de hoc intelligunt, qui Jonam deglutivit.* i. e. " Lamia is alſo a fiſh (hence a kind of owls " are called Lamias, becauſe like the Lamias they " are very voracious, from the Greek word λαιμὸς, " *the throat*). Thoſe fiſhes have ſuch a large mouth, " and are ſo greedy, that it has ſometimes been obſerved that they have ſwallowed a man armed with " his coat of mail. So that ſome perſons imagine, " it was ſuch a fiſh that ſwallowed Jonah." Pliny ſays nothing of all this; and after all, the ninth book and not the thirty ninth ought to have been quoted.

(11) He publiſhed his *Dictionary* in the year 1523.

(12) Lloyd and Hofman ſeem to have been ignorant of this.

(13) Father Hardouin in *hunc Locum Plinii*, lib. 9 cap. 24. thinks it is a kind of Ray or Thornback.

LAMIA a celebrated Courtezan was the daughter of an Athenian named Cleanor (*a*). She was by trade a player on the Flute, and became the concubine of Ptolemy the firſt of that name King of Egypt. But before that time ſhe had already made her ſelf famous in the character of a Lady of Pleaſure [*A*]. She was taken with ſeveral of her companions

(*a*) Polemo *apud* Athenæum, lib. 13. pag. 577.

[*A*] *She had made herſelf famous in the character of a Lady of pleaſure.*] Plutarch aſſerts it: Let us quote his own words. Ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἡ περιβόητος ἦν Λάμια, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν σπουδασθεῖσα διὰ τὴν τέχνην, (ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐλεῖν ὐκ ἀκαταφρονήτως) ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς λαμπρὰ γενομένη. i. e. " Lamia excelled in this, and

" was

companions in the ſea-fight in which Demetrius Poliorcetes gained the victory over Ptolemy near the Iſland of Cyprus (*b*). Being carried to Demetrius ſhe pleaſed him ſo well, though ſhe began to be in a declining age [*B*], that ſhe was ever after the moſt beloved of his miſtreſſes; whence it was ſaid, that the others loved him, but that he loved this, which expoſed him to ſome railleries [*C*]. He loaded her with ſo many favours, that ſhe was able to live in a very magnificent manner [*D*]. She excelled in witty ſayings

(*b*) Plutarchus *in Demetrio*, pag. 895 E.

" was at firſt eſteemed for her art, for ſhe played " pretty well upon the flute: afterwards ſhe became " famous in the trade of a Courtezan (1)." When the art of ſinging, or dancing, or playing upon muſical inſtruments, is practiſed by one of the fair ſex with a deſign to be commended, I mean, when ſhe makes a trade of it, and performs on the ſtage, it ſoon leads her to a downwright proſtitution. Do not wonder therefore that our Lamia from a Player on the flute turned a Courtezan. The deſcent is very ſteep and ſlippery from the one to the other.

(1) Plutarchus, *in Demetrio*, pag. 895, E.

[*B*] *She pleaſed Demetrius very well, though ſhe began to be in a declining age*] I ſhould have made uſe of ſome expreſſions more proper to repreſent her as an old woman, if I had conſulted Plutarch alone: But having read in Athenæus, that ſhe had a daughter by Demetrius (2). I thought I was obliged to ſoften my expreſſions. Here follows what Plutarch tells us. Τότε γᾶν ἤδη λέγουσα τῆς ὥρας, καὶ πολὺ νεώτερον ἑαυτῆς λαβοῦσα τὸν Δημήτριον, ἐκράτησε τῇ χάριτι καὶ καλέχεν· ὥστε ἐκείνης εἶναι μόνης ἐρᾶσθαι τῶν δὲ ἄλλων γυναικῶν ἐρᾶσθαι. i. e. " Lamia, whoſe beauty began to de- " cline, inſpired Demetrius with love, though he was " much younger than ſhe; and ſhe gained him ſo " well by her engaging ways, that he was a lover " to her alone, though he were beloved by the other " women (3)." I ſhall quote below (4) another paſſage, which is not leſs to the purpoſe. It is generally ſaid, that in families friendſhip deſcends much more than it aſcends: Fathers love their children much more than children love their fathers. One may ſay the ſame with regard to the love of men towards women. They are generally older than the women they love. But this rule is liable to a great many exceptions; even in royal families; witneſs the Dauphin who was in love with an old widow under the reign of Francis I. I mention it in the Article of Diana of POITIERS. And here we ſee a young King, who ſuffers himſelf to be captivated by a woman, who was much older than her. It is no great wonder: for old Courtezans with ſome remains of beauty, ſupported by a great deal of craft and artifice, are capable to make a young man go a great length. However it be, if Demetrius met with great charms in Lamia the firſt time he ſaw her, he found her not leſs charming in his greateſt intimacy with her. Φησὶ δὲ τὴν Δαμίαν τὸν βασιλέα εὐμειλίως κεκνῆσαι ὑπερσαινεθῆναι θ'. *Idem ait Demetrium ab incubante Lamia concinne ſuaviterque ſubagitatum fuiſſe, & idcirco eam laudaſſe* (5). It was not only her agility, that enchanted Demetrius ſo much. She uſed alſo to bite him amorouſly (6) at which that Prince was perhaps as much pleaſed, as his friends were diſpleaſed with his paſſion for that woman. They could not conceal their diſpleaſure; for when his Embaſſadors had ſeen the ſcars which Lyſimachus ſhewed on his thighs and arms, they anſwered him, that the King their maſter had alſo ſcars on his neck, occaſioned by the teeth of that cruel beaſt Lamia, You muſt know that Lyſimachus had fought with a Lyon, and ſhewed the Embaſſadors the marks of the wounds he had received in that fight. The words in the original are more elegant than the ſummary account I have given of them. Ἀφικνεῖτο γάν τινες παρ' αὐτῷ καλὰ πρεσβείαν πρὸς Λυσίμαχον, ὃς ἐκεῖνῳ ἄγων σχολὴν ἐπέδειξεν ἐν τοῖς μηροῖς καὶ τοῖς βραχίοσιν ὠτειλὰς βαθείας ὀνύχων λεοντείων. καὶ διηγεῖτο τὴν γενομένην αὐτῷ μάχην πρὸς τὸ θηρίον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συγκαθειρχθέντι τῇ βασιλέως. οἱ δὲ, γελάσαντες ἔφασαν, καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα δεινῇ θηρίᾳ δήγματα φέρειν ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ Δαμίας. i. e. " Some " Ambaſſadors (from Demetrius) came to Lyſimachus, " who at his leiſure hours ſhewed them the marks of " a Lyon's claws in his arms and thighs, and gave " them an account of his fight with that wild beaſt, " with which he had been ſhut up by King Alexan- " der. At which the Embaſſadors anſwered with " a ſmile, that their King had alſo been ſeverely bit " in the neck by a wild beaſt called Lamia (7)."

(2) Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Πολιορκητὴς οὐ δαιμόνιος ἦρα Λαμίας τῆς αὐλητρίδος, ἐξ ἧς ἔσχε καὶ θυγατέρα Φίλαν. *Demetrius Poliorcetes* (and not *Phaleræus*, as it is in the tranſlation of Athenæus) was paſſionately in love with Lamia the Player on the flute, by whom he got a daughter named Phila. Athenæus, lib. 13. pag. 577.

(3) Plutarchus, *in Demetrio*, pag. 895, *F*.

(4) In the remark [*C*].

(5) Machon, *apud* Athenæum, lib. 13. pag. 577.

(6) See above the remark [*A*] in the article of the 2d FLORA.

(7) Plutarchus, *in Demetrio*, pag. 901.

[*C*] . . . . *Which expoſed him to ſome railleries*] Men wondered to ſee that Demetrius, who had been very ſoon diſguſted with his wife Philla, becauſe ſhe began to be of a declining age, had thus made himſelf a ſlave to Lamia, even when ſhe was almoſt decayed, Ἦν δὲ θαυμαστὸν ὅτι τῆς Φίλλας ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸ μὴ καθ' ἡλικίαν δυσχεράναν, ἡττᾶτο τῆς Λαμίας, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦρα χρόνον ἤδη παρηκμακυίας. i. e. " Men wondered, that he who was " diſguſted with Philla as ſoon as ſhe began to decline, " was thus conquered by Lamia, and loved her ſo " much even when ſhe began to grow old (8)." He aſked Demo once what ſhhe thought of Lamia, who was playing on the flute whilſt they were at table. *She is an old woman*, anſwered Demo. When the Deſert was brought, *Do you ſee*, ſaid he to Demo, *how many things Lamia ſends me. My mother*, replied Demo, *would ſend you a great many more, if you would alſo lie with her* (9). Obſerve that this was a Courtezan, who had been the Concubine of Antigonus Demetrius's father, and whom Demetrius himſelf loved afterwards (10). Plutarch aſſerts that ſhe was ſurnamed Mania; but Athenæus (11) ſpeaks of Demo and of Mania as of two Courtezans. There aroſe a violent hatred between Lyſimachus and Demetrius; which was the reaſon why Lyſimachus caſt very ſevere jokes on Demetrius on account of his love for Lamia. She is the firſt Courtezan, ſaid he, I ever ſaw, who came from the play-houſe. Demetrius anſwered, I will have him to know, that my Whore is more honeſt than his Penelope. Σωφρονεστέραν εἶναι τὴν ἑαυτῷ πόρνην τῆς ἐκείνου Πηνελόπης. i. e. " That his own whore was more mo- " deſt, than the other's Penelope." James Amiot did not underſtand this paſſage in Plutarch; he makes Lyſimachus ſay, *I had never ſeen before a Courtezan who acted in a Tragedy*. Plutarch's words do not ſignify this. Λυσίμαχος λοιδορῶν εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς Λαμίας ἔλεγε νῦν πρῶτον ἑωρακέναι πόρνην προερχομένην ἐκ τραγικῆς σκηνῆς. *Lyſimachus inſectans eum ob Lamiæ amores, dictitabat nunc primum ſcortum ſe ex tragica prodiens* (13) *ſcena vidiſſe*. i. e. " Lyſimachus ridiculing him on " account of his love for Lamia, ſaid, this is the " firſt proſtitute I ever ſaw coming from the tragic " Theatre." The beſt tranſlation in the world would not explain that thought, if we did not know a particular, with which Athenæus acquaints us (14); and which is this; Demetrius had ſaid that Lyſimachus's court was like a Comic Theatre; no perſon came from it, but whoſe name was of two ſyllables. Thus he ridiculed ſuch men as Bithes, Paris, and ſome others whoſe names were not longer, and who were Lyſimachus's greateſt favourites: when Lyſimachus was acquainted with this raillery, he only ſaid, that he never ſaw at his court a proſtitute who came from the tragic Theatre. He hinted at Lamia's trade, who played on the flute (15), which was uſed to be practiſed in the acting of Tragedies.

(8) Idem, ibid.

(9) Idem, ibid.

(10) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 578.

(11) Ibid.

(13) There is *prodeuntem* in the Latin tranſlation of Plutarch, which is a *ſolecism* or a falſity; *namely*, as it makes *Lyſimachus* ſay of himſelf that he came from the Theatre.

(14) Athen. lib. 14. pag. 614.

(15) Τὴν αὐλητρίδα Λαμίαν λέγων. i. e. " Hinting at " Lamia, who " played on the " flute. Idem, ibid.

[*D*] *She was able to live in a very magnificent manner.*] The Miſtreſſes of Kings uſe to take a delight in immortalizing their name by ſtately buildings. Lamia was alſo of that temper. She cauſed a very beautiful Portico to be built at Sicyone, of which a certain Author (16) publiſhed a Deſcription. The entertainment ſhe gave Demetrius once was exceedingly grand. There was a book written upon this Subject. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ Λαμία τῷ βασιλεῖ παρασκευάζουσα δεῖπνον, ἠργυρολόγησε πολλούς. καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, ὅτως ἤνθησε τῇ δόξῃ διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν, ὡστε ὑπὸ Δυγκέως, τοῦ Σαμίου συγγεγράφθαι. διὸ καὶ τῶν κωμικῶν τις ὑ φαύλως τὴν Λαμίαν Ἑλέπολιν ἀληθῶς προσεῖπε (17). i. e. " Be- " ſides this Lamia did ſeparately give an entertain- " ment to the King, for which ſhe exacted money " from a great many perſons. This entertainment " was ſo much celebrated on account of the vaſt ſum " of money which was ſpent in it, that Lynæus of " Samos gave an account of it in writing: and one " of the writers of Comedies very juſtly ſtiled Lamia " *Helepolis*, i. e. the Conqueror of cities (18)." Plutarch

(16) His name was *Polemon*. See Athenæus, lib. 13. pag. 577.

(17) Written by an author, named *Lynceus*. See Athenæus, the beginning of the 4th book.

(18) Plutarch. *in Demetrio*, pag. 901.

sayings and smart repartees [E]. And as the Athenians carried their adulations with regard to Demetrius to the most extravagant impieties, they built a temple to this courtezan under the name of VENUS LAMIA [F], though on some occasions they had been very angry to see that their money was designed for this woman [G]. The Thebans committed the same impiety (c). The story which we read in Athenæus concerning Demetrius and Lamia is such, that it is not proper to tell it in English [H]. I question whether Ælian has been accurate in the account he gives us of these two persons [I]. Plutarch relates Lamia's censure of a sentence given in a love-affair [K]. What I have observed against Anthony de Guevara with regard to Lais, I repeat it here with regard to Lamia. He has related as many falsities of the one as of the other. Brantome has been misled by him [L]. As Moreri's account of this Lamia contains but three lines,

(c) Polemo, *apud* Athen. lib. 6. pag. 253.

tarch had mentioned just before, the large sums of money which Demetrius had forced the Athenians to give to Lamia (19); and he adds here, that this woman on her part, and over and above these sums, obliged several persons to give her money for the entertainment, which she was preparing for Demetrius.

(19) See the remark [G].

[E] *She excelled in witty sayings and smart repartees.*] This is what Athenæus observes. Ἦν δὲ, says he (20), Λαμία σφόδρα εὐτράπελος καὶ ἀγχίνους πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις· i. e. "Lamia was very witty in her sayings, and very smart in her replies."

(20) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 577.

[F] *The Athenians .... built a temple to this Courtezan under the name of* VENUS LAMIA.] They built another to Leæna, the same Demetrius's concubine (21), and they paid the same respect to that Prince's favorites; you may be sure that neither Altars, nor Libations, nor Hymns were wanting in these temples. Demetrius himself was so much surprized at it, that he publickly declared there was then not one Citizen at Athens, who had any courage. His reflexion has been wretchedly spoiled by the Translator of Athenæus. He makes Demetrius say, that there would not be one courageous Citizen of Athens amongst the shades below. *Admirante ipso Demetrio quæ tum fierent, palamque dicente, apud inferos nullum unquam futurum magni excelsique animi civem Athenienſem.* One letter being put instead of two others (22) has occasioned the prodigious alteration of that reflexion. Here follow the Greek words as they are in Athenæus. Ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸν Δημήτριον θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις, καὶ λέγειν ὅτι ᾔδεις ἐπ' αὐτῇ Ἀθηναίων γέγονε μόνας καὶ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ψυχήν. This reflexion of Demetrius calls to my mind an exclamation of Tiberius. *Memoriæ proditur Tiberium, quotiens curia egrederetur, Græcis verbis in hunc modum eloqui ſolitum,* ô homines ad servitutem paratos! *ſcilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam projectæ ſervientium patientiæ tædebat* (23). i. e. "It is reported that whenever Tiberius came from the Senate-house, he used to cry "out in the Greek tongue; *Oh, how these men are "ready for slavery!* Hinting thereby, that he himself, "who would not suffer the nations to be free, was "yet ashamed of the base patience of those slaves."

(21) Idem, lib. 6. cap. 14. pag. 253.

(22) Ἐπ' ἄδου, *apud inferos*, amongst the shades below, *instead of* Ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, *ſua ætate*, of his time.

(23) Tacit. *Annal.* lib. 3. cap. 65.

(24) Plutarch. *in Demetrio*, pag. 901. A.

(25) *We meet with this marginal note in Amiot's French translation of* Plutarch. As for the Lamia's, all th soap and all the water in the world would not be sufficient to clean and wash those, who gave so many talents extorted from the people, to make Lands and Lordships everlasting memorials of the lasciviousness of such prostitutes, the execrable plagues of public States, and the eternal infamy of those, who trifled their time away with them; such women are proper instruments to rob both the great and the meaner sort of their money.

[G] *Though .... they had been angry to see that their money was designed for this woman.*] Amongst the several oppressions, which the Athenians suffered from Demetrius, nothing vexed them more than the order he gave them to find him immediately two hundred and fifty talents. They raised that money with a great deal of severity and haste; and when it was ready, he commanded them to send it to Lamia, and to the other Courtezans, who waited upon her; it is for their Soap, said he. These words and that use of the money grieved the Athenians more than the loss of their money. Ἰδὼν ἠθροισμένον τὸ ἀργύριον, ἐκέλευσε Λαμίᾳ καὶ ταῖς περὶ αὐτὴν ἑταίραις εἰς σμῆγμα δοθῆναι· ἡ γὰρ αἰσχύνη, τῆς ζημίας, καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τῷ πράγματι. μᾶλλον ἠνώχλησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. *Ubi coactum argentum vidit, Lamiæ juſſit id, cæteriſque meretricibus quæ circa eam erant, ad ſmegma præberi. Pupugit enim cives pudor magis quàm jactura, & verba, quibus eſt uſus, quam exactio* (24). We should say now *Paragnaute* or *Pin-money*, rather than make use of that expression, *Money for their Soap*. See the margin (25).

(26) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 577.

[I] . . *I question whether Ælianus has been accurate in the account he gives us of these two persons.*] Demetrius, says he (27), who reigned over so many nations, used to go often ready armed and with his diadem on his head to the Courtezan Lamia. He would have disgraced himself very much had he sent for her; but he went very carefully to her house. I have a less value for that Prince than for Theodore the player on the flute, who refused to hearken to Lamia's prayers, when she desired him to go and see her. Such is that Author's story; but I question the truth of it: For Demetrius did not see Lamia before she had been presented to him after the naval battle, in which he gained the victory over the King of Egypt. Lamia did no longer follow the trade of a common prostitute, she was a King's mistress. If it be urged, that even since she was Demetrius's mistress, she had a house to herself, and that therefore it was very possible that Demetrius was seen going to her house; I answer, that he did not go to her as to a common prostitute, but as to a mistress, whom he imagined he enjoyed alone, and to whom he had given means to be stately lodged. So that Ælian's censure falls to the ground; for when a Prince once indulges himself in the crime of a publick concubinage, it is the same thing whether he goes to his mistress's house, or sends for her. It is even a more scandalous thing to see her lodged in the royal palace, than to see her live in a house by herself. I am fully persuaded that Lamia lodged in Demetrius's palace, or at least, that Demetrius did not go to her as to a Courtezan who admitted any one's visits. And yet this is what Ælian supposes, and on which he grounds the moral of his chapter.

(27) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 12. cap. 17.

[K] *Lamia censured a sentence given in a love-affair.*] The story is as follows: Thonis (28), an Ægyptian Courtezan, had demanded a large sum of money of a young man, who was in love with her; whereupon the bargain was broke off; and the lover retired without doing any thing. He dreamt in the night that he enjoyed that woman, which cured him of his passion. Thonis hearing of this, pretended that the young man was obliged to pay her, and summoned him before the Judges. Bocchoris sentenced the defendant to put into a purse the sum he had been asked, and to move it to and fro, so as to make the shadow of it fall upon Thonis. The judge hinted thereby, that opinion is nothing but the shadow of truth, and that the enjoyment in a dream was but the shadow of a real enjoyment. Lamia, who was a competent judge in those matters, said one day, that that sentence was unjust, because the shadow of the purse did not cure the Courtezan of her longing to get that money, whereas that young man's dream had cured him of his love (29).

(28) That was her Ægyptian name. The Greeks called her *Archidice*, or *Archedice*. *See* Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 12. cap. 63. and Kuhnius's Notes.

(29) *Ex* Plutarcho, *in Demetrio*, pag. 901.

[L] Guevara *has related as many falsities of* Lamia, *as of* Lais. *Brantome has been misled by him.*] He relates some maxims (30), as though they had been spoke by Lamia, which yet are mere inventions of Guevara. *If upon this subject*, says he (31), *we should ask advice of a woman, who was one of the*

(30) *Memoires des Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. towards the end.

(31) *Epitres dorées*, liv. 1. pag. m. 260, &c.

lines, I have not many errors of commiſſion to charge him with [*M*]. I am ſurpriſed at a doubt of Monſieur Menage [*N*].

(d) Intitled, *Hiſtoire de Ptolemée Auletes*, &c. See there the 7th chap. of the 2d Part, pag. 317, &c.

You will meet with a great elogy of this Lamia (*d*) in a work, which Monſieur Baudelot publiſhed in the year 1698.

the moſt celebrated Courtezans in her time, and who underſtood her trade perfectly well, I mean Lamia who uſed to ſay &c. One Francis Voilleret, Sieur de Florizel, Counſellor, Notary and Secretary to the King's Houſhold and Crown of France, relates (32) as matter of fact, all the falſe ſtories, which he had read in that Spaniſh author, concerning the three Courtezans Flora, Lais, and Lamia. So true is it, that one bad author is ſufficient to miſlead ſeveral others.

(32) In a book printed at London in James I's reign, intitled, *Le Preau des Fleurs meſlées*. See there the 8th chap. of the 2d book, pag. 244, &c.

[M] *As Moreri's account of this Lamia contains but three lines, I have not many errors . . . to charge him with.*] I. This expreſſion, *The Thebans conſecrated the Temple of Venus Lamia to her*, is equivocal, it may make us think, that the Thebans had already a Temple of Venus Lamia, which they conſecrated to Demetrius's miſtreſs. To prevent all equivocations, Moreri ought to have ſaid, that the Thebans built a Temple to this miſtreſs, and called it the Temple of Venus Lamia. II, It is not true that Plutarch mentions this; Athenæus ſhould have been quoted for it. Moreri borrowed that falſe quotation from Charles Stephens (33).

(33) Lloyd ſuppreſſed the quotation of Plutarch. Hofman has done the ſame.

[*N*] *I am ſurpriſed at a doubt of Monſieur Menage.*] He queſtions whether the Courtezan Lamia was the ſame Athenian Lady, whom Demetrius Phalereus kept. *An eadem eſt ac illa nobilis fœmina quam amabat Phalereus* (34). When he ſtiles her *noble*, he grounds that expreſſion on theſe words of Diogenes Laertius; Ἀλλὰ ἀξιᾶ καὶ εὐγενεῖ συνώκει Λαμίᾳ τῇ ἑταιρικῇ. i. e. "He enjoyed a noble Athenian woman, called La-"mia, whom he loved." If you diſtinguiſh the ſentence thus, you muſt deny without the leaſt heſitation, that Lamia Demetrius Poliorcetes's miſtreſs was beloved by Demetrius Phalereus; for Demetrius Poliorcetes's miſtreſs was only a player on the flute, and was not, conſequently, of a noble family. Monſieur Menage was in the right to cenſure Dalechamp, who tranſlated the following words of Athenæus, Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Πολιορκητὴς ἐ δαιμονίως ἤρα Λαμίας τῆς αὐλητρίδος, thus, *Demetrius Phalereus Lamiam tibicinem amavit perditiſſime*; i. e. "Demetrius Pha-"lereus did paſſionately love Lamia who played on "the flute." But he ſhould alſo have cenſured Aldobrandinus, who aſſerted that the Thebans, out of complaiſance for Demetrius Phalereus, built the Temple of Venus Lamia, with a deſign to honour the memory of his miſtreſs Lamia (35). Aldobrandinus quotes here Cælius Rhodiginus, *Lib.* 26. *Cap.* 5. There are three critical obſervations to be made here. 1. The Thebans built that Temple, out of complaiſance not for Demetrius Phalereus, but for Demetrius Policrates. 2. Athenæus ought to have been quoted, and not Cælius Rhodiginus. 3. It ſhould have been obſerved that the Athenians had the ſame complaiſance, which the Thebans had.

(34) Menag. in *Diog. Laert.* lib. 5. num. 76. pag. 221.

(35) *Thebanos autem Demetrio blandientes, Veneris Lamiæ templum excitaviſſe, ut Lamiæ ab eo amatæ memoriam colerent, ſcribit Cælius Rhodig. lib.* 29. *cap.* 5. Aldobrandin. *in Diog. Laert.* lib. 5. num. 76. He muſt mean here *Demetrius Phalereus*, whom he had mentioned juſt before.

LAMPONIANO (JOHN ANDREW) deſcended from an illuſtrious family in the Milaneſe (*a*), was one of the three ſervants of Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, who conſpired againſt that Prince, and killed him in St. Stephen's Church December the 26th 1476. Lamponiano gave him the two firſt ſtrokes. He came as though he intended to diſperſe the crowd which ſurrounded that Prince, and pretended he had ſome letters to give him. He was exaſperated againſt him on account of a law-ſuit [*A*], in which he had not been able to prevail upon that Prince to favour him againſt his party, and he expected to find his account in a revolution in the State; he wanted to retrieve his affairs, having ſpent the greateſt part of his eſtate, and he was ſtill as proud and as much given to luxury as he had been before. His two accomplices were Charles Viſconti, and Jerom Olgiati. The latter was perſuaded to enter into that wicked conſpiracy by the inſtigation of a ſchool-maſter, an enemy of the Duke, who repreſented to him that he would gain a great reputation by murthering a tyrant [*B*]. As for Charles Viſconti

(a) Egnatius, *Exemplor.* lib. 3. cap. 2. *ſub fin.* folio m. 95 *verſo.*

[*A*] *He was exaſperated againſt* the Duke of Milan, *on account of a law-ſuit.*] Here follows an account of the whole matter according to Paul Jovius. *Ad audendum immane uſque adeo & periculoſum facinus vehementer incitabat illata ſibi injuria à Caſtellioneo Comenſium antiſtite, à quo ſacri latifundii poſſeſſione contra jus interrupta locatione, ſe periniquè ſpoliatum querebatur. Totum autem ejus injuriæ odiique venenum vertebat in principem, qui à ſe ſuppliciter deprecante eam contumeliam, ſæpe rogatus adverſarium in extrahenda lite præpotentem, neque advertere, neque mollire voluiſſet* (1). i. e. "He was prompted to "that cruel and dangerous attempt by the in-"jury he had received from Caſtellioneus Biſhop "of Como, by whom he complained he had been "very unjuſtly deprived of a piece of Church-land, "which Caſtellioneus refuſed, againſt law, to let to "him. He turned all the bitterneſs of his reſent-"ment for that injury againſt the Prince, whom "he had often humbly but in vain requeſted to do "him juſtice againſt his party, or at leaſt to move "his party to compaſſion, who being very power-"ful prolonged the proceſs." This calls to my mind Philip King of Macedon, who was killed by a man (2), who could not prevail upon him to puniſh another by whom he had been very outragiouſly abuſed. *Pauſaniam Attalus mero onuſtum nefariis convivarum ludibriis expoſuerat.* i. e. "Pauſanias "being in liquor had been expoſed by Attalus to "the baſe outrages of the company (3)." He did no longer think of revenging himſelf of the perſon who abuſed him, but of the Prince who refuſed to him juſtice. *Adoleſcens . . . odium ab auctore injuriæ in negligentem ejus vindicem convertit* (4).

(1) Paulus Jovius, *in Elogio Galeaci Sforiæ*, lib. 3. *Elog.* pag. m. 244.

(2) Named Pauſanias.

(3) Freinſhemius, *Supplem. in Quint. Curt.* lib. 1. cap. 9.

(4) Idem, ibid.

[*B*] *Olgiati . . . was perſuaded . . . by a ſchoolmaſter, an enemy of the Duke, who repreſented to him that he would gain a great reputation by murthering a Tyrant.*] His name was Cola Montanus; he had been tutor to Galeazzo Sforza, who remembering more than it was proper the laſhes he had received from his tutor, cauſed him one day to be publickly whipped upon his bare buttocks. *Hic Cola quondam Galeacii pædagogus dirum in principem odium conceperat impotenti ejus contumelia percitus, quòd ille puerilium verberum nimis memor, poſtquam adolevit, imperiumque ſuſcepit, ipſi Colæ tanquam immiti ſubagreſtique præceptori, acceptas olim plagas nudatis clunibus loro palam rependi juſſiſſet* (5). Cola being extremely exaſperated at this injury, animated young Olgiati with a ſtrong deſire of Glory, of ſuch a Glory, I mean, as ſhould accrue to him, if he reſtored his country to its ancient liberty by the murther of a tyrant. He exalted to the ſky the merit of Brutus and Caſſius: In a word, it was he, who by his violent exhortations encouraged him to undertake and perform that attempt (6), as Olgiatus confeſſed on the rack. *Olgiatum penè imberbem, leviſſimumque adoleſcentem inani ſpe parandæ gloriæ inflaverat Cola Montanus litterarii ludi magiſter, ſi occiſo tyranno patriam in libertatem aſſereret; ſæpe Caſſios & Brutos in ſchola magnis extollens laudibus, qui gloria ducti pulcherrimi facti conſilium olim ſuſcepiſſent* (7). So true is it, that wicked advice may be attended with very bad conſequences, and that Princes ought to take care not to exaſperate

(5) Jovius, *Elog. Gal. Sfort. Elog.* lib. 3. pag. 245.

(6) *Hujus Colæ diris cohortationibus conjurationem inchoatam ad exitumque perductam fuiſſe, Olgiatus ipſe ex quæſtione perſcripſit.* Idem, ibid.

(7) Idem, ibid. pag. 244.

(b) *Lamponianus inſultantis plebis & puerorum turbæ ad ludibrium conceſſus, injecto laqueo per cunctas urbis regiones raptatus eſt.* Jovius, *in Elogio Galeacii Sfortiæ.*

Viſconti he had two powerful motives to engage in that conſpiracy [C]. Lamponiano was killed by a Moor whilſt he endeavoured to make his eſcape through a crowd of women. His corps biting the ground [D] was delivered to the populace (b), who abuſed it for ſome time (c). Peter Crinitus wrote verſes to the honour of this aſſaſſin [E]. It is reported that this Duke of Milan was adorned with eminent qualities (d), and governed his dominions like a good Prince, without any conſiderable blemiſh but exceſſive lewdneſs, in which he could ſo much the eaſier indulge himſelf, as the Ladies of his court took a pride in their amorous intrigues [F].

(c) Taken from Paul Jovio *in Elogio Galeacii Sfortiæ.*

(d) Jovius, *ibid.*

LANCELOT

rate even mean and inconſiderable perſons. There are few enemies but can do a great deal of miſchief. Cola being taken ſome time after fell into Laurence de Medicis's hands, who cauſed him to be hanged (8). The courage, with which he filled Olgiati's breaſt, by the hopes of an everlaſting fame, was not daunted at the ſight of the capital puniſhment to which he was condemned. Olgiati and his companion had time to make their eſcape, by means of the great diſorder and confuſion, which the Duke's murther had occaſioned in the Church, But as no perſon dared to ſhelter them, they were taken two days after, and condemned to ſuffer the puniſhment which their crime deſerved. Here follows an account of Olgiati's conſtancy. *Olgiatus ipſe mirum viſu auditu-que veſana conſtantia obſtinatum animum in conſpectu carnificis gerens, ſeſeque in ipſa morte confirmans hæc contumaci ore protulit verba; Colligè te, Hieronyme, ſtabit vetus memoria facti; mors quidem erit acerba, ſed tormentum breve, atque ejus fama perpetua* (9).

(8) Idem, ibid. pag. 247.

(9) Idem, pag. 246.

i. e. "Olgiati himſelf, (it was wonderful to behold "and to hear it,) having an undaunted courage, "and ſteady mind at the very ſight of the executioner, and comforting himſelf on the point of "death, ſpoke there with a haughty countenance; "Take heart, Jerome, the memory of thy action "will never periſh: death indeed is bitter, but the "pain of it will be but ſhort, and the glory everlaſting."

The reader will not perhaps be diſpleaſed to meet here with ſome verſes, which he wrote in priſon. They are a proof of his boldneſs, and an abuſe of the Prince he had murthered.

Quem non mille acies, quem non potuere phalanges
Sternere, privata Galeaz dux Sfortia dextra
Concidit, atque illum minime juvere cadentem
Aſtantes famuli, nec opes, nec regna, nec urbes.
Hinc patet humanis quæ ſit fiducia rebus,
Et patet hinc ſævo tutum nil eſſe tyranno (10).

(10) Idem, pag. 247.

i. e. "Galeazzo Sforza, whom the moſt numerous armies could not conquer, fell by my own hand. "Nor could the ſervants who ſurrounded him, nor "his riches, nor his eſtates, nor his Cities ſave him. "Hence it appears, how little the affairs of this "world are to be depended upon; hence it appears, "that nothing can ſecure the life of a cruel tyrant."

[C] . . . *As for Charles Viſconti, he had two powerful motives to ingage in that conſpiracy.*] In the firſt place he was exaſperated againſt the Sforza's for uſurping the ſovereign power to the prejudice of his own family. II. He had a ſiſter, whom Galeazzo had debauched, and whom he afterwards yielded to the luſt of a beautiful young man, who was his Ganymede. *Germanæ ſororis probro quam Galeacius adamaret, atque ſubigeret, permovebatur: tanto indignantius quod eam decoro adoleſcenti, qui ætatis florem principi fruendum dediſſet, conciliaſſe & communicaſſe ſuſpicaretur* (11). This Prince was reckoned to be ſo laſcivious that men talked not only of his amorous intrigues, but even of his pimping. *Principem enim in amore improbum atque adeo impudentem plerique vel falſo exiſtimabant, ut alienæ libidini lenocinii obſequium lubens præbere crederetur.* i. e. "Moſt people, though "perhaps unjuſtly, thought this Prince ſo wicked in "his amours, and ſo impudent, that it was imagi-"ned, he was even willing to pimp for other peo-"ple (12)." We have here an inſtance of the woman's compliance. Francis Viſconti's ſiſter did not only favour this Duke of Milan with the uſe of her body, but was even ready to gratify the paſſions of his catamite, whenever he pleaſed. I ſuppoſe it was not with a great reluctancy that ſhe gave him this proof of her complaiſance, ſince it was in favour of a beautiful young man.

(11) Idem, ibid. pag. 244.

(12) Idem, ibid. pag. 246.

[D] *His Corps biting the ground.*] I may uſe this phraſe in a literal ſenſe, ſince Paul Jovius expreſſes himſelf thus: *Ipſius Lamponiani cadaver ſolum lingua & dentibus commordens jacebat* (13). i. e. "Lampo-"niano's corps lay on the ground licking the duſt "and biting the ſand with his teeth."

(13) Idem, ibid. pag. 146.

[E] *Peter Crinitus wrote verſes to the honour of this Aſſaſſin.*] You will meet with them in the ſecond book of his poems (14); they are intitled, *de virtute Joannis Andreæ Lamponiani Tyrannicidæ.* i. e. "On the courage of John Andrew Lamponiano "the tyrant-killer." Here follow the ſix firſt lines of that Poem.

(14) P. m. 833.

Parabat olim ſacra Bruti manibus
Antiqua virtus Italum.
Ac forte lectam dum rependit hoſtiam
Marti dicatam vindici,
Frontem retorſit illico ad acres Inſubres
Mirata fortem dexteram.

i. e. "The brave Italians of old prepared a ſacri-"fice to the ſhade of Brutus, and being ready to "ſtrike the choſen victim conſecrated to the aveng-"ing Mars, they caſt on a ſudden an eye forwards "on the ſtout Inſubrians, and admire the bold ſtroke."

We ought not to wonder at Peter Crinitus's commending this murtherer. For amongſt the ſacred poems of Levinus Torrentius Biſhop of Antwerp there is an hymn (15) in praiſe of Baltazar Gerard (16, in which amongſt other elogies is the following encomium.

(15) *Hymnus in laudem Baltaſaris Gerardi fortiſſimi tyrannicidæ.*

(16) He murthered the Prince of Orange in the year 1584.

Morte inferendus cælicolum choris
Æterno ab omni labe puram
Reddis ovans animam parenti.

i. e. "As death muſt introduce you into the aſ-"ſembly of the ſaints in heaven, you return with "joy your untainted ſoul to your eternal Father."

[F] *The Ladies of his Court took a pride in their amorous intrigues.*] The deſcription which Paul Jovius left us of the corrupt morals of the women of that country is ſhocking. They imagined that chaſtity was inconſiſtent with good manners; they thought that to practiſe that virtue was not to know the world, it was, according to them, to behave like country girls. In a word, they did not think, that to lie with a Prince was doing any thing inconſiſtent with modeſty; they pretended that the beſt method to raiſe the condition of their huſbands above that of other men, was to make them wear golden horns. Galeazzo, who was an handſome, young and vigorous man, found his account in this. Paul Jovius's words are infinitely more expreſſive than mine, I ſhall therefore tranſcribe them in this place: *His artibus quum boni ſplendidiſſimique principis nomen tueretur, premebant ejus famam intemperantes vagæque libidines. Nam ea tum erat ex multo otio luxuriantis ſeculi conditio, in ipſis præcipuè nobilioris matronis, ut totum pudicitiæ decus ab humanitate aulæ alienum prorſus & ſubagreſte putaretur, ideoque princeps ad licentiam libidinis proclinatus, & juventæ vigore venuſtateque oris ſupra omnes ſpectatu digniſſimus, procacibus fœminarum oculis & deſideriis cupidiſſimè deſerviret. Erat enim tum vulgatum inter fœminas, nullam ex principis concubitu fieri impudicam, earumque maritos qui ineptis hirci videri poſſent, ita excellere aureis cornibus, ut dignitate cunctos anteirent* (17). This is a corruption of manners carried to the utmoſt exceſs. for if any thing can prevent chaſtity from being quite baniſhed, it is that the oppoſite vice carries with it a notion of ſhame and diſgrace with regard to the women (18). This is the chief bar which God's Providence made uſe of to ſtop a little the progreſs of laſciviouſneſs, and prevent its overflowing all mankind after the manner of the flood, which ſpared but very few perſons.

(17) Jovius *in Elog. Galeacii Sfortiæ*, pag. 243.

(18) Compare this with what is obſerved above in the remark [C] of the article JONAS (Arngrimus).

LANCELOT (CLAUDIUS) a Benedictine Monk was born at Paris (*a*). "Having (*b*) ſtudied very well in his youth he was entruſted with the education of a "child of Quality, and retired afterwards into the Abbey of Port-Royal in the Fields, "where he taught polite learning with very good ſucceſs. Some years after he entered "Monk in the Abbey of St. Cyran, being very intimate then with the late Abbot de "Barcos; at whoſe death this Society was ſuppreſſed, and the Monks diſperſed, and "Don Claudius Lancelot was ſent into baniſhment in Lower-Britany, where he died "two or three years ago (*c*)." He wrote ſeveral good books [*A*]; but he did not put his name to them, and they were aſcribed to the Gentlemen of Port-Royal in general.

(*a*) Vigneul Marville. *Melanges d'Hiſt. & de Litterat.* pag. 123.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) I imagine that this ſignifies in the year 1694, or thereabout.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral good books.*] The *Nouvelle Methode pour apprendre la Langue Latine, & la Langue Grecque.* i. e. "The New Method to learn the La-"tin and Greek tongues." *Le Jardin des Racines Grecques.* i. e. "The Garden of Greek Roots," (in French verſe, with explanatory notes). An Italian Grammar, a Spaniſh Grammar (both in French). A French Tranſlation of Phœdrus's Fables, and another of ſome of Terence's Comedies. A Treatiſe on the *Hemina* (1) (*α*); the ſecond edition of this treatiſe, which was publiſhed in the year 1688, is much more compleat than the firſt. *In a word all the pieces and obſervations which are to be met with at the end of the Bible printed at Vitré to ſerve as an introduction towards underſtanding the Holy Scripture* (2) were written by our Lancelot. The author from whom I have extracted this aſſerts that the *Grammaire Generale & Raiſonnée* i. e. "The General and Rational Grammar" was invented by Monſieur Arnaud, and compoſed by Don Claudius Lancelot.

(1) I have quoted it above in the remark [*A*] of the article AUSTRIA (Don Juan of).

(2) Vigneul Marville, *Melanges d'Hiſt. & de Literature*, pag. 126.

(3) Ibid. pag. 125.

* (*α*) *A Treatiſe on the* Hemina. The *Hemina* was an antient meaſure, which contained three quarters of a pint, or about eight ounces of liquor. St. Benedict allowed the Monks of his Order but an *Hemina* of wine a day, and fifteen ounces of bread, as F. Mabillon has ſhewed in a particular treatiſe upon this ſubject. Let us obſerve here, that Monſieur Furetiere (*) erroneouſly aſcribes the treatiſe of the *Hemina* mentioned by Monſieur Bayle, to Monſieur Arnaud, whereas it was written by Don Claudius Lancelot. ADD. REM.]

(*) In his French Dictionary under the word *Hemine*.

LANDA (CATHERINE) ought to have a place amongſt the learned women. She was but very young when ſhe wrote a letter in Latin to Peter Bembus in the year 1526, which is printed amongſt thoſe of that writer (*a*), with the anſwer he made to it. Hilarion de Coſte (*b*), who erroneouſly calls her LANDA, obſerves that ſhe was of Placenza, and *that ſhe was very beautiful, and the ſiſter of Count Auguſtine Landa, and the wife of John Fermo Trivulcio.*

(*a*) It is the 13th of the 6th book of Bembus's *Letters*.

(*b*) Hilar. de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames Illuſtr.* tom. 2. pag. 728.

LANDAU, a City of Lower-Alſace near the river Queich on the borders of the Palatinate, at an equal diſtance from Spires and from the Rhine, was *mortgaged for a very ſmall ſum to the Biſhop of Spires by the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria in the year* 1308, *but in the year* 1511 *Maximilian the firſt redeemed it, and reſtored it to all its ancient liberties* (*a*). It is one of the ten Cities, which make up what is called the Provoſtſhip or Prefecture of Hagenau, and which *pretended to hold immediately of the Empire* [*A*], *except*

(*a*) *Mercure Hiſt.* for October 1702 pag. 388. *See alſo* Lewis du May, *Etat de l'Empire*, Dial. 8. pag. m. 536. *and* Munſter, *Coſm.* pag. 471.

[*A*] *It is one of the ten cities . . . which pretended to hold immediately of the Empire.*] Monſieur Heiſs will explain this to us. Hagenau, ſays he (1), "is the "firſt of the cities of Alſace dependent on the Pre-"fecture, of which the Court of Judicature was "ſettled in the ſame city. After the peace of Munſter, "the French King, after the example of his prede-"ceſſors the Landgraves of Alſace, continued to keep "that Provincial Council there, at which his Grand "Bailif or Lieutenant preſided. But as that city has "been entirely ruined in the laſt war, the Moſt "Chriſtian King removed that Council to Briſac. "That city, as well as the other nine, acknowledged "at that time the King for their Protector, on the "ſame terms upon which they had acknowledged the "Emperor and Princes of Auſtria as ſuch, without re-"nouncing their right of holding immediately of "the Empire. But as they have been convinced of "the French King's right to a ſovereignty over them, "they have given up that pretenſion of holding im-"mediately of the Empire, and have ſubmitted en-"tirely to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. The other "nine cities are *Colmar, Schleſtat, Weiſſembourg, Lan-"dau, Oberkheim, Kaiſerberg, Munſter* in the valley "of St. Gregory, *Roſheim*, and *Turcheim*." Theſe cities had not yet ſubmitted to the yoke in the year 1673; far from it; do but read the the following words of the Duke of Navailles. As I deſigned to go to "Briſac, I took Colmar in my way. I found that "the Inhabitants there, though in the neighbourhood "of ſo ſtrong a city as Briſac, affected a great inde-"pendency. Their city was ſtored with all ſorts of "ammunition and proviſions, and they ſeemed to be ve-"ry little inclined to receive and obey the King's com-"mands. They took not the leaſt care to ſhew me that "reſpect which they ought to have for perſons to whom "the King commits his authority. There were be-"ſides in that country Schleſtadt, Hagenau, and four "other ſmall Imperial towns: they were all very "much united together, and had at all times their "Deputies at the Diet of the Empire, and were con-"tinually endeavouring to take ſuch liberties as were "contrary to the allegiance they owed the King. "When I was arrived at Briſac, theſe ſeven cities, "which pretended to be Imperial, ſent Deputies to "me. Thoſe of Colmar were at the head of the "Deputation, and ſpoke for the reſt. They ha-"rangued me after the ſame manner as they had "done my predeceſſors. It ſeemed to me that they "uſed ſome expreſſions, which did not ſufficiently ſhew "the ſubmiſſion they owed the King, ſtiling him only "their Protector: I anſwered them, that he had a "more conſiderable title with regard to them, that he "was their guardian, and that it was his right to rule "and govern them. I ſpoke ſo ſtoutly to them, that "the Intendant, who was preſent, told me before their "faces, Sir, if your predeceſſors had taught them "their duty as you do, the King would have had more "power in this country, and theſe Gentlemen would "not ſpend ſo much money in keeping Deputies at "the Diet. Theſe Deputies were very much amazed, "and fell on their knees before me. I thought it "was proper to mortify them a little, and therefore I "ſent the next day five hundred horſe to take away "ſome cattle at the very gates of their cities. This "opened their eyes, and ſhewed them how much they "were miſtaken in pretending to be independent of "France. They came a ſecond time to ſpeak to me, "but I would not give them audience, and ſent them "word that I was obliged to go to Philipſburg (2)." He told the King ſoon after, that *there was a favourable opportunity to bring Colmar, and the other cities that pretended to be Imperial, to that condition, in which they ought to be* (3). The King ſoon followed that advice; for he went into Alſace, and ſecured Colmar and Schleſtadt (4). The other cities ſurrendered alſo to him on a bare ſummons, upon this pretence, that the King as Grand Bailiff of Hagenau had a right to thoſe

(1) Heiſs, *Hiſt. de l'Empire.* Part. 2. pag. 452. of the edition printed at the Hague in the year 1685.

(2) *Memoires du Duc de Navailles*, pag. 268, &c. under the year 1673. The Amſterdam edition, printed in the year 1701.

(3) Ibid. pag. 273.

(4) *Mercure Hollandois*, for the year 1673, pag. 479.

except in civil and criminal matters, which are brought before the Provoſt of Hagenau (*b*). They were yielded to France by the treaty of peace concluded at Munſter, with this condition, that they ſhould belong to the French King after the ſame manner as they had belonged to the Emperor; but this reſtriction wore inſenſibly out of date (*c*). It has been obſerved by ſome writer, that the Citizens of Landaw *had not been cavillers*, and that *they kept their City in a flouriſhing condition, at a time when the others were plundered* (*d*). This ſignifies, I think, that during the long war, which ended by the peace of Munſter, and at other times like that, they were not obſtinately reſolved unſeaſonably to reſiſt the ſtrongeſt party. They gave an inſtance of this ſubmiſſive temper in the year 1634, as may be ſeen in Puyſegur's *Memoirs* (*e*). Another writer (*f*) obſerves, that they have not been ſubject to domeſtic broils, and that they endeavoured conſtantly not to exaſperate the neighbouring Princes in words or deeds, and that in the year 1552 the troops of Henry II King of France, and thoſe of Albert of Brandenburg did them a great deal of damage. The Sieur du Val aſſerts that *the wine of Landaw is the beſt Rheniſh wine that can be drunk* (*g*). This city was but indifferently ſtrong at the time of the peace of Ryſwick in the year 1697, but it has been fortified ſince with all the care imaginable: the famous Monſieur du Vauban exerted all his ſkill in it. The Imperialiſts, under the command of Prince Lewis of Baden blockaded it in April 1702, and opened the trenches the 17th of June following. The city was ſurrendered to them by a capitulation September the 10th. The King of the Romans arrived at the camp July the 17th [*B*]. What the News-writers publiſhed concerning this ſiege will give us an opportunity

(*b*) Du Val, *Deſcript. de l'Allemagne*, pag. 159.

(*c*) See the remark [*A*].

(*d*) Du Val, *Acquiſitions de la France*, pag. 38.

(*e*) *Memoires de Puyſegur*, pag. 113, 122. of the Dutch edition, under the year 1635, erroneouſly printed, for it ſhould be 1634.

(*f*) Munſt. *Coſmogr.* pag. 472.

(*g*) Du Val, *Acquiſitions de la France*, pag. 38.

thoſe cities, and had ſecured them to prevent the Imperialiſts from taking an advantage of two ſuch conſiderable places as theſe two cities were (5).

(5) Ibid.

I remember that men reaſoned very much on the ſurrendering theſe cities, and that ſome perſons maintained, it was a folly to pretend that they could preſerve their liberties. It was not impoſſible for them, added they, to be at once in the form of a commonwealth, and under the guardianſhip of the Landgrave of Alſace as long as this Landgrave was a German. But as ſoon as a King of France became Landgrave of Alſace, theſe cities muſt of neceſſity fall ſooner or later under his abſolute ſovereignty. This was agreeable to the conſtant order of political affairs, and the natural courſe of human things. There was a kind of inconſiſtency between the nature of a free city, and a city which acknowledged for its Protector or Guardian, a King, who might be at war with the Emperor and with the Empire. Have clients a right to declare againſt their patrons? If they cannot do it lawfully, the Prefecture of Hagenau muſt ſide with France in ſuch wars. Or if it could not do it juſtly, being a member of the Empire, it muſt either declare againſt France, or aſk to ſtand neuter. In the former caſe the King of France had as much right to conquer Colmar, and the other Imperial cities of Alſace, as he had to take the four foreſt-towns. In the latter caſe, it was to be examined, whether the cities of the Prefecture of Hagenau did really deſire to ſtand neuter, or whether they only pretended it with a deſign to ſecure themſelves till ſuch time as they could ſurrender to the Emperor's troops. If they demanded a neutrality with ſuch a view only, they were to expect to be treated as a ſecret enemy, to whom it is not prudent to give time to ſhew his ill deſigns. But in caſe they had ſincerely deſired to ſtand neuter, it was ſtill to be examined whether they could defend themſelves againſt the German troops, that would have forced them to admit garriſons. It is plain that they were not ſtrong enough to maintain themſelves in a ſtate of neutrality. It was therefore but proper that France ſhould not ſuffer the Germans to have arſenals and ſtore-houſes there, eſpecially conſidering that the Spaniards were maſters of the French-Comté. The Protector and Guardian was under a neceſſity to proſecute his right, that his pupils might not declare againſt him. If as a Protector and Guardian he was under an obligation to defend thoſe cities of Alſace againſt any enemy, who might do them ſome injury, he had alſo a right to prevent them from taking up arms againſt him. How abſurd would it be, if a Monarch was obliged to protect a State, which ſhould think it his duty to declare war againſt him? This is inconſiſtent with reciprocal obligations; and conſequently they who gave up the Imperial cities of Alſace to the protection of France, did thereby unavoidably give room to abſolute dominion. It began even then to be ſpread abroad that it is impoſſible a city ſhould continue to be Imperial and be at the ſame time under the protection of France; and if the Emperor had made arſenals and ſtore-houſes of Colmar and Schleſtadt, to make afterwards an inroad from thence into France as far as Dijon and Lyons, the French had not been commended for ſuffering thoſe cities to enjoy their privileges; but they would have been ridiculed for their imprudence and ſimplicity.

Men argued almoſt after the ſame manner, when the French ſeized upon Straſburg, a city which never would or could ſtand neuter, and which had yielded its bridge to the German armies *toties quoties* whenever it was demanded. This nettled the French too much to ſuffer it long. Either Straſburg muſt have ſincerely deſired a neutrality, and kept it faithfully, or that city muſt have been in a condition to reſiſt thoſe that ſhould attempt to force it to take part with them. Now neither of theſe two things was true, ſaid theſe reaſoners. I believe that they who teach the law of nations in the Univerſities, could have refuted them very eaſily.

[*B*] *The King of the Romans arived at the camp July the 27th.*] The News-writers of his Party have aſſerted, that *Count de Melac* Governor of Landaw *ſent him the ſame Day a trumpeter, to pay his reſpects to him, and to deſire him to let him know, where he would fix his Quarters, that the Garriſon might not ſhoot that way. But the undaunted Monarch having given him thanks for his civility, ſent him word at the ſame time, that he might order the garriſon to ſhoot which way he pleaſed; for that his quarters were every where* (6). An officer of the garriſon relates this piece of news thus (7). "*Monſieur de Melac* ſent a trumpeter "July the 31ſt, at eight a clock in the morning to "the Enemy's camp ... to aſk the Prince of Baden "where the King's quarters were. The prince gave "the *King of the Romans notice of it, who anſwered*, "That his quarters were at Inphling, that he thank-"ed him for the ſword which he ſent back to "him (8), and that he might ſhoot every where, "ſerving his King as he had done till then." It is certain that Monſieur de Melac did only what has been long ſince practiſed with regard to Monarchs, who are preſent at a Siege. The beſieged Governor pays them that compliment. As for the King of the Romans's anſwer, we have two obſervations to make here; the one is, that the accounts of the two parties do not differ in the main; the ſecond, that ſuch an anſwer being always noble, it is ſo chiefly the firſt time it is made. For when a King knows that another made it, he thinks himſelf in honour bound to imitate him, and even to go beyond him, if it be poſſible. It is no longer a matter of choice, but a kind of neceſſity. I have heard ſome perſons ſay, that the late King William III. made that anſwer, when

(6) *Mercure Hiſt.* for Auguſt 1702, pag. 159.

(7) *Journal du Siege de Landau*, pag. 112, 113. of the Paris edition, 1702.

(8) It was that of an officer who had been taken priſoner in a Sally of the beſiegers. Ibid. pag. 113.

portunity to offer ſome remarks [C], without hoping however that they will be any ways ſerviceable to them, nor proper to cure that deceitful credulity, which they know ſo well how to inſpire their readers with. They could not fail to reflect on the long time which this

when the Governor of a place beſieged ſent him the ſame compliment: but I know perfectly well that he never beſieged any place, of which the Governor owned his Title of King: and after all, he would not be the firſt Author of that anſwer; for not to mention thoſe, who may have uſed it before the year 1667, there is a proof in print that it was made that year at the ſiege of Liſle in Flanders. Read the following paſſage. *As ſoon as Count de Brouay Governor of the place had notice that his Majeſty* (9) *was arrived at the camp, he judged that there was no longer room to think the ſiege was only a feint, and made the Citizens of Liſle take the oath of Allegiance, and about ten thouſand of them ſwore that they would all periſh ſooner than ſurrender. He ſent afterwards a compliment to his Majeſty, deſiring him to chooſe any of the moſt beautiful houſes at a league's diſtance from Liſle, and offering him all that he might have occaſion for from the City during the ſiege; he alſo aſked him where he would fix his quarters, that he might give orders not to fire that way. But he added, that he deſired his Majeſty not to take it amiſs, if he defended the place with the utmoſt vigour, for the ſervice of his maſter the Catholick King. His Majeſty having given Count de Brouay thanks for his compliment, ſent him no other anſwer, but that his quarters were throughout his whole camp, and that the more the Governor's defence was ſtout and obſtinate to prevent this conqueſt, the more glorious would the ſucceſs of it be to his Majeſty* (10).

(9) That is to ſay Lewis XIV.

(10) Dalincourt, *la Campagne Royale des années* 1667 and 1668, pag. 78, 79. of the Paris edition, 1668.

The King of the Romans gained a great reputation during this long ſiege; this firſt campaign was very glorious to him. Monſieur de Melac, *who ſaw him* the eleventh of September, *was very much honoured and commended by him* (11). He ſupped the ſame day with Prince Lewis of Baden, who loaded him with kindneſs, and told him that *it was imagined in the Imperial Army, that he correſponded with Spirits* (12); *to which* Monſieur de Melac replied, that "the Prince correſponded with them as much "as he, but that that correſpondence was better than "his, ſince the Spirits had ſerved the Prince better "than they ſerved him (13)."

(11) *Journal du Siege de Landau*, pag. 296.

(12) Compare this with what has been obſerved in the remark [P] of the article AGRIPPA (Henry Cornelius) num. 1.

(13) *Journal du Siege de Landau*, pag. 295, 296.

[C] *What the News-writers publiſhed concerning this ſiege, will give us an opportunity to offer ſome remarks.*] Thoſe of France aſſerted continually, that it did not in the leaſt go forward, that the garriſon repulſed all the aſſaults, and killed a numberleſs multitude of Germans. The News-writers on the other ſide aſſerted on the contrary, that the beſiegers carried without much difficulty every thing they attacked, that the Imperialiſts loſt very few men, that the mines of the beſieged were always countermined; or if they were not, the enemy ſet fire to them ſo untimely, that they cauſed no damage at all. The Author of the *Mercure Galant* argued very much about the conſequences, with which the conqueſt of that place might be attended. He pretended that it coſt the Emperor *at leaſt five or ſix millions* (14), and that *the number of ſoldiers who periſhed before Landaw amounted at leaſt to fifteen thouſand men* (15). *I believe*, adds he, *that if I were to calculate the loſs, which the Germans themſelves confeſs in the Journals they are uſed to publiſh, I ſhould find it amount to a much greater number, though theſe Journals do not contain a faithful account.* I do not know what Journals of the Germans he means, but I can hardly believe that he ever ſaw any others, but thoſe which they ſent to the News-writers in Holland, and which are printed in the *Lettres Hiſtoriques* and in the *Mercure Politique* of the Hague. Now it does not appear from theſe Journals that the Germans had above 800 men killed from the beginning of the ſiege till the beginning of September. We have not ſeen in thoſe books a particular account of what happened the following Days; but we may judge that it could not mention but about forty men killed. The number of the wounded is incomparably greater, according to the ſame Journals; and yet ſince the Capitulation it has been aſſerted in ſome Dutch news-papers, that the number of the wounded was but double the number of thoſe who were killed. The latter amounted to ſeven hundred or a few more, and the former (moſt of whom were recovered) to fourteen hundred or a few more. It is not an eaſy matter to reconcile this with what had been aſſerted in the ſame news-papers, that for want of Infantry the Germans had been obliged to make uſe of the Dragoons, and that as moſt of them, who were wounded, died, they were perſuaded that the beſieged made uſe of a particular kind of bullets; but the queſtion is not here, how the News-writers may be made conſiſtent with themſelves; the thing would be almoſt as difficult as to reconcile together the News-writers of two different parties. The queſtion is only, whether or not the great loſs mentioned by Monſieur de Vizé be acknowledged in the Journals publiſhed by the beſiegers. Let us obſerve by the by, that a priſoner, taken by the garriſon of Landaw July the 31ſt, aſſerted that the Germans *had loſt very near two thouſand five hundred men, and that it was a general opinion amongſt them, that the bullets of the beſieged were all poiſoned becauſe none of thoſe who had been wounded, recovered* (16). The other news which he told are ſo falſe, that one ought to give but little credit to his teſtimony with regard to the loſs of the Germans.

(14) *Mercure Galant*, for September 1702, pag. 338.

(15) Ibid. pag. 340.

(16) *Journal du Siege du Landau*, publiſhed by the author of the *Mercure Galant*, pag. 121, 122.

Monſieur le Noble aſſerts, that they loſt at this ſiege 4 Princes, 286 officers, and twelve thouſand Soldiers, or thereabout (17). I believe that with regard to the four Princes, he has been miſled by the following paſſage. "The young Prince of Bareith "died the firſt of this month, of the wound he re-"ceived before Landaw at the attack which was "made in the night between the 16th and 17th of "Auguſt. This is the fourth Prince, whom the war "has carried off in a very little time; and I am "to acquaint you with the death of them all in this "ſingle month (18)." If Moſieur le Noble had been a little more attentive, he would eaſily have known that the four Princes, mentioned here, are the Duke of Holſtein, the Prince of Commerci, the Count of Soiſſons, and the Prince of Bareith. But the firſt of them loſt his life in Poland, and the ſecond in Italy; and the fourth recovered of his wounds, as Mon. le Noble might have learnt from the retractation of the very Author, whom I ſuppoſe he had miſunderſtood (19). Judge whether a writer, who commits ſuch a groſs blunder with regard to the number of Princes killed at a ſiege, deſerves to be credited in what he aſſerts concerning the number of the officers and ſoldiers who periſhed at that ſiege.

(17) Le Noble, *Entretiens Politiques*, for Nov. 1702, pag. 17.

(18) *Lettres Hiſt.* for Sept. 1702, pag. 361.

(19) See the *Lettres Hiſt.* for October 1702, pag. 431.

One cannot ſufficiently wonder at the ignorance which the Authors of the Paris Gazette and of the *Mercure Galant* betrayed with regard to the condition of the ſiege (20.) They who credited their accounts would have ſworn that the affairs of the beſiegers were not more forward in the beginning of September, than they had been in the beginning of July, and that they were even in a worſe condition by that terrible ſlaughter, which the beſieged had made the 25th, 26th and 27th of Auguſt, by repelling the aſſaults of the Germans. Theſe three aſſaults are chimerical. We meet with the following words in a *Mercure Galant* dated Auguſt the 14th (21). *It is very ſtrange, that after a ſiege that has already laſted two months and an half, a large army ſhould not yet have taken any of the outworks of Landaw.* This Author might ſtill have ſpoke thus a month after, if he had argued from his own accounts, and of thoſe of the Paris Gazette, in which no progreſs of the beſieged had been taken notice of ſince the 14th of Auguſt mentioned above. But what is more ſurprizing ſtill, is, that the Author of the Paris Gazette continued to talk after the ſame rate the 16th of September, on which day it was known at Paris that Landaw had ſurrendered; ſo that this Writer prepared his reader infinitely more for hearing that the ſiege was raiſed, than for the news of the place having capitulated. It may be aſked hereupon, did theſe publick News-writers know how things went before Landaw, or did they not know it? If they imagined things were as they publiſhed them, their ignorance was very groſs and inexcuſable; for in the very beginning of September there were private perſons in the remote provinces, who

(20) Obſerve that I only give an account of the reflections which I heard ſeveral perſons make, and that I do not pretend to anſwer for nor to vindicate their uncivil expreſſions.

(21) *Mercure Galant*, for July 1702, pag. 575. Obſerve that Landaw was not ſurrounded with troops but about the 15th of June.

this ſiege laſted [*D*]. The 4th article of the capitulation was thought to be very extraordinary;

who knew very well that Landaw could not hold out at moſt till the tenth of the ſame month. There were Letters from them in Holland, in which this piece of news was poſitively told. Would it not be a ſhame for a publick News-writer to be more unacquainted with the condition of a ſiege than a mere merchant in a remote province? Would it not be a kind of diſgrace for them to know nothing but from the accounts of deſerters, men who endeavour only to make themſelves acceptable by telling pleaſing falſities, that they may be well received? If theſe News-writers were acquainted with all that paſſed at Landaw, their diſhoneſty is prodigious and abſolutely inexcuſable. Why did they thus miſrepreſent things? Were they afraid leſt a true account might raiſe a rebellion? This fear, which might perhaps be well grounded in other countries, would be ridiculous in that in which they wrote. One does not know therefore how to account for the perplexity in which theſe writers intangle themſelves, by the neceſſity they are under to find out ſome method to unravel the whole myſtery, when at laſt they muſt come to tell the unexpected news of a capitulation. They had been loaded with ſuch heavy cenſures (22) on account of the taking of Namur in the year 1695, that it is a wonder this did not render them more cautious. I imagine that the ſiege of important places will always be a dangerous ſtumbling block in the News-writers ways (23): I wiſh they would conſider ſeriouſly that the taking of a Town is not liable to hiſtorical Pyrrhoniſm, as the gaining of a battle is (24); and that it is therefore much better to prepare the readers by degrees to hear the news of the taking of a city, than to ſurprize them at once with it, when they expect it the leaſt. The indignation they have at being impoſed upon exaſperates their grief occaſioned by a capitulation told ſuddenly, and which diſappoints all the hopes they had conceived. I do not mention the outrageous railleries to which News-writers expoſe themſelves, when they are at laſt forced to confeſs the ſurrender of a place, before which they had ſuppoſed that the enemies ſpent their time in vain, without ſuffering them to make the leaſt progreſs. They expoſe themſelves to be ridiculed by the News-writers of the oppoſite party (25).

Here follows another particular, which is very ſurpriſing. They did not know at the Elector of Bavaria's Court, what paſſed before Landaw, and this gives us room to think that Monſieur de Catinat was not better acquainted with it. The garriſon beat a parley September the 9th (26), it was reduced to the laſt extremities, and even ſo ſoon as the 4th of September the Governor had repreſented to the council of war that it was high time to capitulate (27). It is aſſerted (28) that about the 22d of Auguſt he had ſent a man (29), *to Marſhal de Catinat, to give him notice that he could not hold out above a week.* And yet the French Envoy at the Duke of Bavaria's court imagined September the 9th, that the ſeizing upon the city of Ulm would oblige the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Landaw. *His Electoral Highneſs*, this the Envoy wrote that very day (30), *does not queſtion but this will make the enemy give up the ſiege of Landaw .... when* his Troops will *be joyned* with thoſe of France, *we ſhall cut out ſo much and ſuch dangerous work* for the King of the Romans and for Prince Lewis of Baden *in thoſe countries, that they will not think Landaw a place important enough, to detain them on the other ſide of the Rhine.* The Elector of Bavaria wrote to the King of France, " that a perſon whom he had ſent " to the Imperial camp before Landaw, brought him " word, that this city could hold out a fortnight longer, " ſo that it would ſtill be time enough to relieve it, " after Ulm was taken by ſurprize (31)." If theſe words may ſerve either to comfort or excuſe the News-writers of Paris, I am glad that I have quoted them.

Some of them, who had been impoſed upon by the fabulous accounts that were ſent from Alſace, have themſelves undeceived the publick they had miſled: for here follows what we meet with in a work of the Author of the *Mercure Galant*. " As for the chi- " merical ſtories which have been ſpread abroad of " the pretended ſallies of the garriſon, in which it " was aſſerted that we (the French) had killed two " or three thouſand men, and of the deſperate aſſaults " made by the beſiegers with thouſands of men, in " which aſſaults their loſs was ſuppoſed to have been " no leſs conſiderable; there has not been any ſuch " action. The garriſon was not ſtrong enough to " make ſuch ſallies, and the enemy had not made " breaches ſufficient to venture ſuch aſſaults. So that " the very condition which things were in at that " time, is a full anſwer to thoſe who have told theſe " news, and who gave credit to them, only becauſe " they were of too eaſy a belief. We do not meet " with any action that might be ſtiled a battle, in the " Journal you have been reading (32)."

Let us cloſe this remark with another paſſage from the ſame Author (33). " It is unqueſtionably certain, " that there will be no peace concluded, but the " Emperor will be obliged to ſurrender this place (34), " in caſe it be not taken again before that time. " Whenever the King (of France) was pleaſed to " conſent to a peace, this Prince, for the ſecurity of " the ſame peace, ſurrendered all the places he had " beyond the Rhine, and it was agreed at the ſame " time that he ſhould keep all the places he was in " poſſeſſion of on this ſide of the Rhine, and this " has been followed as a rule, becauſe the Rhine is a " kind of a Barrier." I wonder that the Author who ſpeaks thus, did not know, that by the peace of Nimeguen the French kept Briſac and Friburg, two very important places beyond the Rhine. I might add that by the Peace of Munſter they were ſuffered to keep Philipſburg as well as Briſac. Where then is that rule, which is here mentioned to us?

[*D*] *The News-writers could not fail to reflect, on the long time which the ſiege of Landaw laſted.*] Let me only tranſcribe the words of a man, who has a great deal of wit; he will furniſh me not only with a commentary on my text, but alſo with proper additions to the foregoing remark. " This ſiege is ſo forward " that we expect daily the news of a capitulation; " the French reproach us with the ſlowneſs of this " conqueſt, but I am apt to think it is a diſgrace to " them rather than to us. His Highneſs of Baden " judged prudently, that he was to ſpare his men. " With this judicious precaution this wiſe prince never " followed that deſperate and killing method, which " makes ſo many brave ſoldiers periſh, and by which " all the choiceſt men of an army are ſometimes loſt. " When Landaw is ſurrendered, the army on the Up- " per-Rhine will not have ſuffered any extraordinary " fatigue, and will come out of their trenches, as it " were from a camp, ſtill freſh, and in a condition " to go upon a new expedition. But ſince his High- " neſs of Baden did not carry on his enterprize with " vigour, it follows from thence that he gave the " enemies all the time they could want to relieve the " place. Why then did they not ſtir? Does it not " ſeem as though the Prince of Baden acted with " ſlowneſs, and without much diligence, on purpoſe " to expoſe the weakneſs of France? Was not that " General's wary conduct, and ſlowneſs, a kind of " challenge, by which he defied the French to pre- " vent him from accompliſhing his deſign? It were " to be wiſhed for Monſieur de Catinat's reputation, " or rather for his maſter's, that the city had been " taken in a few days. The ſiege lingers, and yet " the Marſhal, who was to attempt to relieve the " place, or to give the enemy a diverſion, re- " moves farther back, and entrenches himſelf, as " though the noiſe of the beſieger's guns diſcouraged " him, and he ſuffers the town to be taken without " offering to ſtrike a blow .... The French are very " far from confeſſing that this long duration of the " ſiege of Landaw is owing to the moderation " and prudence of the Prince of Baden. As they " are uſed to value themſelves upon every thing, and " to make their very loſſes ſubſervient to the in- " creaſe of their glory, they pretend that this delay " was occaſioned only by the ſtout and vigorous de- " fence of the beſieged. If you will credit their " Journaliſt, the beſiegers fall before Landaw like " the leaves of a tree ſhaken by an high wind " towards

(22) In a pamphlet of 32 pages in 8vo, intitled, *Lettre au Gazetier de Paris ſur le Siege de Namur, par l'Auteur du Salut de Europe.*

(23) See the remark [*D*] of the article MOHAMMED II.

(24) That of Luzara for inſtance, which was fought Auguſt the 15th 1702, and about which the news-writers on both ſides contended for the victory, with a great ſhew of objections and anſwers, which cannot prove any thing to the diſadvantage of the French, but they muſt prove as much or more to the diſadvantage of the Imperialiſts.

(25) See in the following remark a paſſage from the *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe.*

(26) *Journal du Siege de Landau*, pag. 240.

(27) Ibid. pag. 225.

(28) *Mercure Hiſtor.* September 1702, pag. 317.

(29) That man was taken priſoner by the beſiegers.

(30) See the *Lettres Hiſtoriques*, for Oct. 1702, pag. 415.

(31) See the *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe*, for October 1702, pag. 413,

(32) *Journal du Blocus & du Siege de la Ville & du Fort de Landau*, pag. 318. Monſ. De Vize is not the author of that *Journal*, but he has added his reflections to it, from page 292. to the end.

(33) *Mercure Galant*, for Sept. 1702, pag. 346, 347.

(34) That is to ſay *Landaw.*

extraordinary, ſince the Governor of Landaw ſtipulated in it, that the inhabitants ſhould

" towards the end of Autumn; they loſe a thouſand " men at the attack of one ſingle outwork, which " yet they do not carry; if the next day they make " themſelves maſters of that poſt, they are driven " from it the third day; you will ſee, that they " will ſoon talk of raiſing the ſiege .... How can " men dare to publiſh ſuch enormous falſities? Can " one put a greater affront on the publick, than to " think it capable of believing ſuch wretched non- " ſenſe (35)?" Thus this man of wit reaſons in his *Nouvelles* for the month of Auguſt 1702: let us tranſcribe alſo what he offered to the publick the next month.

(35) *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe*, for Auguſt 1702, pag. 179, &c.

" The city of Landaw has at laſt changed its " maſter (36) .... A bad omen this, with regard " to its conſequences. And indeed they have taken " all poſſible precautions in France to deceive the " people, and to make it be believed that this misfortune " would never happen. Never was the forgery of the " news-mongers more worked at than on account " of the ſiege of Landaw. If all that has been pub- " liſhed of the beſiegers were true, there would be " nothing left of their army but broken remnants, " and nothing could ſurprize us more than the ſur- " render of that city. The Imperialiſts expoſed them- " ſelves to be knocked down without carrying any " of the works; or if they were ſo lucky as to " take one, they were driven from it very ſoon. " Theſe falſities are not very honourable at preſent, " either to Monſieur de Melac, or to his garriſon. " How came this brave Governor to ſpoil at once his " brave defence? What panic fear ſeized upon him " and ſeduced him? Ought he not to have crowned " his courage, and wearied the patience of the Ger- " mans? A good commander never capitulates but in " order to prevent a general ſtorming of the place; " and it is pretended that the beſieged had hardly " loſt one man. Now the city is taken, with what " ſeaſoning ſhall this pill be ſweetned, that the peo- " ple may the leſs taſt the bitterneſs of it (37)? ... " Let us not imagine, that though the French ſuf- " fered Landaw to be taken without offering to pre- " vent it, this leſſens in the leaſt the glory of this " conqueſt. It can hardly be denied but the beſieged " made a very ſtout reſiſtance; the long time the " ſiege laſted is a proof of it. Nay, if we may be- " lieve the French, they ſurrender'd only becauſe the " garriſon was too much weakened. His moſt Chri- " ſtian Majeſty is ſuppoſed to have ſaid, that if " Monſieur de Melac could have been ſupplied with " only fifteen hundred men, the place had been ſafe. " A ſad comfort this, which only exaſperates the " wound! But how can this be reconciled with the " pretended good fortune of the beſieged in loſing but " very few men in every aſſault? The garriſon muſt " then have been very ſmall at firſt; which would " be an unpardonable neglect with regard to a fortreſs " of ſo great importance. Let us compromiſe the " matter; the vigour has been reciprocal: if the " Imperialiſts have aſſaulted the town with a great " deal of courage and reſolution, the French have " not anſwered them with leſs bravery and ſtoutneſs; " this circumſtance however muſt be obſerved, that as " the Prince of Baden wiſely reſolved to ſpare his " troops; he went on ſtep by ſtep, being ſure to " conquer, and bidding defiance to all oppoſi- " tions (38)."

(36) Ibid. for Sept. 1702, pag. 314.

(37) Ibid. pag. 315.

(38) Ibid. pag. 318.

Let us make ſome remarks upon this author's ingenious reflections, and let us obſerve in the firſt place, that conſidering the ſituation of affairs then, it had been much more for the common good of his Imperial Majeſty and of his allies, that the city of Landaw had been taken after a ſiege of three weeks only. Prince Lewis of Baden might then have undertaken any expedition, if the French had not been in a condition to diſappoint his deſigns; whereas the long time which this ſiege continued gave them an opportunity to take ſuch meaſures, as made thoſe of the Imperialiſts miſcarry, ſo that Prince Lewis of Baden could do nothing after the ſurrendering of Landaw. The only hope of France was that the enemy ſhould ſpend a long time in this ſiege; the Governor of the place received a letter from Monſieur de Catinat Auguſt the 10th, in which he was ordered *to hold out as long as was poſſible, that the enemy might not go upon any other expedition during the remainder of the campaign; and that this would be the greateſt ſervice he could do the King* (39). So that the loſs of a greater number of ſoldiers and Officers, which the beſiegers might have ſuſtained, by preſſing their attacks more vigorouſly, had been abundantly made up by the other deſigns, which they might have performed before the end of the campaign.

(39) *Journal du Siege de Landau*, pag. 140, 141.

I obſerve in the ſecond place, that our News-writer's thought is very well grounded, when he tells us that it would have been a diſgrace for Monſieur de Melac to have behaved himſelf as he is reported to have done in the accounts publiſhed in France. This Governor would have imitated thoſe Poets, who do wonders in the four firſt acts of a Tragedy, but ſucceed very ill in the fifth, in which good Poets chiefly exert the whole ſtrength of their genius, and for which they keep their moſt noble expreſſions and exalted thoughts (40). It cannot but be denied that all the world was extremely ſurpriſed at the concluſion of this ſiege: even they, who were of the beſieger's party, imagined that it would be very bloody, and that the laſt ſtorm would prove fatal to a great many brave Officers. Whereas they heard that it proved the moſt eaſy thing in the world, ſo that men did not know what to think of it, nor how this would be at laſt accounted for. The News-writers related ſeveral things, which are not worth mentioning. The moſt probable account I have heard is, that the garriſon was too weak to venture to ſtand the laſt aſſault. We find in the Diary of that ſiege, that as early as the 4th of September Monſieur de Melac repreſented, *that there were a great many brave men in the garriſon, which it was the King's intereſt to ſave; that they were in want of the moſt neceſſary things, as money, remedies, and proviſions; that it was ſix days ſince they had had nothing but horſe-fleſh to make broth for the ſick, and that beſides this their ammunition had failed them* (41). It is related in the ſame Diary (42), that when the enemies made the laſt aſſault, *the beſieged were retired into the half-moon over the bridge of communication*; which is the reaſon why the enemies met with very little reſiſtance.

(40) *Illud te ad extremum & oro & hortor, ut tanquam Poetæ boni & actores induſtrii ſolent, ſic tu in extrema parte & concluſione muneris ac negotii tui diligentiſſimus ſis.* Cicero, *ad Quinct. fratrem*, Epiſt. 1. lib. 1.

(41) *Journal du Siege de Landau*, pag. 225.

(42) Ibid. pag. 238.

IIIdly, Let us conſider theſe words. *The garriſon muſt then have been very ſmall at firſt; which would be an unpardonable neglect with regard to a fortreſs of ſo great importance* (43). As ſoon as it was known that the place was ſurrounded with troops, the News-writers in Holland publiſhed, in emulation of one another, that the garriſon was very ſmall, and wanted a great many neceſſaries. I know ſome perſons who blamed theſe News-writers, for thus leſſening the glory of Prince Lewis of Baden. They will make amends for it at a proper time and place, anſwered other perſons; do not trouble yourſelf about it. For when the town ſhall have ſurrendered, they will be ſure to publiſh a long catalogue of the ammunition and proviſions, which the Imperialiſts will be ſuppoſed to have found there. They will not fail to tell you alſo, that the garriſon was very numerous at firſt, but that moſt part of it periſhed by the fire and ſword of the Germans, by deſertion, by diſtempers, &c. It is not yet time to confeſs, that this town is well provided with every thing; the only buſineſs at preſent is to make the reader hope it will be ſoon taken.

(43) *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe*, for Sept. 1702, pag. 318.

I have wondered at the ſilence of the Officer, who drew up the Journal or Diary of this famous ſiege. He ought to have told us of how many men the garriſon conſiſted, when the place was firſt inveſted; but he does not ſay one word of it. They who find every thing myſterious, pretend that out of court-flattery he choſe rather to leſſen the reputation of the garriſon, than to reflect in the leaſt on the King's prudence. If he had told us that the place was not well ſtored with the neceſſary ammunition and proviſions, nor provided with a ſufficient garriſon, he would have charged the King his maſter with a prodigious negligence, and greatly extolled the long reſiſtance of the beſieged. Now it was much better that the latter ſhould loſe a part of the glory they deſerved, than that their common Prince ſhould be blamed. This, ſay ſome perſons, was the true reaſon of that Officer's ſilence. Others obſerve that there was a method to do juſtice

ſhould be maintained in the exerciſe of their Religions, and that the Roman Catholic and Apoſtolic Religion ſhould be preſerved uncorrupted [*E*].

to both; namely by obſerving on the one hand, the garriſon and ammunition were far from being ſufficient, and on the other, that the King might judge without imprudence that they were ſufficient, ſince he had reaſons to think that the Elector of Bavaria would declare againſt the Imperialiſts ſoon enough to make their deſign of taking Landaw miſcarry, and ſuch reaſons as were proper to ſatisfy all prudent politicians.

I have read in a News-writer, that *when the garriſon* of Landaw *left* that place, *it was two thouſand and two hundred men ſtrong*, and that *the French report they loſt but* 412 *ſoldiers at that ſiege* (44). If this be true, it conſiſted at firſt but of 2612 men, which is a number much too ſmall for the defence of ſuch a fortreſs.

(44) *Lettres Hiſtoriques*, for October 1702, pag. 432.

Let us not omit the following obſervation of a News-writer at Paris (45). The beſiegers "had ſtill "a great way to go, and many aſſaults to make, and "they would have had much more ſtill, and had loſt a "much greater number of men, than they have "done... had it not been for the treachery of an engi- "neer, who went into their camp, and diſcovered ſeveral "mines to them. Thus this engineer's perfidiouſneſs, "together with the want of a great many neceſſaries, "are the reaſons why the Germans made themſelves "maſters of that place." The News-writers in Holland acknowledged, that the engineer, who deſerted from the garriſon, did the Imperialiſts a great deal of ſervice (46); but, what they add ſeems to be groundleſs, namely that "he was ſurpriſed on his return "into the city, after he had taken an exact view of "the works of the beſiegers. The Prince of Baden "would have him hanged immediately on a tree with- "out any trial; but this engineer having offered to "drain the ditches of the place, and to do other ſer- "vices, if they would ſave his life, General Thun- "gen repreſented that it would be proper to try whe- "ther he could do what he promiſed, and this advice "was approved. The engineer was immediately put "in chains, and they ſent him word by the hang- "man of the army, that in caſe he did not effectually "apply himſelf to perform his promiſes, he ſhould be "hanged at a gallows, which was ſhewed him (47)." It is not in the leaſt probable, that he had any intention to return to Landaw: he knew too well that he ſhould be condemned there to ſuffer the moſt diſgraceful puniſhment. We find in the Diary of the ſiege, that on the 26th of Auguſt, "Monſieur de la Rouſſi- "laire Captain of the Gates was commanded by "Monſieur de Melac to deliver into the hangman's "hands Ladoder's (48) commiſſions, and to ſee the "ſaid Ladoder's picture hung on a gibbet by the "hangman, under which picture was this inſcription, "*The unworthy engineer Ladoder, a traitor to his King* "*and to his country*. They likewiſe put up a gibbet "in an half-moon of the fort, where he was alſo hanged "in effigy (49)." Monſieur de Melac was ſo exaſperated againſt him, that when this Governor went to receive Prince Lewis of Baden's hoſtages for the capitulation, *he commanded that if Ladoder ſhould appear, they ſhould fire an hundred muſquets at him, notwithſtanding the ceſſation of arms. But the hoſtages told him, that he had been wounded in the arm the day before* (50) *by a muſquet ball.*

(46) *Lettres Hiſtoriq.* for Sept. 1702, pag. 355.

(47) Ibid. pag. 359.

(48) This is the name of the Engineer who deſerted.

(49) *Journal du Siege de Landau*, pag. 204, 205.

(50) Ibid. pag. 243.

The News-writer, who obſerved that the diverſion intended by the ſurpriſing of Ulm did not prevent the King of the Romans from taking Landaw (51), did not remember the dates; for how could the taking of Landaw be retarded or prevented by the ſurpriſing of Ulm, of which the news was not yet known, when Landaw capitulated?

(51) *Mercure Hiſt.* for Jan. 1703, pag. 6.

[*E*] *The Governor ſtipulated, that the Inhabitants ſhould be maintained in the exerciſe of their religions, and that the Roman Catholic and Apoſtolic Religion ſhould be preſerved uncorrupted.*] This article was not granted but with this reſtriction, *according to the treaties of Munſter and Ryſwick*. The two parts of this article ſeem ſurpriſing, when it is conſidered that the King of France who ſurrenders Landaw, and the Emperor to whom he ſurrenders it, are both of them Princes who have ſhewed great zeal for the extirpation of the Proteſtant religion, and for the propagation of the Roman Catholic. Was it reaſonable to require from ſuch an Emperor, that he ſhould maintain the Roman Catholic religion in that city? Was not this a ſuperfluous care? And farther, muſt his hands be tied up to prevent him from rooting hereſy out of that city? He had a right to do it in a conquered town; for this the laws of war allowed him, unleſs the contrary were ſtipulated and granted by the articles of the capitulation. If his Imperial Majeſty does not labour as effectually to reunite this whole city to the body of the Popiſh Church, as he has done to reunite it to the body of the Empire, will not the King of France be anſwerable for it, who has declared himſelf the Protector of the heretics at Landaw, by procuring a ſolemn promiſe that they ſhould never be diſturbed in the exerciſe of their religion (52)? He hoped, ſay ſome, that the place would be reſtored to him by the next treaty of peace. But do they obſerve, that in order to act conſiſtently with his former conduct, and not to contradict himſelf, he ought to chooſe to recover Landaw, all the citizens being Roman Catholics, rather than to recover it with different religions profeſſed in it? And conſequently he ought to have given the Imperialiſts a full liberty to convert all the heretics by ſuch means as they ſhould think proper. If he thought it his duty not to ſuffer them to enjoy ſuch a liberty, which might have been very prejudicial to the inhabitants who were heretics, in a word, if he deſigned to promote the advantage of thoſe inhabitants, what is become of his zeal to convert? What irregularity, what inconſiſtency would this not be in his conduct? But after all, his fears would have been ſomewhat ſuperfluous; for in the preſent ſituation of things, there is no danger that the Emperor would perſecute the Proteſtants of Landaw; their whole party has laid ſo many obligations on his Imperial Majeſty, and it is ſo much his intereſt to have a great regard for them, that there is not the leaſt reaſon to fear that he would introduce the ſpirit of convertors and perſecutors into the conquered places. One cannot therefore gueſs at the reaſon of this fourth article of the long capitulation preſented to the beſiegers.

(52) The author of the *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe* urges this very artfully in his month of Sept. 1702, pag. 320, 321.

Some perſons, who by pretending to diſcover hidden myſteries, fall into chimerical notions, venture to aſſert, that the Court of France ſtipulated the preſervation of the Roman Catholic religion ſo expreſly, with a deſign to hint that the Catholics of Landaw wanted to have their religion ſecured to them, conſidering they were to be under the government of an Emperor, who was intirely devoted to the Proteſtants. What idle fancies are theſe?

As for the Roman Catholic religion being preſerved uncorrupted, as is demanded by the beſieged, I have not yet met with any perſon who could explain to me what this means. For to pretend that the deſign was to prevent the introduction of Janſeniſm, or on the contrary the introduction of the ſuperſtitious practices, and looſe maxims, with which the Jeſuits and the Monks infect religion, would be indeed a very whimſical notion. Did they then dread ſome kind of Samaritaniſm? Would they provide againſt I know not what mixture of Lutheran or Calviniſtical opinions with the articles determined in the Council of Trent? I underſtand very well that this is chimerical; but I am at a loſs what to determine.

LANDO (HORTENSIO) a Phyſician born at Milan, lived in the ſixteenth Century. He is the author of ſeveral works; and took a delight in publiſhing them under fictitious names. He is thought to be the author of a Dialogue publiſhed under the name of Philalethes, againſt the reputation of Eraſmus. This conjecture, in my opinion, is very

very well grounded [*A*]. He wrote two Dialogues, which have been erroneouſly aſcribed to Cardinal Aleander [*B*].

[*A*] *This conjecture, in my opinion, is very well grounded*] I ſhall perform here a promiſe, which I made in the remark [*C*] of the article ERASMUS. Here then follows what is contained in the memoirs which I have quoted there. *Herold imagined that a phyſician born at Placenza, and named Baſſiano Landi or Lando, concealed himſelf under the name of* Philalethes. *But for my part I think rather that it is Hortenſio Lando of Milan, who was alſo a Phyſician, and a man of wit. He publiſhed ſeveral works both in Latin and in Italian, in which he always affected to diſguiſe himſelf. He took that ſame name of* Philalethes *in a dialogue, which he intitled* Forcianæ Quæſtiones, *in which he examines the manners and genius of ſeveral nations of Italy. It is true that in this laſt dialogue he calls himſelf* Philalethes ; Polytopienſis ; *whereas in that againſt Eraſmus it is* Philalethes Utopienſis, *or* ex Utopia Civis ; *which is ſo far from ſhewing any real difference, that on the contrary it ſhews that the ſame Genius produced both the works. He alſo called himſelf ſometimes Hortenſius Tranquillus, of which Simler the Abbreviator and Continuator of Geſner was not aware, ſince he ſpeaks of Hortenſius Tranquillus, and of Hortenſius Landus as of two different writers. We have a work of Lando intitled* Un Commentario delle piu notabili & moſtruoſe coſe d'Italia, i. e. " A treatiſe of the moſt " remarkable and wonderful things in Itala." in 8vo. *It is a diverting work: as he did not prefix his name to it, he ſupplied this omiſſion by a ſhort advertiſement, which is at the end, in which he ſays,* Godi, lettore, il preſente Commentario nato del coſtantiſſimo cervello di M. O. L. detto per la ſua natural manſuetudine il Tranq. i. e. " Reader, peruſe this " treatiſe, the product of the moſt conſtant brains of " M. O. L. who on account of his natural meekneſs " is ſtiled, Tranq." *Who is there but ſees that theſe three letters* M. O. L. *Signify* Meſſer Ortenſio Lando, *and* Tranq. Tranquillo ? *After this there is* un Catalogo de gli inventori delle coſe che ſi mangiano, e delle bevande ch'oggidi s'uſano. *i. e.* " A liſt of the " inventors of ſuch things as are fit to be eaten, " and of the drinkables which are now a days in uſe ;" at the end of which liſt or catalogue are the following capital letters, SUISNETROH SUDNAL ROTUA TSE, *each ſeparate word of which being read backwards, but in the ſame order as it ſtands here, you find,* HORTENSIUS LANDUS AUTOR EST. *Thus at the end of his* Paradoſſi (Paradoxes) *printed at Venice in* 8vo, *in the year* 1544, SUISNETROH TABEDUL, *that is to ſay,* HORTENSIUS LUDEBAT. *It is therefore very probable that Hortenſio Lando, and not Baſſiano, is the author of the dialogue which Herold anſwered. What confirms me in this opinion is that, Hortenſio deſigning to prove in his paradoxes, that to be a baſtard is no diſgrace, quotes the inſtances of ſeveral men of letters, of Peter Lombard, de Giaſon Maino, of Longolius, of Celio Calcagnini, and of Eraſmus, and of this laſt he ſpeaks thus:* O quanti letterati hannoci ancora dati i furtivi abracciamenti &c. hannoci dato un Eraſmo di Roterodamo, e per opra d'un valente Abbate ce lo dettero. *i. e.* " Oh how many more learned men have theſe " ſecret embraces produced us, &c. They have produced us an Eraſmus of Rotterdam, and as we " are told, by the means of a valiant Abbot."

We muſt not omit a collection of letters, which he publiſhed at Venice *apreſſo Gabriel Giolito,* in the year 1548, *in* 12*mo.* It is intitled, *Lettere di molte valoroſe donne, nelle quali chiaramente appare non eſſer ne di eloquentiâ ne di dottrina alli huomini inferiori.* i. e. " Letters of ſeveral eminent ladies, " from which it appears evidently, that they are " not inferior to the men, either in eloquence or " learning." There is at the end of it a ſhort advertiſement (1) of *Bartolomæus Peſtaloſſa Rhetus,* by which it appears that Hortenſio Lando collected theſe letters into a volume, at the requeſt of *Octavianus Raverca, qui ob inſignem animi pietatem Terracinæ Pontifex deſignatus eſt,* who for his eminent piety was made Biſhop of Terracina (2).

(1) It is in Latin.

(2) I am obliged to Mr. Des Maizeaux for theſe particulars.

[*B*] *He wrote two dialogues, which have been erroneouſly aſcribed to Cardinal Aleander.*] What I am going to obſerve has been communicated to me by the author of the preceding remark. " The two " dialogues, one of which is intitled *Cicero relega-* " *tus,* (Cicero baniſhed) and the other *Cicero revoca-* " *tus,* (Cicero recalled) were not written by Jerome " Aleander, but by Hortenſio Lando, of Milan, ſur- " named *Tranquillus.* They are dedicated to Pomponius " Trivulſio, and as the inſcription of the dedication is " thus, *Pomponio Trivultio H. A. S. D.* Henry Lewis " Chaſtaignier Biſhop of Poitiers imagined that the let- " ters H. A. ſignified *Hieronymus Aleander.* But they were " either put there for joke's-ſake, or perhaps H. A. was " put by miſtake for H. L. A. that is to ſay, Hor- " tenſius Landus, the author's true name. Simler " the continuator of Geſner aſcribes theſe dialogues " to *Hortenſius Tranquillus Mediolanenſis* whom he " erroneouſly diſtinguiſhes from Hortenſius Landus. " This Landus and this Tranquillus are but one " and the ſame writer. He loved to conceal his " name, and yet he was glad to be known. *L'Autore della preſente opera,* ſays he under the name " of Paulo Maſcranico in an advertiſement to the " reader at the end of his Paradoxes, *il qual fu* " *M. O. L. M.* (*) *detto per ſopranome il Tranq.* i. e. " The author of this preſent work was maſter Hor- " tenſio Lando, ſurnamed the peaceable." At the end " of his *Commentario d'Italia,* in another advertiſe- " ment to the reader, under the name of *Nicolo Mor-* " *ra,* he ſpeaks thus : *Godi lettore &c* (3). At the " end of his *Sermoni funebri delle beſtie,* he calls him- " ſelf at length and without any diſguiſe, *Hortenſio* " *Lando ditto* (†) *il Tranquillo.* Now this Lando or " Tranquillo owns in his laſt Paradox the *Cicero re-* " *legatus* for his own work. *Non dubito certamente,* " ſays he, *che molti non ſi habbino da maravigliare* " *che ancora fatto non habbia la pace con M. Tullio,* " *qual gia ſono poco meno di dieci anni* (§) *chio man-* " *dai con ſuo gran ſcorno in eſſiglio.* i. e. " *I do not* " *queſtion but a great many perſons will wonder, that* " *I have not yet made peace with Tully, who has been* " *now almoſt ten years baniſhed, which is a great* " *diſgrace to him :* And a little lower. *Quando ſcriſſo* " *il Dialogo intitolato Cicerone relegato.* i. e. *When* " *I wrote the dialogue intitled Cicero baniſhed.*"

(*) That is to ſay, *Meſſer Ortenſio Lando Milaneſe.*

(3) See the reſt in the preceding remark.

(†) After the Dialect of Lombardy for *detto.*

(§) The *Paradoxes* were publiſhed at Venice in the year 1545 ; and the *Dialogues of Cicero* had been publiſhed at Lyons in the year 1534.

☞ LANGBAINE (GERARD), a learned Engliſh writer in the ſeventeenth Century, was ſon of Mr. William Langbaine, and born at Barton-Kirke in Weſtmorland (*a*) in the year 1608 [*A*], and educated at the Free-ſchool at Blencow in Cumberland. He became a Student in Queen's College in Oxford under the tuition of Mr. Thomas Wetherall in the beginning of the year 1626, where he was entered a poor ſerving child (*b*). July the 24th 1630 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*) ; and June the 27th 1633 that of Maſter of Arts (*d*). He was afterwards choſen Fellow of his College (*e*). In 1644 he was unanimouſly elected Keeper of the Archives of the Univerſity ; and in the latter end of the year following Provoſt of his College (*f*). June the 22d 1646 he was created Doctor of Divinity (*g*). His writings ſhew him to have been a man of moſt extenſive learning [*B*]. He was highly eſteemed by Archbiſhop Uſher, Selden, and

(*a*) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 122. and *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 220. edti. 2. London 1721.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

(*c*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 249.

(*d*) Idem, ibid. col. 257.

(*e*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Idem, ibid.

(*g*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 57.

[*A*] *Born . . . in the year* 1608.] Mr. Wood tells us (1), that he was 18 years old when he became a ſtudent of Queen's College in Oxford in 1626.

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 220.

[*B*] *His writings ſhew him to have been a man of moſt extenſive learning.*] What he publiſhed are as follow. I. *Longinus de grandi Eloquentiâ ſive ſublimi*

and other great men of that age. He died February the 10th $165\frac{7}{8}$, and was interred about the middle of the Inner Chapel of Queen's College, having a little before ſettled twenty four pounds *per ann.* on a Free-ſchool at the place of his nativity; towards the purchaſing

mi dicendi genere è Græco Latinè redditus, & Notis illuſtratus. Oxford 1636 and 1638 in 8vo. II. *Brief Diſcourſe relating to the times of Edward VI. Or, the ſtate of the times, as they ſtood in the reign of King Edward VI.* By way of Preface to a book, intitled, *The true ſubject to the rebel: or, the Hurt of ſedition,* &c. written by Sir John Cheek. Oxford 1641 in 4to. To this Dr. Langbaine prefixed *the life of Sir John Cheek.* III. *Epiſcopal Inheritance: or, a Reply to the humble examination of a printed abſtract; or the anſwers to nine Reaſons of the houſe of Commons againſt the votes of Biſhops in Parliament.* Oxford 1641 in 4to. To which is added *A determination of the late learned Biſhop of Salisbury* (Davenant) *Engliſhed.* Theſe two pieces were reprinted at London in 1680. IV. *A Review of the Covenant: wherein the Original, Grounds, Means, Matter, and Ends of it are examined; and out of the principles of the Remonſtrances, Declarations, Votes, Orders, and Ordinances of the prime Covenanters, or the firmer grounds of Scripture, Law, and Reaſon, diſproved.* Printed in 1644. It was reprinted at London 1661 in 4to to which edition is prefixed *an Advertiſement to the reader*; in which it is ſaid, "that this treatiſe being "compoſed by our author in the heat of our late "Civil Commotions, when the pen was no leſs "than the ſword, and each of them ſo furiouſly "contended for victory over the adverſe party, "his prudence would not then ſuffer him publick-"ly to own it, as for other reaſons, ſo perhaps be-"cauſe of ſome harſh expreſſions againſt the fram-"ers of this covenant, which his zeal to his Ma-"jeſty's righteous cauſe did againſt his moderate Ge-"nius prompt him to. But had it not by ſome "ſiniſter accident miſcarried in its firſt birth, it "might in all probability have proved an effectu-"al means to compoſe thoſe unhappy differences, "which had fallen out amongſt us, at leaſt to with-"draw ſuch, as had not loſt their Judgment with "their Loyalty, from a cauſe, whoſe foundation muſt "needs therein have appeared ſo rotten. The ſup-"preſſion therefore of ſo uſeful a piece is to be "looked upon as no ſmall part of the public ca-"lamity of thoſe times, wherein it was written, and "its loſs muſt have been prejudicial to ours, where-"in, though we have ſeen the covenant reduced to "aſhes, yet even thoſe aſhes may be fruitful of iſſue, "no leſs monſtrous than its Parent." This treatiſe contains 13 chapters. Chapter the *firſt: By what means the Covenanters were reduced to the neceſſity of entering into this combination, confeſſed to be their laſt refuge.* Chapter the *ſecond: The grounds of the Covenant, and falſe aſſertions laid down in the preface to it, diſproved.* Chapter the *third: The unlawfulneſs of the Covenant in reſpect of the cauſe efficient, as made by ſubjects againſt the will of their ſuperior in ſuch things as neceſſarily require his conſent.* Chapter the *fourth: The matter of the Covenant examined; and proved, firſt, to be againſt truth.* Chapter the *fifth: That the Covenant by reaſon of the many ambiguities in it, eſpecially this, who ſhall be the authentic interpreter of it, cannot be ſworn in judgment.* Capter the *ſixth: That the performance of ſundry clauſes in the Covenant cannot be without grand inconvenience or injuſtice.* Chapter the *ſeventh: That many things vowed in the Covenant are not poſſible to be fulfilled.* Chapter the *eighth: That the very taking the Covenant and other avowed actions of the Covenanters are in fact contradictory to the formal words of their oath.* Chapter the *ninth: That many particulars vowed in the Covenant, and intended by the covenanters, are ſimply and abſolutely unlawful.* Chapter the *tenth: That the Covenant is repugnant to thoſe general ends, for which it is pretended to be taken.* Chapter the *eleventh: That the particular ends of the ſeveral articles are likewiſe inconſiſtent with the matter of them.* Chapter the *twelfth: The true end of framing and enjoyning this Covenant,* The bringing in of the Scots, *abſolutely unlawful.* Chapter the *thirteenth: From theſe premiſes the Covenant is concluded unlawful in reſpect of the form.* V. *Anſwer of the Chancellor, Maſters, and Scholars of the Univerſity of Oxford, to the petition, articles of grievance, and reaſons of the City of Oxford: preſented to the committee for regulating the Univerſity of Oxford* 24 July 1649. Oxford 1649 in ſix ſheets in 4to. Reprinted there again in 1678, and likewiſe a book intitled, *A defence of the Rights and Privileges of the Univerſity of Oxford, &c.* publiſhed by James Harrington, then Bachelor (ſoon after Maſter) of Arts, and Student of Chriſt Church, at Oxford 1690, in 4to. VI. *Quæſtiones pro more ſolenni in Veſperiis propoſitæ ann.* 1651. Oxford 1658, in 4to. Publiſhed by Mr. Thomas Barlow, afterwards Bp. of Lincoln, among ſeveral little works of learned men. VII. *Platonicorum aliquot, qui etiamnum ſuperſunt, Authorum, Græcorum imprimis, mox & Latinorum, ſyllabus alphabeticus.* Oxford 1667, in 8vo. It was drawn up by our Author at the deſire of Archbiſhop Uſher, but left imperfect; which being found among his papers, was, with ſome few alterations (where there was found good reaſon of ſo doing) placed at the end of *Alcini, in Platonicam Philoſophiam Introductio,* publiſhed by Dr. John Fell Dean of Chriſt Church. VIII. There is alſo aſcribed to our Author, *A view of the New Dictionary, and a vindication of the ancient Liturgy of the Church of England: in anſwer to the reaſons pretended in the Ordinance and Preface, for the aboliſhing the one, and eſtabliſhing the other.* Oxford 1645 in 4to. *pagg.* 112. Dr. Langbaine alſo publiſhed, 1. *The Foundation of the Univerſity of Oxford, with a Catalogue of the principal Founders and ſpecial Benefactors of all the Colleges, and total number of Students,* &c. London 1651, in three ſheets in 4to. moſtly taken from the *Tables* of John Scot of Cambridge, printed in 1622. 2. *The Foundation of the Univerſity of* Cambridge, *with a Catalogue,* &c. printed with the former Catalogue in three ſheets, and taken from Mr. Scot's Tables. He likewiſe laboured very much in finiſhing Archbiſhop Uſher's Book, entitled, *Chronologia Sacra,* but died when he had almoſt brought it to an end. Mr. Thomas Barlow compleated it. He tranſlated into Latin, *Reaſons of the preſent judgment of the Univerſity concerning the ſolemn League and Covenant,* and aſſiſted Dr. Robert Sanderſon and Dr. Richard Zouch in the drawing up of thoſe *Reaſons.* He tranſlated into Engliſh *A Review of the Council of Trent, written in French by a learned Roman Catholick,* Oxford 1638, in fol. wherein is repreſented the diſſent of the Gallican Church from ſeveral concluſions of the Council. He left behind him 13 quartos and 8 octavos in manuſcript, with innumerable collections in looſe papers, all written with his own hand, collected chiefly from ancient manuſcripts in the Bodleian Library, &c. He had alſo made ſeveral Catalogues of manuſcripts in various libraries, and of printed books likewiſe, in order, as was ſuppoſed, for an univerſal Catalogue in all kinds of learning. Dr. Fuller tells us (2), that he took a great deal of pains in the continuation of Brian Twyne's *Antiq. Academ. Oxon.* and that he was intent upon it, when he died. But Mr. Wood obſerves (3), that he cannot find any ground for this aſſertion; and that Dr. Thomas Barlow and Dr. Lamplugh, who looked over his library after his death, aſſured him, that they ſaw nothing done towards ſuch a deſign. Dr. Langbaine greatly aſſiſted Dr. Arthur Duck in compoſing his book *De uſu & authoritate Juris Civilis Romanorum in Dominico Principum Chriſtianorum,* printed at London 1653 in 8vo. In the *Collection of three hundred Letters written between Archbiſhop Uſher and moſt of the eminenteſt perſons for piety and learning in his time both in England and beyond the ſeas,* publiſhed by Dr. Richard Parr at London 1686 in fol. we have ſeveral letters of our Author to that Prelate. In one dated from Queen's College, February 9th $164\frac{8}{9}$. he writes thus: "For "myſelf, I cannot tell what account to make of my "preſent employment; I have many Irons in the "Fire, but of no great conſequence. I do not know "how ſoon I ſhall be called to give up, and am "therefore putting my houſe in order; digeſting the "confuſed notes and papers left me by ſeveral pre-

(2) *Worthies of England,* in *Cumberland. See likewiſe* David Lloyd's *Memoirs,* pag. 518.

(3) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 221.

purchaſing of which he received twenty pounds from a certain Doctor of Oxford, who deſired to have his name concealed (*b*). He had a ſon, GERARD, who was born in the pariſh of St. Peter in the Eaſt in the City of Oxford, July the 15th 1656, educated in

(*b*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

" deceſſors both in the Univerſity and College, which " I purpoſe to leave in a better method than I found " them. At Mr. *Patrick Young*'s requeſt I have un- " dertaken the collation of *Conſtantine's Geoponics* with " two manuſcripts in our publick library, up- " on which I am forced to beſtow ſome vacant " hours. In our College I am *ex officio* to moderate " Divinity-diſputations once a week. My honoured " friend Dr. *Duck* has given me occaſion to make " ſome inquiry after the law. And the opportunity " of an ingenious young man come lately from Paris, " who has put up a private courſe of Anatomy, has " prevailed with me to engage myſelf for his Audi- " tor and Spectator upon three days a week, four " hours each time. But this I do *ut explorator, non* " *ut transfuga*. For though I am not ſollicitous to " engage myſelf in that great and weighty calling " of the miniſtry after this new way; yet I would " be loth to be λειποτάκτης, as to divinity. Though " I am very inſufficient to make a Maſter-builder, " yet I could help to bring in materials from that " publick ſtore in our library, to which I could wil- " lingly conſecrate the remainder of my days, and " count it no loſs to be deprived of all other Ac- " commodations, ſo I might be permitted to enjoy " the liberty of my conſcience and ſtudy in that " place. But if there be ſuch a price ſet upon the " latter, as the former, as I cannot reach without " pawning the former, I am reſolved, the Lord's " will be done." Eleven other letters of our Author to Mr. Selden are publiſhed by Mr. Thomas Hearne in the *firſt part* of his *Appendix* to *Leland's Collectanea*, Vol. V. p. 270 and 282 & *ſeqq*. The firſt is dated at Queen's College, March 20th 164$\frac{7}{8}$. In one dated November 17th 1651. he has the following paſſage: " In purſuance of thoſe injunctions (for ſuch to me " are all, which you call requeſts) which your laſt of the " 6th inſtant laid upon me, I have made ſearch into " ſuch Greek manuſcripts, as our publick library " affords of the *Firſt Epiſtle of St. John*, which are " not many. Of theſe latter we have only three " copies, and one of them defective at the end, and " ſo wanting ſome of the Canonical Epiſtles. The " other two read that place, chap. 5. thus: Ὅτι " τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ " ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι· without " any *veſtigium* of that, which uſually paſſeth for " the 7th verſe. You know what Beza has noted upon " the place; to which I may add, that in the in- " terlineary of Raphelengius in 8*vo*. 1612, thoſe " words, εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι, make the cloſe of the 7th " verſe, and are totally wanting as in the 8th, with " which agrees the Geneva edition in 4*to*. 1620. " But I ſuppoſe it was not to your purpoſe to in- " quire after the varieties of editions, but manuſcripts, " and whether you meant only Greek and Latin " too, I cannot tell; and therefore do yet forbear " to trouble you with the ſeveral Lections in our " Latin Copyes, ſome having nothing of the 7th " verſe, ſome putting it in the margin, ſome place- " ing it after what we ordinarily account for the " eighth, and thoſe that have both varying di- " verſly; which, if it may be uſefull to you any " way, I ſhall upon the firſt notice, more methodical- " ly digeſt, and more particularly certify." In ano- ther dated March 16th 1651 he has this paſſage. *For myſelf, I have engaged a matter of a ſcore of our ableſt men in that kind to undertake a thorough ſurvey of our publick library, intending to make a perfect catalogue of all the books according to their ſeverall ſubjects in ſeve- rall kinds; and when that's done, to incorporate in it all the authors in any of our private College libraries, which are wanting in the publick, ſo as he that deſires to know, may ſee, at one view, what we have upon any ſubject. Dr.* James *made ſome beginning in this kind; but none yet has ventured either to perfect his, or begin a new.* In another dated Auguſt 22d. 1653. he writes thus: " Upon occaſion of the buſineſſe of " tythes now under conſideration, ſome, whom it " more nearly concerns, have been pleaſed to enquire " of me, what might be ſaid, as to the civil right " of them; to whom I was not able to give any " better directions than by ſending them to your " *Hiſtory*. Happily it may ſeem ſtrange to them, yet " I am not out of hopes, but that work (like Pelias " Haſta) which was lookt upon as a piece, that " ſtruck deepeſt againſt the divine, will afford the " ſtrongeſt arguments for the civil right; and if " that be made the iſſue, I do not deſpair of the " cauſe. . . . It is a mere difficulty to me to imagine, " what argument (as the law now ſtands) can be " brought againſt the miniſters title and propriety, " than for it; but of this we ſhall hear (I doubt not) " ſoon enough." In another dated September 19th 1653. he writes thus: " Touching the abolition or " continuance of the judiciall law either to the Jews " or Chriſtians, I do not remember to have ſeen any " peculiar tract. . . . With ſubmiſſion to your judg- " ment, I ſhould think theſe two propoſitions no " paradoxes: 1. That the judiciall law of Moſes, " as ſuch, (abſtracting from what in it is of the law " of nature and *Nations*, &c.) was never binding to " Chriſtians, as Chriſtians. 2. That to the Jews, " as Jews, it never ceaſed to be ſo, ſave only by ac- " cident, as countermanded by the civil ſanctions of " thoſe Princes and States, in whoſe dominions their " lot of reſidence has fallen, ſince their final diſper- " ſion; with what variety and temperament, both in " the Roman empire and other nations, no man " knows better than yourſelfe. I find in St. Auſtin " (*Epiſtola* 49) out of Porphyry, of their law in ge- " neral affirm'd: *Prorepſit in fines Italos poſt Caium* " *Cæſarem, aut certè illo imperante*. Thoſe ſeverall " laws in both Codes concerning ſometimes the re- " ſtraint, ſometimes the toleration of it, I need not " mention. For matter of fact, I know not, whe- " ther it be worth the while to take notice of that " paſſage in Theodorus (or rather Diodorus) Tarſen- " ſis (*apud Photium in Bibl. Cod.* 223. *ex Lib.* 6. " *de Fato*) who gives this teſtimony of the Jewiſh " nation, that as formerly, ſo ſince their univerſall " diſperſion till that time (about 400 years after " Chriſt) they never apoſtatized from their antient " laws. And tho' that were a time, when the Jews " (if ever) were in moſt flagrant favour with the " Emperors; yet that the Chriſtians of thoſe days " did not conceive themſelves oblig'd by the Jewiſh " judicialls, may be collected from that return of " Baſil to (as I ſuppoſe) the ſame Diodorus, Biſhop " of Tarſus, touching the caſe of a man's marrying " the ſiſter of his deceaſed wife (*Baſil. Ep.* 187. & " *vid. Balſamon in eandem*) where he waves the au- " thority of the Moſaical law with ὅσα ὁ νόμος λέγει, " τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λέγει, &c. We have in ourpub- " lic library amongſt the Greek MSS. given by Sir " Thomas Roe, a great volume containing, *inter alia*, " ſeveral Collections of Laws both Civil and Eccle- " ſiaſtical, many of thoſe already extant in the *Baſilica* " and *Jus Græco-Romanum*, with others (for ought I " know) not yet in print: in which book betwixt " ſome novels of Baſilius and ſome others of Leo Imp. " comes in a piece of about ſix leaves in quantity " with this title: Ἐκλογὴ ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τῆ παρὰ τῆ Θεῆ " διὰ Μωϋσέως δοθέντος νόμου τοῖς Ισραηλίταις. The firſt " title thus: Περὶ κρίματος καὶ δικαιοσύνης· ἐκ τῆς Ἐξόδου " κιφ. κϑ. The beginning runs thus: Οὐ παραλήψη " ἀκοὴν ματαίαν, ἐ συγκαθήσῃ μετὰ τῆ ἀδίκου γενέσϑαι " μάρτυς ἄδικος &c. In the margin over-right " againſt the title, there is this note in the rubrick, " of the ſame hand with the reſt, πῶς συμβάλλεσι " ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς νενομοθετημένοις; by which, " as it is apparent at the time of the tranſcript, it was " otherwiſe, ſo it may be doubted, whether in the " firſt deſign of the collector thoſe laws were not ſup- " poſed to concern the Chriſtians of thoſe times as " rule of life. The method of the collection is not " much unlike that in the *Collatio Legum Moſai- " carum & Romanarum* ſet out by Pithæus, of which, " I think, you make Licinius Rufinus to have been " the author. The whole volume was writ about 300 " years ſince by one Conſtantinus Sapiens, for ſo I " read in the cloſe of the book, and ſometimes belonged

in Grammar learning at Denton in the pariſh of Cudeſton near Oxford under Mr. William Wildgooſe, M. A. and bound apprentice to Mr. Nevill Simmons, a Bookſeller in St. Paul's Church-yard, but ſoon after called thence by his mother upon the death of his elder brother *William*, and by her entered a Gentleman Commoner of Univerſity College in Oxford in Michaelmas Term 1672, "where though put under the "tuition of a good tutor, ſays Mr. Wood (*i*), yet by his mother's fondneſs he became "idle, a great jockey, married, and run out a good part of the eſtate that had "deſcended to him. But being a man of parts, he afterwards took up, lived for ſome "years a retired life near Oxford, improved much his natural and gay genius, that he "had to dramatic Poetry, and at firſt wrote little things without his name ſet to them, "which he would never own." But he afterwards publiſhed ſome works, which he owned [*C*]. Auguſt the 14th 1690 he was elected Inferior Beadle of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford; and on the 19th of January following was choſen Superior Beadle of Law. He died June the 23d 1692, and was interred in the Church of St. Peter in the Eaſt in Oxford (*k*).

(*i*) Idem, ibid. col. 892.

(*k*) Idem, ibid. col. 892, 893.

"to the monaſtery τῆς Ἐσπέρᾳ *in Inſulâ Chalce*. I cannot tell whether any of later times, Caroloſtadius "and the Anabaptiſts excepted, have maintained the "Jewiſh Judicials to be univerſally and indiſpenſably "binding to Chriſtians." In another letter dated November the 8th 1653 he writes thus: "I was not ſo "much troubled to hear of that fellow, who lately "in London maintained in public, that learning is a "ſin, as to ſee ſome men (who would be accounted "none of the meaneſt amongſt ourſelves here at home) "under pretence of piety go about to baniſh it the Uniſity. I cannot make any better conſtruction of a "late order made by thoſe, whom we call viſitors, "upon occaſion of an election laſt week at All-Souls "College, to this effect, that for the future no ſcholar "be choſen into any place in any college, unleſſe he "bring a teſtimony under the hands of four perſons "at the leaſt, (not Electours) known to theſe viſitors "to be truly godly men, that he who ſtands for ſuch "a place is himſelfe truly godly; and by arrogating "to themſelves this power, they ſit judges of all "men's conſciences, and have rejected ſome, againſt "whom they had no other exceptions (being certified "by ſuch, to whom their converſations were beſt "known, to be unblameable, and ſtatutably elected "after due examination and approbation of their ſuffiſciency by that ſociety) merely upon this account, "that the perſons who teſtified in their behalfe, are "not known to theſe viſitors to be regenerate. I intend (God willing) ere long to have an election in "our College, and have profeſſed, that I will not ſubmit to this order. How I ſhall ſpeed in it, I do "not pretend to foreſee; but if I be baffled, I ſhall "hardly be ſilent."

[*C*] *He afterwards publiſhed ſome works which he owned.*] I. *The Hunter: a Diſcourſe of Horſemanſhip.* Oxford 1685 in 8vo. This is ſubjoined to the third edition of a book, intitled, *The Gentleman's Recreation, in four parts*, viz. *Hunting, Hawking, Fowling, Fiſhing, &c. whereunto is prefixed a large Sculpture giving eaſy directions for blowing the Horn: With an Abſtract at the End of each Subject of ſuch Laws as relate to the ſame*, &c. This *Gentleman's Recreation* was written by Colonel Edward Cook of Highnam in Glouceſter-ſhire, who attended King Charles I. at Newport in the Iſle of Wight, during the treaty between his Majeſty and the Parliament, and was there when the King was carried thence to Hurſt-Caſtle in November 1648, when his Majeſty commanded him to commit to writing the manner of his ſeizure, which he did. The Colonel died at London January the 29th 1683, and was interred on the 2d of February at Highnam abovementioned. There was publiſhed of his writing *Certain paſſages, which happened at Newport in the Iſle of Wight November the 29th* 1648, *relating to King Charles I.* London 1690 in four ſheets and an half in 4to. II. Momus Triumphans: *Or the Plagiaries of the Engliſh Stage expreſſed in a Catalogue of Comedies, Tragedies*, &c. London 1688 in five ſheets in 4to. Which title, with the book, and a large preface of 15 pages of Mr. Langbaine's writing, being publiſhed by another hand contrary to the mind of the author, and 500 of the copies ſold, he cauſed another title to be put to the reſt of the copies, with an advertiſement againſt the firſt. The title is thus: *A New Catalogue of Engliſh Plays, containing Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Opera's, Maſques, Paſtorals, Interludes, Farces, &c. both antient and modern, that have ever yet been printed, to this preſent year* 1688. *To which are added the Volumes and beſt Editions, with divers Remarks of the Originals of moſt Plays, and of the Plagiaries of ſeveral Authors.* London 1688. This is the ground-work of another book, written by Mr. Langbaine, and entitled, III, *An Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets: Or, ſome Obſervations and Remarks on the Lives and Writings of all thoſe that have either publiſhed Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Paſtorals, Maſques, Interludes, Farces, or Opera's in the Engliſh tongue. By* Gerard Langbaine. Oxford 1691 in 8vo. Dedicated to James Earl of Abington. IV. While he was Superior Beadle of Law, he wrote and publiſhed an *Appendix to a Catalogue of all the Graduates in Divinity, Law, and Phyſic*, &c. which *Catalogue* was written by Mr. Richard Peers, Superior Beadle of Arts and Phyſick. Mr. Langbaine's *Appendix* contains the names of all thoſe, who proceeded in Divinity, Law, and Phyſic in the Univerſity of Oxford from the 14th of July 1688, where Mr. Peers left off, to the 6th of Auguſt 1699. V. Mr. Wood tells us, that he had been informed by Mr. Langbaine and others, that he had written the *Hermaphrodite: a Novel*; which perhaps might be the ſame with *The Gallant Hermaphrodite, an amorous Novel*, London 1687 in 8vo, tranſlated from the French of the Sieur de Chavigny. T.

LANGIUS (PAUL) a German Monk, would be but little known by the Chronicle he compoſed, had he not inſerted in it great complaints againſt the wicked lives of the Clergy, and beſtowed elogies on Martin Luther (*a*). This is the reaſon why the Proteſtants have quoted him a thouſand times over and over. He was born at Zwicka in Voigtland, and entered amongſt the Benedictine Monks in the year 1487 in the monaſtery of Bozaw near Zeits in Miſnia (*b*). The Abbot Trithemius ſent him in the year 1515 to ſearch all the Convents in Germany, in order to make a collection of all the manuſcripts, which could ſerve to illuſtrate Hiſtory, or to improve the catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers (*c*). Langius laboured for himſelf alſo when he was viſiting the Libraries; for it proved very uſeful to him when he wrote his Chronicle (*d*) [*A*]. It begins

(*a*) *See* Wolffi, *Lect. Memorabiles*, tom. 2. pag. 169, & *ſeq.*

(*b*) Voſſius, *de Hiſtor. Latinis*, pag. 644.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

(*d*) Vignier, *Theatre de l'Ante-Chriſt*, in the Index of the authors quoted.

[*A*] *His Chronicle.*] It is intitled *Chronicon Citicenſe*. i. e. "The Chronicle of Zeits." But it does not follow from thence that Du Pleſſis was in the right to call the author of it *Moine de Citique*. i. e. "A Monk "of

begins with the year 1468 according to Voſſius, but he is miſtaken [*B*]. Coeffeteau had recourſe to a very indifferent evaſion [*C*], when he anſwered the *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, in which ſome paſſages of Langius were quoted. There is a Reflection of Andrew Rivetus relating

" of Citicus." Coeffeteau inſtead of correcting that blunder, made uſe of the ſame words. Rivetus's expreſſions are not much better, *le Moine Citique*. See their paſſages in the remark [*C*]. Strangers have much reaſon to complain, that the French are uſed to alter and disfigure the proper names ſo, that one does not know what to make of them. Voſſius made this obſervation againſt the celebrated Thuanus (1). But here the fault conſiſts not only in disfiguring the name of a city; it is ſomething worſe, for becauſe Langius compoſed the Chronicle of a Cathedral Church, they give him a name derived from that Church. Now ſuch a name does not in the leaſt belong to him.

(1) Voſſius, *De Arte Hiſtorica*, cap. 12. pag. 69.

[*B*] *Voſſius is miſtaken.*] This work of Langius is a Chronicle of the Epiſcopal Church of Zeits. The Emperor Otho I founded this Cathedral in the year 968. Pope John XIII confirmed it. *Teſte Paulo Langio in Chronico Citizenſi, quod a dicto anno* (968) *uſque ad annum* 1515 *deduxit Epiſcoporum Citizenſium & aliorum in vicinia Antiſtitum res geſtas commemorans* (2). Langius carries his Chronicle from that foundation to the year 1515: he does not only give us the Hiſtory of the Biſhop of Zeits, but he mentions alſo the other Biſhops of the neighbouring cities.

(2) Aub. Miræus, *in Geographia Eccleſiaſtica*, pag. 124.

[*C*] *Coeffeteau had recourſe to a very indifferent evaſion.*] Du Pleſſis Mornai could not omit to mention the Elogies, which Langius beſtows on Martin Luther.

(*) This is a miſtake. See the remark [*A*]. Du Pleſſis ſays, *Moine de Citique.*

" Paul Langius, a Monk of Zeits (*), and a diſciple " of Abbot Trithemius juſt when Luther began to ap- " pear in the world, though he did not quit his Mo- " naſtery, yet was greatly moved by Luther's preach- " ing, and gives him ſuch a noble character as could " hardly be expected from a Monk. *This Martin,* ſays " he, *was a moſt learned, and incomparable Divine, " who endeavoured to reſtore the ſacred Divinity to its " primitive dignity, its ancient purity, and to the inno- " cence, plainneſs and ſimplicity of the Goſpel, deſpiſing " intirely all worldly Philoſophy.* ... And in another " place under the year 1503, he mentions him together " with Carloſtad and Melanchthon, and obſerves of " them all, that *they handle and teach the ſacred Theo- " logy ſo as to give the pure wheat of the word of God, " without any ſtraw: that is to ſay, without mixing " Philoſophy and Syllogiſms with it; but confining them- " ſelves only to the Goſpel of Chriſt, and to the Apoſtle " St. Paul, whom they take for their patrons and their " only authority; and with the ſtudy of the Holy Scripture " they join the fear of God, and the ſeeds of all the " moral virtues, which they ſow into the hearts of their " diſciples, by their words, by their example, and by " their writings.* And that it might not be objected " to us, that this was ſaid before Luther had de- " clared war againſt the Pope, here follows what Lan- " gius obſerves under the year 1520, after he had ex- " patiated on the abuſe and exceſs of indulgences. *The " ſame* (Luther) ſays he, *by his doctrine and admirable " preaching diſcredited intirely the indulgences; he raiſed " doubts about them, and diſſuaded the people from buy- " ing them, ſhewing that they were not in the leaſt ne- " ceſſary to ſalvation, they not being a remiſſion of ſins, " but ſerving only to make men careleſs of repenting, and " neglectful of good works, nay, that they were a ſtum- " bling block and an excitement to vice: that the me- " rits of Chriſt and the Saints were not the ſtock and " ſtore of theſe indulgences, ſince nothing of all this " was ever written in the primitive Church nor even " during a thouſand years by the Saints and Doc- " tors of the orthodox Church; ſo far were they from " having ſuch a value for them, and ſuch an high " opinion of them, as men have now, on account of the " money they raiſe by them. He aſſerted alſo and proved " that the Church of Rome is not the firſt and the " head of the others by any divine right &c. And " for this reaſon,* adds he, *they perſecute him now like " another Athanaſius, particularly becauſe he aſſerted this " theſis, and ſome other great and ſublime articles of " doctrine, which not only the Romans but even ſome " learned men, eſpecially the Thomiſts continue to oppoſe. " And yet this Martin, who is the firſt and wiſeſt " man of this time in matters of controverſy, could never " yet be vanquiſhed, for he ſupports and proves his doc- " trine by paſſages from the Goſpel, and from the Apoſtle " St. Paul's Epiſtles, and even from the original works " of the ancient orthodox Fathers* (3)." Du Pleſſis does not omit the *ſalvo* which Langius makes uſe of to ſoften ſo many bold propoſitions. *Thus ſpeaks that Monk,* ſays he, non aſſertive, ſed admirative, *not with a deſign to affirm any thing, but out of admiration, ſuſpending his judgment after the example of ſeveral other perſons, till the matter be determined by a general Council.* I have here tranſcribed Langius's own words. *Porro quæ de Martini Lutheri Doctrina diſſerui, non ſicut diſcipulus ejus aſſertive, quod abſit, ſed potius admirative poſui utpote nullius adhuc juratus in verba magiſtri. Sed cum ſim & ego more ſuſpenſus multorum, quouſque per Oecumenicum univerſale & generale Concilium, quid in tam ardua re tenendum ſit, decretum fuerit, paratus nihilo tamen minus, & modo, ſemper a recte ſapientibus doceri, quorum etiam & potiſſimum Romanæ Eccleſiæ judicio hæc præſentia, & alia qualiacunque mea ſcripta & corrigenda & examinanda ſubjicio, tametſi ego ſupra narrata, non de Romanis ſed de Romanenſibus, id eſt, non indigenis, ſed aliunde ad eum confluentibus deſcripſerim* (4). i. e. " What I have obſerved of Martin " Luther's doctrine, I have not related affirmatively, " as a diſciple of his; God forbid; but rather by " way of admiration, as a man who is not addicted to " any party. For I am ſtill in ſuſpenſe, like many " other perſons, till it be decreed by a general Coun- " cil, what we ought to believe in theſe difficult and " abſtruſe matters. And yet I am always ready " to learn from thoſe, who think right, to whoſe " judgment, and particularly to that of the Church " of Rome, I ſubmit both this and all my other writ- " ings, to be by them examined and corrected. " However what I have obſerved above muſt be un- " derſtood not of the native Romans, but of thoſe, " who from other parts flock to Rome." Theſe words are a ſtrong proof of his being a Roman Catholic.

(3) Du Pleſſis Mornai, *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 573.

(4) Langius, *apud* Wolfium, *Lect. memorabil.*

Here follows Coeffeteau's anſwer to this. " What " the Sieur du Pleſſis objects againſt us from Paul Lan- " gius a Monk of Citicus (Zeits) and a diſciple of " the Abbot Trithemius, ſhews us the ſincerity of the " Proteſtants, and with what honeſty they publiſh the " works of ſome authors. For they make Langius ſay " ſuch things concerning Luther, as are intirely incon- " ſiſtent, not only with the doctrine, which Langius " profeſſed till his death, but alſo with what he wrote " in that ſame Chronicle, which contains thoſe com- " mendations on Luther. The Proteſtants imagine " perhaps, that they will make us believe this author " was a Lutheran and a Papiſt, an Heretic and " Orthodox, for indeed they cannot otherwiſe reconcile " with his former writings what they make him ſay " here. And let no man be impoſed upon by the " name of Piſtorius, who publiſhed that work; for " though he turned Catholic, yet it was ſome time af- " ter, and he was ſtill a Proteſtant when he publiſhed " this Chronicle, with ſome other works of German " writers, and he does even declare, that he had it " from Henry Petreus, who lived at Baſil amongſt the " Heretics. Farther, the authors of this forgery are " ſenſible that the world would hardly believe Lan- " gius ſpoke ſo honourably both of the doctrine and " perſon of Luther; and therefore they added to it " a pitiful and ſilly evaſion, making him ſay, that " what he wrote was not *affirmativè*, but *admirativè*, " *not to affirm any thing, but out of admiration, ſuſpend- " ing his judgment &c.* One would think that this " Langius wants a maſter, and is not yet determined " what religion he ought to chooſe (5)." This is a wretched reply. It were better to be ſilent than to make ſuch an anſwer. Father Gretſer waved it, and imagined he ſhould find his account better in ſuppoſing that honeſt Paul Langius, who longed to take a woman in his arms, looked upon Luther as an hero, who would ſoon exterminate celibacy. Let us ſee what the Sieur du Pleſſis's apologiſt replied to this raillery, and to Coeffeteau's evaſion.

(5) Coeffeteau, *Reponſe au Myſt. d'Iniquité*, pag. 1218, 1219.

" Paul Langius a *Citique* Monk gives ſuch a no- " ble and beautiful character of Luther's doctrine,

" that

(e) See them in the 1st edition of that *Dictionary*. We shall set them down in the remark [E].

relating to Piſtorius, who publiſhed this Monk's Chronicle in the year 1583, which Reflection is ill-grounded in my opinion [D]. Moreri's blunders are not conſiderable (e) [E].

" that our Monk (Gretſer) cannot bear it, but he " muſt charge thoſe, who publiſhed Langius's work, " with adding to it from their own brains all that " is quoted from it to that purpoſe; thus he mea- " ſures their Corn by the buſhel of the Papiſts, " who are uſed to falſify with additions and mutila- " tions, all the writings that paſs through their hands. " And yet to deprive them of this objection, God " ſuffered this work to be publiſhed by a man, who " even then had already ſecretly deſigned to apoſta- " tiſe, which he did at laſt publickly: I mean Piſto- " rius, who would certainly have ſince that time diſ- " covered this artifice, had he been concerned in it, or " any other perſon to his knowledge. Gretſer, who " had it in his power to examine him upon this par- " ticular, had not the impudence to charge the pub- " liſher of this chronicle with falſifying it, though " otherwiſe he be impudent to the higheſt degree. " He choſe rather to abuſe this poor Monk in theſe " words. *It is this Langius, who at the firſt preach- " ing of the Lutheran Goſpel longed to leave his Mo- " naſtery, imagining that the happy time was now " come, when the Monks would be at liberty to throw " off their hood and marry Nuns.* But in thoſe times " the Monks knew very well how to find means to " lie with Nuns, without marrying them: and if " they had not been hindered by other conſiderations, " Coeffeteau does not want to be told, that they had " opportunities enough to gratify their deſires (6)." Theſe laſt words ſhew evidently, that the common topicks which the Miſſionaries inſiſt upon againſt the marriage of the Reformers, and of the Monks who improved the Proteſtant Religion, are not ſo favourable to them, as they imagine. They afford them indeed a large field for declamations; the moſt odious deſcriptions of ſenſuality drop very thick from their pen. But it is an eaſy matter to retort their own objections upon them; for it is but too true that they who make a vow of celibacy, do not always keep it; and common ſenſe teaches us, that if the Miniſters of the Church have not power enough over themſelves to abſtain from women, it is much better that they ſhou'd ſatisfy their paſſion with their own wives, than with their neighbour's wives.

(6) Rivet, *Remarques ſur la Réponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité*, Part. 2. p. 633.

[D] *A reflection of Andrew Rivetus . . . which is ill-grounded in my opinion.*] We have ſeen juſt now, that he pretends Piſtorius would have diſcovered his falſification after he was become a good Papiſt. I believe that he is miſtaken. If Piſtorius had falſified Langius's manuſcript, he would never have boaſted of it. The advantage which might accrue to the Church of Rome from ſuch a confeſſion, would have been very inconſiderable. Whether Langius commended Luther in the year 1520, or ſpoke ill of him, or did not mention him at all, it is after all of very little conſequence. But Piſtorius could not have diſcovered his wicked artifice, without making himſelf contemptible to the Roman Catholicks, aud expoſing himſelf to the abuſes of the Proteſtants, who from his own confeſſion would have had an argument to prove him a diſhoneſt man. Such faults are never confeſſed; they are attended with too bad conſequences to be owned.

[E] *Moreri's blunders are not conſiderable.*] He ought to have called Langius's native place *Zwicka* and not Zwickau (7). His Monaſtery was called *Bozau* and not Bozan. The miſtake of *Paſtorius* inſtead of Piſtorius has been corrected in the editions printed in Holland. It ought not to have been ſaid, that his Chronicle begins with the year 1468; this is a blunder of Voſſius, which I have already cenſured, and which Zeillerus has tranſcribed (1).

(7) It is called *Zurickau* in the edition of Moreri printed in Holland.

(8) Zeillerus, *de Hiſtoricis*, Part. 1. pag. 85.

LANGIUS (RODOLPH a Gentleman of Weſtphalia, and Provoſt of the Cathedral Church of Munſter towards the end of the fifteenth Century, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, and by his zeal for the reſtoration of polite Literature. He went through his firſt ſtudies at Deventer, and was afterwards ſent into Italy; by his uncle the Dean of Munſter, and applied himſelf to the greateſt maſters in Literature, Laurence Valla, Mapheus Vegius, Francis Philelphus and Theodore Gaza. By this means he acquired a good taſte of the Latin ſtile both in verſe and proſe, and confirmed himſelf in it by compoſing ſeveral pieces. His fellow-travellers in that journey were Maurice Count of Spiegelberg, and Rodolph Agricola: after they were returned into Germany, they laboured all three to baniſh ignorance, and were the firſt who by their example and by their exhortations eſtabliſhed a good method of writing in Latin, and of teaching that tongue. Langius being ſent to the Court of Rome by the Biſhop and Chapter of Munſter, under Pope Sixtus IV, acquitted himſelf very well of his Commiſſion, and came back with letters from this Pope and from Laurence de Medicis, which made him ſtill more conſidered than he was before, by thoſe who had ſent him to Rome, ſo that he was more able to proſecute his deſign of making the *Belles Lettres* flouriſh, by baniſhing from the ſchools the ignorance which prevailed there. He was obliged to ſtruggle ſome years with thoſe who protected it [A], and who objected that the

[A] *He was obliged to ſtruggle ſome years with thoſe who protected ignorance.*] The Univerſity of Cologne thwarted Langius's commendable deſign; but it was approved by the Italians, and their ſuffrages had ſuch a power with the Biſhop of Munſter, that they determined him intirely. You will ſee a more particular account of this in Chytræus's words (1). *Cauſam bonarum literarum & emendationis ſtudiorum doctrinæ barbaræ, paſſim in omnibus Collegiis & Scholis regnantium, majore cum fructu egit* (Langius) *tametſi aliquot adhuc annos reluctantibus veteris Barbarici patronis, ac nominatim Academia Colonienſi, quæ datis ad Conradum Ritbergenſem Epiſcopum, qui Henrico Swartzburgenſi ſucceſſerat, & ſummum Collegium, literis, uſitatum tot ſeculis inſtituendæ adoleſcentiæ & docendi rationem & libellos, in ſcholis retineri, & mutationes novas, & ſtudiis & diſciplinæ periculoſas, faveri flagitabant. Etſi autem erudite & graviter Conſilii ſui cauſas Rodolphus explicabat: tamen ad Italorum doctorum judicia ipſi provocare neceſſe fuit. Qui cum emendationem doctrinæ in ſcholis uſitatæ neceſſariam eſſe & Langium recte, Lovanienſes* (2) *perperam judicare, in reſponſis ad Epiſcopum ſuis pronunciaſſent: Epiſcopus qui Italorum, apud quos olim vixerat, cenſuram magni faciebat, facultatem aperiendæ novæ bonarum literarum ſcholæ Collegio dedit.* i. e. " Langius ſtrenuouſly aſſer- " ted the cauſe of polite literature, and ſhewed effec- " tually how neceſſary it was to alter the method " of ſtudying, which in thoſe times of ignorance " had prevailed in moſt of the colleges and ſchools; " though the patrons of ignorance oppoſed his deſign " for ſome years, particularly the Univerſity of Co- " logne, which ſent a letter to Conrad Ritberg, who " had ſucceeded Henry Swartsburg in the Biſhoprick " of Munſter, and to the Chapter, deſiring them to " continue the old method of teaching, and the " books that were in uſe for ſo many years, and " to prevent all changings, which were dangerous " to the ſtudies and to the education of the youth. " Though Rodolph explained the reaſons of his de- " ſign

(a) David Chytræus in *Saxonia*, lib. 3. pag. m. 80.

(2) As the author had only mentioned the Univerſity of Cologn, and not that of Lovain, we ought perhaps to read *Colonienſes* inſtead of *Lovanienſes*. But he had perhaps forgot to obſerve, that the Univerſity of Louvain did alſo write to the Biſhop of Munſter to thwart Langius's deſign.

the introducing a new method of teaching was dangerous; but at laſt he got over all theſe difficulties, and perſuaded his Biſhop to found a ſchool at Munſter, the direction of which was committed to learned men. He pointed out to them the method they were to follow, and the books they were to explain, and gave them the uſe of his fine Library. This ſchool being thus eſtabliſhed a little before the end of the fifteenth Century, became very flouriſhing, and ſerved as a nurſery for Literature to all Germany till the Revolutions which were occaſioned at Munſter by the Anabaptiſts in the year 1554. Langius died in the year 1519 at the age of fourſcore. He publiſhed ſome Poems, by which it appears that there were Latin Poets of ſome reputation in Germany before Conrad Celtes (*a*) [*B*]. Rodolph Agricola dedicated his Latin Tranſlation of Plato's Axiochus to Langius (*b*).

(*a*) *Taken from* David Chytræus, in *Saxonia*, lib. 3. pag. m. 80, & *ſeq.* See alſo his *Oration de veteris Saxoniæ Provincia ampliſſima quæ Weſtphalia hodie nominatur*, pag. m. 108, & *ſeq.*

(*b*) Idem, *in ea Oratione*, pag. 108.

" ſign with a great deal of learning and wiſdom, " yet he was obliged to aſk advice of the learned " men in Italy, who gave it as their opinion, that it " was neceſſary to alter the manner of teaching in " the ſchools, that Langius had judged right, and (†) " that thoſe of Louvain were in the wrong in their " anſwers to the Biſhop; whereupon the Biſhop, who " had a great reſpect for the judgment of the Italians, " amongſt whom he had lived formerly, gave the " Chapter a power to open a new ſchool for polite " literature."

(†) See the marginal note (2).

[*B*] *He publiſhed ſome Poems, by which it appears that there were Latin Poets of ſome reputation in Germany before Conrad Celtes.*] Let us quote again the ſame voucher. *Primus autem Germaniæ Poeta, ipſius Rodolphi Agricolæ judicio, avorum ætate, aliquot ante Conradum Celten annos celebris, hic Rodolphus Langius fuit, editis, de excidio Hieroſolymæ poſtremo, de obſidione Noveſii, de Paulo Apoſtolo, de Maria Virgine, Poëmatis clarus. Deque condiſcipulo & æquali ſuo Hegius cecinit:*

Jam ferre Poetas
Barbarie in media Weſtphalis ora poteſt.
Langius hanc decorat majorum ſanguine clarus,
Monaſteriaci lauſque decuſque ſoli,
Primus Melpomenem qui rura in Weſtphala duxit,
Cum caneret laudes, maxime Paule, tuas.

i. e. " Rodolph Langius was, in Rodolph Agricola's " opinion, the firſt amongſt ths German Poets; he was " famous in our grandfather's days, ſome years before " Conrad Celtes, having publiſhed the following poems, " on the laſt deſtruction of Jeruſalem, on the ſiege " of Nuys, on the Apoſtle St. Paul, on the virgin " Mary, by which poems he has gained a reputation. " Hegius his ſchoolfellow and contemporary ſays of " him: *Weſtphalia can now ſuffer Poets, in the midſt " of the darkneſs that covers it. Langius eminent by " his noble extraction, the glory and ornament of Mun- " ſter, illuſtrates this country. He is the firſt who led " the muſe into the fields of Weſtphalia, when he ſung " thy praiſe, O great Saint Paul.*"

Obſerve that Chytræus by uſing the word *editis, publiſhed*, hints that theſe poems had been printed: and yet the abbreviator of Geſner's Bibliotheque (3), who mentions ſome other poems of Langius, raiſes ſome doubts; for he obſerves that Herman Hamelman, who acknowledges that he had ſeen thoſe poems, does not declare, whether they were printed or only manuſcripts.

(3) *Epit. Biblioth. Geſneri*, pag. m. 734.

LANGIUS JOSEPH) born at Keiſerſberg (*a*) in Upper Alſace, and Profeſſor of Mathematics and of the Greek Tongue at Friburg a city of Briſgaw, was compoſing in the year 1612 his *Elementale Mathematicum* (*b*), which, according to Voſſius, was not printed (*c*) till five years after (*d*). Iſaac Habrecht a Philoſopher and Phyſician made Additions to it, and adorned it with Notes and Plates, and publiſhed it thus (*e*) in the year 1625. Langius had publiſhed at Straſburg in the year 1598 a *Florilegium* [*A*] in 8vo, which ſome years after was followed by a work in folio intitled, *Polyanthea nova* [*B*]. He lived ſeveral years in the Proteſtant Communion, and then he turned Roman Catholic (*f*). I ſhall give the titles of his other works below [*C*].

(*a*) *Cæſaremontanus.*

(*b*) Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathem.* pag. 388.

(*c*) And yet the edition of 1512 is ſet down in the Oxford Catalogue.

(*d*) At Friburg.

(*e*) At Strasburg.

(*f*) Taken from the Preface of his *Polyanthea.*

[*A*] *A Florilegium.*] It is a collection in an Alphabetical order of ſentences, Apophthegms, Compariſons, examples, and ſymbols. Such a work is very uſeful to young ſcholars, when they have ſome diſcourſes or exerciſes to make upon any ſubjects. Learned men might alſo uſe it with ſome advantage, if all that is quoted there had been carefully compared with the originals. But nothing like this has been done. Our Langius did only tranſcribe modern compilers, and amongſt others Thomas Hibernicus (1), whoſe work intitled *Flores Doctorum* (the flowers of the learned) abounds with errors.

(1) *Dietericus nihil aliud in Langio reprehendit, quam credulitatem, qua ſe ab Hibernico decipi paſſus.* Thomaſius, *de Plagio*, num. 482.

[*B*] *Polyanthea nova.*] The author follows in this work the ſame method as in his *Florilegium*. There are ſome paſſages of it corrected in the Spaniſh expurgatory Index, which contains alſo an hiſtory of the books intitled *Polyanthea*. I imagine that the reader will not blame me for giving here the ſubſtance of that hiſtory. The firſt *Polyanthea* was printed in the year 1512 (2): it was written by the Monk Dominicus Nanus Mirabellius, the author of the *Monoteſſaron Evangeliorum*, or the harmony of the four Goſpels. The ſecond was compiled by a bookſeller of Cologne named Maternus Cholinus, and publiſhed in the year 1585 (3). He added to Mirabellius's work all that he thought fit to tranſcribe from three other books which had been publiſhed, I mean the collection of *Bartholomæus Amantius*, the *Sententiarum opus abſolutiſſimum ex probatiſſimis auctoribus excerptum* (4). i. e. " A moſt complete work containing ſentences " collected from the moſt approved authors." And an anonymous work printed at Lyons. Cholinus added to all this his own collections. The third, intitled *Polyanthea nova*, is our Joſeph Langius's work: it was printed at Geneva in the year 1600, at Lyons in the year 1604, at Francfort in the year 1607, and ſeveral times ſince. The fourth, intitled *Polyanthea noviſſima*, is divided into twenty books, and differs from the preceding only with regard to ſome additions which it contains. The fifth with this title, *Florilegium magnum, ſeu Polyanthea floribus noviſſimis ſparſa*, was publiſhed at Frankfort in the year 1621. The new additions contained in this work are owing to the Lucubrations of *Franciſcus Sylvius Inſulanus*. We have mentioned Gruter's Supplements in another place (5): they are in two volumes, ſo that the *Florilegium magnum* contains three. The 1ſt is of Sylvius Inſulanus, the 2d and 3d, printed at Francfort in the year 1624, were compiled by Gruter.

(2) At Baſil, and then at Sarno in the year 1514, and at Cologn, in the year 1539. *Index Libror. prohib.* pag. 726, edit. 1667.

(3) It was printed at Venice in the year 1592.

(4) By *Franciſcus Tertius*, or *De Tort*, of Anjou. This work was printed at Paris in the year 1560, and reprinted in the year 1580.

(5) In the article GRUTER (James) remark [*I*].

[*C*] *I ſhall give the titles of his other works below.*] He publiſhed an edition of Juvenal and Perſius at Friburg in the year 1608. *Tyrocinium Græcarum Literarum* (an introduction to the Greek tongue for young beginners) printed in the ſame City in the year 1607. *Adagia, ſive Sententiæ proverbiales*, (A collection of Proverbs, or proverbial ſayings).

LANGLE (JOHN MAXIMILIAN DE) Miniſter of the Goſpel, was born at Evreux in the year 1590. He was called to the Reformed Church of Roan in the year 1615,

1615, being then but twenty five years old. He performed there all the functions of a Miniſter during fifty two years, and always with a great reputation, piety and eloquence. We have of him two volumes of Sermons, the one on the eighth Chapter of the Epiſtle to the Romans, the other on ſeveral texts of the holy Scripture, and a Diſſertation in the form of a Letter being a defence of Charles I King of England. Seven years before his death he fell ſick of a palſy, which cauſed an impediment in his ſpeech; but yet he continued to pleaſe and edify by his converſations, which were both pious and witty. He died in the year 1674, at the age of fourſcore and four years, leaving ſeveral children behind him [*A*], who have inherited his merit and virtue (*a*).

(*a*) This article is printed juſt as it has been communicated to me.

[*A*] *He left ſeveral children behind him.*] SAMUEL DE LANGLE his eldeſt ſon was born at London, and was carried into France when he was but a year old; he continued in that country till the laſt perſecution obliged him to retire into England. He was a miniſter at about the ſame age as his father had been, and ſerved the church of Roan with him during three years. He was afterwards called to Paris in the year 1671, to be a miniſter to the congregation which met at Charenton; he was very much eſteemed in both on account of his ſtrict morals, ſound learning, and conſummate wiſdom: there was an intimate friendſhip between him and Monſieur Claude. The perſecution which the reformed ſuffered in France, and particularly the King's Edict by which the fathers were deprived of their children, forced him to take ſanctuary in England. The Univerſity of Oxford took a pride in conferring the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon him, without his petitioning for it; and King Charles II. ſhewed him how much he eſteemed him by making him a Prebendary of Weſtminſter. He was born in the year 1622. In June 1693, when he was threeſcore and eleven years old, he fell ſick of a violent diſtemper, in which however he enjoyed all the ſtrength of his mind, addreſſing continually excellent diſcourſes to his relations, to his friends, and particularly to his children, to whom he had given the ſame education as he had received from his father. The publick has not yet ſeen any of his writings, but a letter concerning the controverſy between thoſe who are called *Epiſcopalians* and *Preſbyterians* in England. Doctor Stillingfleet now Biſhop of Worceſter (1) had it printed at the end of one of his books on the ſame ſubject. But they found amongſt his manuſcripts a treatiſe of the Chriſtian truth, which he had begun ſome years ago, and which he had finiſhed a little before he died. It is hoped that his eldeſt ſon Monſieur de Langle, who is alſo a miniſter, will ſoon publiſh that work. The illuſtrious deceaſed had alſo made ſeveral critical remasks on divers paſſages of the Scripture, and particularly on the Pſalms, which it is thought he would have publiſhed himſelf, had he lived long enough to put them in that order and condition, which it ſeems he deſigned to do (2).

As for the other children of John Maximilian de Langle, the memoirs I quote do not mention a word of them.

(1) He died ſince the firſt impreſſion of this; namely in the year 1699.

(2) *Memoirs* communicated to me, which I publiſh juſt as they have been ſent to me.

LANGUET (HUBERT) born at Viteaux in Burgundy (*a*), gained a great reputation by his learning and virtue in the ſixteenth Century. Having read a book of Melanchthon in Italy, it created in him ſo ſtrong a deſire to be acquainted with that great man, that he went into Germany on purpoſe to viſit him. There was the moſt intimate friendſhip between them [*A*]. He charmed him by his agreeable converſation; for with a ſtrong memory he had alſo a very acute judgment (*b*). He continued a long while

(*a*) Thuanus, lib. 74. towards the end, under the year 1581.

(*b*) See the remark [*A*].

[*A*] *There was the moſt intimate friendſhip between* Melanchthon *and him.*] All that I have to obſerve upon this ſubject is extracted from Joachim Camerarius's life of Melanchthon. *Hunc* (Langetum) *lectio libri cujuſdam in Italia, ubi tum ipſe degeret, a Philippo Melanchthone compoſiti cupiditate incenderat videndi autorem illius, & ea ſtimulos perpetuo admovens perpulerat tandem ut in Germaniam veniret, & Wittembergam ſe conferret* (1). Languet arrived at Wittenberg in the year 1549 (2), and kept ſo conſtantly to Melanchthon that he never left him, except to take a journey now and then. *Neque ab ipſo diſceſſit niſi interdum per intervalla quædam peregrinationum quibus mirifice delectabatur, donec Philipi Melanchthonis vita in terris duravit* (3). Languet's converſationwas admirable; he diſcourſed very pertinently on the intereſt of Princes, and was perfectly well acquainted with the hiſtory of illuſtrious Men. *Erat autem Philippo grata atque jucunda multarum magnarumque rerum, quas ille tenebat, commemoratio, & oratio de Regibus Principibuſque gubernationum, & altis ſapientia, virtute, doctrina præſtantibus horum temporum* (4). i. e. "Melanchthon was very "much pleaſed and delighted with his converſations, "in which he gave him an account of ſeveral important affairs, which he remembered very well, and "with his diſcourſes concerning Kings and Princes, "and other men of thoſe times eminent for their "wiſdom, virtue, and learning." His memory never failed him with regard either to the circumſtances of times, or to proper names; and he diſcovered the inclinations of men, and foreſaw the ſucceſs of things with a wonderful ſagacity. The perſon who gives him that character had been particularly acquainted with him. *Neque ego*, ſays he (5), *audivi ullum alterum, qui tam prudenter & certo, & plane, dilucidè, diſertè exponeret, quicquid narrare inſtituiſſet. Non ille in hominum nominibus falli, non indiciis temporum errare, non confundere rerum negotiorumque ſeriem. Erat autem in eo ſingularis ſagacitas in notandis naturis hominum, & conjiciendo, quo quiſque ſuopte ingenio deferretur, & quæ eſſet voluntatis inclinatio. Conſiliorum etiam ſolertiſſimus æſtimator, & eventuum futurorum proviſione admirabilis.* i. e. "I never heard a man, "who could expound with ſo much prudence, certainty, plainneſs, evidence, and eloquence, whatever he undertook to relate; he never miſtook the "names of men; he was never wrong in the circumſtances of time; nor did he ever confound the "order and ſeries of things and events. He had "alſo a wonderful ſagacity to diſcover the Characters of men, and to conjecture which way men's "tempers would lead them, and what was the inclination of their minds. He judged almoſt with "certainty of their deſigns, and could moſt wonderfully foreſee the event of things."

Let us add to this what Monſieur de la Mare relates. He obſerves that about the year 1548, a German gave Languet Melanchthon's *Common Places* or *Body of Divinity*; that Languet having read that book four or five times over that ſame year in his travels, found all his doubts removed which had a long time perplexed his mind, and conceived an extraordinary eſteem for Melanchthon; that having conſulted the moſt conſiderable divines at Leipſick, he embraced the Proteſtant Religion; and became a pupil of Joachim Camerarius who was profeſſor of polite literature in the Univerſity of Leipſick; that he even lodged at that Profeſſor's houſe; that ſeeing the troubles ariſing in that country he undertook a journey into Italy till ſuch time as he could ſettle in Germany when the publick tranquillity ſhould be reſtored there; that he ſtudied the law a whole year at Padua, and took his Doctor's degree there; that he went afterwards to Bologna, and that at this time, as Joachim Camerarius relates it (6), he was ſo enchanted with the reading of a new book of Melanchthon, that he longed for

(1) Joach. Camerar. *in Vita Melanch.* pag. m. 333.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) *Quo tempore narrat in Philippi Melanchthonis Vita Joachimus Camerarius elegantis illius & multiplici eruditione referti de animo libri à Melanchthone non ita pridem ſcripti lectione Langetum tanta videndi auctoris cupiditate incenſum fuiſſe &c.* Philip. de la Mare, *in Vita Languetti*, pag. 10.

while one of the first Counsellors of Augustus Elector of Saxony (c), and if we may believe Thuanus, he left that Court only [B] because he was suspected to be one of those who advised Gasper Peucer to publish an Exposition of the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper agreeable to the Geneva Confession of Faith. That Historian adds, that having left the Court of Saxony he retired with the Prince of Orange, and was employed in very important affairs; but that whilst he applied himself to them he fell sick and died at Antwerp September the 50th 1581 at the age of threescore and three years (d). He was very much esteemed by Monsieur du Plessis Mornai [C]. He is thought to be the author of the Oration which was delivered before Charles IX King of France, December the 23d 1570, in the name of several Princes of Germany [D]. It is to him people ascribe the famous Treatise which is intitled, VINDICIÆ CONTRA TYRANNOS [E]; i. e. "*A Defence against Tyrants.*" The Latin Letters which he wrote to Sir Philip Sidney were printed at Frankfort in the year 1639 (e). Those which he wrote in the same tongue to both the Camerarius's, father and son, were published in the year 1646, and have been reprinted with some others (f) in the year 1685: there is a beautiful Preface (g) prefixed to them, which contains a noble Panegyric upon him.

They published at Hall in the year 1699 a large Collection of those Letters, which he wrote to his master the Elector of Saxony [F] during the course of the negociations.

(c) Thuanus, lib. 74. towards the end, under the year 1581.

(d) Idem, ibid.

(e) See *Essais de Literat.* for July 1702, pag. 23.

(f) Which he wrote to Augustus Elector of Saxony.

(g) Written by Joachim Camerarius, grandson to the author of *Melanchthon's Life.*

for nothing more passionately, than to return into Germany, to see the author of that book; which he did accordingly in the year 1549.

I find something in this account, which puzzles me; for it is not at all probable, that a man who has conceived such an esteem for Melanchthon, by reading his Body of Divinity, that he takes him for the only wise man in the world (7), should take a journey to Leipsick, continue there some time, and embrace there the Protestant Religion without waiting once upon that divine; and that he should be impatient to make him a visit, only upon reading at Bologna another work of that author. It is not true that Camerarius asserts this other work was the treatise *de Anima* (concerning the soul) and that it determined Languet to return into Germany. He expresses himself so as to hint, not a second journey, but the first, *pepulerat tandem ut in Germaniam veniret.* i. e. "Determined "him at last to *come* into Germany (8)." Lastly it is very strange, that if Languet had been Camerarius's disciple and boarder at Leipsic in the year 1548, Camerarius should yet assert that Langius did not come into Germany till the year 1549, out of a desire to see Melanchthon, occasioned by a book he read in Italy. It is unquestionable that either Camerarius or Monsieur de la Mare must be here mistaken. It is most probable that the former is in the right, for Languet (9) himself relates, that having read Melanchthon's Body of Divinity in Italy in the year 1547, and not being thoroughly satisfied with what is there observed concerning the Lord's Supper, he was determined to go and consult the author himself, and saw him in the year 1549. Would he speak thus, if he had embraced the Protestant Religion at Leipsick, in the year 1547, and if Camerarius had been his professor and his Landlord that same year in the same city?

(7) *Melanchthonem ab eo tempore tanti æstimare, ut reliquos cæcutire ac propriis affectibus indulgere judicaret, unum autem sapere Melanchthonem.* Idem, ibid. p. 9.

(8) Camer. *in Vita Melanchth.* pag. m. 344.

(9) Languet, *Epist* 15. *ad* Joach. Camerar. pag. m. 27.

[B] *If we may believe Thuanus, he left that court only, &c.*] Thuanus gives us too imperfect an account of this. The exposition of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was published in the year 1573. Languet was not then at the court of Saxony, but at the Emperor's; and he did not leave that employment till the year 1577 (10), that his Electoral Highness of Saxony had given him leave to retire where ever he pleased; and since that time he always kept up a great correspondence with that Prince, though he applied himself to the affairs of Prince Casimir, or to those of the Prince of Orange. All this is proved by the letters published in the year 1699.

(10) It is the 28th of those which he wrote to Camerarius the son.

[C] *He was very much esteemed by Monsieur du Plessis Mornai.*] This appears from the following passage (11). "Du Plessis at his arrival at Antwerp "found his wife and children sick. And even a son "whom God had given him in his absence, was "soon after snatched away from him. But besides "this, his intimate friend Monsieur Languet was "dead: Madam du Plessis, though sick herself, had "attended him to his last moment. His dying words "were these. *That the only thing which grieved him* "*was, that he had not been able to see Monsieur du* "*Plessis again before he died, to whom he would have* "*left his very heart, had it been in his power. That* "*he had wished to live, to see the world reformed; but* "*since it became daily worse and worse, he had no* "*longer any business in it; that the Princes of these* "*times were strange men; that virtue had much to* "*suffer, and little to get: That he pitied Monsieur du* "*Plessis very much; to whose share a great part of* "*the misfortunes of the times would fall, and who would* "*see many unhappy days; but that he must take courage,* "*for God would assist him. For the rest he begged one* "*thing of him, in his last farewell, namely that he* "*would mention something of their mutual friendship,* "*in the first book he should publish.* Which Monsieur "du Plessis did soon after in a short preface to the "Latin translation of his treatise of *the Truth of the* "*Christian religion.*" The commendations, which he bestows on Languet in that preface, and what others have published upon the same subject, have been carefully collected by Voetius (12). The epitaph alone is worth a panegyrick. You will meet with it in the same Voetius.

(11) *Vie de Du Plessis Mornai*, pag. 56. under the year 1581.

(12) *Disput. Theologic.* vol. 4. pag. 238, *& seq.*

Observe that Languet shewed himself a very affectionate and zealous friend to Monsieur du Plessis, at the time of the massacre committed on St. Bartholomew's day (13).

(13) See the *Vie de Mr. Du Plessis*, pag. 22. *See also* pag. 12.

[D] *He is thought to be the author of the oration which was delivered before Charles* IX. . . . *in the name of several Princes of Germany.*] Monsieur Colomies gives a very strong proof of it in his *Melanges Historiques* (14) or *Historical Miscellanies.* He takes it from a letter of Languet to *his hero Sir Philip Sidney*, dated from Vienna January the first, 1574.

(14) Pag. 13, 14.

[E] *It is to him people ascribe the famous treatise, which is entitled* VINDICIÆ CONTRA TYRANNOS.] What I have observed upon this subject in the first sketch of this dictionary is too long to be conveniently inserted in this place; I thought it therefore more proper to refer it to the end of this work in the form of a dissertation.

Some persons suppose him to be the author of the book, entitled *de Furoribus Gallicis* (15), of the madness of the French: but without any just ground (16). It was thought in his family, that he wrote the famous apology for the Prince of Orange; the reason of this opinion was, that he had sent a copy of it to every one of his relations, as a work of his own composing. And yet Grotius ascribes (17) this apology to another French man, named Peter de Villiers (18).

(15) Mentioned above in quotation (44) of the article BEZA.

(16) *See* Mr. de la Mare, *in Vita Langueti*, pag. 67, 68.

[F] *They have published . . . . a large collection of the letters, which he wrote to his master the Elector of Saxony.*] Monsieur Ludovicus professor in the University of Hall has given us this edition. We should be still more obliged to him, had he added to it an index of the principal subjects mentioned in them, and had he taken care to have the errors of the printers or of the transcribers with regard to proper names more exactly corrected. People wonder that he prefixed no preface to this book, and that whereas the editions published in Germany are generally considerable by their indexes, there is none to Languet's letters, where it was wanted more than in a great many other books; because each of these letters contains several particular

(17) *Lib.* 3. *Belgic. Annal.*

(18) La Mare *in Vita Langueti*, pag. 121, 122.

tiations. We must not omit what Thuanus relates of a converſation he had with him in the year 1579 [G].

facts, which are not in the leaſt connected with any general ſubject. This work is intitled, *Arcana ſæculi decimi ſexti. Huberti Langueti, Legati, dum viveret, & Conſiliarii Saxonici, Epiſtolæ ſecretæ ad Principem ſuum Auguſtum Sax. Ducem & S. R. I. ſeptemvirum. Ex* APXEIΩ *Saxonico deſcriptas primus è Muſeo edit. Jo. Petr. Ludovicus.* i. e. "The ſecret hiſtory of the "ſeventeenth century, being a collection of letters "written by Hubert Languet, Embaſſador and Coun- "ſellor of the Court of Saxony, to his maſter, Au- "guſtus Duke of Saxony and Elector of the Empire, "tranſcribed from the publick records of Saxony, "and now publiſhed for the firſt time by John Peter "Ludovicus." The Abbot Nicaiſe had told me for certain, that the author's life writen by Monſieur de la Mare would be prefixed to theſe letters; but this did not prove true. It has been publiſhed by itſelf in the ſame city of Hall, in the year 1700, in 12*mo*. If I had met with it ſoon enough, this article would have been much better, more complete and more connected. Conſult Monſieur Bernard (19), who has given a very full and accurate account of this piece; which is very well written and very curious.

(19) In his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for March 1701, pag. 286, &c.

[G] *We muſt not omit ... a converſation, which Thuanus had with him....*] He got acquainted with Languet at the wells of Baden in the year 1579, and was ſo well pleaſed with this man's behaviour, and with his agreeable and learned converſations that he thought he ſhould never be able to part with him. Here follows the elogy he beſtows upon him; I tranſcribe it here, becauſe neither Voetius nor Monſieur Teiſſier mention it in the leaſt. *Argentinâ Badam ventum, ubi Thuanus Languetum vacuum nactus ita mordicus per triduum ei adhæſit, ut ab eo divelli non poſſe putaretur. Ita candor hominis illum ceperat, inſigni probitate, judicio non ſolum in literis, ſed in publicis negotiis, quæ tota vita ſub variis Principibus magna fide geſſerat, præditi ad hæc rerum Germaniæ callentiſs. Ut Germanos ipſos res patrias ſuas doceret. Toto illo tempore cum eo aſſiduus, niſi quantum aquis ſumendis impendebat, cum multa didicit, tum breviculum manu ipſius perſcriptum, quod & nunc ſervat, poſtquam hinc diſceſſit, ab eo accepit, quo generalis Germaniæ ſtatus, ſicut hodie eſt, comitiorum jus, circulorum numerus, conſiliorum ordo deſcribitur* (20). i. e. "From Straſburg we came to "Baden, where Thuanus meeting with Languet, who "was free from all buſineſs, ſtuck ſo cloſely to "him during three days, that it was imagined he "could never part from him: ſo pleaſed was he "with this man's eminent probity, and with his great "judgment not only in the Sciences, but alſo in pub- "lick affairs, in which he had been ingaged all his "life-time, having ſerved ſeveral Princes very faith- "fully: he was particularly ſo well acquainted with "the affairs of Germany, that he could inſtruct the "Germans themſelves in the affairs of their own "country. Thuanus being conſtantly with him all "that time, except when he was drinking the wa- "ters, learnt a great many things from him; and "when he had left that place, he received from him "ſome memoirs, written in his own hand, contain- "ing an account of the preſent ſtate of Germany, "of the rights of the diets, of the number of the "circles, and of the order or rank of the different "councils of that Country, which memoirs he ſtill "keeps by him."

(20) Thuan. *de Vita ſua*, lib. 2. towards the beginning, pag. m. 1176.

Thuanus alſo relates that Languet made him take notice of a German Lord who was at a window with his wife, and aſked him afterwards with a ſmile, *If you were put to your choice, would you prefer a woman as beautiful as ſhe is, before the Archbiſhoprick of Cologne?* Thuanus who did not underſtand the deſign of this queſtion, made no anſwer to it. Whereupon Languet explained the whole myſtery to him, and told him that the German Lord was the Count of Iſemburg, who had lately reſigned the Archbiſhopric of Cologne, to marry Jane de Lignes, the Count of Aremberg's ſiſter. He added that the ſuppreſſion of Celibacy was burthenſom to the great Proteſtant Lords in Germany; for whereas in the time of Popery they uſed to put their daughters into Nunneries, with certain hopes to ſee them ſoon raiſed to the dignity of Abbeſſes in ſome rich Nunnery, they were now obliged to provide huſbands for them, though they lived in a country, where people were very prolific (21).

The inconveniencies which attend the ſuppreſſion of celibacy in the noble Proteſtant families in Germany.

(21) *Filias omneis quibus homines proletarii abundunt, matrimonio elocare teneantur.* Idem, ibid.

LANSBERGIUS (PHILIP) had a rank amongſt the Mathematicians of the ſeventeenth Century. He was born in Zealand (*a*) in the year 1561 (*b*), and was a Miniſter of the Goſpel at Antwerp in the year 1586, and afterwards for ſeveral years [*A*] at Goes in Zeland; and being afterwards diſcharged of his functions on account of his old age, he retired to Middleburg (*c*), where he died in the year 1632. You will find the titles of his works below [*B*].

(*a*) Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathem.* pag. 341.

(*b*) Lanſberg. *Epiſt. Dedic. Uranometriæ.*

(*c*) Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathem.* pag. 341.

[*A*] *He was a miniſter ... for ſeveral years.*] Voſſius (1) aſſerts in page 237, that he was Miniſter at Goes thirty nine years more or leſs: but in page 341 he ſets down but twenty nine years. There is certainly an error of the preſs here; but whether it conſiſts in the omiſſion or in the addition of an x, I own I cannot tell it: It muſt be one.

(1) *De Scient. Mathemat.*

[*B*] *You will find the titles of his works below.*] *Chronologiæ Sacræ Libri VI.* "Six books of ſacred Chronology": printed in the year 1626. *Progymnaſmata Aſtronomiæ reſtitutæ.* "Eſſays on the reſtitution "of Aſtronomy"; printed at Middelburg in the year 1629. *Triangulorum Geometricorum Libri IV.* "Four books of Geometrical triangles"; printed in the ſame City, in the year 1631. *Uranometriæ Libri III.* "Of meaſuring the Heavens, in three "books;" printed the ſame year, and in the ſame City. *Commentationes in motum terræ diurnum & annuum, & in verum aſpectabilis cæli typum.* "An ac- "count of the diurnal and annual motion of the "earth, and of the true ſituation of the viſible ce- "leſtial bodies": In this work he declares himſelf openly for Copernicus's opinion, and even pretends to improve it. He compoſed this work in Dutch; but it was tranſlated into Latin by Martin Hortenſius, and printed at Middelburg in the year 1630. Fromond a Doctor of Louvain refuted it in his *Anti-Ariſtarchus, ſive orbis terræ immobilis:* "A treatiſe "in which it is proved that the earth ſtands ſtill." Lanſbergius, who did not live long enough to reply to this refutation, left a ſon, who publiſhed an anſwer to Fromond, and at the ſame time to Morin, Regius Profeſſor at Paris, and to a Dane named Peter Bartholinus. This anſwer is intitled, *Jacobi Lanſbergii Medicinæ Doctoris Apologia pro Commentationibus, &c.* i. e. "A defence of the account &c. By James Lanſ- "bergius, Doctor of Phyſick"; it was printed at Middelburg in the year 1635, and refuted in a new work of Fromond printed in the year 1634, and intitled *Veſta* or *Anti-Ariſtarchi Vindex.* "The earth, "or a vindication of Ariſtarchus". I think the controverſy ended here.

☞ LANSDOWNE (GEORGE GRANVILLE, Lord) was deſcended of an antient and noble family derived from Rollo, the firſt Duke of Normandy, and was ſecond ſon of Bernard Granville, who was ſecond ſon of Sir Bevil Granville, killed at the battle of Lanſdowne in 1643, and younger brother of Sir John Granville, who was a chief inſtrument in the Reſtoration, after which he was created Earl of Bath and Viſcount Lanſdowne. The Nobleman, of whom we treat in this article, received the firſt tincture

tincture of letters in France under the tuition of Sir William Ellis, a Gentleman bred up under Dr. Buſby, and who has ſince been eminent in many public ſtations. At eleven years of age he was ſent to Trinity College in Cambridge, where he remained five years; but at the age of thirteen was admitted to the degree of Maſter of Arts, having before he was twelve years old ſpoken a copy of Engliſh verſes of his own compoſition to the Ducheſs of York, at his College (*a*), when her Royal Highneſs paid a viſit to the Univerſity of Cambridge. October the 6th 1688 he wrote a letter from Mar near Doncaſter to his father upon the expected approach of the Prince of Orange's Fleet [*A*]. In 1690 he wrote a copy of verſes to Mrs. Elizabeth Higgons in anſwer to one ſent him by that Lady in his retirement [*B*]. In 1696 his Comedy called *The She-Gallants* was acted at

(*a*) Theſe verſes are printed in his *Genuine Works in Verſe and Proſe*, vol. 1. pag. 4, 5. edit. London 1736, in 12mo.

[*A*] *October the 6th* 1688 *he wrote a letter from Mar near Doncaſter to his father upon the expected approach of the Prince of Orange's Fleet.*] It was written before he was twenty two years old, and was as follows:

" Sir,

" Your having no proſpect of obtaining a commiſſion for me, can no way alter or cool my deſire " at this important juncture to venture my life in ſome " manner or other for my King and my country. I " cannot bear living under the reproach of lying " obſcure and idle in a country-retirement, when every " man, who has the leaſt ſenſe of honour, ſhould be " preparing for the field. You may remember, Sir, " with what reluctance I ſubmitted to your commands upon *Monmouth's* Rebellion, when no importunity could prevail with you to permit me to " leave the Academy. I was too young to be hazarded; " but give me leave to ſay, it is glorious at any age " to die for one's country, and the ſooner, the nobler " ſacrifice. I am now older by three years. My " uncle *Bathe* was not ſo old, when he was left among " the ſlain at the battle of Newbury; nor you yourſelf, Sir, when you made your eſcape from your " tutors to join your brother at the defence of Scilly. " The ſame cauſe is now come round about again. " The King has been miſled; let thoſe who have miſled him, be anſwerable for it. No body can deny " but he is ſacred in his own perſon, and it is every " honeſt man's duty to defend it. You are pleaſed to " ſay, it is yet doubtful, if the Hollanders are raſh " enough to make ſuch an attempt. But be that as " it will, I beg leave to inſiſt upon it that I may " be preſented to his Majeſty as one, whoſe utmoſt " ambition it is to devote his life to his ſervice, and " my country's, after the example of all my anceſtors. " The Gentry aſſembled at York to agree upon the " choice of Repreſentatives for the country, have prepared an Addreſs, to aſſure his Majeſty they are " ready to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for him " upon this and all other occaſions; but at the ſame " time they humbly beſeech him to give them ſuch " magiſtrates as may be agreeable to the laws of the " land; for at preſent there is no authority, to which " they can legally ſubmit. They have been beating " for Volunteers at York, and the towns adjacent, to " ſupply the regiments at Hull; but no body will liſt. " By what I can hear, every body wiſhes well to the " King; but they would be glad his Miniſters were " hanged. The winds continue ſo contrary, that no " landing can be ſo ſoon as was apprehended; therefore I may hope, with your leave and aſſiſtance, to " be in readineſs before any action can begin. I beſeech you, Sir, moſt humbly and moſt earneſtly, to " add this one act of indulgence more to ſo many " other teſtimonies, which I have conſtantly received " of your goodneſs, and be pleaſed to believe me always, with the utmoſt duty and ſubmiſſion,

" Sir,

" Your moſt dutiful, and moſt

" Obedient Servant,

" *Geo. Granville.*"

[*B*] *In* 1690 *he wrote a copy of verſes to Mrs. Elizabeth Higgons, in anſwer to one ſent him by that Lady.*] That Lady's verſes were as follow.

I.

Why, Granville, is thy life to ſhades confin'd,
Thou whom the Gods deſign'd
In public to do credit to mankind?
Why ſleeps the noble ardour of thy blood,
Which from thy anceſtors, ſo many ages paſt,
From Rollo down to Bevil flowed,
And then appeared again at laſt,
In thee, when thy victorious lance
Bore the diſputed prize from all the youth of France?

II.

In the firſt trials, which are made for fame,
Thoſe to whom fate ſucceſs denies,
If taking counſel from their ſhame,
They modeſtly retreat, are wiſe.
But why ſhould you, who ſtill ſucceed,
Whither with graceful art you lead
The fiery barb, or with as graceful motion tread
In ſhining balls where all agree
To give the higheſt praiſe to thee?
Such harmony in every motion's found,
As art could ne'er expreſs by any ſound.

III.

So loved and prais'd, whom all admire,
Why, why ſhould you from Courts and Camps retire?
If Myra is unkind, if it can be,
That any nymph can be unkind to thee;
If penſive made by love, you thus retire,
Awake your muſe, and ſtring your lyre;
Your tender ſong and your melodious ſtrain
Can never be addreſt in vain;
She needs muſt love, and we ſhall have you back again.

His Lordſhip's anſwer begins thus:

" Ceaſe, tempting Siren, ceaſe thy flatt'ring ſtrain,
" Sweet is thy charming ſong, but ſung in vain:
" When the winds blow, and loud the tempeſts roar,
" What fool would truſt the waves, and quit the " ſhore?
" Early and vain into the world I came,
" Big with falſe hopes and eager after fame:
" Till looking round me, e'er the race began,
" Madmen and giddy fools were all that ran.
" Reclaim'd betimes I from the liſts retire,
" And thank the Gods, who my retreat inſpire.
" In happier times our anceſtors were bred,
" When virtue was the only path to tread.
" Give me, ye Gods, but the ſame road to fame;
" Whate'er my fathers dar'd, I dare the ſame.
" Chang'd is the ſcene, ſome baneful planet rules
" An impious world, contriv'd for knaves and fools."

He concludes with the following lines.

" Happy the man, of mortals happieſt he,
" Whoſe quiet mind from vain deſires is free;
" Whom neither hopes deceive, nor fears torment,
" But lives at peace, within himſelf content,
" In thought or act accountable to none,
" But to himſelf, and to the Gods alone.
" O ſweetneſs of content! Seraphic joy!
" Which nothing wants, and nothing can deſtroy.
" Where dwells this peace, this freedom of the " mind?
" Where, but in ſhades remote from human kind;
" In flow'ry vales, where nymphs and ſhepherds " meet,
" But never comes within the palace-gate.
" Farewell then cities, courts, and camps, farewell,
" Welcome, ye groves, here let me ever dwell,
" From cares, from buſineſs, and mankind remove,
" All but the Muſes and inſpiring love:
" How ſweet the morn! how gentle in the night!
" How calm the ev'ning! And the day how bright!
" From hence, as from a hill, I view below
" The crouded world, a mighty wood in ſhew,
" Where ſeveral wanderers travel day and night,
" By different paths, and none are in the right."

at the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's-Inn Fields [*C*]; as his Tragedy intitled, *Heroic Love*, was in the year 1696 [*D*]. He wrote likewiſe a Dramatic Poem, intitled, *The Britiſh Enchanters: or, no Magic like Love* [*E*], which was performed at the Queen's Theatre in the Hay-Market; and altered Shakeſpeare's *Merchant of Venice*, under the title of *The Jew of Venice*, which was acted with great applauſe, and the profits of it were deſigned for Mr. Dryden, but upon his death given to his ſon. In 1702 he tranſlated into Engliſh the *ſecond Olynthian* of *Demoſthenes*. He was returned Member for the County of Cornwall in the Parliament which met in November 1710, and ſoon after made Secretary of War, next Comptroller of the Houſhold, and then Treaſurer, and ſworn one of the Privy Council. The year following, by Letters Patents bearing date December the 31ſt, he was created Baron Lanſdowne of Biddeford in Devonſhire. In 1719 he made a ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords againſt repealing the Bill to prevent *Occaſional Conformity* [*F*]. His Lordſhip died in February 1735. By his Lady, Mary, widow of Thomas Thynn Eſq; (Father of Thomas Lord Viſcount Weymouth,) and daughter of Edward Villiers Earl of Jerſey, he had iſſue four daughters, *Anne*, *Mary*, married March the 14th 1729 to William Graham of Platten near Drogheda in Ireland Eſq; *Grace*, and *Elizabeth*. His Lordſhip's works have been printed together at London in 4to and 12mo. His Lady died but a few days before him.

[*C*] *His Comedy called*, The She-Gallants.] He afterwards altered this Comedy, and publiſhed it among his other works under the title of *Once a Lover, and always a Lover*, which, as he obſerves in the preface, "is a new building upon an old foundation. It appeared firſt under the name of the *She-Gallants*; and "by the preface then prefixed to it is ſaid to have "been but the *Child of a Child*. By taking it ſince "under examination ſo many years after, the author "flatters himſelf to have made a correct Comedy of "it. He found it regular to his hand; the ſcene "conſtant to one place; the time not exceeding the "bounds preſcribed; and the action intire. It remained only to clear the ground; and to plant, as "it were, freſh flowers in the room of thoſe, which "were grown into weeds, or faded by time; to retouch and vary the characters; enliven the painting; retrench the ſuperfluous; and animate the "action, where it appeared the young author ſeemed "to aim at more than he had yet ſtrength to "perform."

[*D*] *His Tragedy intitled* Heroic Love.] Mr. Charles Gildon tell us (1), that "this is one of the beſt of our "modern Tragedies, and writ after the manner of the "antients, which is much more natural and eaſy "than that of our modern Dramatiſts." The Prologue to it was written by Henry St. John Eſq; and the Epilogue by Bevill Higgons Eſq; Mr. Dryden wrote a copy of verſes to our author upon this Tragedy, which begins thus:

(1) *Continuation of Mr. Langbaine's Lives and Characters of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets*, p. 66.

Auſpicious Poet, wert thou not my friend,
How could I envy, what I muſt commend!
But ſince 'tis nature's law in love and wit,
That youth ſhould reign, and with'ring age ſubmit,
With leſs regret thoſe laurels I reſign,
Which dying on my brow, revive on thine.

[*E*] The Britiſh Enchanters.] In the preface our author obſerves, that this "was the firſt eſſay of a very "infant muſe, rather as a taſk at ſuch hours as were "free from other exerciſes, than any way meant for public entertainment. But Mr. Betterton having had a "caſual ſight of it many years after it was written, "begged it for the ſtage, where it found ſo favourable "a reception, as to have an uninterrupted run of at "leaſt forty days. The ſeparation of the principal "Actors, which ſoon followed, and the introduction "of the Italian Opera put a ſtop to its farther appearance." Mr. Addiſon wrote the Epilogue.

[*F*] *In* 1719 *he made a ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords againſt repealing the bill to prevent* Occaſional Conformity.] It is printed among his works. In this ſpeech, among other things, he ſays thus: "I always "underſtood the *Toleration* to be meant as an indulgence for tender conſciences, not a licence for hardened ones; and that the act to prevent *Occaſional* "*Conformity* was deſigned only to correct a particular "crime of particular men, in which no ſect of *Diſſenters* was included, but thoſe followers of Judas, "who came to the Lord's Supper for no other end "but to ſell and betray him. This crime, however "palliated and defended even by ſo many Right Reverend Fathers of the Church, is no leſs than making the *God of Truth*, as it were in perſon, ſubſervient to acts of hypocriſy; no leſs than ſacrificing "the myſtical Body and Blood of our Saviour to "worldly and ſiniſter purpoſes: an impiety of the "higheſt nature! which in juſtice called for protection, and in charity for prevention. The bare "receiving the Holy Euchariſt could never be intended ſimply as a qualification for an office, but as "an open declaration, an indubitable proof of being "and remaining a ſincere member of the Church. "Whoever preſumes to receive it with any other "view, profanes it; and may be ſaid to ſeek his "promotion in this world, by eating and drinking his "own damnation in the next." H.

LARROQUE (MATTHEW DE) in Latin *Larroquanus*, one of the moſt illuſtrious Miniſters the Reformed ever had in France, was born at Leirac a ſmall city of Guienne near Agen in the year 1619. He was hardly paſt his youth when he loſt his father and mother, who by their condition and by their virtue were the chief perſons in their city. This misfortune was ſoon followed by the loſs of his whole patrimony; nor could it be known by what fatality it happened, or to whoſe fraud it was owing. But this was ſo far from diſcouraging him, that on the contrary it animated him more ſtrongly to comfort himſelf by ſtudying, and to add to polite Literature, which he had already learnt, the knowledge of Philoſophy, and above all that of Divinity. He made a conſiderable progreſs in theſe Sciences, and was admitted a Miniſter with great applauſe. Two years after he had been inſtalled in his office, he was obliged to go to Paris to anſwer the cavils of thoſe, who intended to ruin his Church. He could not prevent the effect of their artifices, but he happened to meet with ſuch circumſtances as proved favourable to him. He preached ſometimes at Charenton, and was ſo well liked by the Ducheſs de la Tremouille, that ſhe appointed him Miniſter of the Church of Vitré in Britany, and gave him afterwards a great many proofs of the particular eſteem ſhe had for

for him; as did alſo the Prince (a) and Princeſs of Tarente, and the Ducheſs of Weimar (b). He ſerved that Church about twenty ſeven years, and ſtudied the ancient Fathers with the utmoſt application. He gave very ſoon public proofs of the progreſs he had made in that ſtudy, for the anſwer he publiſhed to the motives, which a certain Miniſter (c) had alledged for his converſion to Popery, abounded with paſſages quoted from the Fathers. The works which he publiſhed afterwards raiſed his reputation exceedingly [A]. There was an intimate friendſhip between him and Meſſieurs Daillé father and ſon, which was kept up by a conſtant literary correſpondence. The journey he took to Paris procured him the acquaintance of ſeveral illuſtrious men of letters [B]. The Church of Charenton reſolved to call him in the year 1669, but the envy of ſome falſe brethren againſt him was ſo ſtrong, that they had recourſe to ſeveral artifices to prepoſſeſs the Court againſt him, ſo that his Majeſty ſent a prohibition to that Church not to think of calling him, notwithſtanding the Deputy General of the Reformed (d) had offered to anſwer for Monſ. de Larroque's good behaviour. The grief he was under at being calumniated was very great, but the teſtimony of a good conſcience was his comfort. He was choſen to be both Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity at Saumur. He accepted the office of a Miniſter, but refuſed the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, not thinking it conſiſtent with the ſtudy of Church-Hiſtory, for which he had a very ſtrong inclination. He was preparing himſelf for his journey to Saumur, when the Intendant of the Province (e) forbad him to go thither. The Church of Saumur brought in their complaints againſt this unjuſt prohibition, and petitioned very zealouſly for the neceſſary permiſſion, which ſhe obtained. But Monſieur de Larroque did not think it proper to make an advantage of it, nor to enter upon an employment in ſpite of the Intendant. He continued therefore ſtill at Vitré, where he did not ſuffer his pen to be idle. Three of the moſt conſiderable Churches of the Kingdom choſe him at once, namely the Church of Montauban, that of Bourdeaux, and that of Roan. He accepted the invitation of Roan, and there he ended his life January the 31ſt 1684, at the age of threeſcore and five years, having gained the reputation not only of a learned man, but alſo of an honeſt man, and of

(a) Son to the Ducheſs De la Tremouille.

(b) Daughter to the ſame Ducheſs.

(c) Named *Martin*.

(d) The Marquis *de Ruvigni*.

(e) Named Monſ. *Voiſin*.

[A] *The works which he publiſhed afterwards raiſed his reputation exceedingly.*] In the year 1665 he publiſhed an anſwer *to a book* of the Gentlemen of Port-Royal, intitled, *L'Office du S. Sacrement, ou Tradition de l'Egliſe touchant l'Euchariſtie, recueilli des Saints Peres & autres Auteurs Eccleſiaſtiques.* i. e. "The Office of "the Holy Sacrament, or the Tradition of the Church "concerning the Lord's Supper, collected from the "Holy Fathers and other Eccleſiaſtical Authors." This anſwer was very much eſteemed. *Mirâ cum ſolertiâ nimis Catholicorum virorum, qui ut legentibus fucum facerent, SS. Patrum textum vel mutilaverant, vel pravo commento inquinaverant, pias fraudes vel impias dicam neſcio, retexit. Mirati ſunt omnes nihil inter reſpondendum illum fugiſſe, nihilque vindicandum intactum fuiſſe, tantâ ſagacitate ac diligentiâ unum quodque expendens officium, ut in ejus meſſem nemo pedem, vel Spicilegii cauſa intulerit* (1). i. e. "He laid open with "great ſubtlety the pious or impious frauds, I know "not how to call them, of thoſe over-catholic men, "who to impoſe upon their readers had caſtrated the "text of the Holy Fathers, or perverted the ſenſe of "it by a wicked commentary. All the world won"dered how he could remember every thing in his "anſwer, and forget nothing that deſerved to be vin"dicated; he had diſcharged his whole taſk with ſo "much ſagacity and diligence, that no man pretended "to undertake it after him, even by way of eſſay." How good ſoever this book was, it was not to be compared with the excellent work, which the ſame author publiſhed ſome years after with this title, *Hiſtoire de l'Euchariſtie.* i. e. "The Hiſtory of the Euchariſt, or "of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." There were two editions of it publiſhed in leſs than two years, and it has been tranſlated into Engliſh. The author's name was not put to the firſt edition, but it was prefixed to the ſecond, which was printed in the year 1671. It is true that his name was a little altered through an error of the Printer, who undoubtedly took a *q* for a *g*, in the author's manuſcript ſigning (2). Hence it came that ſeveral polemical writers of the Roman Catholic Church called him *Larrogue* inſtead of *Larroque*. In the year 1670 he publiſhed at Geneva two Latin diſſertations *de Photino & Liberio*, in which he took notice amongſt other things of ſome errors committed by Father Petavius concerning the time when Photinus was condemned. He refuted in a third diſſertation what Mr. David had objected againſt the firſt. After this he undertook the defence of his good friend the learned Monſieur Daillé, (in Latin *Dallæus*) againſt two celebrated Engliſh writers. That work is intitled, *Obſervationes in Ignatianas Pearſonii Vindicias, nec non in Beverigii Annotationes.* i. e. "Obſervations on Dr. Pearſon's Vindication of Igna"tius, and on Dr. Beveridge's Remarks." He had almoſt finiſhed his reply to Dr. Beveridge's anſwer; but being deſired by ſome friends to give up this controverſy, he very willingly granted them their requeſt. His book of the agreement between the diſcipline of the Reformed Church in France with that of the Primitive Church was publiſhed after the works I have been mentioning, and was followed by a treatiſe on receiving the Sacrament in both kinds, wherein he refutes a work of the Biſhop of Meaux. This is what we find in the author's life, prefixed to a poſthumous work of his, which his ſon Monſieur Daniel de Larroque publiſhed in the year 1688. He does not mention there the treatiſe of the nature of the Church, nor that of the *Regale:* we muſt therefore add theſe two treatiſes to the former; and as for his poſtumous work, let us obſerve that it is intitled, *Matthæi Larroquani Adverſariorum ſacrorum libri tres. Opus poſthumum. Acceſſit Diatriba de Legione fulminatrice, in quo expenduntur Veterum teſtimonia quibus hactenus hæc Hiſtoria vera habita eſt. Authore Daniele Larroquano M. Filio.* i. e. "Three Books of Sacred Obſervations, by Matthew "de Larroque: A Poſthumous Work: To which is "added a Diſſertation on the Thundering Legion, "wherein are examined the authorities of the Ancients "on which this hiſtory has hitherto been admitted "as true." Monſieur Daniel de Larroque the ſon, who had already given proofs of his learning and wit, is the author of that diſſertation on the *Thundering Legion.* He tells us that his father undertook to write a Church-hiſtory, and had finiſhed the three firſt centuries, and begun the fourth. It is to be hoped that the publick will ſome time or other be preſented with that work.

[B] *The journey he took to Paris procured him the acquaintance of ſeveral illuſtrious men of letters.*] Amongſt others that of Monſieur Juſtel, of Monſieur Amproux (3) and of Monſieur Conrart. They with Meſſieurs Daillé and Monſieur Allix were the Proteſtants, for whom he had the greateſt friendſhip. He alſo made himſelf known to ſeveral learned men of the church of Rome, particularly to the Abbot de Marolles, and to Monſieur de Launoi. They have found amongſt his papers ſeveral letters of theſe two gentlemen, and chiefly of the latter (4).

(1) Daniel Larroquanus, *in Vita Summa Matthæi Larroquani*, fol. **5.

(2) Compare this with what is obſerved above, in the remark [N] of the article CAYET.

(3) Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris.

(4) Taken from his *Life* prefixed to his *Adverſariorum Sacrorum Libri tres.*

of a good Paſtor (*f*). All theſe good qualities were united in him [*C*], though they be but too often ſeparated. See his Elogy in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for March 1684, Article V.

(*f*) Taken from the *Short Account of his Life*, prefixed to a work, which his ſon Mr. de Larroque publiſhed at Leyden in the year 1688, intitled, *Matthæi Larroquani Adverſariorum Sacrorum Libri tres.*

[*C*] *All theſe good qualities were united in him.*] I have referred you to his Elogy inſerted in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*; I refer you alſo to the preface from which I have extracted this article, and from which I ſhall again tranſcribe ſome lines of Gregory of Nazianzen. *Id duntaxat ſubjungamus colophonem huic elogio impoſituri, quod de ſuo parente nimirum dicebat Gregorius Nazianzenus, etenim noſtro apprimè accommodari poteſt* (5).

(5) Daniel Larroquanus, in *Summa Vitæ Matthæi Larroquani*, in fine.

Ἦν μοὶ παλὴρ καλός τε κἀγαθὸς σφόδρα,
Γηραίος, ἀπλῆς τὸν τρόπον, ϛάθμη βίᾳ,
Πάτραρχος· ὥνλως Ἀβραάμ τις δεύτερος,
Ὧν ἐ δοκῶν ἄριϛος, ἐ τὸν νῦν τρόπον (6).
- - - - - - - - Χριϛὸ φίλος.
Ἔπειτα ποιμὴν, ποιμένων ὅτι κράτος.

That is, "To conclude this elogy, let us add here, "what Gregory of Nazianzen ſaid of his father, "for it may very well be applied to mine. *My father "was a very good and honeſt old man, ſincere, of a "regular life, like another Patriach Abraham; he "choſe rather to be than to appear good, which is not "the faſhion now.... He loved Chriſt, was a true "paſtor, and an ornament to his order.*"

(6) This is the Elogy which Æſchylus beſtows on Amphiaraus. See above, the remark [*H*] of the article AMPHIARAUS before the 1ſt break, or *a-linea*.

LASCARIS (CONSTANTINE) left Conſtantinople his native place in the year 1454, and retired into Italy. He was one of thoſe who reſtored polite Literature in the Weſt. He taught it firſt at Milan, whither he was called by Francis Sforza. He went afterwards to meet Cardinal Beſſarion at Rome, who gave him ſeveral proofs of his friendſhip. Then he went to Naples, where he taught Rhetoric and the Greek Tongue with reputation. Laſtly he went to Meſſina, where he ſettled for the remainder of his days. He drew a great many ſcholars thither, and amongſt others Peter Bembus, who was promoted to the dignity of a Cardinal by Pope Clement VII. He bequeathed his Library to the Senate of Meſſina: it contained excellent books, which he had brought with him from Conſtantinople. The Senate had complimented him (*a*) with the freedom of the City, and had him buried at the expence of the public. His marble tomb, which was in the Church of the Carmelites, has been ruined by the injury of the time, and has never been repaired (*b*). Our Laſcaris has compoſed ſome works [*A*].

(*a*) In the year 1465.

(*b*) *Taken from* Jerom Raguſa, in *Elogiis Siculorum.*

[*A*] *He compoſed ſome works.*] They treat of the Greek Grammar; Aldus Manucius printed them with ſome other ſmall treatiſes of the ſame kind in Greek and Latin. Laſcaris alſo made a collection of the lives of the learned men who flouriſhed anciently in Sicily (1).

(1) The Jeſuit Jerom Raguſa has inſerted it in his *Elogia Siciliorum*, a book printed at Avignon in the year 1690.

LASCARIS (JOHN) ſurnamed Rhyndacenus (*a*), was of the Houſe of Laſcaris, of which there have been ſome Emperors of Conſtantinople. He took ſanctuary in Italy after the deſtruction of the Eaſtern Empire in the fifteenth Century, and was very kindly received by Laurence de Medicis. This great protector of the Learned judged him proper to collect the beſt manuſcripts that were to be met with in Greece, and therefore he ſent him to the Sultan [*A*]. This deputation was attended with very good ſucceſs: for

(*a*) Perhaps from a city named *Rhyndacus* ſituated between the Helleſpont and Phrygia; Stephen of Byzantium mentions it.

[*A*] *Laurence de Medicis .... ſent him to the Sultan.*] He ſent him twice to him, if we may credit Paul Jovius, who adds that this Sultan loved Philoſophy, and had a particular eſteem for Laurence de Medicis. It is neceſſary to tranſcribe the very words of this Hiſtorian, becauſe I muſt compare them with Monſieur Varillas's account. *Is* (Laurentius Medices) *tum abſolvendæ Bibliothecæ ſtudio tenebatur. Ob id Laſcarem, ad conquirenda volumina Byzantium cum legatione ad Bajazetem bis miſit: nec defuit honeſta petenti, nuſquam Barbarus Imperator, quippe qui erat totius Philoſophiæ ſtudioſus, Averroiſque ſectator eximius, & de Laurentio privatim tanquam de illuſtri cultore virtutis, optimè ſentiret, quum paulò ante Bandinum percuſſorem fratris, fuga in Aſiam elapſum in catenis ad ſupplicium tradidiſſet* (1); *ſingulari quidem religionis, atque juſtitiæ exemplo; quòd ille immane ſcelus in templo auſus, merita pœna plectendus cenſeretur. Itaque Laſcares, tuto abdita Græciæ perſcrutatus, quum patriæ opes victoribus ceſſiſſent, nobiliora divitiis antiquæ dignitatis volumina collegit, ut in Italia ſervarentur* (2). i. e. "Laurence de "Medicis had a ſtrong deſire to complete his library; "for which purpoſe he ſent Laſcaris twice in the "character of his Embaſſador to Bajazet, that he "might make a collection of books. Nor did the "Sultan, who was by no means a barbarian, re"fuſe to comply with his requeſt; for he had ap"plied himſelf to every part of Philoſophy, and was "an eminent follower of Averroes; he had alſo a "great eſteem for Laurence de Medicis as for a "man diſtinguiſhed by his virtues; he had given "him a proof of it ſome time before, when he ſent "back to him in chains Bandini the murtherer of "his brother, who had made his eſcape into Aſia; "which was a remarkable inſtance of piety and "juſtice; for he judged, that this wicked wretch "having committed that horrid attempt in a church, "ought not to eſcape the puniſhment he deſerved. Laſ"caris therefore, having ſearched all Greece without "the leaſt danger, inſtead of his paternal eſtate, on "which the conquerors had ſeized, brought more "valuable treaſures with him; I mean conſiderable "works of the ancients, to be kept in Italy."

Monſieur Varillas imagined that this account, which Paul Jovius gives us, is too dry and lame, and therefore he has adorned it with a great many circumſtances, as though inſtead of tranſlating faithfully another's work, he had been ordered to turn it into a Romance. Here follows his relation (3). "Laurence de Medicis "received Laſcaris with open arms, and committed "the care of his library to him. It happened one "day, as they were diſcourſing together how they "might improve it, it came into Laſcaris's mind, "that Bajazet II. Emperor of the Turcs had an in"clination for Philoſophy, and that having cauſed "Averroes's commentaries on Ariſtotle to be explain"ed to him, he would not be ſorry that the Peripa"teticks ſhould be ſaved from the general ruin of "literature. Laurence de Medicis promiſed that he "would furniſh him with all things neceſſary for a "voyage to Conſtantinople, if he would undertake it "with ſuch a deſign. Laſcaris took him at his word, "and embarked without any credentials, except a letter "which Laurence de Medicis gave him for his fac"tors. However he found means to get acceſs "to the Grand Seignior, and to be preſented "to his Highneſs, who received him even better "than he expected. They had a pretty long conver"ſation together, and Bajazet ſhewed him all the "eſteem, of which an Infidel is capable, for Laurence "de Medicis's vertue, and gave Laſcaris leave, for his "ſake, to buy all the manuſcripts, that were to be "ſold

(1) Paul Jovius is here miſtaken, for it was not Bajazet II, but his father Mahomet II, who cauſed Bandini to be arreſted, and who ſent him to Laurence de Medicis in the year 1478. *See* Guillet, *Hiſt. de Mahomet II*, tom. 2. pag. 320, *&c.* and pag. 439. Obſerve that Mr. de Wicquefort has committed many blunders upon this ſubject. See his treatiſe *de L'Ambaſſadeur*, tom. 2. pag. m. 269.

(2) Jovius, *Elog.* cap. 31. pag. m. 74.

(3) Varillas, *Anecdot. de Florence*, pag. 183.

for the Grand Seignior gave Laſcaris leave to viſit all the Libraries; by which means numberleſs ſcarce and valuable treaſures of Literature were carried into Italy. Laſcaris went afterwards into France, and was eſteemed by Lewis XII, who ſent him Embaſſador to Venice [*B*]. He went to Rome under Pope Leo X, and took another journey into Greece,

" ſold in his dominions. His Highneſs gave him ſome " perſons to eſcorte and conduct him to all the places " where he knew there had been libraries formerly " and to take care, that thoſe who had plundered them, " might not ſell the books for more than they were " worth. Laſcaris therefore was able to travel conveni- " ently over all Greece, and collect thoſe ſcarce volumes, " which are ſtill kept in the King's library. And yet " he brought but half of them with him in the firſt " voyage he made, becauſe the joy he had to be in " a condition to ſhew to his patron the authors he " had diſcovered, though they were thought to be " loſt for ever, made him return to Florence two " years after he ſet out from thence. But Lau- " rence de Medicis ſent him back again three " months after, and deſired him to continue to " ſearch every place where there had ever been " learned men. Laſcaris waited again on Bajazet, " and received new favours from him. He travelled " over the whole Peloponneſus, and came back as it " were in triumph on board a ſhip laden with the " ſpoils of the Greek tongue. But he had not yet " lodged his manuſcripts in the ſtately building de- " ſigned for them, when Laurence de Medicis died, " leaving Italy in a ſtate of tranquillity, which did " not continue long. The French army entered Flo- " rence, and diſperſed both the books and all the " other furniture of the houſe of Medicis." There are here not only ſeveral circumſtances, which Monſieur Varillas forged to adorn his account and make it more full, but alſo ſome falſifications of facts; for he ſuppoſes, I. That Laſcaris had no credentials for the Grand Signor. If it be ſo, what can be the meaning of theſe words of Paul Jovius, *Byzantium* CUM LEGATIONE *ad Bajazetum miſit?* i. e. " He ſent " him to Byzantium in the character of his Embaſſa- " dor to Bajazet?" II. That the ſcarce volumes which Laſcaris collected, are in the French King's library, the French army having plundered the books and other furniture of the houſe of Medicis, under the reign of Charles VIII. To refute that Hiſtorian's aſſertion, we need only to put him in mind of what he has obſerved in another work (4), namely that the houſe of Medicis was plundered by the Florentines, before ever Charles the eighth's troops entered Florence. He aſſerts poſitively that the Florentines *diſperſed the prodigious collection of ſtatues, pictures,* BOOKS *and medals which ſtrangers uſed to behold with admiration* in the palace of Medicis. Obſerve that the books of that library, which may have been carried into the French King's library, were brought thither another way, than by the means of Charles the eighth's expedition. They were lodged there much later: See father Jacob in his treatiſe of libraries; he tells you that Catherine de Medicis *brought* to her huſband Henry II. *amongſt other things, the manuſcripts of the famous library of Medicis, which were lodged in the royal library, where they ſtill remain* (5).

(4) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Charles VIII*, liv. 3. under the year 1494, pag. 262. of the edition printed in Holland.

(5) Jacob, *Traité des Bibliotheques*, pag. 458.

If it be ever proved that Monſieur Varillas does not ground the account he gives us of Laſcaris in his Anecdotes (or ſecret hiſtory) of Florence, only on Paul Jovius's elogies, I ſhall then examine whether I were in the wrong to charge him with forging moſt of the circumſtances he relates. If he had been acquainted with what Paul Jovius relates in another book, he would have given us a ſtory much more paraphraſed ſtill; it had been a ſcene adorned with a great many decorations. Paul Jovius relates, that the Baſhaw Cherſeoglis obtained leave for John Laſcaris to viſit all the Libraries in Greece, when by Pope Leo the tenth's orders he was ſearching for ancient manuſcripts. *Nec illud quidem erga literarum ſtudia eximiæ benignitatis officium prætermittendum videtur, quòd Laſcari, quem ſupra memoravimus Græcorum nobiliſſimo, pariter atque doctiſſimo antiquos codices juſſu Leonis decimi conquirenti, cunctas Græciæ bibliothecas impetrato ad id regio diplomate, liberè excutiendas aperuit* (6). i. e. " Nor ought we to omit the fol- " lowing remarkable inſtance of Cherſeoglis's kind " inclination to protect literature: for when Laſcaris, " that moſt noble and learned Grecian, whom we " have mentioned above, was by Leo the tenth's " command ſearching for ancient manuſcripts, Cher- " ſeoglis got him a patent from the Sultan, by which " he was permitted freely to ſearch all the Libraries " in Greece." This hiſtorian had obſerved juſt before, that the Baſhaw, who was turned Mahometan out of ſpite, was ſtill a Chriſtian in his heart, and had a crucifix hid in his cloſet, which he uſed to worſhip in the night time, when no man could be a witneſs to it. He ſhewed this Crucifix to John Laſcaris, who related afterwards all theſe particulars to Paul Jovius. Let us acquaint the reader with the reaſons of that ſpite, which determined Cherſeoglis to abjure the Chriſtian religion outwardly. He was upon the point of marrying a beautiful maiden; when his father who liked her very much took her for himſelf. This injury exaſperated the ſon to ſuch a degree, that he retired to the neighbouring garriſons of the Turks, and thence to Conſtantinople, where Bajazet received him very kindly, and promiſed him one of his daughters. Whereupon the young man turned Mahometan, renounced his name of Stephen, and took the names of Achomat and Cherſeoglis, and became Bajazet's ſon-in-law (7). With what romances, with what flouriſhes ſhould we not meet in the ſecret hiſtory of Florence, if Monſieur Varillas had been acquainted with the following Latin paſſage? *Non, ut cæteri ferè omnes à prima pueritia per delectus Chriſtianis parentibus erepti, ſed jam planè vir* (Cherſeoglis) *ita à majorum religione diſceſſit, ut nunquam ex arcano vera pietatis oblivi ſceretur. Is Cherſechii reguli in Illyrico, ad montem Nigrum filius, quum adamata ei ſponſa quæ erat è Stirpe Serviæ Deſpoti, ad paratas nuptias duceretur, concupivit eam illico, quòd eſſet egregiæ venuſtatis, procaci oculo improbus pater, omnemque pudorem ſuperante libidine, ſibi ſtatim impotenter excluſo filio nuptias celebravit, fruſtra reclamantibus propinquis: qui id facinus filio contumelioſum patrique & domui infame deteſtabantur. Itaque juvenis tantæ injuriæ indignitate commotus, præcipitique actus deſperatione, &c* (8). i. e. " Cherſeoglis was not, like a great many others, " ſnatched away ſtom his parents in his childhood, " but being already a grown man, he renounced the " religion of his anceſtors, yet ſo, that he could never " forſake nor forget the truth from the bottom of his " heart. He was the ſon of Cherſechius, a petty " King of Illyricum, near the black Mountain. He " was going to marry the daughter of the governor " of Servia, whom he loved intirely, when his wic- " ked father finding her beautiful, looked upon her " with a luſtful eye, and his luſt baniſhing all ſhame " from his heart, he ſnatched her away from his " ſon and married her himſelf, notwithſtanding all the " endeavours of his relations, who abhorred the fact " which was an injury to the ſon, and a diſgrace to " the father. The young man being highly exaſpe- " rated at ſo great an affront, and hurried away by " a ſudden deſpair, &c."

(7) Jovius, ibid. 255 *verſo*.

(8) Jovius, *Hiſt.* lib. 13. folio 255. *See alſo* Melanchthon, in the 5th book of *Carion's Chronicle*.

I leave others to examine whether Paul Jovius did not miſtake the voyages which John Laſcaris made by Laurence de Medicis's command, with that which he ſuppoſes he made under Pope Leo X. Bajazet died before Leo X was choſen Pope, and I queſtion much whether Cherſeoglis had great credit under that Sultan's ſucceſſor; it is certain that he never was any longer able to do John Laſcaris ſervice, than under the reign of Bajazet.

[*B*] *Lewis XII... ſent him Embaſſador to Venice.*] I find that he ſent him thither in that character in the year 1503, and in the year 1505. See Peter Bembus's hiſtory of Venice (9), where he relates the ſubject of theſe embaſſies, and gives us the ſubſtance of the embaſſador's orations. Vianoli (10) aſſerts, that in the year 1507 the republick being acquainted with the league of Cambray diſmiſſed Laſcaris, Lewis the twelfth's ambaſſador. But how could the republick be acquainted at that time with a league, which was not concluded till December 1508? See the margin (11).

(9) Lib. 6. folio m. 144 *verſo*, & lib. 7. folio 152.

(10) *Hiſtoria Veneta*, Part. 2. pag. 76.

(11) I imagine that the alliances which were forming before the concluſion of the treaty of Cambray are called the League of Cambray by way of anticipation.

Greece, from whence he came with ſome young Gentlemen who were to be educated in the College which was founded on the *Mons Quirinalis*, in order to preſerve the true pronunciation of the Greek Tongue (*b*). He returned into France under the reign of Francis I [*C*], and after he had continued there ſome time he went again into Italy, and died of the gout at Rome aged about fourſcore and ten years. He was buried in the Church of St. Agatha. Though he had no ſettled income, yet he had always wherewithal to bear his expences, though he took no care of his domeſtic affairs, and loved to live in a grand manner. His lazineſs would not ſuffer him to write many books (*c*) [*D*]. He underſtood the Latin Tongue very well, and he did not judge it beneath

(*b*) *Taken from* Paul Jovius, in *Elog.* cap. 31.

(*c*) *Ex eodem*, ibid.

What Monſieur de Wicquefort relates of this embaſſy is not very obliging. The Pope, ſays he (12), "diſcovered too late the fault he had committed in "chooſing ſo impertinent and ridiculous a Miniſter. "*John Laſcaris*, whom Lewis XII ſent embaſſador "to Venice in the year 1503, was not much leſs "impertinent. He was of a family, which had for-"merly afforded great Princes to the empire of Con-"ſtantinople, and he was a very learned man; but "he was not in the leaſt acquainted with publick "affairs. He had beſides ſuch a mean countenance, "and lived in ſuch a pitiful and ſordid manner, "that inſtead of appearing like an embaſſador, and "doing honour to the King his maſter, it ſeemed "as though he affected to imitate the falſe modeſty "of thoſe, who applying themſelves entirely to ſpe-"culative Philoſophy, pretend to a wilful poverty, "and are a kind of Cynicks. His commiſſion was "ſo much the more difficult, as he was ordered to "borrow money, and to conclude an alliance, at a "time when the ſenate was not in the leaſt inclin-"ed to favour the Freneh; becauſe the King's "affairs were not in a very good ſituation in Italy. "Laurence Suarez de Figueroa, Embaſſador from Fer-"dinand the Catholick, made an advantage of the "republick's diſcontent, who could not bear that "*the King ſhould have ſent them a pedant inſtead of* "*an Embaſſador*; Suares therefore ſaid in a full ſe-"nate, that the republick might judge how the King "of France would treat them, if after the conqueſt "he pretended to make of the kingdom of Naples, "he came to be ſuperior, and in a condition to "oppreſs all Italy without controul, ſince even at a "time when he was in the utmoſt neceſſity, and wan-"ted aſſiſtance, he ſhewed ſuch a contempt for the ſe-"nate, *as to ſend them a Greek Philoſopher newly come* "*from the ſchools*."

(12) Wicquefort, *de l'Ambaſſadeur*, liv. 1. pag. m. 166.

[*C*] *He returned into France under the reign of Francis I.*] Paul Jovius's not mentioning this has been the occaſion why Monſieur Varillas did not mention it neither. His paraphraſe of the Italian hiſtorian is as follows. *Laſcaris not knowing what courſe to take, applied himſelf to Charles VIII; and as he was ſkilled in matters of ſtate, he was ſent embaſſador to Venice, and acquitted himſelf worthily of that employment, under this Monarch, and under his ſucceſſor Lewis XII. Laſtly Leo* X *being raiſed to the Papal Throne, ſent for Laſcaris to Rome to be of his council* (13). This, according to Monſieur Varillas, was John Laſcaris's laſt employment. But there is more than one miſtake here; for the Pope did not make him his counſellor, but director of a college for the Greek tongue (14), and after that time this learned man had ſome employment at Paris. I imagine it was that of Library keeper to the King; the reaſon I have to think ſo is taken from a letter, which James Tuſa wrote to Angelo Laſcaris the ſon of John, in which we meet with the following words (15). *Jani patris tui excellentem in Romana lingua, nedum veſtra, peritiam pluribus hic verbis ne fuſius perſequar, illud certe dicam Græcæ literaturæ quantum uſu, quantum ſcientia præcellat, ex hoc intelligi vel maximè poſſe, quod eum ex cunctis veſtri generis hominibus de ſententia doctiſſimum delectum Princeps noſter Franciſcus accerſendum eſſe cenſuerit, ut Muſæo quod in hac urbe longe omnium Principe multo celeberrimum ſperamus excitatum iri, propediem, velut alter Apollo præſideat.* i. e. "I do not "deſign to expatiate on your Father's eminent "knowledge in the Roman, not to mention your own "language; however I cannot but obſerve, that how "much he excelled both in the practice and in the "Theory of the Greek literature, appears from this, "that our King Francis judged him the moſt proper "man, amongſt all the learned of your nation, to be "intruſted with the care of his library, which is to be "erected in the moſt noble city in the world, and will, we "hope, become much more conſiderable by his care, "who is to preſide over it as another Apollo." Here follows another paſſage, which is not free from errors, but yet it will ſerve us for an argument. I tranſcribe it from the Theatre of the antiquities of Paris compoſed by James du Breul (16), *Emanuel Chryſoloras had for his ſcholar Angelo Tifernas, who being at Paris in the year* 1523 *taught the Greek tongue to John Laſcaris and to William Budæus two learned men, who publiſhed ſeveral noble works, as Genebrard obſerves in his Chronology in theſe words.* Anno 1523 Chryſoloræ, qui primus Litteras Græcas Florentiam Coſmo Mediceo Florentino Duce attulit, diſcipulus Tifernas in Franciam venit, Budæumque literas Græcas docuit. Deinde Janus Laſcaris, mortuo Laurentio Medico Mœcenate ſuo. Atque inde literatura Græca, deſerta Italia, ad nos migravit. i. e. "Tifernas a diſciple of Chryſoloras, who firſt intro-"duced the knowledge of the Greek Tongue into "Florence, under the grand Duke Coſmo de Medicis, "came into France in the year 1523, and taught "Budæus the Greek Tongue. After him came John "Laſcaris after the death of his protector Laurence "de Medicis. Thus the Greek literature leaving "Italy came over to us." *Now Laſcaris and Budæus, as the ſame author witneſſes, were the firſt at whoſe perſuaſion King Francis I erected the library of Fontainbleau, and eſtabliſhed afterwards Regius Profeſſors, as the ſame author aſſerts.* Laſcari & Budæo auctoribus, Franc. I. Bibliothecam Fontenablæam inſtruxit, indeque anno 1530 Linguarum & Mathematum profeſſores. Nam cæteri ſunt adſcriptitii. i. e. "Francis the firſt eſtabliſhed the library of Fontain-"bleau at the perſuaſion of Laſcaris and Budæus; and "in the year 1530 he eſtabliſhed Profeſſors of the "languages and of Mathematicks; for the others "are ſupernumeraries".

(16) Du Breul, *Antiquitez de Paris*, liv. 2. pag. 563. of the Paris edition 1639, in 4to.

There are ſeveral things to cenſure in this paſſage. In the 1ſt place, Tifernas's Chriſtian name was Gregory and not Angelo. 2. He died in the fifteenth century; how could he then come to Paris in the year 1523? Father du Breul had obſerved juſt before, that Chryſoloras, who died at Conſtance April the 15th 1415, had taught him the Greek tongue. Should not this have made du Breul ſenſible, that Tifernas was not alive under the reign of Francis I? 3dly. It is abſurd to pretend that John Laſcaris, who was a Greek by nation, learned the Greek tongue from an Italian (17). It is groſs ignorance to aſſert, that he and William Budæus were young ſcholars in the year 1523. Budæus was then fifty two years old, and was reckoned to be the moſt learned man, and the greateſt Grecian in France. 5. The paſſage quoted by Du Breul from Genebrard ſignifies, that John Laſcaris came into France after Tifernas, and after the death of Laurence de Medicis. Du Breul did not underſtand it. Obſerve that Laſcaris returned into France in the year 1518 (18), and that he was there ſtill in the year 1528 (19). This proves Moreri guilty of a groſs blunder, who aſſerts that Laſcaris died ſoon after Leo X had been choſen Pope.

(17) *Tifernas* was an Italian.

[*D*] *His lazineſs would not ſuffer him to write many books.*] They wiſhed that he would tranſlate Greek authors; but they could hardly force from him the tranſlation of ſome treatiſes of Polybius on the military art (20). I find that the Oxford catalogue mentions his book *de veris Græcarum literarum formis ac cauſis apud Antiquos*; i. e. "Of the true Form and Origin "of

(18) *See* Eraſmus's *Letters*, lib. 11. num. 4. pag. 548. and num. 5. pag. 549.

(19) See the ſame *Letters*, lib. 20. num. 72. pag. 1030.

(20) Paulus Jovius, *in Elog.* cap. 31. pag. 74.

(13) Varillas, *Anecdot. de Florence*, pag. 184.

(14) See a *Letter* of Budæus, amongſt thoſe of Eraſmus, it is the 30th of the 2d book, pag. 156.

(15) Geſner, *in Biblioth.* folio 39 *verſo.*

beneath him to be a Corrector of the Preſs [*E*]. We muſt examine Giraldi's account [*F*].

I do not know how I came to forget a particular which deſerves to be related; namely, that "he is the firſt who invented or at leaſt reſtored and brought again into uſe the "large letters, or to ſpeak more properly, the capital letters of the Greek alphabet, in "which he cauſed ſome moral ſentences and other Greek verſes to be printed in the year "1494, and dedicated them to Peter de Medicis, in a long Epiſtle, wherein he ac- "quaints him with his deſign, and with the great pains he was at, to find out the true "figure of thoſe capital letters, in the moſt antient medals and other monuments of "antiquity (*d*)."

(*d*) Naude, *Addit. à l'Hiſt. de Louis XI*, pag. 303, 304.

"of the Greek Letters;" printed at Paris in the year 1536 in 8vo, and his Orations printed at Francfort in the year 1573. Geſner (21) obſerves that his Greek and Latin epigrams were printed at Baſil in the year 1537.

(21) Geſner, *Biblioth.* folio 39 *verſo.*

[*E*] *He underſtood the Latin tongue very well, and he did not judge it beneath him to be a Corrector of the Preſs.*] It appears from a paſſage in Eraſmus, which I quote in another place (22), that John Laſcaris was a perfect maſter of the Latin tongue. Paul Jovius beſtows the ſame commendation upon him. *Valebat Latina facundia, ita ut verſus, qui extant, perſcriberet* (23). i. e. "He was well acquainted with the Latin "tongue, as appears by the verſes he wrote which "are extant." I might add other authorities to theſe two, and to that of Tuſa (24), if it were neceſſary. Obſerve that Laſcaris was not well pleaſed with the elogy which Eraſmus beſtowed on him, in the dialogue entitled *Ciceronianus*. He joined with the diſcontented perſons, who wrote ſatyrical verſes at Paris againſt the author of that dialogue (25). He was too exceptious on this occaſion, and had no reaſon to be angry; for Eraſmus had expreſſed himſelf as follows. *De Jano* (Laſcare) *quoniam adhuc ſupereſt, dicendum eſt parcius. Morum comitate generis nobilitatem præ ſe fert, acri judicio vir, multæ in Epigrammatibus argutiæ: poterat inter Ciceroniani cognominis candidatos numerari, ni crebræ legationes ac regum negotia revocâſſent hominem à Muſis* (26). i. e. "We muſt ſpeak more cautiouſly "of John Laſcaris, conſidering that he is ſtill living. "His noble deſcent appears in his polite behaviour: "he is a man of an acute judgment, his epigrams "abound with ſmart touches; and he might have "been reckoned amongſt thoſe, who aim at the title "of *Ciceronian*, had not his frequent embaſſies and the "affairs of Princes, in which he was engaged, di- "verted his thoughts from the Muſes."

(22) In the remark [*A*] of the article MUSURUS.

(23) Jovius, *in Elog.* cap. 31. pag. 74.

(24) Mentioned above, in the remark [*C*] quotation (15).

(25) *See* Eraſmus's Letters, pag. 1030, 1039, 1044. and in other places, of the London edition.

(26) Eraſm. *in Ciceroniano*, pag. m. 70.

With regard to his functions of a Corrector of the Preſs, read the following paſſage from Henry Stephens (27). *Quid verò dicturos M. illum Muſurum & Janum Laſcarin putamus, in quibus primis Græcia reviviſcere cæpit, & qui Principes in pandendo nobis ad linguæ Græcæ adyta itinere fuerunt! quid, inquam, dicturos remur, ſi, quum ipſi tantum honoris arti typographicæ detulerint, ut non indignam exiſtimarint cui ſuam operam navarent, fungentes munere correctorum (liceat enim de rebus typographicis typographicè loqui) eò rem deveniſſe videant, ut ſi quis* &c. i. e. "What do we think "would Mark Muſurus and John Laſcaris ſay, who "are the firſt by whoſe means Greece began to revive "amongſt us, and who paved us the way to the moſt "hidden receſſes of the Greek tongue? what do we "think, would they ſay, if they, who did ſo much "honour to the Art of Printing, that they did not "think it unworthy to receive aſſiſtance from them by "their performing the functions of Correctors of the "Preſs (for ſince we are ſpeaking of things relating "to printing, let us be allowed to make uſe of the "technical words of that Art) if they, I ſay, ſhould "ſee, that things are now come to that paſs, that if a "man &c." Add to this the following words of Monſieur Chevilier (28). "I imagine it was Laſca- "ris who corrected the proof-ſheets of the *Avicenna*, "printed at Lyons in three volumes in folio by John "Trechſel and John Cleym in the year 1498, with "the commentaries of James *de Partibus*; as I am apt "to think from his prefixing to that book a dedica- "tion to John Ponceau the King's Phyſician.

(27) Henric. Stephan. *in Artis Typogr. Querimonia, apud* Almelovenium, *de Vitis Stephan.* pag. 140.

(28) Chevilier, *Orig. de l'Imprimerie*, pag. 194.

[*F*] *We muſt examine Giraldi's account.*] He tells us, that the Family of the Medicis being driven from Florence, *Janus Laſcaris* wandered for ſome time from place to place, till Leo X invited him to Rome; that after this Pope's death he went into France at the invitation of Francis, who having employed him in the foundation of a College, and of a Library, ſent him Embaſſador to Venice; that he continued a long time there; and that at laſt after the death of Clement VII, he was determined by the many promiſes of Paul III, to return to Rome, where he died ſoon after, leaving behind him a ſon called Angelo (29). Let us obſerve firſt that there is a conſiderable omiſſion here, Giraldi not ſaying one word of the embaſſy to Venice under Lewis XII. Obſerve next, that he ſuppoſes Francis I ſent Laſcaris to Venice in the character of an Embaſſador, but I think he is miſtaken. Laſtly, take notice that he did not know, that this learned Greek was at Rome in the year 1532 under Pope Clement VII. See the 28th letter of Bunel, in which he tells us that he ſaw John Laſcaris at Rome that ſame year (30).

(29) *Taken from* Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus, *de Poet. ſuor. temp.* Dial. 1. pag. m. 552.

(30) Bunell. *Ep.* 38. pag. 108. ed. Toleſ. 1687.

(*a*) See the remark [*B*].

LASICIUS (JOHN) a Gentleman of Poland (*a*) in the ſixteenth Century, gained ſome reputation by his writings [*A*]. Genebrard gives him a very bad character; he repreſents him as a downright Proteus, and as a weather-cock in matters of Religion. "This man, ſays he (*b*), favoured the Anti-Trinitarians about the year 1565; ſoon "after

(*b*) Genebrardus, *Chronol.* lib. 4. under the year 1582, pag. m. 786.

[*A*] *He gained ſome reputation by his writings.*] It is obſerved in this epitome of Geſner (1), that he had publiſhed a work in his mother-tongue, in which he refuted with great learning and judgment the new Samoſatenians and Arians, and that he had alſo written a Latin treatiſe againſt their errors, which he dedicated to Duditius. The Oxford catalogue mentions the following works of his. *De Diis Samogitarum cæterorumque Sarmatum & falſorum Chriſtianorum: item de Religione Armeniorum, & de initio regiminis Stephani Batorii.* i. e. Of the "Gods of the Samogitians, and of the other Sarmatians "and falſe Chriſtians; as alſo of the Religion of the "Armenians, and of the beginning of Stephen Bat- "tori's reign;" printed at Baſil in the year 1615. *Hiſtoria de ingreſſu Polonorum in Valachiam anno* 1572, *& Dantiſcanorum clades anno* 1577. i. e. "An Ac- "count of the Poles entering Walachia in the "year 1572, and of the overthrow of the Dantzic- "kers in the year 1577;" printed at Baſil in the year 1582. *Veræ Religionis Apologia & falſæ Confutatio*; printed at Spires in the year 1582, with the *Collectio variorum Authorum de Ruſſorum, Muſcovitarum, & Tartarorum Religione, Sacrificiis, & Nuptiarum ac Funerum Ritu.* i. e. "A Collection of ſeveral Au- "thors, concerning the Religion, Sacrifices, Ceremo- "nies in the Marriages and Funerals, of the Ruſſians, "Muſcovites, and Tartars." This is the work which Genebrard meant. It is proper to obſerve that it contains a Latin tranſlation made by Laſicius of a manuſcript, which the Great Duke of Muſcovy gave in the year 1570 to a Proteſtant Miniſter, who accompanied the King of Poland's Embaſſadors (2). *Qui* (Johannes Rokyta) *Anno Chriſti* 1570 *juſſu ſeniorum ſuorum, Sereniſſimi Regis Poloniæ Legatos in Muſcoviam comitatus, ipſis a ſacris fuit Concionibus. Hic cum ipſo Magno Moſcoviæ Duce, Baſilio (vocatus in arcem Moſcovienſem die* 10 *Maii) colloquium habuit, & in magna Procerum gentis ejus frequentia fidei ſuæ rationem reddit.*

(1) Pag. m. 464.

(2) Martin Grut. *de prima Eccleſiar. Unitatis Fratrum in Polonia Narrat.* ad Calcem. Jo. Laſicii, *Hiſt. Fratrum Bohem.* pag. 381.

" after he turned Calviniſt, and then became a Bohemian Brother or a Picard [*B*]: and " in the year 1582 he declared himſelf a Lutheran in a work printed at Spires on the " Religion of the Mahometans (*c*). It is to be feared that loaded with his ſins he will " become a Mahometan himſelf next year. This ſeems to be hinted by what he ob- " ſerves in page 16. of that book, namely, that there are a great many various readings " in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin manuſcripts of the Scripture, the Heretics having " ſuppreſſed ſome things in it, falſified others, and altered and added others, all which " he proves by fine paſſages from Eraſmus, Beza, Caſtalio, Francis Lucas, and Francis " Junius; he is very angry with thoſe who aſſert that Mahomet is the Antichriſt, and " who apply to him the number 666, which is mentioned in the thirteenth chapter of " St. John's Revelation. He declares himſelf the aſſertor of all kind of intempe- " ance (*d*): they who have ſeen him will not wonder at it; for his groſs bulk ſhews " that he was born only for his belly; if he be the ſame whom I was acquainted " with at Paris, and whom I ſtrengthened againſt the arguments of the Anti- " trinitarians." Such is Genebrard's diſcourſe; the reader will not lay much ſtreſs upon it, if he does but remember, that this author uſed to ſlander with the utmoſt fury all thoſe who were not Roman Catholics. Laſicius travelled a great deal, and he had the character of Envoy from Stephen Battori King of Poland. He was ſtill living in the year 1599. See the proof of theſe laſt particulars in the remark [*B*].

(*c*) See the remark [*A*].

(*d*) *Illic gulæ bibacitatis, voluptatis, impudicitiæ patronum agit.* i. e. " He " pleads for " gluttony, " drunkenneſs, " pleaſure, and " laſciviouſneſs." Genebrard. *Chronol.* lib. 4. pag. 786.

dit. A quo etiam (die 18 *Junii Librum Rhutenicis characteribus (quorum illic uſus eſt) enarratum, accepit, quo ſumma Religionis Moſcoviticæ continetur. Qui liber a Domino* Joanne Laſicio *Latino donatus Spiræ Nemetum Anno* 1582 *typis editus eſt, una cum Reſponſionibus, quibus errores Moſcovitarum deteguntur & refutantur.* i. e. " John Rokyta was appointed by his Elders " Chaplain to the King of Poland's Embaſſadors in the " year 1570, and went with them into Muſcovy. He " had a converſation with the Great Duke of Moſ- " covy (being ſent for to the caſtle of Moſcow May " the 10th) and in a great aſſembly of the Nobles of " that nation, he gave an account of his faith. And " the 18th of June he received from the ſame Great " Duke a book written in Ruſſian characters (which they " uſe) containing a ſummary account of the reli- " gion of the Muſcovites. This book has been tranſ- " lated into Latin by John Laſicius, and printed at " Spires in the year 1582, with a reply to it, in which " the errors of the Muſcovites are laid open and re- " futed." Regenvolſcius mentions the ſame particu- lar. *Hanc fidei Confeſſionem, à ſe, mandato Principis Moſchi, conſcriptam, Rokita toti Senatui ipſius, eo præſente exhibuit. Tum Moſchus Dux Reſponſionem ad hanc Rokitæ Confeſſionem, libro eleganter in quarto Ruthenicis literis ſcripto, & pretiosè tela auro textâ ornato, comprehenſum, ei in manus porrexit. Author hujus Hiſtoriæ vidit librum hunc, in Bibliotheca eximii cujuſdam Patroni. Colloquium hoc, & Quæſtiones ultro citroque inter Moſchovitarum Principem & Rokitam Miniſtrum habitas, deſcripſit Latino idiomate Joh. Laſicius, in Theologiâ Moſchovitarum, Spiræ Nemetum An.* 1582 *edita: cum Refutatione ſuperſtitionum Ruſſicarum & Evangelicorum, atque ipſius Lutheri Defenſione* (3). i. e. " This " Confeſſion of Faith, which Rokyta wrote down, " by the Great Duke of Muſcovy's order, was by him " preſented to the whole Senate in the Duke's pre- " ſence: who gave him an anſwer to this Confeſſion, " fairly written in a book in quarto in Ruſſian charac- " ters, and covered with a rich cloth interwoven with " gold. The author of this Hiſtory has ſeen that " book in the library of an illuſtrious patron. This " converſation with the queſtions and anſwers that " paſſed between the Great Duke of Muſcovy and " the Miniſter Rokyta, have been related in the Latin " tongue by John Laſicius, in his Theology of the " Muſcovites, printed at Spires in the year 1582; " with a refutation of the ſuperſtitions of the Ruſſians " and of the Evangelics, and a vindication of Lu- " ther." We ſhall mention another work of Laſicius in the following remark.

(3) Adrian Regenvolſcius, *Syſt. Hiſtorico-Chron. Eccleſiarum Slavonicar.* pag. 91.

[*B*] *A Bohemian brother or a Picard.*] I find in the preface, which is prefixed to his hiſtory of the brethren in Bohemia (4), that he firſt embraced the Reformation of Zwinglius, when the leſſer Poland was reformed by ſome Miniſters, who came from Zurich: that hearing afterwards that the Churches of Great Poland ſhaking off the yoke of Popery followed, ſome the Confeſſion of Augſburg, and others the Confeſſion of Bohemia, he enquired carefully into the reaſons of this diverſity; that he travelled into Bohemia, Germany, and France; that he examined very exactly all that was neceſſary; that there was no diſcipline, nor Confeſſion of Faith he liked ſo well as thoſe of the Bohemian brethren; and that finding there had been but very few and imperfect accounts given of them, he undertook to write their hiſtory; that he applied himſelf ſeveral years to it, and compoſed a work divided into eight parts, and intitled, *Origo, Progreſſus, reſque tam proſperæ quam adverſæ, nec non Mores, Inſtituta, Conſuetudineſque Fratrum Bohemicorum.* i. e. " The Origin, Progreſs, fortunate and unfortunate " Events of the Bohemian Brethren, together with " their Manners, Laws, and Cuſtoms;" that about the year 1585 he ſent that work to Churches in Bohemia, deſiring them to publiſh it, after they had made ſuch alterations and ſupplements to it, as they thought proper; that not meeting with the ſucceſs he expected, he ſent a more correct copy of his work to Baron Charles of Zerotan (5), in the year 1591, deſiring him to exert both his authority and his generoſity to procure the printing of that manuſcript; but that all this proved unſucceſsful. At laſt one of the Bohemian brethren publiſhed the eighth book of this Hiſtory of Laſicius, in the year 1649, with ſome extracts of the ſeven others. Here follows the title of that edition. *Johannis Laſicii nobilis Polonii Hiſtoria de Origine & Rebus Geſtis Fratrum Bohemorum Liber Octavus, qui eſt de moribus & inſtitutis eorum, ob præſentem rerum ſtatum* (6) *ſeorſim editus. Adduntur tamen reliquorum VII Librorum Argumenta & particularia quædam Excerpta.* The Hiſtory of the " Origin and Deeds of the Bohemian Brethren by " John Laſicius, a noble Pole. Book VIII, " which treats of the Manners and Laws of the ſaid " Brethren, now publiſhed by itſelf on account of " the preſent State (*) of Affairs; to which is ad- " ded however the contents of the ſeven other Books, " with ſome particular Extracts from them."

(4) *Fuit Laſicius ille gente Polonus natalibus; Eques dignitate ea ut a Rege Stephano ad exteros Principes Legatus adhiberetur; Religione vero Evangelicus, & Confeſſione Helveticus, quam ſcilicet Confeſſionem Polonia minor, Reformatores ſuos Tiguro nacta, ſuam fuerat.* Præfat. pag. 10.

(5) Who was ſoon after Governor of Moravia.

(6) That is to ſay, on account of the corrupt morals of the Bohemian Brethren in that diſperſion; which made it neceſſary to ſhew them how much they were degenerated from the virtue of their anceſtors.

(*) See the marginal quotation (6).

LATINUS (JOHN) a Moor by birth, was brought into Spain when a little boy, and was a ſervant in the Duke of Sueſſa's family (*a*) [*A*]. The happy genius which was obſerved in him, was the cauſe of his being permitted to ſhare in the inſtructions and

(*a*) Gonzales of Corduba, grandſon to the renowned Captain.

[*A*] *He was a ſervant in the Duke of Sueſſa's family.*] This he himſelf declared, in an inſcription given by Don Nicholas Antonio (1). *Hæc Joannes Æthiops Chriſticola ex Æthiopia uſque infans advectus excellentiſſimi & invictiſſimi Gonſali Fernandi à Corduba Ducis Sueſſæ, Gonſalvi Magni Hiſpaniarum Ducis nepotis ſervus, ab ipſo infantiæ lacte ſimul nutritus, cum ipſo à rudibus annis liberalibus artibus inſtitutus & doctus, & tandem libertate donatus, Granatæ ab illuſtriſſimo pariter & reverendiſſimo Petro Guerrero Granatenſi Archiepiſcopo extra omnem aleam doctiſſimo, S. Eccleſiæ Granatæ cathedram Grammaticæ & Latini ſermonis*

(1) Nicol. Anton. *Bibliotb. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 547.

and leſſons that were beſtowed on his young maſter; and this gave him an opportunity of acquiring ſo much learning, that having obtained his freedom, the Archbiſhop of Granada made him maſter of the Grammar-School belonging to the Church of Granada. Here he acquitted himſelf worthily of his function for twenty years; and being no leſs eſteemed for his morals than for the brightneſs of his parts, he married to very great advantage [*B*]. He publiſhed ſeveral Poems (*b*) [*C*]. Some ſay that Clenard brought him from Ethiopia into Spain [*D*], and taught him polite Literature; but this it not true. The miſtake of theſe writers might eaſily be ſhewn. Moreri has committed but few errors, but they are very groſs ones [*E*].

(*b*) *Extracted from* Don Nichol. Antonio, *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 547.

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minis accepit moderandam, quam per viginti annos fœliciter moderatus eſt. i. e. "John the Ethio- "pian, a worſhipper of Chriſt, brought an infant out "of Ethiopia, ſervant to the moſt excellent and in- "vincible Gonzales Fernando of Corduba, Duke of "Sueſſa, grandſon to the great Duke Gonſalvo, "brought up with him from a child, and inſtructed "with him in the liberal arts; being at laſt reſtored "to his liberty, he was made maſter of the gram- "mar ſchool, belonging to the church of Granada, "(and taught that ſchool very ſucceſsfully during "twenty years,) by the moſt illuſtrious, moſt rever- "end and moſt learned Peter Guerrero, archbiſhop "of Granada." Schottus the Jeſuit has therefore committed an error, in ſaying that our Moor learnt the Latin tongue, by his having an opportunity of waiting on Mendoza at college. *Hic dum Mendozium Heroa*, (I fancy this is an error of the preſs for *Herum*) *Granatæ in ludum literarium comitaretur, linguam Latinam eadem opera arripuit* (2). The maſter of our Latinus was not nam'd Mendoza. The reader will find in Aubertus Miræus (3), very near verbatim all that Schottus ſays of this learned Ethiopian.

(2) Schottus, *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 450.

(3) *De Scriptoribus Sæculi* 16. pag. 92.

[*B*] *He married to very great advantage.*] He married Donna Anna de Carleval (4); *Charus omnibus propter ingenii ac morum dotes, matrimonio inſuper honeſtæ nec ignobilis fœminæ ſupra conditionem ornatus* (5). i. e. "Being dear to all perſons on account of his "talents and worthy conduct, he married a virtuous "lady of a very good family." 'Tis ſaid that he was a handſome man; a circumſtance which perhaps was as rare, according to the taſte of the Europeans, as to ſee a Moor teach the Latin tongue. *Granatæ linguam Latinam publice profiteri cœpit, ſtupendo exemplo in cathedra nigrum hominem Latine loqui* (6). . . *Ludum hic* (Granatæ) *parentum memoria aperuit (quis credat?)* Joannes *Æthiops genere*, Latinus *hinc dictus, at præſtanti forma & Muſicæ ac Poëticæ in paucis peritus* (7). i. e. "John the Ethiopian, in the memory of our fa- "thers, open'd (who could believe it?) a ſchool here, "(in Granada) whence he was called Latinus; he be- "ing a very handſome perſon, and greatly ſkill'd in "muſick and poetry."

(4) Nicol. Anton. *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 547.

(5) Idem, ibid.

(6) Schottus, *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 450.

(7) Ludov. Nonnius, *in Hiſpania Illuſtrata*, p. 83.

[*C*] *He publiſhed ſeveral Poems.*] One on the battle of Lepanto, another on the death of Pope Pius V. and a great number of epitaphs. Here follow their titles: *Auſtriados libri II, ſive de victoria navali Joannis Auſtriaci ad Echinadas Inſulas. De obitu Pii V, ejuſque in Philippum regem ſtudio. De auguſta regalium corporum ex variis tumulis in unum regale templum Eſcurialis tranſlatione, atque illinc in Granatenſe Reginæ Joannæ, Epigrammatum, ſive Epitaphiorum libri II*, Granada 1576. The inſcription which I inſerted in the firſt remark, is taken from this laſt mentioned book; and as the author obſerves that he was fifty eight years of age (8), we may know (will it be ſaid) the year of his birth. A man who is in his fifty eighth year in 1576, muſt have been born in 1518. But we muſt not pretend to argue in that manner; for tho' Latinus's epitaphs and epigrams were publiſhed at Granada in 1576, it does not follow that the inſcription we ſpeak of was compoſed that year. This conſequence or inference would not hold, even tho' we ſhould know for a certainty that he was alive at that time; much leſs will it be concluſive, if we ſuppoſe that he died anno 1573, as his epitaph declares (9). Here follows what we may be certain of; ſince he died in 1573, this inſcription was not made after that year; and therefore the author was fifty eight years old, at leaſt, that year, and could not be born after the year 1515. Nicholas Antonio would have deſerved cenſure, for not having mentioned, in caſe he could have done it, the year in which Latinus ſaid he was fifty eight years old. I could wiſh, for the ſingularity of the thing, that our Latinus had found a place among Baillet's Poets.

(8) *Extracted from* Nicol. Antonio, *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 547.

(9) It is in Nicholas Antonio, *ubi ſupra*, and in Moreri.

[*D*] *Clenard brought him from Ethiopia into Spain.*] The author of the academy of ſciences (10) ſays, that Clenard left the court of Fez, *followed only by an Ethiopian diſciple, with whom arriving in Granada anno* 1542, *he wrote an elegant letter to the Emperor Charles V. died the ſame year, and left his Ethiopian diſciple (known by the name of John Latinus) ſo well inſtructed in literature, that he wrote a fine Latin poem on the victory . . . of Lepanto.* I am perſuaded, for ſeveral reaſons, that there are ſome falſities in this narrative. I. Latinus declares, that he was but a child when he was brought from Ethiopia into Europe (11); which would not be true, had he come out of Africa into Spain, with Clenard in 1542, he being then at leaſt twenty ſeven years of age. II. He ſays that he was brought up and inſtructed, from his infancy (12), with Gonſales Ferdinand of Corduba his maſter, who at laſt gave him his liberty (13). Now would he have ſpoke in this manner, had he owed all his erudition to James Clenard, as Bullart ſuppoſes? III. He does not ſay any thing that bears the leaſt relation to Bullart's account. My third obſervation perſuades me, that Aubertus Miræus is miſtaken in ſaying (14), *Diſcipulum reliquit* (Clenardus) *Joannem Latinum Æthiopem (quod prodigii ſimile eſt) Rhetorem Illiberitanum, cujus Poëma exſtat panegyricum de navali Jo. Auſtriaci ad Echinadas Inſulas victoria.* i. e. "Clenard left "a diſciple, John Latinus, a Moor, (which is next "to a prodigy) a ſchoolmaſter in Granada, whoſe "panegyrical poem written on the naval victory of "Don John of Auſtria at the iſlands Echinades (Le- "panto) is extant at this time." Doubtleſs Bullart was miſled by this paſſage of Aubertus Miræus, but then he added to it an error of his own, by ſuppoſing that James Clenard brought Latinus into Europe anno 1542. Probably his error proceeded from what follows. Clenard relates (15), that having been ſent to Braga to ſet up a ſchool there, he brought forth his three Mooriſh ſervants before his ſcholars, and commanded them in the Latin tongue, to perform certain poſtures. Theſe Moors had learnt Latin enough, by rote, at his houſe, to be able to underſtand all his orders in that language. *Erant mihi Servuli tres, quos ſupra* (16) *nominavi, non ſane periti Grammatici, verum domeſtica conſuetudine tantum conſecuti, ut me perciperent, quicquid dicerem, & contra Latine reſponderent, licet identidem peccantes in Priſcianum. Hos in ludum productos, dialogos agere juſſi, ſpectantibus diſcipulis, & cum eis multis de rebus ſermonem miſcebam, attentiſſimo auditori, adeo miraculi loco fuit, quod Æthiopes loquerentur Latine.* Heus Dento, *inquam*, ſalta, *&c.* From this incident it might eaſily have been concluded, that John Latinus had been a diſciple of that learned Grammarian.

(10) Bullart, tom. 1. pag. 287.

(11) See the remark [*A*].

(12) *A rudibus annis.*

(13) *Et tandem libertate donatus.*

(14) Aub. Miræus, in *Elog. Belg.*

(15) Clenard. *Epiſt.* lib. 2. pag. 303.

(16) This word refers to the following words of pag. 295. *Præter Gulielmum miniſtrum tres ſervos adduxeram Æthiopes, Dentonem, Nigrinum, & Carbonem; nam ſic eos nominavit Reſendius.*

[*E*] *Moreri has committed . . . . very groſs errors.*] It is not true that Gonſales Ferdinando of Corduba made our Latinus a ſlave, *in his infant years.* The inſcription I have copied (17) intimates manifeſtly, that he and Latinus were pretty near of the ſame age; and therefore Gonzales, when but in his infancy, muſt have undertaken expeditions into Africa, or by ſea, if it were true that he made Latinus a ſlave. I would fain know why Moreri did not endeavour to tranſlate his originals faithfully. He had Nicholas Antonio's book before him; why therefore did he not content himſelf with ſaying, that Latinus was the ſlave of Gonzales Ferdinando of Corduba? Does this ſignify that Gonzales himſelf had taken this Ethiopian, and afterwards (18) took him to Spain? II. Latinus's employment in Granada was not merely to teach the young clerks or ſtudents of the Cathedral; he taught publickly Latin to all comers, this being the cuſtom of the ſchools of Cathedral Churches, as Joli has ſhewn in one of his books. III. It ſhews great ignorance to ſpeak of a poem entitled *Auſtriados* (19). 'Tis in vain to endeavour an excuſe from the original, ſince Nicholas Antonio does not employ the genitive *Auſtriados*, without adding *libros duos.*

(17) In the remark [*A*].

(18) This is a conſequence of Moreri's relation.

(19) This error has been corrected in the Dutch editions.

☞LAUD (WILLIAM) Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the ſeventeenth Century, was ſon of William Laud, a Clothier of Reading in Berkſhire, by Lucia his wife, widow of Mr. John Robinſon of Reading, and ſiſter of Sir William Webb Lord Mayor of London in 1591 (*a*). He was born at Reading October the 7th 1573 (*b*), and educated in the Free-ſchool there (*c*), and in July 1589 went to Oxford, and in June the year following was elected Scholar of St. John's College there (*d*), under the tuition of Dr. John Buckeridge (*e*). In June 1593 he was made a Fellow of that College (*f*); and July the 1ſt (*g*) the year following took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and June the 26th 1598 (*h*) that of Maſter of Arts, being Grammar Reader that year (*i*). January the 4th 1600 he was ordained Deacon, and April the 5th 1601 Prieſt; both which Orders were conferred on him by Dr. Young Biſhop of Rocheſter (*k*). In 1602 he read a Divinity Lecture in St. John's College, which was maintained by Mrs. May (*l*). May the 4th 1603 he was choſen Proctor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and September the 3d following was made Chaplain to Charles Blount Earl of Devonſhire. July the 6th 1604 he took the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*m*) [*A*]. December the 26th 1605 he married the Earl of Devonſhire to Penelope, then wife of Robert Lord Rich; which action gave him afterwards the moſt ſenſible regret [*B*]. October the 21ſt 1606 he

(*a*) Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus, or the Life and Death of Archbiſhop Laud*, lib. 1. pag. 42. edit. London 1671, in fol.

(*b*) *Diary of Archbiſhop Laud*, publiſhed by Mr. Henry Wharton in his *Hiſtory of the Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud*, pag. 1. edit. London 1695 in fol.

(*c*) Heylin, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 44.

(*d*) *Diary of Archbiſhop Laud.*

(*e*) Heylin, pag. 44.

(*f*) *Diary of Archbiſhop Laud.*

(*g*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 147. The Archbiſhop in his *Diary* ſays, it was in June.

(*h*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 154. The Archbiſhop in his *Diary* ſays, it was in July.

(*i*) *Diary*, p. 1.

(*k*) Ibid. pag. 2.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Ibid.

[*A*] *July 6th* 1604 *he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.*] Upon this occaſion he performed an exerciſe, in which he maintained theſe two points: Firſt, *The neceſſity of Baptiſm*. Secondly, *That there could be no true Church without Dioceſan Biſhops:* for "which laſt, ſays Dr. Heylin (1), he was ſhrewdly "rattled by Dr. *Holland* (2), as one that did endeavour to caſt a bone of diſcord betwixt the Church "of England and the reformed Churches beyond "the ſeas. And for the firſt it was objected, that "he had taken the greateſt part of his *ſuppoſition* out "of Bellarmin's works; as if the doctrine of the "incarnation of the ſon of God, or any neceſſary "truths, were to be renounced becauſe they are defended by that learned cardinal."

(1) *Cyprianus Anglicus: or the Life and Death of Archbiſhop Laud*, lib. 1. pag. 49.

(2) Rector of Exeter College, and Regius Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford.

[*B*] *Married the Earl of Devonſhire to Penelope, then wife of Robert Lord Rich; which action gave him afterwards the moſt ſenſible regret.*] The Earl being a younger brother of William Lord Montjoy, and while his brother lived, known only by the name of Sir Charles Blount, had bore a ſtrong affection to the Lady Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux Earl of Eſſex; and there paſſed between them ſome aſſurances of a future marriage. But her friends looking on him as a younger brother, conſiderable only for his dependence at the Court, choſe rather to diſpoſe her in marriage to Robert Lord Rich, a man of independent fortune, and a known eſtate, but otherwiſe of an uncourtly diſpoſition, unſociable, auſtere, and no very agreeable Converſation to her. Againſt this Blount had nothing to plead in Bar, the promiſes, which paſſed between the Lady and him, being made in private, no witneſſes to atteſt to it there, and therefore not amounting to a Pre-contract in due form of law. But long ſhe had not lived with the Lord Rich, when the old flames of her affection unto Blount began to kindle again in her; and if the Sonnet in the *Arcadia*, (*a neighbour mine not long ago there was* &c.) be not too generally miſconſtrued, ſhe made her huſband the ſole inſtrument to acquaint him with it. But whether it were ſo or not, it is certain, that having firſt had their private meetings, they afterwards converſed more openly and familiarly with one another, than might ſtand with honour to either, eſpecially when by the death of his elder brother, the title of Lord Montjoy, and the eſtate remaining to it, had accrued to him. Finding her, at his return from the wars in Ireland, to be free from the Lord Rich by a divorce, and not a voluntary ſeparation only *à menſâ & thoro*, he thought himſelf obliged to make her ſome reparation in point of honour by taking her into his boſom as his lawful wife. Beſides, he had ſome Children by her before ſhe was actually ſeparated from the bed of Lord Rich, (ſome of which afterwards attained to titles of honour) whom he conceived he might have put into a capacity of legitimation by his ſubſequent marriage, according to the rule and practiſe of the civil laws, in which it paſſes for a maxim, that *ſubſequens matrimonium legitimat prolem*. And to that end he dealt ſo powerfully with his Chaplain, that he diſpoſed him to perform the rites of that ſolemnization; which was accordingly done at Wanſteed December 26, 1605 (3). "Nor did he want, ſays "Dr. Heylin (4), ſome reaſons to induce him to it "(beſides the perſuaſion of his friends) which might "have gained upon a man not ſo much concerned in "it as he was, and may be uſed for his excuſe, if "not for his juſtification alſo. He found by the averment of the parties, that ſome aſſurances of marriage had paſſed between them before ſhe was eſpouſed to Rich; which though they could not "amount to a pre-contract *in Foro Judicii*, in a "court of judicature, yet he might ſatisfy himſelf "in the truth thereof *in Foro conſcientiæ*, in the court "of his own private conſcience. And thereupon he "might conclude, that being ſatisfied in the reality, "and truth of thoſe aſſurances, and finding that "Rich had quitted his pretenſions to her by a formal ſentence of divorce, he might conceive it lawful for him to perform that ſervice, which was "required at his hands. He had found alſo three "opinions touching the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs of "ſuch marriages, which are made after a divorce. "The firſt, *that ſuch marriages are lawful unto neither party, as long as either of them liveth*, which "is the doctrine of the Papiſts, determined poſitively in the council of Trent. The ſecond, *That "ſuch marriages are lawful to the party wronged, "but not unto the guilty alſo*; which opinion is maintained by ſome of the Calviniſts, and divers of the "antient writers. The third, *that both the innocent "and the guilty party may lawfully marry, if they "pleaſe*; which Maldonate (*o*) makes to be the general opinion of the Lutheran and Calvinian miniſters, as alſo of ſome Catholick Doctors. And then "why might he not conceive that courſe moſt fit to "be followed, in which all parties did agree, than "either of the other two, which was commended "to him but by one party only? And though he "followed in this caſe the worſt way of the three, "yet may it ſerve for a ſufficient argument, that he "was no Papiſt, nor cordially affected unto that religion, becauſe he acted ſo directly againſt the doctrines and determinations of the Church of Rome. "If any other conſiderations of profit, preferment, "or compliance did prevail upon him (as perhaps "they might) they may with charity be looked on "as the common incidencies of human frailty, from "which the holieſt and moſt learned men cannot "plead exemption." But whatſoever motive either the Earl or he had to put a fair colour upon the buſineſs, it is certain, that it ſucceeded well with neither. The Earl found preſently ſuch an alteration in the King's countenance towards him, and ſuch a leſſening the value, which he formerly had ſet on him, that he was put to a neceſſity of writing an apology to defend his action; but finding how little impreſſion it made both in Court and country, he became ſo uneaſy upon it, that he died before the end of the year following. Nor did his Chaplain bear it long without ſuch a check of conſcience, as made him turn the annual feſtival of St. Stephen into an anniverſary faſt, and compoſed a prayer for that occaſion. *And though I doubt not*, continues Dr. Heylin (†), *but that*

(3) Heylin, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 52, 53.

(4) Pag. 53.

(*o*) In Matth. xix. 9.

(†) Pag. 54.

he preached at St. Mary's in Oxford a Sermon, for which he was queſtioned by Dr. Airay, the Vice-Chancellor [C]. November the 13th 1607 he was inducted into the Vicarage of Stanford in Northamptonſhire; and in April the year following he had the Advowſon of North Kilworth in Leiceſterſhire given him (n). June the 6th 1608 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (o); and Auguſt the 5th following was made Chaplain to Dr. Richard Neile, then Biſhop of Rocheſter (p). September the 17th 1609 he preached his firſt Sermon before the King at Theobalds; and in October following exchanged his Advowſon of North Kilworth for the Rectory of Weſt Tilbury in Eſſex, in order to be near his Patron Biſhop Neile, who in May 1610 gave him the Rectory of Cuckſtone in Kent (q). October the 2d following he reſigned his Fellowſhip of St. John's College in Oxford. The air of Cuckſtone not agreeing with him, he exchanged it for the Living of Norton, into which he was inducted in November 1610 by proxy (r). About Chriſtmas the ſame year the Lord Chancellor Elleſmere complained againſt him to the King, at the motion of Dr. Abbot, Archbiſhop elect [D]. May the 10th 1611 he was elected Preſident of St. John's College; but his election being diſputed, it was at laſt confirmed by his Majeſty [E]. November the 3d the ſame year he was ſworn the King's Chaplain. April the 18th 1614 Dr. Neile, then Biſhop of Lincoln, gave him the Prebend of Bugden, and December the 1ſt 1615 the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon. In November 1616 he was advanced by his Majeſty to the Deanery of Glouceſter, and attended him towards Scotland, and returned a little before him in 1617. He reſigned his Living of Weſt Tilbury, and was inducted into that of Ibſtock in Leiceſterſhire Auguſt the 2d 1617 (s). January the 22d 1620 he was inſtalled Prebendary of Weſtminſter, having had the Advowſon of it ten years the November before (t). June

(n) Ibid. pag. 2.

(o) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 180.

(p) *Diary*, pag. 2.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Ibid. pag. 3.

(s) Ibid. pag. 3.

(t) Ibid. pag. 4.

that the Lord in mercy did remit this fault, yet was he not ſo mercifully dealt with at the hands of men, by whom it was ſo frequently and reproachfully caſt in the way of his preferment, that he was fain to make the Duke of Buckingham acquainted with the ſtory of it, and by his means to poſſeſs King Charles, his gracious maſter, with the truth thereof; ſo long it was before his enemies had deſiſted from preſſing this unhappy error to his diſadvantage.

[C] *A Sermon, for which he was queſtioned by Dr. Airay, the Vice-Chancellor.*] The Vice-Chancellor excepted againſt it as containing in it ſundry ſcandalous and Popiſh paſſages; "the good man, *ſays Dr. Heylin* (5), taking all things to be matter of Popery, "which were not held forth unto him in *Calvin's Inſtitutes*; conceiving that there was as much idolatry in "bowing at the name of Jeſus, as in worſhipping the "Brazen Serpent, and as undoubtedly believing, that "Antichriſt was begotten on the Whore of Babylon, as "that Pharez and Zara were begotten on the body of "Tamar. Which advantage being taken by Dr. "Abbot, he ſo violently perſecuted the poor man, and "ſo openly branded him for a Papiſt, or at leaſt very "Popiſhly inclined, that it was almoſt made an hereſy "(as I have heard from his own mouth) for any one "to be ſeen in his company, and a miſpriſion of he-"reſy to give him a civil ſalutation as he walked the "ſtreets." Dr. Heylin obſerves likewiſe (6), that this ſcandal being raiſed at Oxford, it was not long before it flew to Cambridge alſo, when Mr. Joſeph Hall (afterwards Biſhop of Norwich) was exerciſing his pen in the way of epiſtles, in one of which, inſcribed to Mr. *W. L.* it was generally ſuppoſed, that he aimed at him. The epiſtle was as follows (7). "I would I knew where "to find you? then I could tell how to take direct "aim; whereas now I muſt pore and conjecture. To "day you are in the tents of the Romaniſts, to mor-"row in ours, the next day between both, againſt "both. Our adverſaries think you ours, we theirs, "your conſcience finds you with both, and neither. I "flatter you not: this of yours is the worſt of all "tempers. Heat and cold have their uſes: luke-"warmneſs is good for nothing, but to trouble the "ſtomach. Thoſe that are ſpiritually hot, find ac-"ceptation; thoſe that are ſtark cold, have a leſſer "reckoning; the mean between both is ſo much "worſe, as it comes nearer to good, and attains it not. "How long will you halt in this indifferency? Re-"ſolve one way, and know at laſt what you do hold, "what you ſhould caſt off, either your wings or your "teeth, or loathing this bat-like nature, be either a "bird or a beaſt. To die wavering and uncertain, "yourſelf will grant fearful. If you muſt ſettle, "when begin you? If you muſt begin, why not "now? It is dangerous deferring that, whoſe want is "deadly, and whoſe opportunity is doubtful. God "cryeth with Jehu, *Who is on my ſide, who?* Look "at laſt out of your window to him, and in a reſolute "courage caſt down the Jezebel, that hath bewitched "you. Is there any impediment, which delay will "abate? Is there any, which a juſt anſwer cannot re-"move? If you had rather waver, who can ſettle "you? But if you love not inconſtancy, tell us why "you ſtagger. Be plain, or elſe you will never be "firm."

(5) Pag. 49, 50.

(6) Pag. 50.

(7) Hall's *Epiſtles, Decade*, E. piſt. 3.

[D] *The Lord Chancellor complained againſt him to the King at the motion of Dr. Abbot, Archbiſhop Elect.*] Dr. Laud writes thus in his *Diary* (8). "The Lord "Chancellor Elſmere's complaint againſt me to the "King at Chriſtmaſs 1610. He was incited againſt "me by Dr. Abbot, Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury "Elect." Dr. Heylin informs us (9), that the Archbiſhop inſinuated to the Chancellor, that "Dr. Laud "was at the leaſt a Papiſt in heart, and cordially addict-"ed to Popery; that he kept company with none "but profeſſed and ſuſpected Papiſts; and that if he "were ſuffered to have any place of government in the "Univerſity, it would undoubtedly turn to the great "detriment of religion and diſhonour of his Lord-"ſhip." The Chancellor hereupon informed the King of all that had been told him concerning Dr. Laud, which was like to have deſtroyed his hopes of being choſen Preſident of St. John's College Oxford, notwithſtanding his petition to the King to believe otherwiſe of him, if Biſhop Neile had not acquainted his Majeſty with the abilities of Dr. Laud, and the old grudge which Abbot had conceived againſt him.

(8) *Diary of Archbiſhop Laud*, publiſhed by Mr. Henry Wharton, pag. 3.

(9) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 56.

[E] *Elected Preſident of St. John's College; but his election being diſputed, it was at laſt confirmed by his Majeſty.*] Rawlinſon, once a Fellow of the ſame College, and afterwards Principal of Edmund Hall, was a competitor for the place of Preſident. Each of them having prepared his party, the fellows proceeded to an election May the 10th 1611. The ſcrutiny being made, and the election at the point of being declared, one of the Fellows of Rawlinſon's party, ſeeing which way the buſineſs was like to go, ſnatched up the paper, and tore it ſuddenly to pieces. The nomination being thus fruſtrated, an appeal was made to the King, who ſpent three hours in giving audience to both parties; and upon full conſideration of the proofs and allegations on either ſide, gave ſentence in favour of Dr. Laud on the 29th of Auguſt 1611; upon which he was ſworn and admitted Preſident. He could not, for example ſake, but inflict ſome puniſhment on the perſon, who had torn the ſcrutiny; but knowing him to be a man of hopeful parts, induſtrious in his ſtudies, of a courage not to be diſliked, he not only releaſed him from the cenſure, under which he lay, but took him into ſpecial favour, truſted him in all his weighty buſineſſes, made him his Chaplain, preferred him from one good benefice to another, married him to his brother's daughter, and

June the 29th 1621 the King gave him the grant of the Biſhopric of St. David's [*F*], to which See he was choſen October the 10th following, and reſigned the Preſidentſhip of St. John's College on the 17th of November [*G*]. Soon after this he became intimately acquainted with George Villiers, then Marquis of Buckingham, before whom and the Counteſs his mother he had a conference with Fiſher the Jeſuit, which fixed them in the Proteſtant Religion [*H*]. January the 31ſt 162⅗ he was inducted into the Rectory of Creeke in Northamptonſhire, which he held in Commendam with his Biſhopric (*u*). In October 1623 he fell under the diſpleaſure of Dr. John Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal [*I*]. April the 17th 1623 he became Deputy Clerk of the Cloſet to King Charles I. for Dr. Neile, then Biſhop of Durham, who was indiſpoſed,

(*u*) Ibid. pag. 5, 6.

and laſtly promoted him to the very Preſidentſhip, which had been the firſt cauſe of that breach, and to one of the beſt Deaneries in the Kingdom (10).

(10) Idem, pag. 56, 57.

[*F*] *June the 29th* 1621 *the King gave him the Grant of the Biſhopric of St. David's.*] He writes thus in his *Diary* (11). *His Majeſty gave me the Grant of the Biſhopric of St. David's. The general expectation in Court was, that I ſhould then have been made Dean of Weſtminſter, and not Biſhop of St. David's.*

(11) Pag. 4.

[*G*] *Reſigned the Preſidentſhip of St. John's College on the* 17*th of November.*] The King had given him leave to hold that place *in commendam* with the Biſhopric of St. David's: *but by reaſon*, ſays he in his *Diary* (12), *of the ſtrictneſs of that ſtatute, which I will not violate, nor my oath to it, under any colour, I am reſolved before my conſecration to leave it.* This paſſage is omitted by Mr. Prynne in his edition of the *Diary*. The Biſhop reſigned his Preſidentſhip on the 17th of November.

(12) Pag. 4.

[*H*] *Had a conference with Fiſher the Jeſuit.*] In his *Diary* (13) he writes thus. 1622. *April* 23. *being the Tueſday in Eaſter Week, the King ſent for me, and ſet me into a courſe about the Counteſs of Buckingham, who about that time was wavering in point of religion. April* 24. *Dr.* Francis White *and I met about this. May* 10. *I went to the Court at Greenwich, and came back in the coach with the Lord Marqueſs* Buckingham. *My promiſe then to give his Lordſhip the Diſcourſe he ſpake to me for. May* 19. *I delivered my Lord Marqueſs* Buckingham *the paper concerning the difference between the Church of England and Rome in point of ſalvation, &c. May* 23. *My firſt ſpeech with the Counteſs of* Buckingham. *May* 24. *The conference between Mr.* Fiſher *a Jeſuit, and my ſelf, before the Lord Marqueſs* Buckingham, *and the Counteſs his mother. I had much ſpeech with her after. September* 1. *My anſwer given to his Majeſty about* 9 *articles delivered in a book from Mr.* Fiſher *the Jeſuit. Theſe articles were delivered me to conſider of Auguſt* 28. *The diſcourſe concerning them the ſame night at Windſor in the preſence of the King, the Prince, the Lord Marqueſs* Buckingham, *his Lady, and his mother. September* 18 aut circiter, *There was notice given me, that Mr.* Fiſher *had ſpread certain copies of the conference had between him and me, May* 24, *into divers Recuſant's hands.* "October, I got "the ſight of a copy &c. made an anſwer to it. De- "cember, I was three times with the King this Chriſt- "maſs, and read over to him the anſwer, which I "had made to Fiſher, which he commanded ſhould "be printed; and I deſired it might paſs in a third "perſon, under the name of *R. B.* 162¾. January 11 "I was with his Majeſty to ſhew him the epiſtle, "that was to be printed before the *Conference* between "me and *Fiſher* the Jeſuit May 24. 1622, which he "was pleaſed to approve. January 16. I was all day "with Dr. White about my papers of the *Conference*, "and making them ready for the preſs. Fe- "bruar. 4 *Dies Mercurii erat. Colloquium cum* Fiſhero "*Jeſuitâ habitum Maii* 24. 1622 *juſſu ſereniſſimi Re- "gis Jacobi ſcriptis mandatum, Regi ipſi antea perlec- "tum, typis excudendum hodie traditur, cum approbatione "Epiſcopi London. Nunquam antehac ſub prælo laboravi. "Nullus Controverſor. Et ita oro, amet beatque animam "meam Deus, ut ego benè & ad gloriam nominis ejus "ſopitas cupio conorque Eccleſiæ nunquam ſatis deflendas "diſtractiones.* 1624 April 16 Friday, My *Conference* "with *Fiſher* the Jeſuit printed, came forth." It was publiſhed in the name of *R. B.* i. e. Richard Baylie, afterwards Preſident of St. John's College in Oxford, and Dean of Saliſbury, who was at that time one of Biſhop Laud's Chaplains. It was printed with Dr. *Francis White's Reply to Jeſuit* Fiſher's *Anſwer to certain Queſtions.* This *Conference* is ſtiled by Hammond L'Eſtrange Eſq; (14) *the exacteſt maſter-piece of Polemic Divinity of any extant at that time*; and he obſerves, that the Biſhop *declared himſelf ſo little theirs* [the Papiſts] *as he had for ever diſabled them from being ſo much their own as before they were.* Sir Edward Deering alſo, his profeſſed adverſary, in the preface to his book of *Speeches* (15), tells us, that the Biſhop in this *Conference*, eſpecially in the laſt half of it, *had muzzled the Jeſuit, and ſhould ſtrike the Papiſts under the fifth rib, when he was dead and gone; and being dead, that whereſoever his grave ſhould be, Paul's ſhould be his perpetual monument, and his own book his epitaph.* It was reprinted by him, with great improvements in 1637. It was anſwered by Thomas Carwel *alias* Thorold, a Jeſuit, born in Lancaſhire, in a book intitled, *Labyrinthus Cantuarenſis: Or Dr. Laud's Labyrinth: Being an Anſwer to the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury's Relation of a Conference between himſelf and Mr.* Fiſher &c. Paris 1659 in folio. This was replied to by Dr. Meric Caſaubon in a treatiſe intitled, *Of the Neceſſity of Reformation in and before Luther's time, and what (viſibly) hath moſt hindered the Progreſs of it: Occaſioned by ſome late virulent books written by Papiſts, but eſpecially by that intituled,* Labyrinthus Cantuarenſis. *Here, beſides ſome other Points, the grand Buſineſs of theſe Times, Infallibility, is fully diſcuſſed.* London 1664 in 4to. There was another edition of Biſhop Laud's *Conference* in 1673 in folio.

(14) *Hiſtory of the Reign of King Charles I.* pag. 178. edit. 1656.

(15) *Collection of Parliament Speeches*, pag. 5.

[*I*] *In October* 1623 *he fell under the diſpleaſure of Dr. John Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.*] We find the following paſſages in his Diary (16). "October 3d Friday. I was "with my Lord Keeper, to whom I found ſome had "done me very ill offices; as he was very jealous of "Lord Buckingham's favour. October 31. I ac- "quainted my Lord Duke of Buckingham with that "which paſſed between the Lord Keeper and me. "December 15th. on Monday morning, I went "about buſineſs to my Lord Buckingham. We had "ſpeech in the Shield Gallery at White-hall. There I "found, that the Lord Keeper had ſtrangely forgot- "ten himſelf to him, and, I think, was dead in his "affections. December 27. St. John's day, I was "with my Lord Duke of Buckingham. I found, "that all went not right with the Lord Keeper, *&c.* "He ſent to ſpeak with me, becauſe he was to re- "ceive the next day. January 11. My Lord Keeper "met with me in the withdrawing chamber, and "quarrelled me *gratis*. January 14. I acquaint- "ed my Lord Duke of Buckingham with that, "which paſſed on the Sunday before between the "Lord Keeper and me. February 6. Friday, my "Lord Duke of Buckingham told me of the recon- "ciliation the day before made with the Lord Keeper. "February 18. Wedneſday, my Lord Duke of "Buckingham told me of the reconciliation and ſub- "miſſion of my Lord Keeper, and that it was con- "feſſed unto him, that his favour to me was a chief "cauſe. *Invidia, quo tendis?* &c. *At ille de novo "fœdus pepigit.*" Dr. Heylin obſerves (17), that while the Duke of Buckingham was with Prince Charles in Spain, the Lord Keeper, and Lord Treaſurer Cranfield, with others of the court endeavoured to ruin the Duke's intereſt with the King: *of all which practices and proceedings* Laud *gives intelligence to the Duke, and receives back again Directions in his actings for him. From hence proceeded the conſtancy of Affection, which the Duke carried to him for ever after the animoſity between* Laud *and* Williams; *the fall of* Cranfield *firſt, and of* Williams *afterwards,* Laud *by his diligence and fidelity overtopping all.*

(16) Pag. 7, & ſeqq.

(17) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 107.

posed, and executed that office till the first of May following (*x*). February the 2d 162⅝ he officiated at the Coronation of his Majesty as Dean of Westminster [*K*], the King having commanded Bishop Williams, the Dean of that Church, not to be present at the ceremony (*y*). June the 20th 1626 he was nominated to the See of Bath and Wells, to which he was elected August the 16th (*z*). In the beginning of October the same year he was made Dean of the Royal Chapel (*aa*); and April the 29th 1627 was made Privy Counsellor to his Majesty (*bb*). July the 15th 1628 he was translated to the Bishopric of London (*cc*). About this time his antient acquaintance Sir James Whitelocke a Judge, used to say of him, that "he was too full of fire, though a just and good man, and "that his want of experience in State-matters, and his too much zeal for the Church, "and heat, if he proceeded in the way he was then in, would set this Nation on "fire (*dd*)." April the 12th 1630 he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford (*ee*). In May 1633 he attended the King into Scotland, and June the 15th was sworn Counsellor of that Kingdom (*ff*). August the 4th the same year, upon the death of Archbishop Abbot, the King resolved to advance him to the See of Canterbury (*gg*). The same morning a person came to him, and offered him to be a Cardinal [*L*]. September

(*x*) Ibid. pag. 17.

(*y*) Ibid. pag. 26, 28.

(*z*) Ibid. pag. 34, 35.

(*aa*) Ibid. pag. 36.

(*bb*) Ibid. pag. 41.

(*cc*) Ibid. p. 43.

(*dd*) *Memorials of the English Affairs. By Bulstrode Whitelocke Esq*; pag. 34. edit. London 1732.

(*ee*) *Diary*, pag. 45.

(*ff*) Ibid, pag. 48.

(*gg*) Ibid. pag. 49.

[*K*] *Officiated at the Coronation of his Majesty as Dean of Westminster.*] It was objected to him in the time of his fall, that in the digesting the form of the Coronation, he had altered the Coronation Oath, making it more advantageous to the King, and less beneficial to the people than it had been formerly; from which imputation the King cleared both himself and the Bishop, when they were both involved by common speech in the guilt thereof. To clear this point, we shall first set down the Oath itself, as it was taken by the King, and then the King's defence for his taking it. The form of the oath is as follows (18).

(18) *Exact Collection of Edward Husbands*, pag. 290. London 1643, in 4to.

Archbishop. *Sir, will you grant, keep, and by your oath confirm to your people of England the laws and customs to them granted by the Kings of England, your lawful and religious predecessors, and namely, the laws, customs and franchises granted to the clergy by the glorious King Saint Edward your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this Kingdom, and agreeable to the prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the ancient customs of this Realm?* King. "I grant and promise to keep them." Archbishop. *Sir, will you keep peace and godly agreement entirely (according to your power) both to God, the holy Church, the Clergy, and the People?* King. "I will keep it." Archbishop. *Sir, will you (to your power) cause law, justice, and discretion in mercy and truth to be executed in all your judgments?* "I "will." Archbishop. *Sir, will you grant to hold and keep the law and rightful customs, which the commonalty of this your kingdom have; and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God so much as in you lieth?* King. "I grant and promise so to do." Then one of the Bishops reads this admonition to the King before the people with a loud voice: *Our Lord and King, we beseech you to pardon, and to grant, and to preserve unto us, and to the Churches committed to our charge, all canonical privileges and due law and justice, and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King in his kingdoms ought to be protector and defender of the Bishops and the Churches under their government.* The King answers: "With a willing and devout "heart I promise and grant my pardon, and that I "will preserve and maintain to you and the Churches "committed to your charge all canonical privileges "and due law and justice; and that I will be "your protector and defender, to my power, by the "assistance of God, as every good King in his King-"dom in right ought to protect and defend the "Bishops and Churches under their government." Then the King ariseth, and is led to the Communion-Table where he makes a solemn Oath in sight of all the people to observe the premises; and laying his hand upon the book, saith, *The things, which I have before promised, I shall perform and keep: So help me God, and the contents of this book.* King Charles I. in his *answer to a printed book, entitled*, A Remonstrance, *or*, The Declaration of the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, the 26th of May 1642. observes, that *he had taken this oath at his Coronation, warranted*, says he, *and enjoined to it by the custom and directions of our predecessors; and the ceremony of their and our taking it they may find in the record of the Exchequer.* Bishop Laud tells us himself (19), that upon his trial, on the eleventh day of hearing, May 27th 1644, Mr. Serjeant Wild charged him with two alterations in the body of the King's Oath: one added, namely these words, *agreeable to the King's prerogative*; the other omitted, namely, these words, *Quæ populus elegerit, which the people have chosen, or shall chose.* "For this latter, says he, the "clause omitted, that suddenly vanished; for it was "omitted in the oath of King James, as is confessed by "themselves in the *printed votes* (*) of this present Par-"liament. But the other highly insisted on, as taking "off the total assurance, which the subjects have by the "oath of their Prince for the performance of his laws. "First, I humbly conceive, this clause takes off none of "the people's assurance, none at all: for the King's just "and legal prerogative and the subjects assurance for "liberty and property may stand well together, and "have so stood for hundreds of years. Secondly, that "alteration, whatever it be, was not made by me; "nor is there any interlining or alteration so much "as of a letter found in that book. Thirdly, if "any thing be amiss therein, my predecessor gave "that oath to the King, and not I. I was merely "ministerial both in the preparation and at the "coronation itself, supplying the place of the Dean "of Westminster. After this day's work was ended, "it instantly spread all over the city, that I had al-"tered the King's oath at his coronation, and from "thence into all parts of the Kingdom; as if all "must be true, which was said at the bar against "me, what answer soever I made; the people and "some of the Synod now crying out, that this one "thing was enough to take away my life. And tho' "this was all that was charged this Day concerning "this oath, yet seeing how this fire took, I thought "fit the next day that I came to the bar to desire "that the books of the coronation of former Kings, "especially those of Queen Elizabeth and King "James, might be seen and compared, and the co-"pies brought into the court, both from the Exche-"quer, and such as were in my study at Lam-"beth; and a fuller inquisition made into the busi-"ness, in regard I was as innocent from this crime, "as when my mother bare me into the world. A "salvo was entered for me upon this; and every "day that I after came to the bar, I called upon this "business; but somewhat or other was still pretended "by them, which managed the evidence, that I "could not get the books to be brought forth, nor "any thing to be done till almost the last day of "my hearing. Then no books could be found in "the Exchequer, nor in my study, but only of King "James; whereas when the keys were taken from "me there were divers books there, as is confessed in "the printed votes of this Parliament; and one of "them with a watchet sattin cover, now missing. "And whether this of King James (had not my Se-"cretary, who knew the book, seen it drop out of "Mr. Prynne's bag) would not have been concealed "too, I cannot tell. At last, the book of King James's "coronation, and the other urged against me con-"cerning King Charles, were seen and compared "openly in the Lord's house, and found to be the "same oath in both, and no interlining or alteration "in the book charged against me."

(*) Pag. 706.

(19) *History of his Troubles and Trial. Written by himself during his Imprisonment in the Tower. Published by Mr. Wharton*, pag. 318, 319. edit. London 1694, in fol.

[*L*] *The same morning a person came to him, and offered*

September the 19th he was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury (*hh*). May the 13th 1634 he received the Seals of his being choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of Dublin in Ireland, to which Office he had been elected September the 14th 1633 (*ii*). March the 14th $163\frac{4}{5}$ he was named one of the Commiſſioners of the Exchequer, upon the death of Richard Lord Waſton, Lord High Treaſurer of England (*kk*). March the 6th $163\frac{5}{6}$ he procured the Staff of Lord High Treaſurer of England for Dr. William Juxon Biſhop of London [*M*]. June the 14th 1637 he made a ſpeech in the Star-Chamber at the cenſure of Dr. John Baſtwick, Henry Burton, B. D. and William Prynne Eſq; [*N*]. In October following he fell under the diſpleaſure of her Majeſty for complaining of the increaſe and behaviour of the Romiſh Party [*O*]. In the beginning of the Long Parliament he was attacked on account of the Canons made by the Convocation in May 1640 [*P*]; upon which he wrote a letter to Mr. Selden dated November

(*hh*) Ibid.

(*ii*) Ibid. pag. 50.

(*kk*) Ibid. pag. 52.

offered him to be a Cardinal.] We find the following paſſage in his *Diary* (20). *Auguſt* 4. *That very morning at Greenwich there came one to me ſeriouſly, and that avow'd ability to perform it, and offered me to be a Cardinal. I went preſently to the King, and acquainted him both with the thing and the perſon. Auguſt.* 17. *Saturday, I had a ſerious offer made me again to be a Cardinal. I was then from court; but ſo ſoon as I came thither (which was Wedneſday Auguſt* 21.) *I acquainted his Majeſty with it. But my anſwer again was, that ſomewhat dwelt within me, which would not ſuffer that, till Rome was other than it is.*

(20) Pag. 49.

[*M*] *Procured the ſtaff of Lord High Treaſurer of England for Dr. Wiilliam Juxon, Biſhop of London.*] In his *Diary* he writes thus (21). " No Church-man " had it ſince Henry VII's time. I pray God bleſs " him to carry it ſo, that the Church may have " honour, and the King and the ſtate ſervice and " contentment by it. And now if the Church will " not hold up themſelves under God, I can do no " more."

(21) Pag. 53.

[*N*] *Made a ſpeech in the Star-chamber at the cenſure of Dr. John Baſtwick, Henry Burton, B. D. and William Prynne, Eſq;*] It was printed at London 1637 in 4to. In this ſpeech, he declares (22), *I can ſay it clearly and truly, as in the preſence of God, I have done nothing as a Prelate, to the uttermoſt of what I am conſcious, but with a ſingle Heart, and with a ſincere intention for the good government and honour of the Church, and the maintenance of the orthodox truth and religion of Chriſt profeſſed, eſtabliſhed, and maintained in the Church of England.* He afterwards obſerves (23) with regard to the Prelates, that " he aſſured him-" ſelf, they could not be ſo baſe, as to live Prelates " in the Church of England, and labour to bring in " the ſuperſtitions of the Church of Rome, upon " themſelves and it. And if any ſhould be ſo foul, " *ſays he*, I do not only leave him to God's judgment, " but (if theſe libellers, or any other can diſcover " that his baſe and irreligious falſhood) to ſhame alſo, " and ſevere puniſhment from the ſtate. And in " any juſt way, no man's hand ſhall be more or " ſooner againſt him, than mine ſhall be. And for " my ſelf, to paſs by all the ſcandalous reproaches, " which they have moſt injuriouſly caſt upon me, I " ſhall ſay this only: Firſt, I know of no plot nor " purpoſe of altering the religion eſtabliſhed. Se-" condly, I have ever been far from attempting any " thing, that may truly be ſaid to tend that way in " the leaſt degree. And to theſe two I here offer my " Oath. Thirdly, if the King had a mind to change " Religion, (which I know he hath not, and God " forbid he ſhould ever have) he muſt ſeek for other " inſtruments. For as baſely as theſe men conceive, " yet I thank God, I know my duty well both to " God and the King; and I know that all the duty " I owe to the King, is under God." He then proceeds to conſider the *Innovations*, which were charged upon himſelf and the reſt of the Biſhops.

(22) Pag. 4.

(23) Pag. 13.

[*O*] *Fell under the diſpleaſure of her Majeſty for complaining of the increaſe and behaviour of the Romiſh party.*] He writes thus in his *Diary* (24). *October* 22, *Sunday, A great noiſe about the perverting of the Lady Newport: ſpeech of it at the council; my free ſpeech there to the King concerning the increaſing of the Roman party, the freedom at Denmark houſe, the carriage of Mr. Walter Montague and Sir Toby Matthews. The Queen acquainted me with all I ſaid that very night, and highly diſpleaſed with me, and ſo continues.*

(24) Pag. 55.

[*P*] *In the beginning of the long Parliament he was attacked on account of the Canons made by the Convocation in May* 1640.] The Parliament, which met April 13th, had been diſſolved May 5th; but the Archbiſhop perſuaded the King to continue the ſitting of the Convocation by a new commiſſion granted to them for the concluſion of ſuch matters, as were then in treaty among them. Yet by the opinion of Finch, Manchеſter, Littleton, Banks, Heath, and Shelton, ſignified to the King, the Convocation called by the King's Writ, was not to diſſolve but by the King's Writ, notwithſtanding the diſſolution of the Parliament. But it was held beſt, in order to clear all objections, to continue them by this new commiſſion (25). In this Convocation there were made *ſeventeen canons*. The firſt, *concerning the regal power*. The ſecond *for the better keeping of the day of his Majeſty's moſt happy inauguration*. The third *for ſuppreſſing the growth of Popery*. The fourth *againſt Socinianiſm*. The fifth *againſt Sectaries*. The ſixth entitled, *An oath enjoyned for the preventing of all innovations in doctrine and government:* and the Oath itſelf was as follows: " I *A. B.* do ſwear, that I do approve " the doctrine and diſcipline or government eſtabliſh-" ed in the Church of England, as containing all " things neceſſary to ſalvation. And that I will not " endeavour by myſelf or any other, directly or in-" directly, to bring in any Popiſh doctrine, contrary " to that, which is ſo eſtabliſhed. Nor will I ever " give my conſent to alter the government of this " Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Arch-" deacons, &c. as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and as " by right it ought to ſtand; nor yet ever to ſubject " it to the uſurpations and ſuperſtitions of the See of " Rome. And all theſe things I do plainly and ſin-" cerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to the " plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the " ſame words, without any equivocation, or mental " evaſion, or ſecret reſervation whatſoever; and this " I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the faith " of a Chriſtian. So help me God in Jeſus Chriſt." By this canon it was ordered, that all maſters of Art, (the ſons of Noblemen only excepted) all Bachelors of Divinity, Law, or Phyſic, all that were licenſed to practiſe Phyſic, all regiſters, notaries, and proctors, all ſchool-maſters, all ſuch as being natives or naturaliz'd, do come to be incorporated into the Univerſities here, having taken any degree in any foreign Univerſity, ſhould be bound to take this oath; and that it ſhould be adminiſter'd to all of the perſons above-named reſiding in any Univerſity by the governors of their ſeveral houſes; and by the Biſhop reſpectively to all, who ſhould from thenceforth be admitted to holy orders, or receive any inſtitution, collation, or licenſe for the ſerving of any cure; with ſeveral penalties to all beneficed perſons, and all ſuch as were then in any Eccleſiaſtical dignity, for their refuſal of the ſame; that is to ſay, a ſuſpenſion *ab officio* for the firſt refuſal, *a beneficio & officio* for the ſecond, and deprivation for the third, a month's deliberation being granted betwixt each refuſal. The ſeventh canon was entitled, *A declaration concerning ſome rites and ceremonies*. The eighth *of preaching for conformity*. The ninth entitled, *One book of articles to be uſed at all parochial viſitations*. The tenth *concerning the converſation of the clergy*. The eleventh concerning *Chancellors patents*. The twelfth entitled, *Chancellors alone not to cenſure any of the clergy in ſundry caſes*. The thirteenth, entitled, *Excommunication*

(25) Whitelocke's *Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs*, pag. 34. edit. London 1732.

vember the 29th 1640 [Q]. December the 16th theſe Canons were condemned by the Houſe of Commons "as containing in them many matters contrary to the King's Prero-"gative, to the fundamental Laws and Statutes of this Realm, to the Rights of Parlia-"ment, to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and tending to Sedition, and of "dangerous conſequence." December the 18th he was accuſed by the Commons of High Treaſon; upon which he was committed to the cuſtody of the Uſher of the Black Rod, and on the 1ſt of March to the Tower. March the 12th 164$\frac{1}{2}$ he was brought to his trial [R], which was carried on for twenty days of hearing till July the 29th 1644; and on the 21ſt of September he made his recapitulation. November the 13th a Bill of Attainder of him paſſed the Houſe of Commons, and January the 6th 164$\frac{4}{5}$ it paſſed the Houſe of Lords. He was beheaded on Tower Hill Friday January the 10th, aged ſeventy one years, thirteen weeks, and four days; and his body was interred in the Chancel of the Church of Allhallows Barkin; from whence in July 1663 it was removed to Oxford, and depoſited in the Chapel of St. John's College. There are ſeveral pieces of his writing, beſides his anſwer to Fiſher [T]. "He was low of ſtature," ſays

communication and Abſolution not to be pronounced but by a Prieſt. The fourteenth *concerning commutations and the diſpoſing of them.* The fifteenth *touching concurrent juriſdictions.* The ſixteenth *concerning licences to marry.* The ſeventeenth *againſt vexatious citations.*

[Q] *Wrote a letter to Mr. Selden dated November 29th, 1640.*] We ſhall give the reader this letter exactly as we tranſcribed it from the original amongſt the papers of Mr. Selden, now in the hands of Nicholas Harding Eſq; clerk of the honourable houſe of Commons.

"To mye much honored frend Mr. John Selden theſe.
"*Sal. in Chriſto.*

"Worthy Sir,
"I underſtand, that the byſineſs about the late "cannons will be handled againe in your houſe to "morrowe. I ſhall never aſke any unworthye thinge "of you; but give me leave to ſaye as followes. If "wee have erred in anye point of legalitye unknowne "unto us, wee ſhall be hartelye ſorye for it, and "hope that error ſhall not be made a cryme. We "heare that ſhipmonye is layd aſyde as a thinge that "will dye of itſelfe; and I am glad it will have "ſoe quiett a death. Maye not theſe unfortunate "cannons be ſuffer'd to dye as quietlye without "blemiſhinge the Church, which hath to manye ene-"myes both at home and abroad? If thiſs maye "be, I heare promiſe you, I will preſentlye hum-"blye beſeech his Majeſtye, for a licence to reviewe the "cannons, and abrogat them; aſſuringe myſelfe "that all mye brethren will joyne with me to pre-"ſerve the publicke peace rather then that any act "of ours ſhall be thought a publicke greevance. "And upon mye credit with you I had moved for "thiſs licence at the verye firſt ſittinge of thiſs Par-"liament, bot that both my ſelf and others did feare "the Houſe of Commons would take offence at it "(as they did at the laſt,) and ſayde, wee did it on "purpoſe to prevent them. I underſtand you mean "to ſpeake of thiſs buſynes in the houſe to morrowe, "and that hath made me wright theſe lynes to you, "to lett you knowe our meaninge and deſyers. And "I ſhall take it for a great kindnes to me, and a "great ſervice to the Church, if by your meane the "houſe will be ſatisfied with thiſs, which is heare "offerd of abrogatinge the cannons. To God's "bleſſed protection I leave you, and reſt

"Your lovinge poore frend

"Lambeth November
"29th 1640. W. CANT.

"I mean to move the Kinge thiſs daye for a li-"cence, as is within mentioned."

[R] *March the 12th 164$\frac{1}{2}$ he was brought to his tryal.*] The council aſſigned him were Mr. John Hearne, Mr. Matthew Hale of Lincolns-Inn, and Mr. Chaloner Chute of the Middle Temple, to whom afterwards was added Mr. Richard Gerard of Graye-Inn, and certain ſervants of the Archbiſhop to attend him in the tryal, viz. Mr. W. Dell his ſecretary, Mr. Richard Cobbe and Mr. George Smith. The managers againſt him were John Maynard Eſq; Sergeant John Wylde, Samuel Brown of Lincolns-Inn Eſq; Robert Nicholas of the Temple Eſq; and Roger Hill of the Temple Eſq;. Mr. Prynne had the care of providing all the evidence, and had on the laſt day of May 1643 by an order of the Houſe of Commons taken from the Archbiſhop twenty one bundles of Papers, which that Prelate had prepared for his defence, his diary, his book of private devotions, the Scots ſervice-book, and directions accompanying it &c (26),

(26) *Hiſtory of the Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud*, cap. 18. pag. 205, 206.

[S] *He was beheaded on Tower Hill Friday January 10th.*] In his ſpeech upon the ſcaffold he ſays thus: "I was born and baptized in the boſom of "the Church of England eſtabliſhed by law. In that "profeſſion I have ever ſince lived, and in that "I come now to die. This is no time to diſſemble "with God, leaſt of all in matters of religion. And "therefore I deſire it may be remembered, I have "always lived in the Proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed "in England, and in that I come now to die. "What clamours and ſlanders I have endured for "labouring to keep an uniformity in the external "ſervice of God, according to the doctrine and "diſcipline of the Church, all men know, and I "have abundantly felt. Now at laſt I am accuſed "of high treaſon in Parliament, a crime, which my "ſoul ever abhorred. This treaſon was charged to "conſiſt of two parts, *An endeavour to ſubvert the "laws of the land*, and *a like endeavour to overthrow "the true Proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed by law.* Beſides "my anſwers to the ſeveral charges, I proteſted my "innocency in both Houſes. It was ſaid, *Priſoners "Proteſtations at the bar muſt not be taken.* I can "bring no witneſs of my heart and the intentions "thereof: therefore I muſt come to my Proteſtation, "not at the bar, but my proteſtation at this hour and "inſtant of my death, that I never endeavoured the "ſubverſion of law or religion; and I deſire you all "to remember this proteſt of mine for my innocen-"cy in this and from all treaſons whatſoever. I "have been accuſed likewiſe as an enemy to Parlia-"ments. No, I underſtand them and the benefits "that come by them too well, to do ſo. But I did "miſlike the miſgovernment of ſome Parliaments "many ways, and I had good reaſon for it. For "*corruptio optimi eſt peſſima*, there is no corruption in "the world ſo bad as that, which is the beſt thing "within itſelf; for the better the thing is in nature, "the worſe it is corrupted. And that being the high-"eſt court, over which no other hath juriſdiction, "when it is miſinformed or miſgoverned, the ſub-"ject is left without all remedy. But I have done: "I forgive all the world, all and every of thoſe bit-"ter enemies which have perſecuted me; and hum-"blY deſire to be forgiven of God firſt, and then of "every man, whether I have offended him or not, "if he do but conceive that I have."

[T] *There are ſeveral pieces of his writing, beſides his anſwer to* Fiſher.] Several Sermons, as 1. *Sermon preached before his Majeſty at Wanſted*, 19 *June* 1621. on *Pſalm.* 122. 6, 7. London 1621 in 4to 2. *Sermon at Whitehall* 24. *March* 1621 *being the day of the beginning of his Majeſty's moſt gracious reign*, on *Pſalm* 21. 6, 7. London 1622 in 4to. 3. *Sermon before his Majeſty at Whitehall*, on *Pſalm* 75. 2, 3. London 1625 in 4to. 4. *Sermon at Weſtminſter* 6 *Feb.* 1625 *at the opening of the Parliament*, on *Pſalm* 122. 3, 4, 5. London 1625 *in 4to.* 5. *Sermon at Weſtminſter* 17 *March*

(ll) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 507.

ſays Dr. Heylin (*ll*), but of a ſtrong compoſition; his countenance chearful and well-blooded; which chearfulneſs and vivacity he carried with him to the very block, notwithſtanding the afflictions of four years impriſonment. Of apprehenſion he was quick and ſudden, of a very ſociable wit, and a pleaſant humour; and one that knew as well how to put off the gravity of his place and perſon, when he ſaw occaſion, as any man living whoſoever." We ſhall give the reſt of his character from ſeveral writers in the note [*U*].

LAUDICE

March 1627, *at the opening of the Parliament*, on *Epheſ.* 4. 3. London 1628 in 4to. 6. *Sermon at Whitehall at a ſolemn faſt before the King*, 5 *July* 1626. on *Pſalm* 74. 22. London 1626 in 4to. 7. *Sermon at Paul's Croſs on the King's inauguration*, on *Pſalm* 22. 1. Theſe ſeven ſermons were reprinted at London in 8vo 1651. *The memorables of King James I. of famous memory*. They are twenty nine in number, and were printed with the Archbiſhop's *Diary* by Mr. Prynne. They are called by the author, *Short Annotations upon the life and death of the moſt Auguſt King James*. They were drawn up at the deſire of George Duke of Buckingham. *Anſwer to the remonſtrance made by the Houſe of Commons in June* 1628. Officium quotidianum: *or a manual of private Devotions*. London 1650 and 1663 in 8vo. *A ſummary of Devotions*. London 1667 in 12mo, publiſhed according to a copy written with his own hand in the library of St. John's College in Oxford. *Diary of his life*. This, which is partly written in Latin, but moſtly in Engliſh, was publiſhed by Mr. Prynne in his *Breviate of the life of* William Laud, *Archbiſhop of Canterbury: extracted (for the moſt part)* verbatim *out of his own* Diary, *and other writings under his own hand. Collected and publiſhed at the ſpecial inſtance of ſundry honourable perſons, as a neceſſary prologue to the hiſtory of his tryal, for which the criminal part of his life is ſpecially reſerved*. London 1644 in fol. But Mr. Wharton obſerves (27) that Mr. Prynne did not publiſh the *Diary intire, nor faithfully, as far as he did publiſh it, but altered, mangled, corrupted, and gloſſed in a moſt ſhameful manner, accompanied with* deſperate untruths, *as the Archbiſhop complains in this hiſtory, and therefore addeth*: For this Breviate of his, if God lend me life and ſtrength to end this (hiſtory) firſt, I ſhall diſcover to the world the baſe and malicious ſlanders, with which it is fraught. *This the Archbiſhop wrote, when he deſpaired that ever his* Diary *ſhould be recovered out of thoſe vile hands, in which it then was, and be publiſhed faithfully and intirely, which would be the moſt effectual diſcovery of the baſeneſs and malice of* Prynne *therein*. Mr. Wharton therefore prefixed to the *Hiſtory of the Troubles and Tryal of Archbiſhop Laud* an exact and compleat edition of the *Diary*, which came into his hands. *Hiſtory of his Troubles and Tryal written during his impriſonment in the tower*. He begun to write this before the end of the year 1641, and continued it from time to time till the 3d of January 1643, which was the ſeventh day before his execution. He wrote in the firſt leaf of it, *Non appoſui manum ultimam. W. Cant.* It was publiſhed by Mr. Wharton in 1694 in fol. with ſeveral marginal notes by Archbiſhop Sancroft. To this Mr. Wharton has added, 1 *His ſpeech at his death on the ſcaffold*. 2. *His laſt will and teſtament*, made in the Tower 13 January 1643. 3. *Several paſſages of his conference with* Fiſher *the Jeſuit*, from the edition of 1639, and referred to in the preceding hiſtory; beſides other paſſages from other books, which are alſo referred to in the ſaid hiſtory. 4. *His anſwer to the ſpeech of the Lord* Say *and* Seal, *touching the Liturgy*: dated in the Tower December the 3d 1641. 5. His *Annual accounts of his Province preſented to the King in the beginning of every year, with the King's Apoſtills, or marginal notes*. Thoſe *Annual accounts* are from 1633 to the end of 1639. 6. His *Notes* on *Rome's Maſter-piece or the grand conſpiracy of the Pope and his Jeſuited inſtruments to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, &c.* which book is there reprinted. 7. *Several Letters*, of which a large one to Sr. Kenelm Digby upon his embracing the Roman Catholic religion is dated March 27th 1636. After Mr. Wharton's death there was printed *The ſecond Volume of the remains of Archbiſhop Laud, written by himſelf, collected by Mr. Henry Wharton, and publiſhed, according to his requeſt by the reverend Mr. Edmund Wharton, his Father*. London 1700 in fol. This Volume contains, I. *An anſwer to the Lord Say and Seal's ſpeech ſpoken in Parliament upon the bill about Biſhops power in Civil affairs and Courts of judicature, anno* 1641. 2. *A ſpeech delivered in the ſtar-chamber on Wedneſday* 14*th of June* 1637 *at the cenſure of J. Baſtwick, H. Burton, and W. Prynne*. 3. *An Hiſtorical account of all material tranſactions relating to the Univerſity of Oxford from Archbiſhop Laud's being elected Chancellor to his reſignation of that Office. Written by himſelf.* There are about 18 letters of his in Latin to Gerard John Voſſius printed by *Colomeſius in his edition of Gerardi Joannis Voſſii & clarorum Virorum ad eum Epiſtolæ*, London 1690 in fol. and ſome letters of his are publiſhed by Dr. Richard Parr among the letters written by and to Archbiſhop Uſher. London 1686 in fol.

(27) *Preface* to the *Hiſtory of the Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud*, pag. 2.

[*U*] *We ſhall give the reſt of his character from ſeveral writers in the note.*] Sir Edward Dering (28), who had greatly oppoſed him in the Houſe of Commons, ſpeaks of him in theſe terms. "I profeſs, I did and "do bear a good degree of perſonal love unto him, "and love unto ſome parts and qualities, which I "think him maſter of. His intent of public uni-"formity was a good purpoſe, though in the way of "his purſuit thereof he was extremely faulty. His "book lately ſet forth, (eſpecially for the latter half "thereof) hath muzzled the Jeſuit, and ſhall ſtrike the "Papiſts under the fifth rib, when he is dead and gone. "And being dead, whereſoever his grave ſhall be, "Paul's will be his perpetual monument, and his own "book his laſting epitaph. It is true, the roughneſs "of his uncourtly nature ſent moſt men diſcontented "from him; yet would he often of himſelf find ways "and means to ſweeten many of them again, when "they leaſt looked for it. Laſtly, he was always one "and the ſame man; begin with him at Oxford, and "ſo go on to Canterbury, he is unmoved, unchanged. "He never complied with the times, but kept his own "ſtand untill the times came up to him." Fuller tells us (29), that he *was generally charged with Popiſh inclinations; and the ſtory is commonly told and believed of a Lady, ſtill alive, who turning Papiſt, and being demanded of the Archbiſhop the cauſe of her changing her religion, tartly returned*, My Lord, it was becauſe I ever hated a croud. *And being deſired to explain her meaning herein*, I perceived, *ſaid ſhe*, that your Lordſhip and many others are making for Rome, as faſt as ye can, and therefore to prevent a preſs, I went before you. "Be the tale true true or falſe, take Papiſt "for a Trent Papiſt, embracing all the deciſions of "that Council; and ſurely this Archbiſhop would "have been made fewel for the fire, before ever he "had been of that perſuaſion. Witneſs his book "againſt Fiſher, wherein he giveth no leſs account of "his ſincerity than ability to defend the moſt domi-"native points, wherein we and the Papiſts diſſent. "However moſt apparent it is by ſeveral paſſages in "his life, that he endeavoured to take up many con-"troverſies betwixt us and the Church of Rome, ſo to "compromiſe the difference, and to bring us to a vici-"nity, if not contiguity therewith; an impoſſible de-"ſign (if granted lawful) as every way his equals did "judge." Fuller remarks likewiſe, that "amongſt "his human frailties, choler and paſſion moſt diſco-"vered itſelf. In the Star-Chamber, (where if the "crime was not extraordinary, it was fine enough for "one to be ſued in ſo chargeable a Court) he was ob-"ſerved always to concur with the ſevereſt ſide, "and to infuſe more vinegar than oyl into all his "cenſures; and alſo was much blamed for his ſe-"verity to his predeceſſor, caſing him againſt his "will, and before his time, of his juriſdiction. But "he is moſt accuſed for over-meddling in State-matters, "more than was fitting, ſay many, than needful, ſay "moſt, for one of his profeſſion. But he never more "over-ſhot himſelf than, when he did impoſe the "Scotch Liturgy, and was ἀλλοτρι-αρχιεπισκοπὸς over

(28) *Collection of Speeches*, Sect. 1. pag. 4, 5. edit. London 1642.

(29) *Church Hiſtory of Britain*, B. 11. pag. 217.

LAUDICE, ſiſter and wife of Mithridates, ought to be ranked in the catalogue of perſons of unhappy memory. Her huſband revolving a mighty deſign in his mind, ſtole from his Court in order to go and ſee incognito, and with very few followers, the ſituation of the places, which he reſolved, one day, to make the ſeat of the war. Laudice, hearing no news of him, imagined that he was dead, and conſequently would not return back; and therefore, inſtead of abandoning herſelf to grief, ſhe immerſed herſelf in the moſt impure pleaſures. Her huſband's return gave her prodigious uneaſineſs; and being under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of concealing, if poſſible, her fault, ſhe could not think

" a free and foreign nation. At home many grumbled " at him for oft making the ſhalloweſt pretence of the " Crown deep enough, by his powerful digging therein, " to drown the undoubted right of any patron to a " Church-living. But Courtiers moſt complained, " that he perſecuted them, not in their proper places, " but what in an ordinary way he ſhould have taken " from the hands of inferior Officers, that he with a " long and ſtrong arm reached to himſelf over all their " heads. Yet others plead for him, that he abridged " their bribes, not their fees; and it vexed them, that " he ſtruck their fingers with the dead palſy, ſo that " they could not, as formerly, have a feeling for " Church-Preferments. He was conſcientious accord- " ing to the principles of his devotion; witneſs his " care in keeping a conſtant *Diary* of the paſſages in " his life ... He was temperate in his diet, and (which " may be preſumed the effect thereof) chaſte in his " converſation. Indeed in his *Diary* he confeſſed him- " ſelf lapſed into ſome ſpecial ſin with *E. B.* for which " he kept an anniverſary humiliation. Indeed his " (*) adverſary makes this uncharitable note thereon, " *perchance he was unclean with* E. B. which is but " an uncharitable ſuſpicion. Now an exact *Diary* is a " window into his heart, who maketh it; and there- " fore pity it is, that any ſhould look therein but either " the friends of the party, or ſuch ingenuous foes as " will not, eſpecially in things doubtful, make con- " jectural comments to his diſgrace. But be *E. B.* male " or female, and the ſin committed of what kind " ſoever, his fault whiſpers not ſo much to his ſhame, " as his ſolemn repentance ſounds to his commendation. " He was very plain in apparel, and ſharply checked " ſuch Clergymen, whom he ſaw go in rich and gawdy " cloaths, commonly calling them of the Church- " Triumphant. Thus as Cardinal Wolſey is reported " the firſt Prelate, who made ſilks and ſattens faſhion- " able amongſt Clergymen; ſo this Archbiſhop firſt re- " trenched the uſual wearing thereof. Once at a viſi- " tation in Eſſex, one in Orders of a good eſtate and " extraction appeared before him very gallant in ha- " bit, whom Dr. Laud, then Biſhop of London, pub- " licly reproved, ſhewing to him the plainneſs of his " own apparel: *My Lord*, ſaid the Miniſter, *you have* " *better cloaths at home, and I have worſe*; whereat the " Biſhop reſted very well contented." Fuller likewiſe tells us, that *he was not partial in preferring his kindred, except ſome merit met in them with his alliance*; and that *generally the perſons promoted by him were men of learning and abilities, though many of them Arminians in their judgments*. That *he perfectly hated covetouſneſs; and being a ſingle man, and having no project to raiſe a name or family, he was the better enabled for public performances, having both a price in his hand, and an heart alſo to diſpoſe thereof for the general good*. Philip a Limborch, in the preface to the ſecond edition of *Præſtantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epiſtolæ Eccleſiaſticæ & Theologicæ*, ſpeaking of the letters of our Archbiſhop inſerted in that collection, tells us, " that he appears " to great advantage in them, who though abuſed by " ſo many grievous calumnies, yet in his familiar let- " ters to Gerard John Voſſius uſed no reproachful " term againſt his moſt inveterate enemies, but after his " Saviour's example, when he was reviled, reviled not " again, when he ſuffered threatened not, but bleſſed " thoſe, who curſed him, and prayed earneſtly for " thoſe, who perſecuted him. He is here ſo fully " cleared from the ſhocking imputation openly caſt " upon him by his moſt implacable enemies, of endea- " vouring to bring Popery into the Church of England, " that calumny itſelf cannot find any ground to ac- " cuſe him. We find here continual ſollicitations in " his letters to Voſſius, to undertake the taſk of " confuting *Baronius*; ſo that he never ceaſed to urge " him to it; *I am greatly deſirous*, ſays he, *before I* " *leave this world, to ſee Baronius falling under your* " *attack; and you cannot expect any letters from me with-* " *out reminding you of it.*" *Sed Imprimis admirabilem ſe oſtendit reverendiſſimus Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis* Gulielmus Laudus, *ob cauſam religionis à fervidis zelotis ſecuri percuſſus; qui adeo graviter impetitus, tot calumniis oneratus, in familiariſſimis ad Voſſium Epiſtolis nullum contra ferociſſimos inimicos maledictum profert, ſed ad Servatoris ſui exemplum, cum malediceretur, non maledixit, & cum peteretur non comminatus eſt, ſed maledicentibus benedixit, & pro perſequentibus ſe ardentiſſimè precatus eſt. Hic ab immani Criminatione, quâ ab infenſiſſimis inimicis coram toto orbe palam & odioſe eſt traductus, quaſi Papatum in Eccleſiam Anglicanam reducere moliretur, adeò plenè purgatur, ut ne ipſa quidem διαβολὴ quicquam quod admordeat reperire poſſit. Extant hic continuatæ ipſius flagitationes, vel decies in Epiſtolis ejus repetitæ, ut Voſſius provinciam Baronium confutandi in ſe ſuſcipiat, adeo quidem ut id urgere nunquam deſtiterit.* " Magnoperè, *inquit*, cupio, antequam fata mihi ape- " riant, ſepulchrum Baronium videre ſub tuis telis ca- " dentem, nec Literas potes a me ullas exſpectare ſine " ſtimulo." Biſhop Burnet (30) obſerves, that " he " was a learned, a ſincere and zealous man, regular in " life, and humble in his private deportment; but " was a hot, indiſcrete man, eagerly purſuing ſome " matters, that were either very inconſiderable or miſ- " chievous, ſuch as ſetting the Communion-Table by " the Eaſt walls of Churches, bowing to it, and cal- " ing it the Altar, the ſuppreſſing the Walloons privi- " leges, the breaking of lectures, the encouraging of " ſports on the Lord's Day, with ſome other things " that were of no value; and yet all the zeal and heat " of that time was laid out on thoſe. His ſeverity in " the Star-Chamber and in the High-Commiſſion- " Court, but above all his violent and indeed inexcu- " ſable injuſtice in the proſecution of Biſhop Williams, " were ſuch blemiſhes, that nothing but the putting " him to death in ſo unjuſt a manner could have raiſed " his character; which indeed it did to a degree of " ſetting him up as a pattern, and the eſtabliſhing all " his notions as ſtandards, by which judgments are to " be made of men, whether they are true to the Church " or not. His *Diary*, though it was a baſe thing to " publiſh it, repreſents him as an abject fawner on the " Duke of Buckingham, and as a ſuperſtitious re- " garder of dreams. His *defence of himſelf*, writ with " ſo much care, when he was in the Tower, is a very " mean performance. He intended in that to make " an appeal to the world. In moſt particulars he ex- " cuſes himſelf by this, that he was but one of many, " who either in Council, Star-Chamber or High-Com- " miſſion voted illegal things. Now though this was " true, yet a chief Miniſter, and one in high favour, " determines the reſt ſo much, that they are generally " little better than machines acted by him. On other " occaſions he ſays, the thing was proved but by one " witneſs. How ſtrong ſoever this defence may be " in Law, it is of no force in an appeal to the world; " for if a thing is true, it is no matter how full or " how defective the proof is. The thing that gave me " the ſtrongeſt prejudice againſt him in that book is, " that after he had ſeen the ill effects of his violent " counſels, and had been ſo long ſhut up, and ſo long " at leiſure to reflect on what had paſſed in the hurry " of paſſion in the exaltation of his proſperity, he " does not in any one part of that great work ac- " knowledge his own errors, nor mix in it any wiſe " or pious reflections on the ill uſage he met, or the " unhappy ſteps he had made. So that while his ene- " mies did really magnify him by their inhuman per- " ſecution, his friends Heylin and Wharton have as " much leſſened him, the one by writing his *Life*, " and the other by publiſhing his *Vindication of* " *himſelf.*" T.

(*) Mr. Prynne in the *Breviate* of his *Life*, pag. 30.

(30) *Hiſtory of his own Time*, vol. 1. B. 1.

think of a ſafer expedient than the poiſoning Mithridates. Accordingly ſhe was preparing for it, but one of her maid-ſervants betrayed her, and revealed the myſtery; upon which Mithridates, without the leaſt heſitation, put his wife to death (*a*). A modern author (*b*) affirms falſely, that the Monarch in queſtion was actually poiſoned by his wife; but that being accuſtomed to his antidote, he cured himſelf, though with much difficulty. Thoſe who puzzle themſelves, becauſe of Juſtin's relating that Laudice was delivered of a child during her conſort's abſence [*A*], raiſe difficulties out of nothing. I have ſpoke elſewhere (*c*) of another LAUDICE, ſiſter to this, and ſtill more wicked than ſhe. Juſtin is unjuſtly accuſed of contradicting himſelf, when he ſpeaks of theſe two women [*B*].

(*a*) *Extracted from* Juſtin, lib. 37. cap. 3. pag. m. 544.

(*b*) Chriſt. Matthias, *Theat. Hiſt.* pag. m. 28.

(*c*) In the article CAPPADOCIA, remark [*I*] num. 3. to the end of the paragraph.

[*A*] *Laudice had been delivered of a child during her conſort's abſence.*] This delivery was regular, and Mithridates could not take offence at it; the computation of the time allowed of his conſidering himſelf as father of the boy, of which Laudice was delivered in his abſence. The circumſtance, which makes me ſpeak in this manner, is, Juſtin's obſerving that Mithridates was congratulated, at one and the ſame time, on his return and on the birth of a Prince. *Inter gratulationem adventus ſui & filii geniti* (1). No perſon would have dared to congratulate him, as a felicity, on a ſhameful and indiſputable proof of his being a cuckold; what then, (will be objected to me) could occaſion Laudice's uneaſineſs? I anſwer, that in all probability ſhe was with child, or was afraid of being ſo, by having ſported with her gallants ſince her delivery. Hence ſhe was prompted, in order to conceal her adulterous practices, to diſpatch her huſband. *Laudice, cum periiſſe eum crederet, in concubitus amicorum projecta, quaſi admiſſum facinus majore ſcelere tegere poſſet, venenum advenienti paravit* (2). i. e. "Laudice . . . thinking her huſband was dead, and abandoning herſelf therefore to her gallants, prepared to poiſon him at his return; as tho' ſhe could cover or conceal one crime by the commiſſion of a greater.

(1) Juſtin, lib. 37. cap. 3. pag. 544.

(2) Idem, ibid.

[*B*] *Juſtin is unjuſtly accuſed of contradicting himſelf, when he ſpeaks of theſe two women.*] Freinſhemius charges him either with this, or with confounding hiſtory in a moſt egregious manner. *Aut contradicit ſibi auctor, aut hiſtoriam mire confundit* (3). His reaſon is, that Juſtin relates in other places, I. that (4) Laudice, widow of Ariarathes King of Cappadocia, was killed by his ſubjects, for poyſoning five of her children. II. That (5) Laudice, widow of Ariarathes King of Cappadocia, married Nicomedes King of Bithynia, whilſt her brother Mithridates was preparing to ſuccour her, againſt the Nicomedes in queſtion, uſurper of Cappadocia, in prejudice of Ariarathes the late King's ſon. There is no foundation for this charge of Freinſhemius, Juſtin mentioning two Laudices, queens of Cappadocia. The firſt had married an Ariarathes, who died during the war of Ariſtonicus, about the year of Rome 622. The ſecond was ſiſter of Mithridates and wife to the Ariarathes who ſucceeded the former. Here therefore is neither contradiction nor confuſion. I muſt obſerve, that Juſtin is cenſured in many places where he is right, and that no notice is taken of many incidents which are certainly miſrepreſented by him. The Commentator *in Uſum Delphini* has repeated the accuſation of Freinſhemius.

(3) Freinſhemius, *in Juſtin.* lib. 38. cap. 1. pag. 548.

(4) Juſtin. lib. 38. cap. 1.

(5) Idem, lib. 38. cap. 1.

LAUNOI (MATTHEW DE) (*), one of the moſt violent Leaguers in France, had exerciſed during ſeveral years the miniſterial functions among the Calviniſts; but having committed adultery, and not believing that the ſeverity of the Laws would be ſoftened in any manner on his account, he returned to the Romiſh Communion. I dare not affirm what I have read in great authors, viz. that he was a Prieſt when he turned Proteſtant [*A*]; but if he was not ſo at that time, he certainly became ſuch after he had abandoned

(*) [He himſelf ſays that he was born in *la Ferte-Alez*, in the dioceſe of Sens. Tho' he wrote his name *Launoy*, he ſeems to have been generally called *Launay*] *From the Remarks to the Paris edit.* (1734) *of Bayle's Diction.*

[*A*] *I dare not affirm . . . that he was a prieſt when he turned proteſtant.*] This is affirmed by Thuanus. *Matthæus Launæus*, ſays he (1), *ſacri Sueſſionum collegii Sodalis, olim ſacerdos, & poſtea ejerata majorum religione doctrinam proteſtantium amplexus paſtoriſque officio diu inter eos functus, uxore etiam ducta, cujus cum propter egeſtatem ætate jam inclinata tæderet, errore recantato ad nos redierat, ſed incerta fide, quam mox ut ſe vere Catholicum approbaret, factioſis addixit.* i. e. "Matthew Launoy, canon of the Cathedral at Soiſſons, formerly a prieſt, and afterwards forſaking the religion of his forefathers, and embracing the faith of the Proteſtants, executed the miniſterial functions a long time among them; having likewiſe married a wife, of whom growing weary, on account of the narrowneſs of his circumſtances, when advancing in years, he recanted his errors and came back to us, but ſtill doubtful with regard to his faith. However, he ſoon after joyned the Leaguers, to ſhew himſelf a true Catholick." The ſame thing is repeated in Book XCV (2), with a very conſiderable addition; for in enumerating the motives, which had prompted our Launoy to leave the Proteſtants; the puniſhment he had to dread, on account of his having been found guilty of adultery, is not omitted. He returned into the pale of the Church, ſays Thuanus, whether it was that he repented of his errors, or was grown weary of his wife, or feared the puniſhment which is inflicted by the proteſtants, on thoſe who are found guilty of violating their conjugal faith. *Rurſus ſeu pœnitentia ductus, ſive uxoris pertæſus, & adulterii pœnam, cujus convictus fuerat, metuens, ad ſacerdotium relicta uxore redierat* (3). I ſhall tranſcribe another paſſage hereunder, in which Thuanus repeats part of theſe particulars. I paſs over the following words of Du Verdier Vau Privas (4); *Matthew de Launoi, firſt prieſt, after a miniſter of the pretended Reformed Religion* (a Proteſtant miniſter) *and now return'd into the pale of the Chriſtian Catholick Church.* The authority of Thuanus is ſufficient to prove what I advance. Let us ſee whether there be any room to doubt that Matthew de Launoi was a prieſt, when he turned Proteſtant. The motive of my doubting is from the ſilence of our Launoy himſelf, on an occaſion, wherein one would think he ſhould have mentioned his being a prieſt, *I paſs over*, ſays he (5), *what they ſay of my vocation, before they had drawn me out of the boſom of the Chriſtian and Catholick Church, and of my deſerting my former employment; for I have always been in publick authority and office, ever ſince I left my ſtudies: and notwithſtanding my youth, which was very raw at that time, and far from maturity, I behaved with applauſe and honour, to the ſatisfaction of thoſe I was concerned with, till ſome miniſters and others of their ſect turned my brain with their illuſions and chimæras. And ſo great was their eſteem for me, that the inſtant I went over to them (in 1560) they forced me to accept of an employment among them; and were ſo haſty on this occaſion, that they did not give me time to breathe or recollect myſelf, ſo much they were afraid of loſing me. They even obliged me to make but one probation ſermon; nay, the moment they found I began to enter on my ſubject, being ſatisfied with my beginning, they made me leave off, and admitted me among them, in order that I might be ſent to Champagne.*

(1) Thuan. *Hiſt.* lib. 86. pag. 112. *ad ann.* 1587. *See alſo* Maimbourg, *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, liv. 1. pag. 55.

(2) Pag. 280, *ad ann.* 1589.

(3) Thuan. ibid.

(4) *Bibliotb Françoiſe*, pa 860.

["Launoy certainly was a prieſt when he turned "Proteſtant; and John Bruneau the counſellor . . . "ſays folio 7, of his *Diſcours Chriſtien*, printed at "Paris in 1581, 8vo. that Launoy *having been "honoured with the dignity of the prieſthood, and quitted "it induſtriouſly; being better adviſed, returned into "the pale of the Church* . . . and that he, at laſt, *was re-eſtabliſhed*

(5) *Défenſe de Matthieu de Launoi & d'Henri Pennetier . . . contre les fauſſes Accuſations & perverſes Calomnies des Miniſtres de Paris, Sedan, & autres*, pag. 43, 44. This book was printed at Paris, for John du Carroi, in the year 1577, 8vo.

abandoned the Proteſtant faith. Though he had been branded at Sedan in a very ignominious manner [B], on account of his adulterous practices, he nevertheleſs was received with open arms by the Roman Catholicks. They collected money for him (a); gave him a Canonry in the Cathedral of Soiſſons, and the Living of St. Mederic in Paris (b). He employed his tongue, his pen, in ſhort all his abilities to foment the rebellion of the Pariſians [C]; and made himſelf ſo conſiderable in the horrid faction of the Sixteen, that he preſided in all the aſſemblies which were held, in order to put to death Barnabas Briſſon, Preſident in the Parliament of Paris [C]. Had he not made his eſcape ſuddenly, he would have accompanied thoſe whom the Duke of Mayenne cauſed to be hanged (*), for being inſtrumental in the execution of that great man (d). He retired to Flanders (e); and, I believe, ended his days in that country. He publiſhed ſome controverſial pieces; particularly one concerning the motives of his changing his Religion [D]; and an anſwer to the calumnies which he pretended the Proteſtant Miniſters had ſpread againſt him. He writes with great weakneſs in his anſwer to the charge brought againſt him, viz. of his committing adultery [E]; and as his conduct during the time of the League proves him a profligate wretch,

(a) *Mem. de la Ligue*, tom. 6. pag. 349. Our Hiſtorians do not ſay that this Parſonage was given to him.

(b) *Mem. de la Ligue*, ibid.

(c) Thuan. lib. 95. pag. 280.

(d) Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire, ad ann.* 1591.

(e) Idem, ibid.

(*) [The author of the Remarks to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary does not believe this. See vol. 5. pag. 899]

" *re-eſtabliſhed in his firſt order and condition of the* " *prieſthood.*"] From the remarks of the Paris edit. (1734) of Bayle's Dictionary.

[B] *He had been branded at Sedan in a very ignominious manner.*] 'Tis related in the Memoirs of the League (6), that having been found guilty *of getting his couſin with child*, in Sedan, where he exerciſed the holy miniſtry, *he was hanged in effigy there.* [The author of the notes to the Paris edition (1734) of Bayle's Dictionary, is ſtrongly of opinion that Launoy was not hanged in effigy, for which he gives a variety of Reaſons. See Vol. III. pag. 898. of that Dictionary.]

(6) Tom. 6. pag. 351.

[C] *He preſided in all the aſſemblies which were held, in order to put to death Barnabas Briſſon, preſident in the Parliament of Paris.*] Let the reader conſult the Chronologie Novenaire of Peter Victor Cayet (7), and he will find a more particular account than in the following words of Thuanus: *Matthæus Launæus qui olim Preſbyter, poſtea ejerata majorum religione Miniſter uxorem duxerat, ejuſque pertæſus ad ſacra redierat . . . principem locum in iis conciliabulis ſemper tenuit* (8). i. e. " Matthew Launoy, who being formerly a Prieſt, " afterwards forſaking the religion of his anceſtors " became a Proteſtant miniſter, and married a wife, " whom growing weary of, he returned to the Church, " . . . was always the chief in thoſe conſultations." This proof is ſufficient for me.

(7) Tom. 1. folio 508, & *ſeq. ad ann.* 1591.

(8) Thuan. lib. 102. pag. 443. *ad ann.* 1591.

[D] *He publiſhed ſome controverſial pieces, particularly one concerning the motives of his changing his religion.*] 'Tis entitled, *The declaration and refutation of the falſe ſuppoſitions and perverſe applications of ſome texts of Scripture, which the Proteſtant miniſters have employed in theſe latter times to divide Chriſtians; and with an exhortation to the ſaid miniſters to reunite themſelves, and to bring back their hearers to the Catholick, Apoſtolick and Romiſh Church, from which they ought not to have ſeparated. . . . By Matthew de Launoy, and Henry Pennetier, late miniſters of the pretended reformed* (Proteſtant) *Religion, and now returned into the pale of the Chriſtian and Catholick Church, the whole digeſted and divided into three books, by the ſaid de Launoy.* The dedication (9) to King Henry III. informs us, that theſe two Proteſtant miniſters met in the town of Guines in the reconquered country, the firſt of June 1576; *Pennetier being returned thither from England ſome time before, and the other juſt come from Holland.* 'Twas there (ſay they) that they drew up this work, and reſolved to abjure publickly their heretical tenets.

(9) It is dated from Paris the 29th of September 1577.

[E] *He writes with great weakneſs in his anſwer to the charge brought againſt him, viz. of his committing adultery.*] He owns himſelf *to be a weak man, and liable to fall into ſin* (10). He does not confeſs the fault he is accuſed of; but alledges, in juſtification of himſelf, only ſome little cavils. *My accuſers*, ſays he (11) *have miſtaken with regard to the time, for want of a good memory; I being in Holland in the year* 1574. They are guilty of ſeveral inconſiſtencies, (adds he;) they ſay *that ſhe was a young maiden who had been left me in truſt, by honeſt people who fear God: and afterwards they ſay that ſhe was a ſervant wench. Now there is a wide difference between the one and the other. For when a young woman is given in truſt, that ſuppoſes her to be of a good family, and that ſhe has a fortune; ſo that ſhe is not a ſervant wench of ſix or ſeven French Livres a year. Beſides; they wanted to heighten ſtill more the enormity of that pretended incident; for it would be a much greater crime to debauch a young woman, well born, who had been left in truſt, than a ſervant wench, who lets herſelf out for hire, to ſerve and ſtay ſo long as her ſervice is approved of, or till ſome other thing makes her quit her place.* This is making but an ill defence. I have cited above (12), a writer who ſays, that Launoi got his own couſin with child. In all probability 'twas a young woman who had been ſent to his houſe during the perſecutions in France; for at that time ſeveral Proteſtants made Sedan their aſylum. Now as Launoi was not in very flouriſhing circumſtances, and his fair refugee perhaps had not money to pay for her board, 'tis probable enough, that by her domeſtick ſervices ſhe gave him an opportunity of living without a maid ſervant; and therefore, ſome might ſay (without inconſiſtency or contradiction) that he had lain with his *ſervant wench*; and others, that he had lain with a young woman who had been committed to his care.

(10) *Défenſe de Mathieu de Launoi*, pag. 45.

(11) Ibid. pag. 47.

(12) In the remark [B].

Here follows another pretended contradiction. *They ſay, that having been found guilty of the fact in preſence of the conſiſtory, I confeſſed it to three or four among them (they are uncertain as to the number)* (13); *but they don't ſay in what manner I was found guilty.* It was not, continues he (14), *by my being catched in the fact by the Judge himſelf, attended by his Sergeants, and others of his court.* 'Twas not *by unexceptionable witneſſes, for witneſſes are not called on ſuch occaſions.* 'Twas not *by a violent preſumption; for had there been any, they themſelves would have greatly tranſgreſſed, according to their own principles. A preſumption is grounded, either on the too great familiarity of the parties, or upon the woman's being with child. In caſe they grounded their preſumption on familiarity, they ought to have given us notice of it, to prevent, by good remonſtrances or exhortations, our committing evil; ſo that they would be greatly to blame, for having ſuffered us to continue in ſin, without oppoſing it by a brotherly charity, or by proper cenſures. If their preſumption aroſe from her being with child, it is not ſufficient to accuſe me, much leſs to condemn me. It would be a fine law, if a ſervant wench plays the fool in her maſter's houſe, and is got with child, that the maſter muſt be looked upon as guilty of the crime. What reaſon would there be for this? Fathers and mothers often find it an extremely difficult taſk to keep in their daughters, though they watch them ever ſo narrowly; how then could a maſter be accountable for a ſervant wench's being with child, ſince he cannot always have her under his eye? It would be much better, in ſuch a caſe, for a perſon to be his own ſervant. Such a preſumption therefore would be of no force. But when they ſaw their pretended young woman of a good family with child, they ought to have ſent for, and enquired of her how all this had happened; and who had got her with child, and then they had known the truth. But they forgot to do this, and therefore they cannot alledge a preſumption without condemning themſelves; and ſtill it would be of no force.* The weakneſs of this defence might eaſily be ſhewn, if one would be at the pains to do it; but 'tis really not worth while. I only ſay, that though he had ſent the young woman in queſtion out of the way, people might yet have had very convincing proofs of her being with child; ſo that he could not take any advantage of her not having been confronted or examined.

(13) *Défenſe de Launoi*, pag. 47.

(14) Ibid. pag. 48.

wretch, we must not give credit to the ſtories which he publiſhed againſt the Proteſtants [*F*]. That

The following pretended contradiction is not better than the foregoing ones. *They ſay that I was found guilty in preſence of their conſiſtory, which, according to them, was compoſed of ſeventeen Miniſters and thirteen Elders, making in all thirty perſons. Now they aſſert that I was found guilty by that confeſſion, which, (ſay they), I made in preſence of three or four: It therefore was not their conſiſtory, twenty ſix or twenty ſeven perſons being wanting* (15). An empty, childiſh cavil. 'Twas not pretended that he had confeſſed his crime in preſence of the whole conſiſtory: 'twas pretended that, without his confeſſing it before that aſſembly, he had been found guilty of it; and 'twas added, that he had confeſſed the charge, in private, to three or four people.

(15) Ibid. pag. 49, 50.

He complains (16) that they *ſentenced them both as being equally guilty of adultery, and to the ſame penalties. Now adultery, as diſtinguiſhed from fornication, is committed between or by married perſons. Nevertheleſs they ſay that it was a maiden; ſhe therefore did not commit adultery in that ſenſe.* This is a pitiful argument; for, to commit adultery properly ſo called, it is not neceſſary that both parties ſhould be married; if either of them be ſo, that is ſufficient. " [Bayle " would not have called this argument of Launoi a " pitiful one, had he underſtood it. The queſtion is " not, (in Launoy's anſwer) about the ſin of adultery, " but concerning the puniſhment of this ſin enacted " by the laws. You pretend, ſaid Launoy, that ha- " ving been judicially convicted, ſentence was paſt; " and you ſay that this ſentence condemned the young " woman and I, *to the ſame puniſhment, as being equal- " ly guilty of adultery.* A proof that this incident is " falſe, and that the ſentence is a mere calumny of " your raiſing, is, that the laws enacted againſt adul- " terers relate only to a double adultery, that is, to " ſuch an one as is committed between married per- " ſons; but not againſt that kind of adultery which " a married man commits with a maiden. In this " latter caſe, the laws do not look upon the maiden " as guilty of adultery. This ſentence therefore which " you ſay was paſt upon me, would not be agree- " able to the tenor of the laws; and this authorized " me to ſay, that 'twas you forged this incident, mere- " ly out of hatred to me &c.... Had not Bayle en- " deavoured merely to condemn Launoy, but only to " examine what relates to him, in order that he might " be enabled to condemn or clear him after a mature " enquiry, he would not have omitted a method, " which, to me, appears ſufficiently deciſive, and " which Launoi did not enough inſiſt upon. You " accuſe me (might he ſay) of having committed a " crime at Sedan in 1574, and I then had left that " city. You pretend that I was found guilty in a " full conſiſtory, and even that I afterwards confeſſed " the fact to three or four particular perſons. Now " nothing can be falſer than all this; I had then " left the city; and farther, neither the girl nor I " were ever examined or confronted. To all this " you add that, in conſequence of the conviction and " my confeſſion, ſentence was paſt upon me. It is " plain that this is an untruth. Either produce the " inſtrument of my conviction; the names of thoſe " perſons who heard me own the fact; and the judi- " cial ſentence paſt upon me, or know that you will " be looked upon every where as manifeſt calumnia- " tors."] From the remarks on the Paris Edition (1734) of Bayle's Dictionary, Vol. III. *pag.* 897, 898. The laſt thing he objects, is the reſpect to perſons (17). He pretends that they had ſhewn great indulgence to the ſame kind of crimes; he names perſons and places; and whether it were that he ſought for a greater conformity between the crime he was charged with, and that with which he charged ſome of his brethren; or for other reaſons, ſervant maids ſeldom fail of acting a part in his recriminations. He names a Proteſtant Miniſter, who made a figure in the frontiſpiece of ſome noble books, and who was called, in Holland, the *ſchoon Predikant* (18); if we may believe Launoy, the handſome miniſter in queſtion would have made himſelf formidable to his landladies by his exploits on ſervant wenches, and have made an excellent uſe of the maxim of a Roman Poet,

(17) Pag. 51, & *ſeq.*

(18) i. e. the handſome Miniſter.

Ne ſit ancillæ tibi amor pudori (19).

" Bluſh not, my Friend, to own the love.
" Which thy fair captive's eyes do move.

DUKE.

(19) Horat. *Od.* 4. lib. 2. See the article BRISEIS, remark [*E*].

I ſhall obſerve in the following remark, that Launoi was not honeſt man enough, to injure thoſe perſons whom he ſlandered.

I will make a little digreſſion. Either Clergymen ſhould be allowed to marry, or they ſhould be forbid to keep young maid ſervants; for all the horrid concubinage of prieſts, which has ſcandalized the publick for ſo many ages, owes its riſe to the permiſſion, which was granted them, of having women about them, to manage their houſhold affairs. The deſign of the ſuperiors was, that they ſhould confine themſelves to the buſineſs of maid ſervants; but they ſuffered themſelves to be prevailed upon to ſerve to every other purpoſe: the office of concubine ſeemed ſo convenient to them in all reſpects (20), that their maſters did not find it a very difficult taſk to bring them to it. Since Luther's reformation, the prieſts have leſſened, by inſenſible degrees, this great ſcandal; but to this day their maid-ſervants, unleſs they are very antiquated, are ſtrongly ſuſpected to ſerve them in a double capacity. Every one knows the ſong,

(20) Compare what is ſaid above, with the remark [*E*] of the article HADRIAN VI.

De neceſſite neceſſitante
Il faut que je baiſe ma ſervante.

By ſtrong neceſſity betrayed,
I'm forc'd to kiſs my ſervant-maid.

A prieſt is ſuppoſed to ſay this. Generally ſpeaking in all religions, if any lewd affair happens, which occaſions complaints againſt unmarried Eccleſiaſticks, it almoſt always ariſes from their maid-ſervants. The reaſon of this is manifeſt; the temptations on both ſides, and the opportunities for ſinning preſent themſelves more readily and conveniently; and doubtleſs hence it is why tender caſuiſts greatly extenuate the ſin of a ſervant wench, who is got with child by her maſter. The Latin of the lower ages furniſhes us with a word which is of great weight here. The word *focaria*, was taken, at firſt, in a virtuous ſenſe; it ſignified a woman or girl who ſerved in a houſe, and dreſſed her maſter's victuals, but it afterwards was made uſe of only to denote the concubines of clergymen (21): the reaſon was, moſt of their maid ſervants continued indeed to be cooks, but then they alſo lay with their maſters. Let us conclude, that it ought to be a law in all countries, not to ſuffer unmarried young clergymen to keep young maid ſervants.

(21) *See* Du Cange's *Gloſſary*, at the word *focaria*, pag. 469, 470. Paris edit.

[*F*] *We muſt not give credit to the ſtories, which he publiſhed againſt the Proteſtants.*] Though we ſhould even overlook the dreadful crimes which he committed during the league, we might with reaſon conſider him as an impoſtor, with reſpect to many particulars he relates concerning the Proteſtant miniſters, they being quite improbable. He ſays (22) that the Proteſtant Miniſters who fled for refuge to Neufchatel in Switzerland, having formed a reſolution to ruin a young man, who had preferred the ſtudy of phyſick to that of divinity, accuſed him of many falſe doctrines, but that one of the moſt eminent among them oppoſed their evil deſign; that notwithſtanding this they continued to do him all the injury in their power; *Some calling him wizard, others anabaptiſt, others atheiſt. Others would ſay to him; How dare you ſay that you do not believe all the doctrine of Calvin, by whoſe mouth we all ſpeak? He anſwering that Calvin was a man liable to error as others were; immediately they cried aloud, O curſed Philoſophy! O execrable Blaſphemy! For to ſpeak againſt Calvin's doctrine, and againſt the intention and will of theſe venerable doctors is, in their opinion, ſpeaking againſt God, and lying againſt the holy Ghoſt; and they make no conſcience of proſecuting a man on this account, even to death, if they can come at him* (23). The words he makes theſe Proteſtant Miniſters ſay of Calvin (24) is ſo different from the ſpirit and maxims of the Proteſtant Church, and ſo inconſiſtent with the ſtyle of the Proteſtants, that this is ſufficient to ſhew that he himſelf forged (and in the moſt groſs

(22) *Défenſe de Mathieu de Launoi*, pag. 38, & *ſeq.*

(23) Ibid. pag. 42.

(24) See alſo what he relates Book 2. of his *Declaration and Refutation*, folio 136 *verſo*.

That which relates to two pretended Demoniacks is the moſt ridiculous [G].

groſs manner) the ſlanders publiſhed by him. It therefore cannot be any prejudice to the memory of the parties concerned, if I take the liberty to inſert in this place the following ſcandalous ſtory. "The "eldeſt Capel had, a little before, played another ſuch "mad trick to a lady of a good family, who being "come to Sedan about buſineſs, would not ſhew her- "ſelf to, or be known by any perſon. Neverthe- "leſs, his over great curioſity made him ſo raſh, "as to abuſe the name and authority of the duke "and dutcheſs de Bouillon to get into the chamber of "the lady in queſtion, and to ſee her. At the ſame "time he played another prank, which ſhewed both "his Genius and lewd and wicked inclinations. For "coming out of Church, and moved by I know not "what kind of devotion, he took by the arm a beau- "tiful, virtuous, and nobly-deſcended young lady, and "begged to ſpeak a word or two with her. This "being granted, he whiſpered to her as follows; "Young Lady, charmed with your ſhining qualities, "both of body and mind, and particularly with your "wit, I am ſo bold as to offer up a petition to you, "but then I would not be denied. The Lady an- "ſwering, that ſhe could not grant him any favour "till ſhe firſt knew what it was; he then ſaid to her: I "would beg you to give me one hour's amorous paſ- "time with you; we will find a place where there "ſhall be no one but you and I. The poor gentle- "woman quite aſhamed, and ſurprized at the inſtruc- "tions which the Proteſtant Philoſopher gave her at "his coming out of church, flew immediately to her "mother, to whom ſhe told the whole ſtory; which "her mother told me, the ſame day, by way of com- "plaint (25)".

(25) *Défenſe*, pag. 35, 36.

[G] *That which relates to two pretended Demoniacks is the moſt ridiculous.*] Here follows an abſtract of this ſtory. Matthew de Launoi was a famous Proteſtant Miniſter in 1562. Some Merchants of the Netherlands, who were his auditors at Aï in Champagne, were ſo pleaſed with his ſermon, that they kept him at their houſes, juſt as he was going for England. They admired both his ſtile and his diligence; he often preaching ſix times in different places, in four and twenty hours, upon which they appointed him their Miniſter at Tournay. Whilſt he was in that city, advice was brought that ſeveral people poſſeſſed with the devil had been delivered by the exorciſms of the Catholic Church. This diſpleaſed the Calviniſts; they fearing that their ſect would loſe their credit, if their Miniſters ſhould not have the gift or power of driving out devils, which had been ſo conſpicuous in the Apoſtles, and was ſeen alſo among the Papiſts. They therefore ſuborned two perſons, a man and woman, and engaged them to act the part of demoniacks, upon condition of receiving a ſum of money, and having a penſion for life. The two perſons in queſtion played their parts to admiration; and thereupon Matthew de Launoi who knew nothing of this contrivance, was deſired to go and ſuccour the two demoniacks. Accordingly he went, offered up prayers, and preached; which brought ſo happy an effect, that the two demoniacks, after a great many tricks, which they had been directed to play, declared that the devil was come out of them. The miracle was ſpread univerſally, and gained de Launoi the higheſt veneration. However the knavery was diſcovered ſome time after, becauſe that the two perſons who acted the farce, not being paid the reward which had been promiſed them, brought their action againſt the ſeducers. A weaver and a rope-maker informed Launoi of this in Holland 1574. *Non ante ſunt eæ technæ à Matthæo intellectæ, quam pecuniis non præſtitis litem movere debitoribus dæmoniaci cœperunt: totaque eſt ea fabula in Hollandia ad annum M. D. LXXIIII. Matthæo à duobus, Chriſtiano de la Quennoillerie textore lini, & Joanne Walle, qui chordis nectendis vitam ducere conſueſſet, commemorata* (26). This was the motive of his converſion, if we may believe Sedulius the Franciſcan, who has inſerted this whole ſtory at full length, in his anſwer to the Alcoran of the Franciſcans, printed in 1607 (27). He ſays that Matthew de Launoi, being ſtill alive in Bruſſels, and writing ſeveral pieces againſt the Calviniſts, could vouch the truth of it. *Vivit hodieque Matthæus Bruxellæ Principum urbe Brabantiæ, & multa adverſus illos ſcribit, quibus mendacio pallente non poſſunt reſcribere* (28). Spondanus has inſerted the ſubſtance of this fine ſtory in his *Annals* (29). It would be needleſs to ſhew the impertinence of this relation; it is univerſally known that the Proteſtants made it their buſineſs to diſcredit all the miracles of the latter ages, and to aſſert that they were not any way neceſſary to juſtify the Reformation. Apply here what I ſay in the remark [T] of the article CALVIN.

(26) Sedulius, *ubi infra*, pag. 283.

(27) Henr. Sedulius, *Apologet. adverſus Alcoranum Franciſcanorum*, pag. 280, *& ſeq.* He quotes Florentius vander Haer, *de initiis tumultuum Belgicorum.*

(28) Idem, Sedulius, ibid. pag. 283.

(29) *Ad annum* 1562, num. 50.

LAUNOI (JOHN DE) in Latin *Launoius*, Doctor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Paris, was born in a little village of Normandy near Coutances. He went through his philoſophical and theological ſtudies in Paris, with ſo much ſucceſs, that he became a moſt formidable diſputant. He was ordained Prieſt, and took his degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1636 [A]; he did not make theſe two characters of uſe to him for amaſſing of wealth, and ſoliciting for benefices [B]; he having no other view but to acquire learning

[A] *He was ordained Prieſt and took his degree of Doctor in Divinity in* 1636.] I have not followed Moreri, who affirms that John de Launoi *entered into Holy Orders in* 1634, *and took his Doctor's degree in June of the ſame year*. My reaſon is this: It is affirmed, in this Doctor's elogium, that he entered upon his courſe of Divinity in 1633; and that he made ſo great a progreſs therein in two years, that no one ſurpaſſed him; and that he excelled many perſons of great genius and erudition. It is added that he was raiſed the following year to the Prieſthood, and took his Doctor's degree in Divinity. *Studium Theologicum ingreſſus eſt anno trigeſimo tertio ſupra milleſimum & ſexcenteſimum, illudque biennio integro ita percurrit, ut multos ingenio & eruditione præſtantes vinceret, & à nemine vinceretur. Ad ordinem ſacerdotalem anno inſequenti, & ad Theologiæ Magiſterium evectus* (1). I believed it was proper for me to put *this following year*, after the two years of his ſtudying Divinity; for had I fixed it immediately after the year 1633, it would follow, that this Doctor had ſtudied Divinity one year, as a ſcholar, after he had taken his Doctor's degree. I would not, however, inſiſt upon having the preference of Moreri; for the author of the elogium, did not perhaps pretend to great accuracy in ſuch minute particulars relating to Chronology. Did he not ſay (2) that after John de Launoi had ſpent five or ſix years in ſtudying Philoſophy and School Divinity, he began his courſe of Divinity and employed two years in it? Is this writing according to the ſtrictneſs preſcribed by the laws of accuracy? But how negligent ſoever he may have been, I prefer his authority to that of Moreri.

(1) *Elog. Launoii*, pag. 2.

(2) Ibid.

["The Latin word *ſtudium* ſeems to be an error "of the preſs for *ſtadium*. This laſt word was "employed by the author to denote what is called the "*courſe of Licenſes*, which is of two years continuance, "and which preſuppoſes five other years of Divinity, "*viz.* three years, during which the ſtudent goes to "the lectures of two Profeſſors, after which he may "be bachelor, and two years interval between the ba- "chelor's degree, and the entrance into the *Licenſes*. "The bachelor is ſuppoſed to ſpend theſe two years in "ſtudy, but privately. Beſides the three years ſpent "in ſtudy in the ſchools, the ſtudent muſt be Maſter "of Arts, and conſequently have gone through, during "two years, a courſe of Philoſophy in the Univerſity. "By the way, the anonymous author is miſtaken, in "ſuppoſing that de Launoi began this *ſtadium* or *Licenſe* "in 1633, it being in 1632."] From the remarks to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary, Tom. III. pag. 900.

[B] ... *he did not make theſe two characters of uſe to him*

learning, for which purpoſe he continued to apply himſelf to his ſtudies with prodigious intenſeneſs. He was not ſatisfied with reading of all ſorts of books, but kept company with the moſt learned Divines [C], in order to have an opportunity of conſulting them upon all the difficulties he met with (a). The converſation he had with the learned Father Sirmond proved moſt advantageous to him [D]. It was not for his own ſatisfaction, but

(a) *Ex Elogio Joannis Launoii* typis vulgato Londini 1685, in 8vo.

him for amaſſing of wealth and ſuing for benefices.] This requires a remark; for it is ſo very uncommon to find, even among Doctors of Divinity, any perſons exempt from avarice and ambition, that when we meet with any ſuch, the public ought to be carefully informed of them. Such examples ought to be conſecrated; all the juſtice they merit ought to be immediately done to them, a circumſtance that ſerves to the edification of the public, as it ſhews that Providence does not quite give up mortals to depravity and corruption. I ſay then that John de Launoi diſcovered from his childhood an entire indifference with regard to the good things of this world; and that theſe happy inclinations were not changed in him after he was more advanced in years, he then making over to his brothers and nephews all his pretenſions to his father's eſtate. *Omnem ab ineunte adoleſcentia exuerat opum cupiditatem, quam divina vox flagitiorum fontem appellat. Sed ad firmam ætatem cum perveniſſet, paternam hæreditatem, parvam illam quidem, fratribus nepotibuſque reliquit* (3). He would never liſten to the counſels of his friends, who adviſed him to ſue for prebends and benefices. To put a ſtop to their officious exhortations, he declared to them, that he did not believe himſelf qualified either for ſinging or preaching; and that he would not enrich himſelf with the poſſeſſions of the Church, ſince he could not do it great ſervice, by his miniſterial functions. *Monitus aliquando ab amicis, ut paræciam præbendamque vacantem, eo nomine peteret ab eo, cui conferendæ illius munus incumbebat, reſpondit, ſe huic utrique officio parum aptum eſſe à natura, cùm per latera parum firma, perque vocem minimè canoram, neque verba apud populum facere, neque pſalmos hymnoſque decantare poſſet. Ingerentibus nonnullis inde provenire non modicam copiam, quâ quis commodiùs ageret, continuò regerebat, ſe ſi jure illo uteretur, proſpicere, rem ita comparatum iri, ut Eccleſia ſibi opibus ſuis fructum magnum, ipſe nullum Eccleſiæ, aut certè exiguum, Miniſterio ſuo afferret, quod factum minimè ſane vellet, tanquam iniquum nimis & invidioſum* (4). We are not to wonder at his acquiring ſo much erudition, ſince he applied himſelf to ſtudy with a frame of mind exempt from a deſire of amaſſing riches and acquiring preferments. How many people would be very eminent in learning, if the torturing care of making their fortunes did not draw them perpetually out of their cloſets? Here follows what a Poet ſays with regard to the obſtacles or impediments attached to his profeſſion.

(3) Ibid. pag. 3.

(4) *Elog. Launoii*, pag. 3.

Ad hæc animos ærugo & cura peculi
Cum ſemel imbuerit, ſperamus carmina fingi
Poſſe linenda cedro, & levi ſervanda cupreſſo (5)?

(5) Horat. *de Arte Poet.* ver. 330.

" When once their minds are with low avarice
" tainted,
" Can generous actions be expected from them;
" Can verſes writ by perſons thus brought up
" Lay claim to immortality?———

I muſt not forget John de Launoi's will. The preamble to it was remarkable. After the uſual words, *In the name of the Father*, &c. were the following; *I ſhall ſoon have done, for I have not much to bequeath* (6). Menage did not ſay all; the reaſon was alſo given why the teſtator did not leave much behind him, viz. that God had made him underſtand, that it is much more difficult for a Chriſtian to make a right uſe of riches, than to live without them. *Præfatur ideo teſtaturum ſe de re tenui, quoniam à quo admotus fuerat ſtudiis ſublimioribus, ſingulari Dei beneficio intellexerat, facilius eſſe homini Chriſtiano bonis carere, quam iis recte uti* (7). This is a remarkable circumſtance; Mr. de Launoi left more money behind him than he thought he would be found maſter of; a manifeſt proof of his indifference with regard to the good things of this world. He did not give himſelf the trouble to count over his money, and ſometimes forgot where he had laid it. (8) *Certum illum* (9) *fecit Launoius, plus penes ſe poſt obitum ſignatæ pecuniæ repertum iri, quàm præſtandis legatis requireretur; & revera longè plus repertum eſt, pluſque quam Launoius ipſe repertum iri crederet. Sed id tantum abeſt ut ei vitio verti poſſit; quin potiùs laudi duci debet, cùm illud omne quantumcunque fuerit, non avara manus aſſervaſſet uſquam, ſed contemptor opum animus domi projectum oblivioni penè dediſſet.* i. e. " He was aſſured by Launoi, that more money " would be found at his deceaſe, than was ſufficient to pray " the legacies; and indeed much more was found than " Launoi himſelf could have thought. But this, ſo " far from being imputed as a fault to him, ſhould ra- " ther be looked upon as a virtue, ſince the whole ſum " of money, how great ſoever it might be, had not " been heaped up out of avarice, but careleſly thrown " about the houſe out of contempt." We here have a proof, that an indifference with regard to riches, and a ſtrong paſſion for amaſſing them, may produce the ſame effect; for ſome miſers hoard up ſo much wealth, that they themſelves do not know what they have.

(6) *Menagiana*, pag. 216.

(7) *Elog. Launoii*, pag. 35.

(8) Ibid. pag. 36.

(9) That is, the perſon who executed his laſt will.

Exilis domus eſt ubi non & multa ſuperſunt,
Et dominum fallunt, & proſunt furibus (10).

(10) Horat. *Epiſt.* 6. lib. 1. ver. 45. See what Horace ſays of Lucullus a little before.

" Ill furniſhed is that houſe where things ſuperfluous
" Abound ſo much, the maſter knows not of them;
" Which rogues may ſteal, and no one be the wiſer.

[C] *He kept company with the moſt learned Divines.*] He was not contented with this; he uſed to conſult by letter, ſuch learned men as lived in the provinces of France or in foreign countries (11); and when he went to Rome, it was not in order to view the antiquities there, but to get acquainted with thoſe who were famed for their erudition. He viſited chiefly in that city, the Duke of Holſtein and Leo Allatius (12). *Iter etiam ſuſcepit in Italiam, non quidem ut fluvios inſpiceret & maria, non ut urbes luſtraret, non ut vetera artium monumenta, novaſque ædificiorum moles mirabundus intueretur, ſed ut conſuetudine frueretur eruditorum* (13).

(11) *Elog.* pag. 7.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Ibid.

[D] *The converſation he had with the learned father Sirmond proved moſt advantageous to him.*] He uſed to go and propoſe his doubts to him, which the other would clear up without the leaſt noiſe or heat. The Jeſuit in queſtion was quite averſe to this contentious manner of diſputing on the ſciences. *Suam ſeu percunctationem, ſeu ſententiam, de maximi momenti capitibus proponentem benigne audiebat perſpicaciſſimus & cordatiſſimus ſenex, mentem ei ſuam candide aperibat, & cum eſſet ab omni quæ in ſcholis viget rixandi conſuetudine alienus, abſtinebat à contentione & pugna verborum, locoſque indicabat conciliorum aut patrum, quibus innixus ita ſentiret* (14). i. e. " This moſt ſagacious and " moſt prudent old gentleman liſtened with the great- " eſt humanity to his enquiries or opinions, on ſuch " ſubjects as were of the greateſt moment, and then " would diſcloſe his own ſentiments to him with the " utmoſt candour; and hating the cuſtom which pre- " vails in ſchools, of diſputing with clamour, he for- " bore all conteſt or jangling; and would point out the " places in the councils or fathers, on which he found- " ed his ſentiments." Mr. de Launoi would examine theſe with the greateſt accuracy, and return to viſit father Sirmond, who after hearing him diſcourſe on thoſe matters would ſay; *At firſt I underſtood theſe matters better than you, but you now are a much greater maſter of them than I. Tunc ejus ſolertiam & ſagacitatem ſuſpiciens Sirmondus, dicere ſolebat, cum primum loqui hac de re cœpimus, erat in ea forſitan aliquid quod paulo melius perſpexiſſem quam tu: nunc vero cum eam accurate pertractaſti, nihil ſupereſt quod te fugerit, quodque plenius perfectiuſque non teneas, quam ego unquam tenuerim* (15). No Jeſuit had a greater ſhare in his intimacy and confidence, than de Launoi, a circumſtance which was no way pleaſing to the ſociety. *Cum nullum haberet inter ſodales ſuos Sirmondus quocum fidentius loqueretur, de quo & ipſi nonquam conqueſti ſunt crebrius inviſi vehementer optabat à Launoio,*

(14) *Elog.* pag. 8.

(15) Ibid.

but for the benefit of the public that he got together ſo vaſt a treaſure of learning; very few Divines having printed a greater number of books [*E*]. He attacked ſeveral falſe traditions with great intrepidity [*F*]; and was one of the ſtrongeſt ſupports of the privileges of the Gallican Church. He extended his Critique even to ſubjects of devotion; and ſome Saints would have been expunged from the Calendar, had his arguments been admitted. It may be proper to read what Gui Patin ſaid on that occaſion [*G*]. The ſubject

(16) Ibid. *Launoio, cui nihil erat quod minus crederet quam ſibi* (16). I will add the following circumſtance from the *Menagiana*. "Father Sirmond uſed to ſay of Mr. de Launoi, that whenever he had heard him ſay ſomething that was good, he would go and write a book (17)."

(17) *Menagiana*, pag. 223. of the 1ſt Dutch edit.

[*E*] *Very few divines have printed a greater number of books.*] See the catalogue of them in the hiſtory he publiſhed of the college of Navarre, in the year 1677. His bookſeller had often publiſhed it ſeparate. The following delicate remark deſerves, in my opinion, a place here. "Of all his books, this (18) was his favourite; whether it were that he took a pleaſure in this glorious teſtimony he had given the publick, of his gratitude to that college of the faculty which he conſidered as his parent; or that he was not quite inſenſible to the pleaſure of ſeeing all his own works particularized in this book. For he has inſerted in it the catalogue of all his compoſitions, which he choſe to draw up himſelf; as well to make it more exact, as to explain with greater eaſe and readineſs the titles and even ſubjects of his ſmalleſt tracts, and of all his letters in particular; wiſely judging that any other perſon would be diſcouraged at the great number of them, and at the ſo extenſive amplification of their titles (19)."

(18) i. e. *The Hiſtory of the College of Navarre.*

(19) Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 2. num. 139. pag. 171.

[*F*] *He attacked ſeveral falſe traditions with great intrepidity.*] Such as the arrival of Lazarus and Mary Magdalen in Provence; Dionyſius the Areopagite's miſſion, as an Apoſtle, in Gaul; the cauſe of the retirement of St. Bruno founder of the Carthuſians; the viſion of Simon Stoch; the privileges of the Sabbatine Bull. Thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to maintain this kind of ſentiments, inveighed the loudeſt againſt him; and declared him to be a deſtroyer of Religion. *Credi vix poteſt quantam initio invidiam bis ſcriptis in ſe conflaverit: licet enim antiquam atque adeo genuinam traditionem propugnaret, ejuſque fidem, ut ipſe ſæpe ad locum Tertulliani alludens dicere ſolebat, ex temporibus aſſereret, tamen qui hiſtorias quas expungebat à teneris annis imbiberant, quive illas credulæ plebi non ſine aliquo commodo ſuo ingerebant, eas ſibi eripi ægre patiebantur, nec qui id tentaſſet mitius incuſabant, quam ſi firmiſſima religionis fundamenta convellere decreviſſet* (20). i. e. "It is ſcarce poſſible to conceive how much envy theſe writings drew upon him at firſt: for notwithſtanding that he was a ſtrenuous defender of the ancient, and therefore genuine tradition; and vindicated its authority, as himſelf uſed frequently to ſay, alluding to a paſſage of Tertullian, from the times; nevertheleſs, thoſe who had believed, from their infancy, the ſtories or legends he had expung'd; and had impos'd 'em, for their own profit, on the credulous vulgar, were exaſperated at the loſs of them; and exclaimed with as much violence againſt him, for attempting this, as though he had reſolved to deſtroy the ſtrongeſt fundamentals of Religion." But de Launoi was not affected in any manner with their clamours, but ſtill purſued his point; and undeceived not only the true Literati, but alſo ſome of the vulgar. *Vicit tamen inexpugnabili conſtantiâ Launoius hominum imperitorum, & malè feriatorum importunas inofficioſaſque querelas, & aniles eorum fabellas ita revicit, ut nullum jam patronum inveniant inter eos, qui aliquâ curâ veritatem indagant, multò pauciores quàm antea apud vulgum, & apud eos qui ne literas quidem norunt* (21). He attacked with great vigour the Monks on two other heads (22), for he ſhewed the falſity of the pretended privileges, by virtue whereof they refuſed to acknowledge the juriſdiction of Biſhops; and refuted the arguments they employed, to prove the right they had to adminiſter the Sacrament of penance. I will here cite what Abbot de Marolles ſays of him. "He has found out the art of diſcovering the moſt hidden truths; and thoſe who love them are as much pleaſed with him for it; as thoſe who are incapable of knowing and honouring them, thought they had reaſon to complain of him, for having atchieved ſuch glorious conqueſts. However, they have nothing to reproach him with; and his adverſaries have not hitherto been able to convict him of the leaſt falſity, or of one wrong inference from the teſtimonies of the writers with regard to the points he has examined. It is true indeed that what we have ſeen of his writings, is but inconſiderable in compariſon of what we may expect; devoting himſelf, as he has done, to very ſerious ſtudies on important ſubjects; but perſons of the greateſt learning and abilities will always find benefit by the peruſal of his works, either from his method, or the certain knowledge of thoſe things, for which the orthodox Church will have no leſs reaſon to glory, than infamous ſuperſtition to repine and grieve (23)."

(20) *Elog. Laun.* pag. 10.

(21) Ibid.

(22) See his *Elogium*, pag. 10. *uſque ad* pag. 18.

(23) The Abbot de Marolles, *Memoirs*, pag. 160. *See alſo* his Catalogue of ſuch authors as preſented books to him, under the word *Launoi*.

[*G*] *It may be proper to peruſe what Guy Patin ſaid on that occaſion.*] "I give you notice that I have delivered a ſmall packet to a young man of Lyons. Among other books you will find that of Mr. de Launoi, wherein he attempts to prove, that there never was any ſuch Saint as Renatus, nor any Biſhop of Angers of that name. 'Tis he who wrote againſt St. Dionyſius the Areopagite, and declared that he had never been in France; againſt the ſcapulary of the Carmelites, and againſt Mary Magdalen, affirming that ſhe never came into Provence. He is a Doctor of Divinity, a Norman, a perſon of a mean aſpect, but learned, and chiefly in Church hiſtory. Some people here call him a deſperate, damn'd wretch, ſaying, that people ought to be aware of him; that he every year ejects a Saint from Paradiſe, and that there is reaſon to fear he will at laſt eject God himſelf from it! Notwithſtanding this, no one has anſwered him yet. One of his friends informed me that he had been a long time a boarder in the Jeſuits College (24), who made uſe of him, in order to make an elogium of their books; but that they at laſt ſtruck off his penſion, becauſe he would not give an approbation to a new doctrine they intended to publiſh (25)." What follows is curious, which I borrow from Menage, and it is he who ſpeaks (26). *Mr. de Launoi, Doctor of Divinity of the faculty of Paris, has pretended that ſome of our Saints never exiſted; which made Mr. Feramus ſays as follows of him* (*),

(24) There is no probability he ever was ſo.

(25) Patin, Lettre 49. pag 207. tom. 1. It is dated the 18th of Nov. 1650 See alſo *Letter* 151. pag. 594. of the ſame volume.

(26) Menage, *Anti-Baillet*, tom. 2. pag. 216.

(*) *In his* Elegy on the death of Mr. du Puy.

Tu quoque, Launoi, veri indagator & index,
Addita qui faſtis Numina falſa doces.
The ſenſe is;
"Thou too, Launoi, diſcoverer of truth,
"Who pointeſt out to us the ſpurious Saints.

I my ſelf made the following Greek Epigram upon him,

Τὸν Λαυνοῖον ὁρᾷς, ὃς σύμφυλον Οὐρανιώνων
Ῥῖψε, ποδὸς πλαγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ Διοσωσίοιο.
The ſenſe is,
"From the vaſt ſkies Launoi kicks ſcoundrels
"down,
"As Jupiter once treated prating Vulcan."

They ſay this laſt verſe is taken entirely out of Homer, who has employed it in his Iliad, ſpeaking of Jupiter who kicked Vulcan out of Heaven; but this forms the beauty of my epigram. It would be ridiculous, were this verſe my own; and I dare preſume to ſay that it is very beautiful, on account of this application, for which I have been often congratulated by the elder Mr. Daillé, a gentleman extremely well vers'd in Homer. Abbot Faydit did not obſerve, that only the laſt verſe of Menage muſt be aſcribed to Homer: He has cited part of the firſt as though it was in the Iliad; and, which is ſtill worſe, he pretends that Jupiter drove out

ſubject ſuited the jocoſe humour of that Phyſician; and it was ſo whimſical in itſelf, that many

the whole rabble of the Gods. His words are as follow (27): "Rome could not bear without indig-
" nation, that Mr. de Launoi, how great a ſcholar
" ſoever he might be, ſhould uncanonize five or ſix
" unknown Saints, who, in the ages of ignorance,
" had crept into the breviary; and that, like Ho-
" mer's Jupiter, who expelled the whole rabble of
" Gods, and with a kick of the breech, threw 'em from
" Heaven to earth; this Doctor ſhould, with one
" ſtroke of his pen, remove from the Throne of glo-
" ry ſome Saints whom Rome had too credulouſly
" placed on it.

(27) *Extrait d'un Sermon prêché le jour de St. Polycarpe*, pag. 296.

" Ὁ πάγχυ]ος ὐρανιώνων
" Ῥίψε πόδ᾽ ἁρπάξας ἀπὸ Βήλε Θεσπεσίοιο (28).

(28) All the errors in theſe Greek lines are, in all probability, errors of the preſs.

" She has inveighed againſt this attempt, as being
" the moſt horrid ſacrilegious act that could be
" committed. She has delivered up his books to the
" Inquiſition, as the author himſelf could not be de-
" livered up to it. She has exclaimed againſt him
" as a man whoſe faith is ſuſpicious, and as an ene-
" my to the Saints." 'Tis certain Homer ſays no more, than that Jupiter taking Vulcan by the foot, precipitated him from Heaven (29). If Menage ſaid the ſame thing in converſation as Abbot Faydit, we muſt conclude from it, either that he had not conſidered the matter ſo thoroughly, as when he was writing for the publick; or that he embelliſhed that incident, in order to make it the more pleaſing, and more capable of the parallel. Be this as it will, here follows a paſſage from the ſequel to Menagiana, in which ſome words are falſly aſcribed to Homer (30). " Mr.
" Godfrey the Hiſtoriographer, being gone out of his
" houſe very early on New years day, met, in Harp-
" ſtreet, Mr. de Launoi, who was going to the Sor-
" bonne. He went up to him, and embracing him, ſaid,
" Good morrow Sir, and a happy new year to
" you. What Saint will you diſcard this year out
" of Heaven? Mr. de Launoi, ſurprized at this que-
" ſtion, anſwered him; I do not diſcard, from Hea-
" ven, thoſe true Saints, whom God and their merit
" have placed here; but thoſe who, by the ignorance
" and ſuperſtition of the vulgar, have crept inſidi-
" ouſly into it undeſervedly, and without the appro-
" bation of God and the Literati. This anſwer gave
" occaſion to the Epigram I made on Mr. de Launoi,
" in which I compare him to Homer's Jupiter, who
" drove from heaven the whole rabble of the falſe
" Gods who had crept into it among the true ones;
" and who giving them a kick on the breech, precipi-
" tated them, from the ſummit of his throne and
" the ſtars, down to earth (31)."

(29) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 1. ver. 591. There is, in lib. 15. of the *Iliad*, a paſſage which ſeems to favour Abbot Faydit more. It is in the article JUNO, citation (31): but, in the main, it is not favourable to him.

(30) *Suite du Menagiana*, pag. 293, 294. Dutch edit.

(31) The Greek diſtich follows here, in the ſequel of the *Menagiana*, probably with ſome errors of the preſs.

If I was not afraid of making too many digreſſions, I would ſay that it were to be wiſhed that ſeveral learned men were allowed to imitate Mr. de Launoi. Falſe Saints are as much increaſed as pretended or falſe Nobles: ſo that as Kings cauſe, from time to time, commiſſions of enquiry to be iſſued out, in order for diſcovering ſuch perſons as uſurp titles without having any right to them, and reducing them to their Plebeian ſtate; the clergy ſhould alſo appoint ſome commiſſioners as rigid as Boiſſeau, to examine the titles and patents of ſaintſhip. No one can forget the verſes (32), the ſubſtance of which is as follows:

(32) They are a ſong.

For ſome years paſt, we've none but Nobles met,
On ev'ry ſtreet, loaded with ſacks of Parchment.
Theſe they perpetually turn o'er and o'er,
And ſcream: —behold my awful, ſplendid titles!
But ſcarce have they diſplay'd the muſty heap,
E're *Boiſſeau* (dread Commiſſioner) arrives,
Who cries;—This inſtrument, I'll prove, is falſe;
That engroſs'd copy, there, I now reject;
And will ſee the foul Draught. ———

Were the forces of the Church triumphant to paſs muſter before honeſt commiſſaries, a great number of faggots would be found; not among the common ſoldiers; but among the high officers, I mean among the Saints who are invoked. The calender has more need of being reformed in that reſpect, than with regard to the preceſſion of the equinoxes; and whereas a bare ſubſtraction of ten days ſufficed for this latter reformation, the latter would require a ſubſtraction by hundreds and thouſands. The year has not, for a long time, been able to furniſh a day for every canonized Saint; many Saints muſt be heaped upon one another in the ſame places; and 'tis now that one may ſay with Juvenal;

Nec turba deorum
Talis ut eſt hodie, contentaque ſidera paucis
Numinibus miſerum urgebant Atlanta minori
Pondere (33).

(33) Juven. Sat. 13. ver. 46.

The ſenſe is

" E're Gods grew num'rous, and the heav'nly croud
" Preſt wretched Atlas with a higher load."

CREECH.

How many Senators would be found *vitio creati* (34), in the celeſtial Court, were one to proceed rigorouſly in that affair? To how great a number of volumes the *acta Sanctorum* are already ſwelled? One might apply to them the well known diſtich following (35);

(34) See the *Valeſiana*, pag. 48, 49. Dutch edit.

Scripta giganteæ quorum ſub pondere molis
Triſtior Encelado bibliopola gemit.

(35) See *Oeuvres diverſes de Balzac, Diſcours* 16. pag. m. 409.

The ſenſe is,

" The Bibliopole, oppreſs'd beneath ſuch works
" Gigantic, feels Enceladus's tortures."

Be this ſaid without prejudice to the eſteem, in which their learned compilers are held. It muſt even be ſaid, in their honour, that they reject a great number of fables; and that their ſincerity daily expoſes them to the ſame complaints which have been made againſt de Launoi. See father Papebroch's (36) reply to the *Exhibitio errorum*, of a carmelite named Sebaſtian de Saint Paul; and it will be found that Jeſuit has drove a great number of intruders out of the calendar, and that for very ſubſtantial reaſons. Theſe intruders are not modern Saints, but of very remote antiquity. Cardinal Beſſarion, ſeeing in Rome the canonization of ſome perſons whom he thought had been ill livers, cried out, theſe new Saints make me very much call in queſtion the old ones: *aſſe che queſti Santi moderni mi fanno aſſai dubitare delli paſſati. Beſſario cardinalis cum inter Divos inepta quadam ἀποθέωσει Romæ quam plurimos referri videret quorum vitam improbarat, ſe valde dubitare dixit utrum vera eſſent quæ ab antiquis prodita fuerunt* (37). But it may be ſaid, that we are infinitely more certain with regard to modern Saints than with reſpect to many of the antient ones. We cannot doubt but that the former have lived upon earth; but we have almoſt demonſtrative proofs that the latter never did. A man of wit ſaid the other day in good company, that if we were obliged to have recourſe to the interceſſion of Saints, he would chooſe new-comers, for inſtance Capiſtran, or Thomas de Villeneuve, rather than a Saint Catherine or Saint Alexis. See the remark of the article PEREZ (*Joſeph.*) I ſhall obſerve below (38), that the inquiſitors cenſured the work of Papebroch the Jeſuit.

(36) It was printed in Antwerp in the year 1666, 4to.

(37) Bodinus, *Method. Hiſt.* cap. 4. pag. m. 72. See in the remark [F] of the article BELLAI (William du) how theſe words of *Beſſarion* have been applied.

(38) Towards the cloſe of the remark [Q].

A canon of Paſſaw, an able preacher and profeſſor of divinity, in the fifteenth century, ſaid in one of his ſermons, that though there ſhould be as many feſtivals as minutes, the year would not ſuffice to give each Saint his feſtival, and he cites Durandus Biſhop of Mande, who obſerves that there are above five thouſand Saints for each day. *Tanta* (*inquit ille*) (*) *eſt Sanctorum numeroſitas, quod totum tempus anni non ſufficeret etiam ſi ſingulis horis, etiam ſingulis minutis, aggeremus feſtum unius ſancti: deinde Durandum citat: Quia ſicut dicit* (*inquit*) *Gulielmus in rationali, pro quolibet die pluſquam quinque millia ſanctorum concurrerent* (39). The author who quotes the ſermon of this German canon, adds, that the feaſt of all-Saints was inſtituted, to ſupply or make up for the too ſmall number of days in the year, and to prevent the reſentment of thoſe Saints to whom no honour might have been paid: *Quocirca quum Pontificiorum divorum tanta illis authoribus ferè infinito ſit, in ſupplementum cultus Sanctorum feſtum omnium Sanctorum excogitatum eſt. Quoniam humani cultus illos appetentes eſſe ſomniant, & in ſuos cultores prolixos*

(*) *Paulus Wan, Sermone de omnibus Sanctis.*

(39) Michael Renigerus, *de Pii quinti & Gregorii decimi furoribus contra Elizabetham Angliæ Reginam*, cap. 13. fol. 108. edit. Lond. 1582.

many other people have told merry ſtories concerning it [*H*]. It was ſcarce poſſible but our learned Doctor muſt make himſelf a great number of enemies, as he wrote ſo many volumes againſt the maxims of the Pope's flatterers [*I*], and againſt the ſuperſtitious and pretended immunities of the Monks. He found, in the decline of life, that he had diſguſted a moſt formidable party. He was forbid holding aſſemblies at his own apartment,

prolixos, ne omiſſis & præteritis divis ſtomachandi ulla cauſa ſit, quod ſuo cultu orbentur. Sic omnibus minutis etiam & manipularibus divis, & non ſolum patriciis & majorum gentium, hoc omnium ſanctorum feſto & ſupplemento ſatisfactum eſſe putant. Atque hoc Gulielmi illius Minatenſis Epiſcopi eſt, quaſi ſalutari hoc pharmaco omnium divorum repulſæ & offenſæ placari debeant. Durandi verba hæc ſunt. (†) *Propter ipſorum inquit multitudinem feſtare de illis ſpecialiter non valemus. Ergo ut antea idem ait propter omiſſorum (inquit) feſtorum ſupletionem inſtitutum eſt feſtum omnium ſanctorum* (40). i. e. " Since therefore there are almoſt a numberleſs " multitude of Saints of the Pope's making, all-Saints " day was thought upon, in order to complete the " worſhip of them. Becauſe, as it is vainly ſuppoſed " they are very greedy of human worſhip, and are " bountiful to their votaries, in order that ſuch Saints as " might have been omitted may not have any cauſe " to reſent their being deprived of worſhip; this feſti- " val of All-Saints is looked upon as a ſupplemental " worſhip, not only of thoſe of the higheſt order, but " ſuch as are of the loweſt claſs. And this, accord- " ing to the abovementioned William Biſhop of Man- " de, is a kind of ſalutary remedy or expiation, to " appeaſe all ſuch Saints as may have been omitted. " The words of Durandus are as follow. There are " ſo great a number of Saints, that we cannot give " to each a particular holiday. Therefore, as the " ſame author obſerved before; the feſtival of all-Saints " was inſtituted, to make up for thoſe who may have " been omitted". Thoſe who make it their buſineſs to draw parallels, cannot but call to mind, on this occaſion, the provident care of the Athenians, who conſecrated an altar to the unknown Gods (41), from the fear they were under of neglecting ſome revengeful deity whoſe names and qualities they might be ignorant of. They imagined they had ſuffered for it juſt before; and therefore, to play a ſure game (42), they reſolved to offer up worſhip even to ſuch deities as they might not know; which was a ſure way not to omit any God.

(†) *Guil. Durand. Rubrica de feſto omnium Sanctorum lib.* 7.

(40) Idem, Reniger, ibid.

(41) See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for Jan. 1687, pag. 76.

(42) Τοῦ περισσοτέρου ἕνεκεν ἀσφαλείας, i. e. " for " the better ſe- " curity." Chryſoſt. *Homil.* 38. *in Acta Apoſtol.* See ſeveral other paſſages in Meurſius's Treatiſe *de Piræe*, pag. 42, *& ſeq.*

[*H*] *Many other people have told many ſtories concerning it.*] Here follows that of Vigneul Marville, which is as good as the ſtory I borrowed from the Menagiana, " Mr. de Launoi was a terrible critic, " formidable both to heaven and earth. He has ex- " pelled a greater number of Saints from paradiſe than " ten Popes have canonized. He ſuſpected the whole " martyrology; and he ſought for, or examined all " the Saints in their turn, in the ſame manner as " the Nobility are in France. The rector of St. Eu- " ſtachius's church in Paris uſed to ſay: *Wherever I* " *meet Dr. de Launoi, I bow as low as the ground; and* " *never ſpeak to him but with my hat in my hand,* " *and with the utmoſt humility, for fear he ſhould be-* " *reave me of my St. Euſtachius, who indeed hangs* " *but by a thread* (43). (α)". Theſe laſt words are very true, and here follows a paſſage from the *Valeſiana* which confirms them. " St. Euſtachius's life is al- " ſo a heap of fables; and I am greatly ſurprized that " the largeſt pariſh in Paris ſhould have quitted the " name of one of our moſt renouned and illuſtrious " martyrs, for that of an unknown and very ſuſpicious " Saint (44)". Ancillon had *heard Daillé ſay, that meeting him one day at Mr. Cramoiſi the bookſeller's ſhop in Paris, they expreſſed a great deal of eſteem and friendſhip for one another; and that at their parting, Mr. de Launoi ſaid to him*; Sir, I expunge a Saint every month out of the breviary, do you ſtrike out an error from it (45). If de Launoi ſpoke in that manner, it was only in jeſt; he did not ſpeak ſeriouſly, but exaggerated; for the number of Saints he would have degraded, it is too inconſiderable to be compared to all the months of his life. But he might have compared, without exaggerating, the number of Saints, whether doubtful or fabulous, to the number of minutes comprized in his long life. See the excellent hiſtory of the Church, which Baſnage publiſhed in the year 1699, in two vol. folio. There (46) are ſo many falſe Saints and falſe Martyrs diſcarded, that de Launoi's attempt is but a rivulet in compariſon of that ocean.

(43) Vigneul Marville, *Mélanges d'Hiſtoire & de Litterature*, pag. 266, 267. printed at Roan, 1699.

(44) *Valeſiana*, pag. m. 48.

(45) Ancillon, *Melange Critique de Litterature*, tom. 2. pag. 329.

(46) See the pages referred to in the Index, under the words *Martyrs* and *Saints*.

(α) This paſſage has been omitted in the Paris edition of 1713. Rem. Crit.

[*I*] *He wrote . . . againſt the maxims of the Pope's flatterers.*] To go to the root of the evil, in refuting the immunities which the Monks claim, he thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh the following important truth, viz. that the Pope has no power with regard to the canons of Councils. He wrote ſeveral letters on this ſubject, which were ſo much approved of in England, and ſo proper to mortify the Italians, that they were reprinted in Cambridge (47). He fell chiefly on Bellarmin; and the following account is given of the victory he obtained over that mighty champion of the Popes. *In eo verò adverſarium inter alios nactus eſt Cardinalem Robertum Bellarminum, qui abſurdiſſima quæque Romanæ curiæ placita defendenda ſuſceperat. Si quæ porro in eorum confirmationem deſumpta ex ſacris libris teſtimonia adduxit, clariſſimè demonſtravit Launoius, fuiſſe ea in pravum detorta ſenſum, & aliter intellecta quàm ea ſanctiſſimi quique patres intellexerint, à quorum ſenſu in exponendis Scripturis recedere, nihil aliud eſt quàm fideliſſimos duces, & à Tridentina Synodo datos aſpernari, & in errores omnes ſeipſum conjicere. Si quos etiam canones aut patrum textus laudat Bellarminus, eos plerumque interpolatos oſtendit Launoius, & malâ fide relatos. Sicque hominem armis Scripturæ & traditionis nudatum exponit, velut nutritum in philoſophica palæſtra tyronem, qui adverſus invictam caſtrorum aciem irrito ridendoque conatu digladiatur; & tela ab Ariſtotele deſumpta juveniliter vibrat* (48). i. e. " Among other " adverſaries he met with, on this ſubject, was Cardi- " nal Bellarmin, who had undertaken to defend the " moſt abſurd ordinances of the Court of Rome. " But de Launoi demonſtrated very clearly, that all " the teſtimonies he had alledged out of the ſacred " writings to confirm them, were wreſted from their " genuine ſenſe, and taken quite differently from what " all the Fathers had underſtood them; the departing " from whoſe ſenſe in expounding the Scriptures, was " contemning the moſt faithful guides, given by the " Council of Trent, and running into errors of every " kind. Whenever Bellarmine cited any paſſages " from the Canons or Fathers, Launoi ſhewed that the " greateſt part of them were interpolated and unfaith- " ful. Thus he pulls off the armour of ſcripture and " tradition, with which this man had cloathed him- " ſelf; and exhibits him naked, like a youth juſt ma- " triculated, fooliſhly contending with a very learned " opponent, and brandiſhing, with an infantine air, " the weapons borrowed from Ariſtotle." Reiſerus a Lutheran Miniſter (49), publiſhed a book in 1685, which, in ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, is but an abridgment of our Doctor's letters. He put two titles to them which ſerve to our purpoſe. At the top of the pages, throughout the whole book, are the following words; the running title Joh. Launoi Theol. Paris. *Anti-Bellarminus:* but the title of the book is as follows; *Johannes Launoius Theologus & Sorboniſta Pariſienſis teſtis & confeſſor veritatis Evangelico-Catholicæ in potioribus fidei capitibus controverſis adverſus* Robertum Bellarminum *& alios quoſdam ſedis Romanæ Defenſores egregius & luculentus, nunc poſt obitum contra* Chriſtianum Lupum *Lovanienſem*, Immanuelem à Schelſtrate *Antverpienſem*, Natalem Alexandrum *Pariſienſem*, Dominicum Galeſium & Franciſcum Marcheſium *Romanos, vindicatus.* The author of this book pretends, that John de Launoi is a perſon proper to be inſerted in Illyricus's *Catalogus teſtium veritatis.* Mr. Couſin has ſpoke, a little too late, of this work of Reiſerus, in his *Journal des Sçavans*; he ſpeaking of it only in the Journal of the 30th of July 1696, and in that of the 6th of Auguſt following. Theſe two extracts are well enough adapted to acquaint us with Mr. de Launoi's character.

(47) *Ann.* 1689, folio.

(48) *Elog. Launoii*, pag. 21.

(49) A native of Augſburg, and Rector of St. James's Pariſh in Hamburg. His book is a 4to, of 862 pages.

apartment (*b*) [*K*], as he had done for a long time once a week, and his Printer was brought into trouble [*L*]; but he bore thoſe inſults with great patience, and continued his writings for the public. It may be ſaid that he died with his pen in his hand (*c*), there being not only a book of his in the preſs during his laſt ſickneſs [*M*], but he himſelf correcting the proofs the day before he died. He was buried in the monaſtery of the Minims, as he had appointed by his will; but the epitaph which had been prepared for him, was not ſuffered to be engraved on his monument [*N*]. I forgot to obſerve that

(b) *Ex ejus Elogio*, pag. 30.

(c) See the *Mercure Galant*, for March 1678.

[*K*] *He was forbid holding aſſemblies in his apartment.*] Theſe aſſemblies were perfectly innocent; the only converſation was on learning and the ſciences; and yet word was ſent him, that the King deſired they ſhould be diſcontinued (50). It was thought that this was owing to the Archbiſhop of Paris, which made ſome people ſpeak ill of him. But de Launoi did not take that liberty himſelf, and would not even ſuffer the Archbiſhop to be accuſed of it in his preſence; yet he could not forbear ſaying, "that if he was juſtly accuſed, "he muſt be guilty of the greateſt ingratitude." *Hos animorum motus utcunque ſedabat Launoius, reique acerbitatem, benigna ut poterat interpretatione leniebat. Abſtinebat ipſe ſemper ab omni atrocitate verborum. Archiepiſcopum nec incuſabat ipſe, nec incuſari ab aliis, carpive coram ſe patiebatur. Sed tamen cum vir eſſet candidiſſimi pectoris, diffiteri non poterat, quin ſi id præſtitiſſet Pariſienſis præſul, laboraret vehementer ingrati animi vitio, quo cætera omnia facile continentur* (51).

(50) *Elog. Launoii*, pag. 30.

(51) Ibid. pag. 32.

[*L*] *His Printer was brought into trouble.*] This was in 1675. He was printing his treatiſe on Simony, in which, among other particulars he writes againſt the Annates; and refutes Azorius the Jeſuit, who, about the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, wrote a book to clear them from the charge of Simony. The copies of this work of Mr. Launoi were ſeized at the Printer's; all that could be found were carried off, and he was forbid to ſell the reſt; however this prohibition, on paying a fine of fifty livres, was taken off (52).

(52) *Elog.* pag. 28, & *ſeq.*

[*M*] *There was a book of his in the preſs during his laſt ſickneſs.*] Here follows what Mr. Viſé ſaid of him (53). "It may be ſaid that he died, in ſome "meaſure, with his pen in his hand, ſince the day "before he died, he corrected the proofs of a book he "had writ in defence of the King's intereſt. It is "by way of anſwer to an Italian writer, who, ſome "time after, printed a treatiſe againſt the right of "ſecular Princes, with regard to the impediments to "matrimony. De Launoi had before aſſerted a quite "contrary doctrine, in a book publiſhed in the year "1674, wherein the rights of the King, and at the "ſame time of all ſecular Princes are eſtabliſhed on "ſo ſolid a foundation, that this work may be conſi-"dered as one of the moſt uſeful to the State. It had "been anſwered in Italy; and as this anſwer diveſted "ſecular Princes of their eſſential right, with regard "to capacitating or incapacitating their ſubjects to "contract matrimony; this great man was not ſilent, "and took care, as he was dying, of the impreſſion "of a work he had writ to refute the errors of the "Italian author in queſtion. Thus he ſpent all his "days, either for the Church or for his Prince; and "he may be called, not only *Doctor or Vindicator of "the King's rights*, but alſo *Defender of the juſt autho-"rity of Biſhops*, the *Deſtroyer of falſe privileges, and "Doctor or Aſſertor of the liberties of the Gallican "Church*." The author of the *Elogium* of Mr. de Launoi does not agree with the *Mercure Galant*, with regard to the book that was then in the preſs. It has not, according to him, an apology for the right of Princes over marriages, but a reply to father Alexander. He tells us that de Launoi began the treatiſe on this right of Princes, at the requeſt of Cardinal Bentivoglio. De Launoi being in Rome, at the time that an enquiry was making in France, whether the marriage of the Duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII, with the Princeſs of Lorrain, was valid, met with Cardinal Bentivoglio in the library of the Dominicans, and propoſed this argument to him. If Princes have had the power to enact laws with regard to the impediments of marriage, they enjoy it ſtill, in caſe they have not been diveſted of it. Now they have enjoyed it; and it cannot be proved that they have been deprived of it. Therefore, the Cardinal deſired Mr. de Launoi to write on this ſubject, and to explain this argument. See the margin (54). The book was ſmall at firſt: but it grew very voluminous before it was publiſhed in 1674. Dominic Galeſius, Biſhop of Ruvo in the Kingdom of Naples, wrote againſt this book. De Launoi had no ſooner ſeen this Prelate's work, but he took up his pen in order to refute it. Scarce had he ended the refutation (55) but he ſet about making a reply to father Alexander. *Qui Annatas à Simoniæ labe liberandas ſuſceperat, & Summam Theologicam Thomæ Aquinati tanquam vero ejus auctori aſſerendam* (6). His anſwer was very near finiſhed, when he was ſeized by the ſickneſs which carried him off in a few days; and this laſt work had been then ſome time at preſs. This ſhews that Mr. de Viſé and the author of the *Elogium*, are not agreed with reſpect to the book that de Launoi had in the preſs at the time of his death.

(53) *Mercure Galant*, for March 1678, pag. 116, 117. Dutch edit.

(54) One muſt conclude from thence, that Ancillon is miſtaken, when he ſays, pag. 330. of tom. 2. of Melange, *Critique de Literature*, that de Launoi wrote this book, by order of a ſuperior power, involuntarily, and againſt his own opinion.

[It is certain that the laſt book de Launoi was concerned in, and the proofs of which he corrected in his laſt ſickneſs, was his anſwer to father Alexander concerning Annats.] From the remarks to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary.]

(55) Huic titulum eſſe voluit: *Indicis locupletiſſimi erratorum in libro ſcriptoris Itali contentorum.* Elog. pag. 33.

[*N*] *The epitaph which was prepared for him was not ſuffered to be engraved on his monument.*] Launoi had made his will eleven years before he died; and he had intreated Mr. le Camus, firſt Preſident in the Court of Aids, his old and very intimate friend, to be his executor. Mr. le Camus diſcharged his duty faithfully on this occaſion; and got Mr. Clement, antient Counſellor of the Court of Aids, to write an epitaph for the deceaſed (57). The Minims having read and examined it; ſhewed a letter from their General, ſignifying, that this epitaph could not be admitted, as it praiſed de Launoi for having always maintained orthodoxy; and ſome time after they declared that the two powers, the royal and eccleſiaſtical, had enjoyned them not to admit any inſcription in praiſe of de Launoi. *Ubi illam* (inſcriptionem) *expenderunt, attulerunt præpoſiti ſui generalis literas, quibus renunciabatur, nec probari nec recipi à ſe poſſe inſcriptionem, quâ Launoio laus defenſæ perpetuo veritatis, & optimæ famæ, maximæque venerationis apud probos quæſitæ tribuatur. Poſtea vetitum ſibi prædicarunt regia ſimul & ſacrâ auctoritate, ne ullum apicem in capella ſua extare ſinerent, quo Launoii nomen commendaretur* (58). See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (59), and eſpecially a letter from a Prelate of the Court of Rome, on the decree of the Inquiſition of the 7th of December 1690. I will extract a paſſage from it, which may be of uſe in the hiſtory of our Doctor. The Abbot who wrote that letter, obſerves that the Court of Rome maintains its rights with more policy than the Court of France does hers. He obſerves that the Court of Rome recompences in a moſt ſplendid manner, thoſe who write in its favour; but that thoſe who write, in France, in favour of the Gallican Church, are neglected: "However, *ſays the "author of this letter*, if I might adviſe, poſterity "ſhould be informed by ſome mark of honour, of the "eſteem in which their merit was held, and the gra-"titude which has been ſhewn to their labours. "But you know how this was done with regard to one "of your friends. There has not been a man more "zealous for the doctrine of the Clergy of France; "nor whoſe labours were more indefatigable, in order "to illuſtrate and defend it, than the excellent Mr. "de Launoi, who likewiſe had a ſoul abhorrent of "every thing that was venal. What has been done "to honour his memory, you very well know. They "would not ſo much as ſuffer to be engraved on "his tomb, the ſlender teſtimony which his friends "paid to his merit, and to the ſervices he had done "the Church of France; they had even ſtopt as it "were his mouth, ſome years before his death, by "forbidding him to continue certain conferences that "were

(56) Ibid. pag. 34. See, concerning this work of F. Alexander, the *Journal des Savans of Nov.* 18, 1675.

(57) It is in the *Elogium*, pag. 37. [See the remark [*A*] of the Additions to this article of Mr. Bayle.]

(58) *Elog. Launoi*, pag. 38.

(59) For Sept. 1686, pag. 1033.

that he died in the Hotel d'Etrées [O], the 10th of March 1678, at above ſeventy ſeven years of age (d). The public has great obligations to him. Had he publiſhed no other work but his *de Autoritate negantis Argumenti*, he would have done very great ſervice to the Republic of Letters; he having given a thouſand fine hints in that book, for the diſtinguiſhing of truth from falſhood in hiſtorical matters. He was engaged in controverſy with many perſons, and among others with Father Nicolai a Dominican [P], and Mr. Thiers (e).

(d) *Elog.* pag. 37. He therefore was not born the 21ſt of December 1603, as Moreri affirms.

He drew upon himſelf the indignation of the whole Order of St. Dominick, for attacking with too much freedom the reputation of Thomas Aquinas. The teſtimonies of reſpect, which prudence and gravity prompted him to intermix with his cenſures, did not prevent the reſentment of the Dominicans; for after all, it could not be denied but that the angelical Doctor was faulty, in point of ignorance, or that he was very inſincere, in the alledging of ſeveral paſſages deſigned for the refutation of heterodoxy. Father Baron endeavoured to juſtify Thomas Aquinas, but was not very ſucceſsful in his attempt. This circumſtance will give me an occaſion of making ſeveral obſervations [Q].

(e) See what Mr. Sallo, *Journal des Savans*, of March 16, 1665, ſays concerning Mr. Thiers againſt Mr. de Launoi.

Father Baron endeavoured to juſtify Thomas Aquinas, but was not very ſucceſsful in his attempt. This circumſtance will give me an occaſion of making ſeveral obſervations [Q].

" were held at his apartment on thoſe ſubjects, and " where it may be ſaid that more perſons were taught " to defend our liberties than in any other place. It " may even be looked upon as near to a miracle, that " we have thoſe pieces he got printed during his " life-time, in favour of the ſuperiority of Councils, " and againſt the infallibility of Popes, and ſo many " other ſubjects of that kind; and we owe it to his " particular contrivance, which was, the giving it us " by ſmaller portions in the letters he wrote to his " friends; avoiding, by this means, the intolerable " ſlavery of the cenſure of certain Doctors of his time, " without whoſe approbation no book could be licenſed; " and who ſeemed hired to prevent the publication " of all good books, and make authors run mad."

[O] *He died in the Hotel d'Etrée.*] The Cardinal d'Etrée, when only Biſhop of Laon, had engroſſed, in ſome meaſure, Mr. de Launoi. See Mr. de Marolles (60).

(60) *In pag.* 159. *of his* Memoirs, *printed in* 1636, *are theſe words*: The eſteem he has for Mr. de Launoi, Doctor of Divinity, one of the greateſt men of the age for learning and probity, is a mark of his judgment. And indeed, he cannot be too careful of ſo great a man, who is an ineſtimable treaſure.

[P] He had a diſpute ... *with father Nicolai a Dominican.*] The *Journal des Savans* mentions three works of this author. I. His two diſſertations *De Concilio plenario, quod contra Donatiſtas Baptiſmi quæſtionem definivit* (61). II. His two diſſertations *De Baptiſmi antiquo uſu* (62). III. His book *De Jejunii Chriſtiani & Chriſtianorum Abſtinentiæ vero ac legitimo ritu juxta veterem Eccleſiæ univerſalis uſum* (63). The firſt of theſe three pieces is levelled entirely at de Launoi, who declared that St. Auſtin hinted at the Council of Arles, when he ſaid that the error of the Donatiſts, with regard to the invalidity of the baptiſm of heretics, was condemned in a general Council. De Launoi drew from thence a good number of conſequences diſadvantageous to the Ultromontans. The ſecond piece of this Dominican does not relate to de Launoi; a work which the Proteſtants of France took advantage of, becauſe therein is found an expreſs condemnation of thoſe who conſtrain infidels to be baptiſed. The third piece of this Dominican is againſt de Launoi. Here follows a ſhort paſſage in the ſequel to the *Menagiana*. " I one day ſaid to Mr. de Launoi, that he " had diſguſted all the Dominicans in the tracts he " had writ againſt father Nicolai, and that they would " all draw their pens againſt him. But he anſwered " me with a malicious air; I dread their penknives " much more than I do their pens (64)."

(61) *Journal des Savans* of April 9, 1668.

(62) Ibid. of Dec. 10, 1668.

(63) Ibid. of June 17, 1675.

(64) *Suite du Menagiana*, pag. 173. Dutch edit.

[Q] *Father Baron endeavoured to juſtify Thomas Aquinas, but was not very ſucceſsful in his attempt. This circumſtance will give me an occaſion of making ſeveral obſervations.*] Unprejudiced perſons would judge thus of the ſucceſs of this diſpute, though they even ſhould only compare his firſt tract, with the firſt tract of his antagoniſt; but much more will they form this judgment, if they ſhould compare de Launoi's firſt and ſecond reply, with father Baron's anſwer. I ſhall only juſt mention ſeveral tracts belonging to this controverſy. A letter of Mr. de Launoi to Mr. Faure (65) is that in which Thomas Aquinas is animadverted on. Father Baron's anſwer is contained in three paragraphs of Sect. II, Book I, of his apology for the Dominicans (66). Mr. de Launoi's anſwer is in a letter to Mr. Fortin (67). I have not ſeen father Baron's reply; but I know that his adverſary refuted it, in a letter dated from Paris the 1ſt of Auguſt 1667 (68). I know not whether this diſpute went any farther.

(65) The 1ſt of Part 1.

(66) *A pagina* 119. *uſque ad paginam* 134.

(67) The 9th of Part 5.

(68) The 12th of Part 6.

To give my reader a ſmall ſpecimen of the judgment, which the Monks formed of the caſt of mind of this Doctor of Sorbonne, I will quote ſome lines from father Baron. *Quiſquis hominem privatim, ſeu publicis ſcriptis intimius noverit, etiam ex amiciſſimis, non abnuet meum de illo judicium; aut verius votum. Optandum plane, ne mores ingenuos corrupuiſſet nimio ſuarum cogitationum amore, & alios jure, vel injuriâ carpendi, in naturam inductâ conſuetudine. Unde ad minus, ut cætera omittam, illud incommodi accidit, ut magnum potius, quam bonum nomen videatur ambire, & doctiores viros voluiſſe inumbrare, neque, ut conveniebat ſapienti Theologo, ſatis cordi fuerit effatum illud medicorum,* malum bene poſitum ne moveto. *Plura enim ab heroicis Temporibus communi piorum opinione receptâ, quæ nihil Fidei adverſa, pietati etiam opportuna, auſus eſt, longe debilioribus, quam niterentur, Argumentis laceſſere; nullo alio operæ pretio, quam ex ſummâ moroſitate comparati ſibi nominis, & juſtis poſſeſſoribus, ſaltem ex probabili opinione juris plerumque inique erepti* (69). i. e. " Who- " ſoever has been very familiar with his perſon or " writings (though his greateſt friend) cannot deny the " judgment I have formed, or rather my deſire con- " cerning him. It were greatly to be wiſhed, that an " overfondneſs for his own thoughts, joined to a " habit he had contracted of cenſuring others right or " wrong, had not depraved his happy diſpoſition; " whence this miſchief, to omit the reſt, aroſe, that " he ſeems to have thirſted after a great name, rather " than a good one; and that he wanted to eclipſe men " of greater erudition; nor to have ſufficiently ob- " ſerved, as a wiſe Divine ſhould do, that maxim of " the Phyſicians, *remove not an evil that may prove* " *advantageous.* For he has been ſo bold as to " attack many traditions, which ever ſince the pri- " mitive ages, had been unanimouſly received by the " faithful; and without claſhing with their belief, " were of advantage to their piety; and this he has " attempted with much weaker arguments than thoſe " on which they were grounded; and all this with no " other view but to acquire a name by his great mo- " roſeneſs; and to deprive other people of theirs, which " they are generally thought to have a better right to." In the next leaf he contraſts the character of Thomas Aquinas to that of our Sorbonne Doctor; and declares that Thomas Aquinas would have made a ſcruple of conſcience, and been aſhamed of thoſe things, which de Launoi gloried in. The angelical Doctor, adds he, would not have diſturbed the French in their belief, that St. Dionyſius the Areopagite was their firſt Apoſtle; he would not have robbed the inhabitants of Provence, of the glory they claim of having had Mary Magdalen among them; nor the Carmelites of their deſcent from Elias, and the ſcapulary of Simon Stoch; nor the monaſteries of their exemptions. He had better ſubjects to write upon; and even had he met with ſome doubts with regard to thoſe things, and ſome improbability, he would not have meddled with them, but paid a reverence to traditions; which promote piety without prejudicing religion. *Habebat meliora ſcribenda* (Divus Thomas) *& ſubodoratus etiam, ut erat emunctæ naris, aliquid incerti, aut minus veriſimilis, ex medicorum præcepto, malum bene poſitum noluiſſet primus movere: atque iſta longâ traditione rata & firma, quæ nihil obſunt fidei, proſunt etiam pietati, in diſputationem revocare, credidiſſet pertinere ad illius generis quæſtiones ab Apoſtolo damnatas, quæ lites generant,*

(69) Vincentius Baronius, *Apolog. Ordin. Prædicat.* lib. 1. pag. 119.

Father Alexander laboured with much greater ſucceſs to prove that Thomas Aquinas is the true author of the ſummary of Divinity aſcribed to him (f). De Launoi had propoſed ſome doubts on that head (g). Of all his antagoniſts none ſhewed leſs regard for him

(f) See *Journal des Savans*, of Nov. 12, 1675, pag. 264. Dutch edit.

(g) See *Journal des Savans*, of Aug. 12, 1675, pag. 226.

non ædificationem (70). If all the circumſtances ſet forth by this Dominican were true, there is no doubt but John de Launoi would deſerve condemnation. He would be a man, who, to procure himſelf a name, and pleaſe his own peeviſh temper, had attacked general opinions, which had prevailed from time to time immemorial; were of ſervice to the advancement of piety; no ways repugnant to religion, and grounded on proofs infinitely ſtronger than his objections. This laſt circumſtance alone would be ſufficient to make one condemn an author, who otherwiſe might be prompted by laudable motives; for it is beyond all diſpute, that a long poſſeſſion deſerves ſo much reverence as to prevail with us to maintain it, all things elſe being equal on both ſides. But if it be juſt to maintain it, when its titles are as valid as the pretenſions of the innovator; how much muſt it be more ſo, to forbear all attempts to overthrow it, when they are much ſtronger than thoſe of the adverſe party? But this is not the caſe with our Sorbonne Doctor. The traditions which he oppoſes have no good title, and the arguments he objects to them are unanſwerable. Now, in this caſe, it is plain that people have as juſt a right as poſſible to attack the moſt general and moſt antient opinions; and eſpecially when their falſity keeps up a criminal devotion. I would have my readers take notice, that the reaſons alledged by our Doctor were ſo ſtrong, that they undeceived numberleſs multitudes of people; but yet the abuſes have not been removed; and things continue on the ſame foot in Provence and other places. They palm the ſame ſtories upon you, as they did on your anceſtors, and you find the ſame worſhip and ceremonies there. This proves the difference there is between particular perſons and the public. Periods come about, in which moſt people, in particular, are undeceived, and yet the public practice continues as before. Cicero affirms, that there was not ſo much as an old woman ſtupid enough to give credit to the ſtories, which had been antiently believed with regard to hell; and he employs this remark to prove that fabulous traditions vaniſh away by length of time; but that true doctrines, ſuch as are grounded on the nature of things, are confirmed by age; and that it was to this circumſtance we are to aſcribe the long duration and increaſe of the worſhip of the Gods. *Videmus cæteras opiniones fictas, atque vanas diuturnitate extabuiſſe. Quis enim Hippocentaurum fuiſſe, aut Chimæram putat? quæve anus tam excors inveniri poteſt, quæ illa, quæ quondam credebantur, apud inferos portenta extimeſcat?* Opinionum enim commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat. *Itaque & in noſtro populo, & in cæteris, Deorum cultus, religionumque ſanctitates exiſtunt in dies majores, atque meliores* (71). Juvenal alſo complains, that the antient doctrine with regard to hell was no longer believed by any one.

(70) Idem, ibid. pag. 121.

(71) Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* lib. 2. cap. 2.

Eſſe aliquos Manes, & ſubterranea regna,
Et contum & Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
Atque una tranſire vadum tot millia cymba,
Nec pueri credunt, niſi qui nondum ære cavantur.
Sed tu vera puta (72).

(72) Juven. Sat. 2. ver. 149.

" Ghoſts, Stygian lakes, and frogs with croaking
" note,
" And Charon wafting ſouls in leaky boat,
" Are now thought fables, to fright fools conceiv'd,
" Or children, and by children ſcarce believ'd,
" Yet thou giv'ſt credit."

TATE.

Thus we ſee a great change in the opinions of particular perſons, and yet the publick worſhip had not changed, either in the time of Juvenal or Cicero. There were ſtill the ſame feſtivals, the ſame proceſſions and ſacrifices, not only in honour of the celeſtial Gods, but alſo in honour of Pluto, Proſerpine, and the reſt of the infernal Deities. This like inconſtancy on one hand, and conſtancy on the other, will be ever obſerved. Some Doctors (men of learning) of greater parts and more courageous than their brethren, will undeceive a numberleſs multitude of people, and yet cauſe no change in the publick ceremonies. The Ritual will laſt longer than the Faith or Religion on which it is grounded. Too many perſons will find it their intereſt to maintain it, and will have induſtry enough for that purpoſe, though they can give no better reaſons for it, than thoſe urged to Cotta in the above-cited work of Cicero. They urged to him, among other things, the apparitions of ſome Deities; and to prove the reality of theſe apparitions, they alledged the foundation of ſome Temples, a decree of the Senate, or a proverb . . . I expected reaſons, replied he, and you bring only popular ſtories. *Tum Lucilius: An tibi, inquit, fabellæ videntur? Nonne ab A. Poſthumio ædem Caſtori & Polluci in foro dedicatam, nonne S. C. de Vatieno vides? Nam de Sagrâ, Græcorum etiam eſt vulgare proverbium: qui quæ affirmant, certiora eſſe dicunt, quam illa quæ apud Sagram. His igitur auctoribus nonne debes moveri? Tum Cotta, Rumoribus, inquit, mecum pugnas, Balbe: ego autem à te rationes requiro* (73). i. e. " Then Lucilius: Do you " look upon theſe things as fables? Do not you be- " hold a temple in the forum, dedicated, by A. Poſt- " humius, to Caſtor and Pollux, and a decree of " the Senate with reſpect to Vatienus? With regard " to Sagra, there is a common proverb among the " Greeks, who, when they would affirm a thing, " ſay it is more certain than any thing in Sagra. " Ought you not therefore to be moved by theſe au- " thorities? . . . Cotta anſwered; O Balbus, you com- " bat me with popular tales, but I inſiſt upon your " giving me reaſons." Mr. de Launoi might have employed the like anſwer, and many others; but, as I obſerved before, too many people were concerned, in point of intereſt, to oppoſe the innovation and maintain the tradition. They ſeem to have well weighed the conſequences of the principle, which one of the interlocutors in Cicero has laid down, I mean that they were ſenſible, that to prove a tradition true, one muſt ſhew that it ſtood the teſt of many ages. It is ſuppoſed, in Cicero, that no Doctrine which is ill grounded can laſt for any conſiderable time (74). *Quid enim eſt hoc illo evidentius? quod niſi cognitum, comprehenſumque animis haberemus, non tam ſtabilius opinio permaneret, nec confirmaretur diuturnitate temporis, nec una cum ſæculis ætatibuſque hominum inveterare potuiſſet. Etenim videmus cæteras opiniones, &c* (75). i. e. " For " what can be more manifeſt than this? which, had " we not known and comprehended could not have " remained ſo long an eſtabliſhed opinion, have been " confirmed by length of time, nor have grown old " with the ſeveral ages of men; for we ſee that other " falſe opinions, &c." Doubtleſs the Monks are prompted by ſome more weighty motive than what this argument ſupplies, to oppoſe John de Launoi and perſons of his character. We may obſerve by the way, that the argument drawn from antiquity is employed in Cicero to prove a falſity; it being made uſe of to prove the reality and exiſtence of the falſe Gods of the heathen ſyſtem. This therefore is a principle which may lead one into error; and nevertheleſs the maxim, that time deſtroys falſe opinions, *Opinionum commenta delet dies*, might have been long ſince urged againſt the falſe worſhip of the ancient Greeks and Romans; ſince for many ages, there is no country, in which their Religion, their Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Neptune, &c. have been acknowledged and worſhipped. Thus their cauſe falls to the ground, when once it is ſuppoſed that length of years deſtroys falſe Doctrines. It is to be obſerved, that this principle can never be admitted as good proof, unleſs we fix and determine the number of years ſufficient to diſtinguiſh truth from error. In caſe a thouſand years are ſufficient, then every opinion which has laſted that term of years is true; but if no time be limited, it is to no purpoſe to conclude, that ſince a Doctrine has laſted four thouſand years it muſt neceſſarily be true. No man knows what will come to paſs, or whether the fifth millenary may not put a period to that which reſiſted the four preceding ones. A reflexion of Horace may be applied on this occaſion;

(73) Cicero, *de Nat. Deorum*, lib. 3. cap. 5.

(74) Idem, ibid. lib. 2. cap. 2.

(75) The reſt is quoted above, at citation (71).

Scire

him than Father Theophilus Raynaud [*R*]. I will not omit obſerving (*h*), *that he had expunged, from his Calendar, St. Catherine the Virgin and Martyr*; and that *he ſaid that her life was a mere fiction; and to ſhew that he did not give any credit to it, he, every year, on the feſtival of this Saint, uſed to ſay a maſs for ſouls departed* (*i*). I muſt likewiſe obſerve, that his works written againſt the worſhip eſtabliſhed in fabulous traditions have been of no ſervice to the public (*k*). I ſhall preſent my readers with the judgment which de Vigneul-Marville formed of him [*S*]. This will give me occaſion to mention a particular

(*b*) *Valeſiana*, pag. m. 36.

(*i*) *Confer quæ* Sebaſtianus Kortholtus, *memorat.* pag. 9. *Diſſertationis de Puellis Poetriis.*

(*k*) See the remark [*Q*].

Scire velim, pretium chartis quotus arroget annus (76).
The ſenſe is
" I'd know what time is neceſſary to give value
" To Poems.———

(76) Horat. Ep. 1. ver. 35. lib. 2.

I have one thing more to obſerve. It does not appear likely, that thoſe who tread in de Launoi's ſteps, will do any thing effectual, ſo long as things ſhall be carried on only in the way of a literary diſpute. The patrons of falſe devotion will never recede: they find too much their account in not giving up any thing, and are powerful enough to ſecure themſelves from any violence. The Court of Rome will aſſiſt and ſupport them. The Church of Rome ſeems to have adopted the Religion of the God *Terminus*, of the Roman commonwealth. This God did not recede or yield a tittle, not even to Jupiter himſelf, which they ſaid, was a ſign that the Romans would never recede or fall back, nor ever give up an inch of ground to their enemies (77). If any Pope ſhould agree to ſacrifice ſome things, ſome ſuperannuated traditions for inſtance, in order to procure a reunion with the ſame Schiſmaticks, he might expect to be as much inveighed againſt, as much or more than the Heathens did againſt the ignominious peace concluded by the Emperor Jovian (78). The Jeſuits, notwithſtanding their great credit, were not able to prevent the inquiſition of Toledo from condemning ſeveral volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*; and it is certain that this ſtorm was raiſed wholly at the ſollicitation of the Carmelites, and ſome other Monks, who were exaſperated at father Papebroch and his aſſiſtants for rejecting ſeveral acts and old traditions, as apocryphal. They are to be commended for having made themſelves worthy of this thunder-bolt, and will do well to merit others. It is on ſuch an occaſion that the character of a Capaneus is a laudable one (79).

(77) See citation (44) of the article JOVIAN.

(78) See the remark [*B*] of the article JOVIAN.

(79) Of whom Statius, towards the cloſe of the 10th book of the *Thebais*, ſays, *Paulum ſi tardius artus Ceſſiſſent, potuit fulmen meruiſſe ſecundum*, i. e. " Who, had " he lived but a " very little " longer, would " have merited " the thunder a " ſecond time, " &c."

Du tonnere dans l'air bravant les vains carreaux,
Et nous parlant de Dieu du ton de Des-Barreaux (80).
The ſenſe is
" Braving the thunder-bolts that play in air,
" And, with Des-Barreaux, ſtill defying God.

(80) See the remark [*A*] of the article BARBARA.

But in combating, in this manner, the Inquiſitors, they will render themſelves uſeleſs with regard to the reformation of publick abuſes; their criticiſm, tho' much ſeverer than it is, would, at moſt, ſerve only to the inſtruction of particular perſons. The diſeaſe is paſt cure. Father Mabillon has laid down ſome very good rules with reſpect to the worſhip of certain Saints, and the judgment to be formed of relicks (81); but what has he gained by this? It was anſwered, *Phyſician cure thyſelf*. Reform firſt the worſhip which is paid, in ſome Monaſteries of their order, (St. Benedict's) to Saints as dubious as any. He was told of the injury he does to the Church, and the advantage he gives the Proteſtants (82). Is not this ſhutting the door, as it were, to all his good deſigns? Mr. Thiers takes up his pen againſt falſe relicks, he enquires where the bodies of the Martyrs lie, he publiſhes diſſertations on the holy tear of Vendôme, and on St. Firmin. Now all this is loſt labour. The King's Council ſuppreſſes his book on St. Firmin, as the Biſhop of Amiens had condemned a letter that had been publiſhed on the ſame queſtion. See the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (83), and the third part of the *Bibliotheca volante*. All the Saints of a diſcreet zeal are nipt in the bud. They build on this principle, that it is dangerous to annul old cuſtoms; that old boundaries muſt not be removed; and that, according to the old proverb, *We ſhould leave the minſter where it ſtands* (84). The proſperity of Chriſtian Rome, like that of Pagan Rome, is grounded on the preſervation of the old Rites (85). Conſecrations muſt be complied with, and Religion will not ſuffer any innovation to be made in them. *Sed illa mutari vetat religio, & conſecratis utendum eſt* (86). *In our days*, uſed a Sub-prior of St. Anthony to ſay, *let us beware of innovations* (87).

(81) In his *Diſſertation on the worſhip of unknown Saints.* *See* Baſnage, tom. 2. of his *Hiſtory of the Church*, pag. 1038, 1039. and *Hiſtoire de l'Ouvr. des Savans*, for Auguſt 1698, pag. 372, *& ſeq.*

(82) See the ſame works, ibid.

(83) For March 1700, pag. 356. and April 1700, pag. 382.

(84) *See* Paſquier, *Recherche de la France*, liv. 8. chap. 12.

(85) *Moribus antiquis res ſtat Romana viriſque.* Ennius *apud* Cicer. *citatum ab* Auguſt. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 2. cap. 21. *Vide etiam* Volcatium Gallicanum, *in* Avidio Caſſio, pag. 54. tom. 1.

(86) Quintil. lib. 1. cap. 6. pag. m. 39.

(87) See the Preface to the new editions of the *Jeſuits Catechiſm*, written by Paſquier.

[*R*] *Of all his antagoniſts, none ſhewed leſs regard for him than father Theophilus Raynaud.*] We need but read his *Hercules Commodianus*, which ſhews the utmoſt fire and paſſion. Thoſe who will not take the pains to read it, and will only reflect on the following quotation, will be perſuaded that our Doctor never met with more injurious treatment. *Infruniti vir ingenii Joannes Launoyus, cui nihil adeo ſacrum fuit, quod non fœdarit ſcriptione aliqua petulanti ac pluſquam cenſoria, Cœlitibus ipſis non pepercit, imo in hoc non ſemel coniſcavit . . . . . Is cum in me quoque incurriſſet, urgente quodam inſomnioſo Marſya, qui ſua deliria, imò aperte hæretica commenta, contacta extremis propè digitis in eo Antemurali, ægrè tulit, ex perſona amici ac civis noſtri S. Theologiæ D. caſtigatus eſt; pateſactis primum ejus fragoribus, quibus Herculem prætulit. Tum mendaciis, calumniis, loquacitate, ſcurrilitate, aliiſque fœminini generis maculis, quibus ſatyra verius quam ſcriptio ab eo in nos exarata, dehoneſtabatur: ita ut Commodi exemplo, Hercules ſimul terrificus, & fœmina, non niſi pellaciis ac dolis armata, apparere voluiſſe in ea lucubratione videatur. Quæ cauſa fuit, cur* Herculis Commodiani *appellatione viſus ſit inſigniendus* (88). i. e. " Of ſo ſilly and forward a turn of " mind was John de Launoi, that nothing, how ſacred ſoever, could eſcape the pollution of his petulant, and more than ſatyrical writings. He did " not ſpare the Saints themſelves, but even declared " war againſt Heaven more than once . . . . . When " this man thought fit to attack me likewiſe, excited " by a certain dreaming Marſyas, who was diſpleaſed " at my juſt glancing, in that counterſcarp, on his " chimerical and even openly heretical poſitions, he " was chaſtiſed by a Doctor of Divinity, my friend " and fellow Citizen; having firſt laid open and expoſed all the idle ſtorming, by which he endeavoured to paſs for another Hercules, and then the " lies, calumnies, garrulity, ſcurrility, and other womaniſh faults, which diſgraced his book, or rather ſatyr, written againſt me; inſomuch that, after the example of Commodus, he ſeemed deſirous " of appearing, in that work as a terrible Hercules, " and a woman armed only with flattery and falſhood. " For this cauſe he was dubbed with the title of " Commodus's Hercules." In another place this Jeſuit compares him to Iſhmael. *Homo Iſraelita, cujus manus contra omnes, Joannes Launoy* (89). [T. Raynaud publiſhed this piece under the name of *Honoratus Leotardus*. He never employed more Gall than on this occaſion. It is a Satyr from beginning to end. The author, who had a very virulent pen, queried whether his adverſary's birth were legitimate; in imitation of father Gueſnay, who had raiſed the ſame doubt with regard to de Launoi, in his *Triumph of Mary Magdalen*.] Addit. by the Tranſl.

(88) Theoph. Raynaud. *Syntagm. de Libris propriis*, num. 63. pag. 67. *Apopompæi.*

(89) Idem, ibid. num. 72. pag. 70.

[*S*] *I ſhall preſent my Readers with the judgment which de Vigneul-Marville formed of him.*] " How " much ſoever Mr. de Launoi may be eſteemed, it " muſt be confeſſed that he had the predominant fault " of Criticks, which is, to obſerve no meaſure, and " obſtinately to defend the worſt cauſes. His book " of *Extreme Unction*, of *Ariſtotle's Fortune*, and " ſome others, are good pieces; but it may be ſaid in " general, that in all this Doctor's compoſitions, there is " much more erudition than judgment and juſt reaſoning. He commonly does not treat the principal ſubject beſt; but he handles incidental matters admirably, and frequently deceives the unattentive reader " by their means (90)."

(90) Vigneul-Marville, *Melanges d'Hiſt. & de Literature*, pag. 267.

The author of the Journal des Savans has aſſerted (91), *That nothing can, with leſs juſtice, be laid to Mr. de Launoi's charge, than his defending the worſt cauſes with obſtinacy. It was his particular character to love truth above all things; to ſeek for it without prepoſſeſſion, and to communicate it freely when he had found it &c.* De Vigneul-Marville anſwered (92),

(91) See tom. 3. of *Vigneul-Marville*, pag. 266. Roan edit.

(92) Ibid. pag. 267.

a particular not very much known; and which does not well agree with the little friendſhip there was between this Doctor and the Jeſuits, and with the affection he bore Mr. Arnauld. The fact is, that his opinion concerning grace was contrary to the doctrine of St. Auguſtin (*l*).

(*l*) See towards the cloſe of the remark [*S*].

that *there are two ways of loving* truth; *the one to love it for its own ſake; and the other, to love it in regard to one's ſelf.* . . . That St. Auſtin loved it for its own ſake . . . . *that it is not quite the ſame with reſpect to the generality of Criticks, who only love truth, either for the glory it gives to thoſe who firſt diſcover it; or, which is oftner the caſe, from a peeviſh humour of domineering over others.* " I will not ſay, continued he, " that de Launoi was one of thoſe ramblers who go " in queſt of truth as Knight Errants formerly did " after mighty atchievements. But then it cannot be " denied, that numbers of very learned people have " ſometimes looked upon him as a Critick who over- " ſhot the mark, and did not always find the truth " he idolized. This will appear, if we caſt an " eye on ſuch literati as have attacked him, or " wrote ſevere anſwers to him." One may have ſeen him *quite covered with the duſt of his daily combats, and with the bruiſes he had met with on thoſe occaſions* (93). This author adds that, even in Mr. Arnauld's opinion, he had not always maintained orthodoxy; *he had declared too much in favour of a divine inferior to St. Auſtin; and from which the Proteſtants, of the* Arminian principles, *pretended to gain great advantage.* From this we may infer that he did not approve St. Auſtin's doctrine with regard to predeſtination; but we ſhall be much better informed of his ſentiments concerning that doctrine, by the preface to a treatiſe which is not yet publiſhed. Mr. Simon has inſerted it in one of his letters (94) and has ſhewn that Dr. de Launoi condemns the ſentiments of St. Auſtin in this work. This letter is not very advantageous to the Doctor, and gives us a very mean idea of his erudition. See the Journal des Savans of November 14, 1701, pag. 722, Dutch Edition, and the Journal of Trevoux, of Auguſt 1703, pag. 1313. of the French edition. The Journal of Trevoux, for January 1704, Article I. ſpeaks of a defence of St. Auſtin, by father Daniel, in oppoſition to the diſſertation aſcribed to de Launoi.

[" The work Bayle ſpeaks of, the preface whereof " Mr. Simon had writ, was printed, probably under " the direction of Mr. Simon, in 1702. it is a ſmall " 12*mo*. Many people are of opinion that it was " not writ by Mr. de Launoi; but it is univerſally " allowed, I believe, that it contains the real ſenti- " ments of that doctor. I read that book when it " was firſt publiſhed; and did not perceive any par- " ticulars in it, which could make one judge that " it was not writ by de Launoi. I ſince read (above " twenty years ago) an Extract of a ſmall diſcourſe " made by this Doctor at Sorbonne, in Mr. Arnauld's " affair, in the year 1655; and I remember that it be- " gan in pretty near the following Terms (in Latin): " *Every one knows that, on the Articles of Predeſtination and Grace, I am not of St. Auſtin's opinion; but* " *adhere to what all the Greek and Latin fathers who* " *preceded him, have taught on that ſubject.* It was " notorious that de Launoi perſiſted always in the " ſame ſentiments; but it is my opinion that he had " not ſtudied this ſubject ſufficiently, in order to form " a right judgment of it. And indeed this work " publiſhed in 1702 is far from being a good one." De Launoi wrote a great deal, and did not think enough.] From the Remarks to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary.

(94) It is the 21ſt of *Lettres choiſies de Mr. Simon*, printed in Trevoux in the year 1700.

☞It may be proper to add ſome few particulars to this article.

LAUNOI (JOHN DE) was born in Valdeſie, a village of the Lower Normandy, in the dioceſe of Coutance, and not at Valagne, as ſome authors pretend. After going through his firſt ſtudies in Coutance, where he was educated under the direction of William de Launoi, his uncle, he came to Paris, and purſued his ſtudies during five or ſix years ſtay in that city (*a*). He afterwards received his Diploma, after which he was ordained Prieſt, and took his degree of Doctor in Divinity of the College of Navarre in 1634. He went the ſame year into Italy, and there contracted with ſeveral Literati a friendſhip, which he cultivated afterwards. At his return to Paris he devoted himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of the Fathers and Divines; and made great collections of paſſages from both, with which he afterwards interſperſed his different works. About the year 1645, he was appointed Royal Cenſor of Books of Divinity; but it is not known how long he acted in that capacity (*b*). The approbation he gave in 1646 to a French Hiſtory of the Hoſpital of the Holy Ghoſt of Montpellier, drew upon him the indignation of ſeveral of his brethren, who bore an animoſity to him. They alſo accuſed him of ſaying in converſation before the Bachelors, that Clerks were not obliged, by any Canon Law, to repeat the Breviary. At laſt their artifices were ſo ſucceſsful, that they cauſed him to be expelled the College of Navarre (*c*). It was then he retired to Abbot d'Eſtrées, who lived in Laon College (*d*). That Abbot having been made Biſhop of Laon in 1653 was determined to ſerve his friend de Launoi; and thereupon gave him, at different times, two Canonries in his Cathedral; but he reſigned them a little after, upon pretence that he had no voice, and conſequently was not qualified for his employments. He refuſed other preferments, being void of all ambition, and contented with what he poſſeſſed. Below is his epitaph, which the Minims would not ſuffer to be engraved on his monument [*A*]. Du Pin gives the following character of this famous author [*B*]. A very

(*a*) Niceron, *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 32. pag. 84, 85. Paris 1735, 12mo. See alſo the remarks to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary.

(*b*) Father Niceron, pag. 85.

(*c*) Idem, ibid. pag. 86.

(*d*) Idem, ibid. Abbé Marolles declares this to have been in 1644. but it was in 1648.

[*A*] *Below is his epitaph, which the Minims would not ſuffer to be engraved on his monument.*] They were offended at certain expreſſions in it, particularly the following, *veritatis aſſertor perpetuus.* The epitaph runs thus,

D. O. M.

Hic jacet Joannes Launoius Conſtantienſis, Pariſienſis Theologus; qui veritatis aſſertor perpetuus, Jurium Eccleſiæ & Regis acerrimus vindex, vitam innoxiam exegit: Opes neglexit, & quantulumcunque ut relicturus ſatis habuit: multa ſcripſit nulla ſpe, nullo timore: Optimam famam maximamque venerationem apud probos adeptus. Annum ſeptimum & ſeptuageſimum exceſſit; Animam Chriſto conſignavit die 10 *Martii anno* 1678.

Hoc monumentum amico jucundiſſimo poni curavit Nicolaus le Camus, ſupremæ ſubſidiorum Curæ princeps (*).

(*) Niceron, *Hommes Illuſt.* tom. 32. pag. 87, 88. Paris 1735, 12mo.

[*B*] *Du Pin gives the following character of this famous author.*] " The number of books he wrote, and " the manner in which they are writ, ſhew ſufficiently his great compaſs of reading and vaſt erudi- " tion, and the eaſe with which he wrote, as well as " his prodigious application. His diction is neither " elegant nor polite, he employing harſh and unuſu- " al terms. He expreſſes himſelf after a very pecu- " liar

A very ample catalogue is given of all de Launoi's writings in Niceron's *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 32. [C].

" liar manner, and gives a ſingular turn to the mat-
" ters he treats of. He quite tires, not only his adver-
" ſaries, but alſo his readers, with the tedious length
" of the paſſages which he tranſcribes entire, and re-
" peats continually in his works. He exhauſts a ſub-
" ject when once he takes it in hand. He does not
" always reaſon juſtly; and he ſometimes ſeems to
" have views very different from thoſe which he pro-
" poſes in his works. With regard to his morals, he
" was a perſon of great ſimplicity, was a good friend,
" diſintereſted, ſober, laborious; an enemy to vice,
" void of ambition, charitable and beneficent; and
" ever obſerving the ſame tenor of life. But truth
" was eſpecially his darling; nothing being more ab-
" horrent to him than fables and forgeries. He has
" defended with reſolution the rights of the Church
" and King; and boldly attacked the oppoſite maxims
" of the Italian divines of Rome. In a word, it
" cannot be doubted but that the literary world, the
" Gallican church, and the ſchool of Paris are great-
" ly obliged to him for his diſcoveries in many points
" of hiſtory and criticiſm; for the reſolution with
" which he aſſerted the authority of councils, the
" rights of Kings and Biſhops; for his ſagacity in
" diſcovering the falſity of the legends of ſome Saints,
" and the forgery of many prerogatives".

[C] *A very ample catalogue is given of all de Launoi's writings.*] The following edition was publiſhed, not long ſince, of all his works. *Joannis Launoii Opera omnia, ad ſelectum ordinem revocata, ineditis opuſculis aliquot, notis nonnullis Dogmaticis, Hiſtoricis & Criticis, Autoris vita, variis Monumentis tum ad Launoium, tum ad ſcripta ipſius pertinentibus, Præfationibus cuique volumini affixis, Indicibus locupletiſſimis, aucta & illuſtrata. Acceſſit tractatus de varia Launoii librorum fortuna. Coloniæ Allobrogum* 1731, 1732, five Vol. folio. The author's works are here digeſted according to the order of the ſubjects; and the prefaces and notes are curious and inſtructive. At the end of the ſecond part of volume IV, is the life of the author, and the hiſtory of his works, under the title of *Launoiana*. The editor has likewiſe inſerted there, the various elogiums which have been made of du Launoi.

LAURENS (ANDREW) in Latin *Laurentius*, Profeſſor of Phyſic in the Univerſity of Montpellier [A], Chancellor of the Univerſity (*), and firſt Phyſician to Henry IV, died the 16th of Auguſt 1609, as we are told by Guy Patin (a), who informs us of ſeveral other particulars, that have been tranſplanted into Moreri's Dictionary, and which I will not repeat. I ſhall content my ſelf with ſupplying what is wanting in that Dictionary. No particular mention is there made of the writings of Andrew du Laurens; and therefore I ſhall obſerve that he publiſhed ſeveral which were highly eſteemed, and particularly his Anatomy [B], which he dedicated to Henry IV in the year 1599, and has

(*) [He was Profeſſor in 1583 and Chancellor in 1603.] From the Paris edit. to Bayle's Dictionary.

(a) Patin, *Lettre* 31. pag. m. 142. of tom. 1. See alſo the 27th *Letter*, pag. 117.

[A] *Profeſſor of Phyſick in the Univerſity of Montpellier.*] It is remarkable that before they would permit him to act as profeſſor, they obliged him to paſs again through all his exerciſes, in order to take his doctor's degree a ſecond time. *Cum Regio diplomate* Monſpelii *Medicinam publice docendi munus obtinuiſſet, admitti tamen non potuit, donec iterum factus fuiſſet primò Med Baccalaureus, deinde Licenciatus, tandemque doctor, & toties iterum de Medicina reſpondiſſet, quoties in Academia ex illius inſtituto opus fuit* (1) i. e. " When " he had obtained, by the royal diploma, the profeſ-
" ſorſhip of phyſick in Montpellier, he nevertheleſs
" could not be admitted, till he again was made, firſt
" Bachelor of Phyſick, next Licentiate, and at laſt
" Doctor; and had again gone through all the diſpu-
" tations, in Phyſick, as the ſtatutes of that univer-
" ſity required". Riolanus confirms this. The Sieur de Laurence, ſays he (2), *being a doctor of Avignon, was obliged, in order to reſide in Montpellier, and there read a lecture, to commence doctor in the univerſity of the laſt mentioned city, as one but juſt admitted.* Patin doubtleſs did not know this particular, which he otherwiſe would have joyned with the following remark: *Du Laurens came to court with counteſs de Tonerre, by whoſe recommendation he was made one of the King's Phyſicians, and Regius Profeſſor in Montpellier, contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of that univerſity, by an arret of the privy council, which he had much ado to get recorded in Toulouſe* (3). I am to obſerve that he founded a phyſick garden near one of the gates of Montpellier, and there placed the following inſcription, *Argus eſto, non Briareus* (4). i. e. " Be an Argus, not " a Briareus".

(1) Paulus Freher, *in Theatro*, pag. 1323, *ex II Parte Vitarum Virorum doctorum Jani Jacobi Boiſſardi.*

(2) Riolan. *Recherches des Eſchol. de Medecine*, pag. 8. *See alſo* pag. 167.

(3) Patin, *Lettre* 26. pag. m. 117. of tom. 1.

(4) Paulus Freher. *in Theatro*, pag. 1323.

[B] *He publiſhed ſeveral pieces which were highly eſteemed, and particularly his anatomy.*] It was reprinted at Paris in folio in the year 1600, and the ſame year at Francfort in folio. Theſe two editions were followed by three others at Frankfort, in 8vo, in the year 1602, 1615 and 1627. The work is intitled *Hiſtoria Anatomica humani Corporis & ſingularum ejus partium, multis controverſiis & obſervationibus novis illuſtrata* (5). i. e. " An anatomical hiſtory of the hu-
" man body and its ſeveral parts, illuſtrated with ſeve-
" ral new controverſies and remarks". The word *novis* gives us to underſtand, that the Paris edition of 1600 was not the firſt; it having been preceded by that of Lyons 1593, in 8vo, which is but half as large. I have ſeen two tranſlations of the Paris edition the one by Francis Size, and printed at Paris in the year 1610 in 8vo, the other by Theophilus Gelée phyſician at Dieppe. It was printed at Paris in folio in the year 1613, with ſeveral other treatiſes of du Laurens (6) tranſlated by the abovementioned Gelée, or which had been already publiſhed in French by du Laurens (7), or had been collected from his lectures, *when he uſed to read publickly to the ſurgeons of the Univerſity of Montpellier*, in 1587, 1588. Theſe laſt treatiſes are upon the gout, the leproſy, and the venereal diſeaſe. All the french treatiſes I juſt now mentioned have alſo been publiſhed in Latin. They are inſerted in Tom. II of Du Laurens's works, Frankfort edition of 1621 folio, with the *Annotationes in Artem parvam Galeni, & Conſilia Medica*. The treatiſe on Criſes had been printed ſeparately in Latin at Franckfort, in the year 1596, and 1606 8vo, (8). No notice is taken in *Lindenius renovatus* of the Latin edition of all du Laurens works, made at Paris in two volumes, 4to, 1627, by Gui Patin, who gave a Latin tranſlation of ſome treatiſes which du Laurens had writ only in his mother tongue.

(5) See *Lindenius renovatus*, pag. 47. The Lyons edition of 1623, in 8vo, has been omitted.

(6) That on *Criſes*, divided into three books, with the general method relating to the prognoſtics and criſes of diſtempers, and that on the King's Evil, *divided into two Books*, the firſt whereof treats of the wonderful vertue of curing the King's Evil by the touch, conferred by the Divine Power on the Kings of France only; *and the ſecond explains the nature of the King's Evil*, &c.

(7) *That* on the preſervation of the ſight; *on* catarrhs, *and on* old age.

(8) Ex *Lindenio renovato*, pag. 47.

The French verſion of the hiſtory of Anatomy, printed in 8vo at Paris, in the year 1610, has no plates, but Gelée's tranſlation in folio has. The Printer who omitted them gives the following reaſon, among others for it, that du Laurens added figures *with no other view but to pleaſe certain people, not that he thought them very uſeful, but that they would ſerve to amuſe rather than inſtruct ſtudents. Farther, he himſelf declares, that he let the printer of the Latin edition take the plates or figures from thoſe to be found among the common Anatomiſts, ſuch as thoſe of the Sieurs Paré & Guillemeau, ſurgeons to our moſt Chriſtian Kings, or of Charles Stephens, doctor of phyſick in this Univerſity: ſo that if there be any errors in the figures, he deſires they may be laid to the charge of the printer and engraver; and ſays that he has explained himſelf ſufficiently in his hiſtory, ſo as not to want any help from figures; nothing being required but a ſight of the annual diſſections, without which no perſon can attain to a perfect ſkill in anatomy* (9). As theſe particulars relate to the hiſtory of this work, I imagined the reader would not be diſpleaſed to find them here.

(9) Advertiſement to the reader, prefixed to the *Anatomy* tranſlated by Francis Size.

I muſt add, that although this phyſician was a very ſkilful anatomiſt, he nevertheleſs gave occaſion to cenſure

has borne several editions. They are mistaken who assert that he reaped advantage by Aquapendente's conversation [C]. His native place has not been justly expressed in *Lindenius renovatus* [D]. ANTHONY DU LAURENS, his youngest brother, was an Advocate in the King's Council, and died in the year 1647, at eighty three years of age. He married Anne Robert, daughter of the Advocate Anne Robert, who was living in 1662 [E]. Mr. DU LAURENS, Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, was their son (*b*); and LOUISA DU LAURENS, wife to Mr. Baltazar Master of Requests, and Intendant of Justice in Languedoc, was their daughter (*c*). We are told in the *Mercure Galant*, that PETER DU LAURENS Doctor of the Sorbonne, formerly Grand Prior and Vicar General of the Order of Clugni, died Bishop of Bellai the 17th of January 1705, aged fourscore and nine years; and that he was grandson of Andrew du Laurens, first Physician to King Henry IV (*d*).

(*b*) *Extracted from* Patin, *Letter* 251. pag. 389. and *Letter* 282. pag. 508. of tom. 2.

(*c*) Patin, *Letre* 356. pag. 59. of tom. 3.

(*d*) *Mercure Galant*, for Februar 1705, pag. 162.

sure. Peruse the following words. *All that the Sieur du Laurens has wrote by way of question, is an anatomy that is merely physiological. In his anatomy he has committed great errors; not those which Collado and Laurembergius have pointed out, and which are in his questions; but in the text of his anatomical history; which is so plainly demonstrated, that any man, who is ever so little versed in anatomy, will confess that he is not to be defended* (10).

(10) Riolan. *Recherches des Echoles de Medicine*, pag. 214, 215.

This Collado, or rather Colladon, has carried his censure much too far, He pretending that there was nothing good in du Laurens's anatomy. This very great prejudice and passion has been observed by John Sperlingen, professor of physick at Wittemberg. *Hæc & plura ejusmodi Collado*, says he, *quæ non hic saltem, sed ubique contra Laurentium magno fervore scriptitat. Ubi ita se gerit, ut occulati videant omnes, non tam amore veritatis quam antiquitatis, cordato huic contradixisse viro. Sed non objicienda nova omnia, alius & ipse hic Colladonis liber è medio tollendus & è bibliothecis foret exterminandus. Quem tamen multa bona, multa acutè excogitata continere, non imus inficias. Interim etiam non omnia in Laurentio falsa, sed plurima vera, plurima non absque insigni legentium commodo scripta sunt. Fallit Collado, cum inquit:* Laurentii Anatome tota mundis scatet, ut de ea verè Prophetæ querimoniam possis queri, omnis princeps ægrotat, à vertice ad plantam pedis, & non est in corpore toto sanitas; adeò omnes libri partes ineluibilibus errorum maculis imbutæ sunt, ut nescio, quâ creta aut cimelia absterge purgarique possint. *Fallit & cum scribit:* Docere vis, quæ non intelligis, quomodo id præstabis? non per te sanè, non enim potes dare quod non habes, sed κατὰ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς, instar duræ & stupidæ cotis, acutum reddere quæ ferrum valet, expers ipsa secandi. Non facies sanè tuorum librorum lectores doctiores, imò si tibi fidunt indoctiores: sed tum deprehensâ doctrinæ tuæ falsitate justo perciti zelo, veræ & genuinæ medicinæ auxiliatrices munus asserent, præmium clarioris scientiæ eruncatis tuis ex suo aliorumque animis erroribus perniciosissimis metent. *Ne quid nimis, Collado! Amicè tractandi publici boni causa qui laborant. Næves si habent, & tegendi & detegendi illi. Errare humanum sed errata stylo atrocia lingua virulenta notare, ac è musca elephantem facere, inhumanum* (11). i. e. "These and more of the same sort, which Colladon writes with great heat and passion, not only there, but every where against du Laurens; on which occasion he so behaves, that all sagacious readers will see, that he contradicted this judicious man, not so much out of a love of truth, as of antiquity. But all new things are not to be rejected, for otherwise this very book of Colladon must be thrown away, and banished from libraries: which, we at the same time own, contains many valuable and sagacious particulars. With regard to the compositions of du Laurens, all he has wrote is not false, but many things are true, and may be of very great benefit to the reader. Colladon imposes upon us when he writes as follows: *The anatomy of du Laurens is quite full of errors, so that we may justly apply to it the complaint made by the prophet, every prince is sick from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, and there is no health in any part of his body: every part of his work is polluted with spots, so very black, that no fuller's earth can possibly take them out.* He likewise imposes upon us when he writes. *You go about to teach, what you yourself do not understand; now how will you do this? Not by your instruction, for you cannot give what you yourself have not; but by accident; like a hard and stupid bone, which, though blunt, can yet give an edge to steel. The perusal of your books will not make your readers more learned, but on the contrary more ignorant, if they should believe what you say; till by finding out the falsity of your doctrine, they become fired with a just zeal, and resolve to join with those who profess true and genuine physick; and gain the prize of excellent science, by radicating your most pernicious errors, out of their own minds and those of other people.* You dwell too long on this subject, Colladon! those ought to be treated in a friendly manner, who labour for the publick good. If they have errors, a veil should be thrown over them. To err is human; but to attack errors with a virulent pen, and to raise a molehill to a mountain, is barbarous".

(11) John Sperlingen. *de Formatione Hominis in utero*, pag. 123. edit. Witt. 1641. *He cites* Collado *in Obs.* cap. 34.

[C] *They are mistaken who assert, that he reaped advantage by Aquapendente's conversation.*] We will illustrate this by the following extract of a letter of Guy Patin. "Mr. Hofman ... (12) observes somewhere, that du Laurens has published a certain anatomical truth or discovery, which would never have entered his mind, had he not heard it at Fabricio Aquapendente's, at whose table he eat for some years. Now this is absolutely false; the said Sieur du Laurens having never studied but at Paris under Lewis Duret, and that during seven years ... So that he never studied in Padua; which I am very certain of, I having been, for these twenty three years past, Physician to the family of Messieurs du Laurens, who are two Counsellors and a Master of Requests, whose father, who was the younger brother of Andrew du Laurens, died but ten years since, of a quartan ague, aged fourscore and seven years; and who formerly gave me all the informations I could desire (13)."

(12) Gaspar Hofman, Professor of Physic in Altorf.

(13) Patin, *Letre* 27. pag. 117. of tom. 1. It is dated the 6th of Sept. 1649.

[D] *His native place has not been justly expressed in* Lindenius Renovatus.] The author of that book employs those words, *Natus in Academia Monspelienſi* (14). i. e. "Born in the University of Montpellier." This expression would have been improper, even though the mother of Andrew du Laurens had been delivered of him in a college at Montpellier. I am not certain that he was born in Montpellier, as the author (15) quoted in Freherus's *Theatrum* affirms. It is no conclusive argument to the contrary, that this Andrew had a brother (16) born at Arles; for it is no extraordinary thing for one man's children to be born in different towns. I therefore shall wait for a clearer proof of this point, as likewise of the following words in *Lindenius renovatus, obiit in patria*, which signify that Andrew du Laurens died in Montpellier; but in the mean time shall be almost persuaded that he was born in Arles, since Guy Patin calls him *Arelatenſis*, in the title-page of the edition he published in 1627.

(14) Mercklin. *in Lindenio renov.* pag. 47.

(15) *Pars II Vitarum Virorum doctorum Jani Jacobi Boissardi apud* Freher, *in Theatro*, pag. 1323.

(16) *Honore or Honoratus du Laurent*, Archbishop of Ambrun. See his article in Moreri.

[He certainly was born in Arles, but this is not asserted in *Boissard's Lives of Learned Men*, the very contrary being said, pag. 185. *Patria ei fuit Mons Pessulanus &c.*] From the remarks to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary,

(17) The 281st, pag. 507. of tom. 2.

[E] *He married Anne Robert .... who was living in* 1662.] Patin affirms, in a letter dated the 26th of December 1662 (17), that on this very day he had ordered extreme unction to be given her, she being fourscore and seven years of age; but he had said elsewhere (18), that she was but fourscore and one in 1661.

(18) In *Letter* 251. pag. 380. of the abovementioned volume.

LAURENTIO (NICHOLAS) vulgarly called *Cola de Rienzo*, was, in the sixteenth Century, one of those men whom the providence of God employs from time to time,

time, as a theatre or ſtage, on which men may behold the viciſſitudes and caprices of human life [*A*]. He was ſon to a mean Vintner and a Laundreſs. His application to ſtudy in his youth, and the natural ſtrength of his genius, made him very eminent. He became vaſtly eloquent; and could repeat by heart the fineſt paſſages in Cicero, Livy, Julius Cæſar, Valerius Maximus and Seneca. He was prodigiouſly fond of antient inſcriptions, and was very able to explain them. He got a Notary's place, which at that time was ſo honourable, that Gentlemen did not ſcruple to exerciſe it. The commiſſaries of the ſeveral diviſions or diſtricts of Rome having diſpatched him to wait on Pope Clement VI, who kept his See at Avignon, he made ſo eloquent a ſpeech, that he gained the eſteem and benevolence of the Pontiff in queſtion, and the admiration of that Court; which gave him the courage to declaim ſtrongly againſt ſuch great Lords in Rome as oppreſſed the citizens. Cardinal John Colonna was determined to make him ſuffer for this; but after conſidering the affair maturely, he diſcontinued the ill offices he was doing him with regard to the Pope. Laurentio grew more and more exaſperated againſt theſe petty tyrants of Rome; and he one day made ſo bold a ſpeech in the Capitol againſt them, that two boxes on the ear were given him when he had ended. The perſons who ſtruck him were a Lord of the Colonna family, at that time Chamberlain of Rome, and Thomaſo Fortifiocca, Secretary of the Senate. Laurentio diſſembled his reſentment, and continued to deliver his ſpeeches in the Capitol, and in various Churches; and to compoſe emblems, the whole in order to point out the evil adminiſtration of juſtice. The perſons concerned looked upon all this as ſport; and particularly when they obſerved that his ſpeeches were blended with facetious ſayings, and that he threatened ſome of them with capital puniſhment. In all probability they imagined, that, by reaſon of his wild extravagances, it would not be in his power to hurt them, but they were miſtaken; for taking advantage of the abſence of Stephen Colonna, who had marched out of Rome with his ſoldiers to fetch proviſions, he got together the people, made a ſpeech, enacted laws, drove all the great men out of the city, aſſumed the judiciary functions, and was declared Tribunus Auguſtus and deliverer of the people in 1346. The faction of the exiles were not powerful enough to make head againſt him, becauſe of their diviſions; whence he had an opportunity of managing things at pleaſure, and ſaw himſelf at the head of a new Roman Commonwealth, in whoſe name he wrote to the other States, to the Emperor, and the Pope himſelf. The better to confirm his authority, he ſentenced many perſons to death; and, among others, he hanged Martin de Porto, one of the petty tyrants of Rome. He received embaſſies from ſeveral Princes and Commonwealths; and boldly ſummoned the Pope to come and reſide in Rome with the College of Cardinals. He was ſo fortunate in the war he ſuſtained againſt the faction of the Nobles, that he ſuppreſſed it entirely; but he then acted as moſt of thoſe do, who take up arms upon the ſpecious pretence of liberty; it is not the tyranny they hate, but the tyrants; they are vexed to ſee other people, and not themſelves, exerciſe the ſupreme authority. Laurentio had no ſooner cruſhed the tyranny of others, but he himſelf turned tyrant; upon which he was treated as he had treated others; he was forced to fly, and hanged in effigy at Rome as a traitor. After having been concealed ſome time, he preſented himſelf before the Emperor, who gave him leave, but without adviſing him to it, to go and ſalute the Pope. He, at firſt, met with an unfavourable reception from him; but after having been impriſoned ſome months, he followed the Pope's Legate to Rome. He raiſed up his party again to ſo high a pitch, that he was enabled to renew the war againſt the Colonna's; but his rigorous treatment of the people, and his exactions, made him ſo odious, that they took up arms. He imagined that his eloquence would have the power to calm this ſtorm, as it had done on ſo many other occaſions, but was miſtaken; and it was to no purpoſe that he ſhewed himſelf to the people, and harangued them from the windows; they ſetting fire to his palace. He endeavoured to fly in the diſguiſe of a beggar; and was got almoſt out of danger, when he was diſcovered by a certain little man. Another thruſt him thro' the belly with a ſword; he was quite covered with wounds; his body was dragged through the ſtreets, and hung up by the feet (*a*). It continued two years in that condition, after which the Jews burnt it in the fields (*b*). Some of his writings are ſtill extant [*B*].

(*a*) *Extracted from* Proſper Mandoſio's *Bibliotheca Romana*, Cent. 2. num. 55.

(*b*) This was the 8th of Sept. 1353.

LAZZARELLI

[*A*] *As a theatre or ſtage, where men may behold the viciſſitudes and caprices of human life.*] The heathens uſed to call this the play or ſport of fortune; but they might have added, that this Play ends commonly like a Tragedy.

Quales ex humili magna ad faſtigia rerum
Extollit, quoties voluit fortuna jocari (1).

(1) Juv. Sat. 3. ver. 39.

——— " Fortune———
" Who, for her pleaſure, can her fools advance,
" And toſs them topmoſt on the wheel of chance."
DRYDEN.

(*) Plautus *in Captiv. Prol.* ver. 22.

Di quaſi pilas homines habent (*).
" The Deities make tennis-balls of men."

Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus (†).

(†) Ovid. *de Ponto*, lib. 4. Eleg. 3.

" All human things are but the ſport of heaven."

The play which our Laurentio acted on the great ſtage of the world, had the ſame kind of cataſtrophe, a tragical one.

Tolluntur in altum,
Ut lapſu graviore ruant (2).

(2) Claudian. *in Ruffin.* lib. 1. *circa init.*

" They're rais'd aloft,
" That they may lower fall."

[*B*] *Some of his writings are ſtill extant.*] The letter he wrote to the people of Viterbo is in a book entitled

LAZZARELLI (N.) a native of Gubio in Italy, was a very good Poet. He was for ſome time Auditor or Judge in the Rota of Macerata, after which he devoted himſelf to the Church, and was a Prieſt, and Provoſt or Preſident of Mirandola. He died in 1694, at above fourſcore years of age. He publiſhed a work intitled, *La Cicceide*, which is of a very ſingular kind [*A*]. It is a collection of Sonnets, and ſome other kinds of Poems, in which he inveighs with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt Senior Arrighini (*a*), a native of Lucca, who had been his collegue in the Rota of Macerata. He deſcribes him as a man *wholly made up of genitals* (*b*). His verſification is extremely eaſy, natural and flowing. His Poems diſcover a ſurprizing fruitfulneſs of imagination, and lively and ingenious thoughts; but they all turn on a ſubject that is ſo very obſcene; and the whole is animated with ſo vindictive, and ſometimes ſo profane a ſpirit, that the readers of them may be juſtly offended. There are ſome apologies or excuſes in the preface to his book, which I ſhall take ſome notice of [*B*].

(*a*) Author of ſome works, and particularly of a volume *di Conſigli criminali*, to which he prefixed a print of himſelf. See pag. 204. of the *Cicceide*.

(*b*) It is an expreſſion of Balzac. See the *Chevræana*, pag. 276. of Part 2. Dutch edit.

LEE

entitled *Proſe antiche di Dante, Petrarcha, Boccaccio, & altri nobili virtuoſi ingegni*. There likewiſe are inſerted the ſpeeches which Pandolfo Franco, and Franceſco Baroncelli, his Envoys to the Commonwealth of Florence, made to the Senate of Florence. Some letters written by him to Charles, King of the Romans, and to the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, are in Tom. XIV of Bzovius's Annals (3). Petrarch wrote a fine Italian Poem in praiſe of Laurentio (4).

(3) *Ad ann.* 1347.

(4) *Ex Bibliotheca Romana Proſp. Mandoſii, Cent.* 2. num. 55.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a work entitled* la Cicceide, *which is of a very ſingular kind.*] I have ſeen only the ſecond edition of it (1), which is of 1692, and the complete title of it is as follows: *La Cicceide legitima: in queſta ſeconda impreſſione ordinatamente diſpoſta, notabilmente accreſciuta, e fedelmente rincontrata con gli Originali dell' Autore*. i. e. "The Genuine Edition of the Cic-"ceide, properly digeſted, greatly enlarged, and faith-"fully compared with the Author's Originals. The "Second Edition." This book is divided into two parts; the title of the firſt being *le Teſticolate*, and of the ſecond *le Sghinazzate*. The perſon abuſed in this work is ſhadowed under the name of Don Ciccio. I I am to obſerve, that Ciccio is, by the Neapolitans, made uſe of to ſignify Franceſco, (Francis) and the Romans, inſtead of Ciccio, ſay Cecco. The chief deſign of the author is to prove that Don Ciccio is a Coglione, which is the burthen, if I may ſo call it, of all the 318 ſonnets, which compoſe the firſt part of the *Cicceide*. This is the center of the ſphere of its activity; and I believe that the ſecond part will make up the complement to the number 360, which is the moſt uſual diviſion of a circle. Nothing is wanting in this ſphere of ſlander; it has all its degrees, and they all terminate in the ſame point. Signior Lazarelli, in what manner ſoever he may begin, always ends with the *coglioneria* of Don Ciccio. It is the burthen of all his ſonnets. This is going very far. It would not have been poſſible for Voiture to write any thing like this in honour of the great Prince, to whom he wrote as follows, *You who are a true Cæſar in genius and learning, a Cæſar in diligence, in vigilance, in courage*, & per omnes caſus Cæſar, *you have deceived the opinion* &c. (2). Our Poet turns his Ciccio on every ſide, and exhibits him in every light,

(1) Mr. Silveſtre, Doctor of Phyſic, lent me a copy of it at his return from Italy in July 1700; and informed me of the particulars relating to the author mentioned in this article.

(2) Voiture, *Lettre au Duc d'Enguien après la bataille de Rocroi* in 1643. It is Voiture's 141ſt Letter.

Per varios caſus, per tot diſcrimina rerum (3),

and makes a Coglione of him *per omnes caſus*. He follows him from the inſtant of his conception, to his death; and goes ſtill farther, he jeſting on his coffin, his burial, his epitaph &c; he purſues him to Charon's boat, wherein he places him, and declares that he ſhall be ferried over gratis; and he even ſays that he has no occaſion of being wafted over. He ſuppoſes that Charon ſpeaks as follows to him:

(3) Virgil. Æn. lib. 1. ver. 204.

E' privilegio a pari tuoi conceſſo
Il poter ſenza imbarco, e pagamento
Havere a l'altro margine l'acceſſo;
Mentre un tondo C . . . gonfio di vento
Galleggiando leggier, può da sè ſteſſo
Andar di là dal fiume a ſalvamento (4).

(4) *Cicceide*, pag. 290.

i. e. "Such as you, are allowed to paſs to the oppo-"ſite ſhore without going on board, or paying any "thing; for Teſticles, when ſwelled with wind, are "able to waft themſelves over the Styx."

He retrenched, in the ſecond edition, ſuch ſonnets as were thought the moſt profane, and had occaſioned the putting his book into the *Index Expurgatorius*. They related to the baptiſm, confirmation, and extreme unction of Ciccio, and ſome other tickliſh ſubjects. A manuſcript copy of them has been put into my hands, and I have been adviſed to inſert at leaſt one of them; in order that thoſe who cannot procure a ſight of the *Cicceide*, a work little known out of Italy, may form to themſelves an idea of Lazarelli's genius. I have made choice of the ſonnet which relates to extreme unction.

L'oglio ſanto.

Da la febre, da l'aſma, e da l'uſcita,
Don Ciccio ritrovavaſi ammalato
E già ridotto in ſi cattivo ſtato
Che 'l fean vicino all' ultima partita.
Quando, tal nuova il poverello udita,
Dimandò l'oglio ſanto, e gli fù dato
Rimanendo coſi fortificato
Per ſuo franco paſſaggio a l'altra vita.
Ma fatta il Parochian la ſua funzione
Per la mente uno ſcrupulo gli corſe
D'aver fallato nell' operazione.
Però che in vece d'applicar l'unzione
Sù i cinque ſentimenti egli s'accorſe
Ch'applicata l'havea ſopra un coglione.

Here follows ſome other verſes (5).

Io t'en prego, Don Ciccio, inſtantamente
Che a me non lice far queſte fonzioni
Se tu medeſimo non vi ſei preſente,
Stante che le Canoniche Sanzioni
Prohibiſcono a tutti eſpreſſamente
L'uſo di celebrar ſenza coglione.

(5) Theſe are from the Sonnet, the ſix laſt in which he deſired him to aſſiſt at his firſt maſs.

i. e. "I conjure you, Don Ciccio, not to fail of being "preſent, at the time of my ſolemnizing Maſs; for "you know that the Canons expreſly forbid all per-"ſons, who have not their teſticles, to celebrate on "that occaſion."

[*B*] *There are ſome apologies or excuſes, in the preface of his book, which I ſhall take ſome notice of.*] It ſeems to have been wrote by one of the author's friends, who proteſts, that he was extremely grieved on account of the firſt edition of his work; and that it was with reluctance he conſented to the ſecond, though it was in a better condition. His ſcruples were founded on certain alluſions to the ceremonies of the Church; and on the oppoſition that might be found between the duties of Charity, and a book that was grounded on ſlander. He adds that this work is only a collection of ſallies of wit, and poetical vein, notwithſtanding which the author's ſentiments are perfectly orthodox; that he ſubmits all thoſe pieces to the cenſure of his ſuperiors, and deteſts whatever they ſhall judge worthy of being condemned; that he hopes the reader will be ſo equitable, as to make a juſt diſtinction between what are merely witty conceits, and a deſign of offending; and in fine, that although he wrote with ſome licentiouſneſs, his actions were nevertheleſs pure. This is only a rude extract of his apology, and therefore I will ſet down the author's own words (6). *E à dirà il vero è l'uno, e l'altro degli accennati*

(6) Preface to the *Cicceide*.

☞LEE (NATHANIEL), an eminent Engliſh Poet, was ſon of a Clergyman of the Church of England, and was educated at Weſtminſter School under Dr. Richard Buſby, from whence he was ſent to Trinity College in the Univerſity of Cambridge. He wrote eleven Plays [*A*], which were acted with great applauſe. He became diſtracted in his ſenſes, and was ſome years confined in the Hoſpital of Bethlem; and after he was diſmiſſed from thence, was never perfectly recovered, but died in the ſtreet in the night-time (*a*). Mr. Addiſon tells us (*b*), that "among our modern Engliſh Poets, "there is none who was better turned for tragedy than our author; if inſtead of favour- "ing the impetuoſity of his genius, he had reſtrained it, and kept it within proper bounds. "His thoughts are wonderfully ſuited to tragedy, but frequently loſt in ſuch a cloud of "words, that it is hard to ſee the beauty of them. There is an infinite fire in his works, "but ſo involved in ſmoke, that it does appear in half its luſtre. He frequently ſucceeds "in the paſſionate parts of the tragedy, but more particularly where he ſlackens his efforts, "and eaſes the ſtile of thoſe epithets and metaphors, in which he ſo much abounds."

(*a*) Langbaine's *Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets*, pag. 320, & *ſeqq.* edit. Ox. 1691, *and* Gildon's *Continuation of Langbaine*, pag. 85.

(*b*) *Spectator*, num. 39. vol. 1.

cennati motivi ſon degni di un animo, che profeſſa eſattamente i dettami del Chriſtianeſimo, nel quale ſi pregia l'Autore di vivere, proteſtando, che queſti ſuoi componimenti ſono un mero ſfogo di Poetico capriccio affatto diſcordanti dalla pietà dell' animo ſuo, imbevuto de Sagroſanti Dogmi della Cattolica verità, come ſarà pientiſſimo ſempre à teſtificare col ſangue ſteſſo, e che gli ſottopone intieramente alla Cenſura de' Superiori, deteſtando adeſſo per all' hora tutto quello, che dal giudizio loro infallibile ſarà ſtimato per degno d' eſſer dannato. E riflettendo, che queſti ſono più toſto ſcherzi di una penna, per traſtullarſi, che ſentimenti d'dun Cuore intento all' offeſa d'altri, ti piego à credere, ch'egli non mi havrebbe permeſſa mai la libertà di rimandarlo alle ſtampe, ſe non ſi fidaſſe dell' ingenuità del tuo Cuore, che ſaprà traſtullarſi coll' ingegno ſenza traſcorrere colla volontà à denigrare nè pur col penſiero la fama incorrotta del ſuo decantato Protagoniſta. Vivi dunque felice, mentr'io laſciar non voglio di ricordarti in difeſa dell' Amico, che ſe bene ſcrive con qualche licenza, può però dir di sè ſteſſo: Laſciva eſt nobis pagina, Vita proba eſt.

[*A*] *He wrote eleven Plays.*] They are as follow. I. *Nero Emperor of Rome*, a Tragedy acted at the Theatre Royal in 1675. Dedicated to the Earl of Rocheſter. II. *Sophoniſba, or Hannibal's Overthrow*; a Tragedy acted at the Theatre Royal 1676. Dedicated to the Ducheſs of Portſmouth. The Earl of Rocheſter, in his alluſion to Horace's *tenth* Satyr of the firſt book, writes thus of this Tragedy:

"When *Lee* makes temperate *Scipio* fret and rave,
"And *Hannibal* a whining am'rous ſlave,
"I laugh, and wiſh the hot-brain'd ſuſtian fool
"In *Buſby*'s hands; to be well laſh'd at School.

III. *Gloriana, the Court of Auguſtus:* a Tragedy, acted at the Theatre Royal 1676. Dedicated to the Ducheſs of Portſmouth. The Earl of Rocheſter, in a Satyr of his in imitation of Sir John Suckling's *Seſſion of the Poets*, writes thus of this Play.

"*Nat. Lee* ſtept in next, in hopes of a prize;
"Apollo remember'd he had hit once in thrice:
"By the Rubies in's face he could not deny,
"But he had as much wit as Wine could ſupply;
"Confeſs'd, that indeed he had a muſical note,
"But ſometimes ſtrain'd ſo hard, that it rattled i'th'
"throat.
"Yet own'd he had ſenſe; t'encourage him for't,
"He made him his *Ovid* in *Auguſtus's Court*."

IV. *The Rival Queens: or, the Death of Alexander the Great:* a Tragedy, acted at the Theatre Royal 1677. Dedicated to the Earl of Mulgrave. Mr. Dryden has a copy of commendatory Verſes upon this Play prefixed to it. V. *Mithridates King of Pontus*, A Tragedy, acted at the Theatre Royal 1678. Dedicated to the Earl of Dorſet. VI. *Theodoſius, or, The Force of Love*; a Tragedy acted at the Duke of York's Theatre. Dedicated to the Ducheſs of Richmond. VII. *Cæſar Borgia*; a Tragedy, acted at the Duke of York's Theatre 1680. Dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke. VIII. *Lucius Junius Brutus, father of his Country*; a Tragedy, acted at the Duke's Theatre 1681. Dedicated to the Earl of Dorſet. IX. *Conſtantine the Great*; a Tragedy, acted at the Theatre Royal 1684. X. *The Princeſs of Cleve*, a Tragic-Comedy, acted at the Queen's Theatre in Dorſet-Garden 1689. Dedicated to the Earl of Dorſet. XI. *The Maſſacre of Paris*; a Tragedy acted at the Theatre Royal 1690. Our Author joined with Mr. Dryden in writing the Tragedy of *the Duke of Guiſe*, and that of *Oedipus*. H.

☞LEIBNITZ (GODEFROY-WILLIAM DE), an eminent Mathematician and Philoſopher in the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Leipſic in Saxony June the 23d 1646, and ſon of Frederic Leibnitz Profeſſor of Ethics, and Secretary of the Univerſity of Leipſic, by Catherine Sehmuck, third daughter of a Doctor and Profeſſor of Law. He loſt his father (*a*) at ſix years of age; but his mother took a particular care of his education. He ſoon made a prodigious progreſs in polite Literature [*A*]; and at the age of fifteen years he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy and Mathematics at Leipſic and Jena; and upon his return to Leipſic in 1663 maintained a theſis *de Principiis Individuationis*. The year following he was admitted Maſter of Arts. About this time he read with great attention the Greek Philoſophers, and endeavoured to reconcile Plato with Ariſtotle, as he afterwards did Ariſtotle with Des Cartes. He was ſo intent on theſe ſtudies, that he ſpent whole days in meditation in a foreſt near Leipſic. But the ſtudy of the Law was his principal view; in which Faculty he was admitted Bachelor in 1665. The year following he would have taken the degree of Doctor, but was refuſed it on pretence that he was too young, being but twenty years of age, but it is thought that he had raiſed himſelf ſeveral enemies by rejecting the principles of Ariſtotle and the Schoolmen. Upon this he went to Altorf, where he maintained a theſis *de Caſibus Perplexis*,

(*a*) He died Sept. 5, 1652.

[*A*] *He ſoon made a prodigious progreſs in polite Literature.*] He did not ſhew any particular inclination to one kind of ſtudy more than another, but applied himſelf to all with equal vigour. And as his father had left him a conſiderable and well choſen library, he began, when he was maſter enough of the Latin and Greek languages, to read them all in order, as the Poets, Orators, Hiſtorians, Civilians, Philoſophers, Mathematicians, and Divines. He had a particular taſte and talent for Poetry. He knew all the Poets by heart, and even in his old age he could have repeated Virgil almoſt word for word. He compoſed in one day a Poem of three hundred Latin Verſes without any Eliſion (1).

(1) Fontenelle, *Hiſtoire de Renouvellement de l'Academie Royale des Sciences in M. DC. XCIX. & des Eloges Hiſtoriques de tous les Academiciens*, tom. 2. pag. 274, 275, 276. edit. Amſt. 1720.

Perplexis [*B*], with ſuch applauſe, that he had the degree of Doctor conferred on him, and was offered a Profeſſorſhip extraordinary in Law, which he refuſed. Thence he went to Nuremberg, in order to viſit the learned men there, and was introduced into the acquaintance of ſeveral perſons engaged in the purſuit of the Philoſopher's ſtone [*C*]. The Baron de Boinebourg, firſt Miniſter of the Elector of Mentz, paſſing at that time thro' Nuremberg, and meeting Mr. Leibnitz at an entertainment, conceived ſo high an opinion of his abilities, that he adviſed him to apply himſelf particularly to the ſtudy of Law and Hiſtory, and promiſed to engage the Elector John Philip de Schonborn to ſend for him to his Court. Upon this Mr. Leibnitz removed to Francfort upon the Mein in the neighbourhood of Mentz. In 1668 he wrote a treatiſe, to induce the Poles to chooſe the Elector Palatine their King [*D*]; which ſo highly pleaſed that Elector, that he invited the author to his Court. But he was prevented from accepting this invitation by the Baron Boinebourg, who procured the Elector of Mentz to appoint him Counſellor of the Chamber of Review in his Chancery. Mr. Leibnitz was then but twenty two years of age. In 1672 he went to Paris to manage ſome affairs of the Baron; and in that city contracted a friendſhip with the learned men there, and applied himſelf with vigour to the ſtudy of the Mathematics. Having obſerved ſome defects in the Arithmetical Machine of Monſieur Paſcal, he invented a new one, the deſign of which he explained to Monſieur Colbert; and it was approved of by him and the Academy of Sciences, which offered him the place of Penſionary-Member. He might have ſettled to great advantage at Paris; but as it would have been neceſſary to embrace the Roman Catholic Religion, Mr. Leibnitz, who was born a Lutheran, refuſed all offers. In 1673, upon the death of the Baron de Boinebourg, he went to England, where he became acquainted with Mr. Oldenburg Secretary of the Royal Society, and Mr. John Collins Fellow of that Society [*E*]. Soon after this he received an account of the death of the Elector of Mentz, by which he loſt his penſion. Upon this he returned to France, whence he wrote a letter to the Duke of Brunſwick-Lunenburg, to inform him of his circumſtances. That Prince returned him a very kind anſwer, and as a pledge of his future favour appointed him Counſellor of his Court with a ſtipend, and gave him leave to continue at Paris till his Arithmetical Machine ſhould be compleated. In 1676 he returned to England, and thence went to Holland, in order to proceed to Hanover, where he propoſed to ſettle. Upon his arrival there, he applied himſelf to inrich the Prince's Library with the beſt books of all kinds. The Duke of Brunſwick-Lunenburg dying in 1679, his ſucceſſor Erneſt Auguſtus, then Biſhop of Oſnabrug, ſhewed our author the ſame favour as his predeceſſor had done, and ordered him to write the Hiſtory of the Houſe of Brunſwick. Mr. Leibnitz undertook it, and travelled over Germany and Italy, in order to collect materials; and returned to Hanover in 1690. In 1700 he was admitted a Member of the Royal Academy at Paris. The Elector of Brandenburg, afterwards King of Pruſſia, founded an Academy the ſame year at Berlin by the advice of Mr. Leibnitz, who was appointed perpetual Preſident, though his affairs would not permit him to reſide conſtantly at Berlin. However he furniſhed their Memoirs with ſeveral curious pieces in Geometry, polite Literature, Natural Philoſophy, and even Phyſic. He projected another Academy of the ſame kind at Dreſden, and communicated the plan to the King of Poland in 1703. This deſign would have been executed, if it had not been prevented by the confuſions in Poland. He was engaged likewiſe in a ſcheme for an univerſal language [*F*]. His writings had long

[*B*] *Maintained a Theſis* de Caſibus perplexis.] It was printed at Leipſick with two other Theſes maintained by him, under the following title: *Specimina Juris.* 1. *Specimen difficultatis in Jure, ſeu Diſſertatio de Caſibus perplexis.* 2. *Specimen Encyclopædiæ in Jure, ſeu Quæſtiones Philoſophicæ amœniores ex Jure collectæ.* 3. *Specimen certitudinis ſeu Demonſtrationum in Jure, exhibitum in Doctrinâ Conditionum.*

[*C*] *Introduced into the acquaintance of ſeveral perſons engaged in the purſuit of the Philoſopher's Stone.*] Being deſirous to be initiated in their myſteries, he ſelected out of books of Chemiſtry ſeveral dark terms and expreſſions, from which he formed a Letter, which was unintelligible to himſelf, and addreſſed to the Director of that ſociety; requeſting to be admitted into it upon the proofs which he gave of his great learning. They not doubting, but that the writer of that letter was an Adept or very near one, admitted him with great honour into their Laboratory, and deſired him to perform the office of Secretary, offering him a penſion (2).

(2) Idem, ibid. pag. 291, 292.

[*D*] *In* 1668 *he wrote a Treatiſe to induce the Poles to chooſe the Elector Palatine their King.*] This Treatiſe was publiſhed at Francfort upon the Mein under the following title: *Specimen Demonſtrationum politicarum pro eligendo Rege Polonorum, novo ſcribendi genere ad claram Certitudinem exactum. Auctore Georgio Ulicovio, Lituano.*

[*E*] *Applied himſelf with vigour to the ſtudy of the Mathematicks.*] He owns, that he principally owed the progreſs which he made in that ſtudy, to the writings of Paſcal, and Gregory St. Vincent, and eſpecially to the excellent book of Huygens *de Horologio oſcillatorio.*

[*F*] *In* 1673 . . . . *he went to England, where he became acquainted with Mr.* Oldenburg, *Secretary of the Royal Society, and Mr.* John Collins, *Fellow of that Society.*] It was by the communication and correſpondence of theſe Gentlemen, that he received the firſt hints of the invention of the method of *Fluxions* from Mr. Iſaac Newton's letters, who had diſcovered that method about the year 1664 or 1665. As there aroſe afterwards a diſpute concerning the right to that invention, we ſhall give the reader the following account of it (3). The *method of Fluxions* and the *Calculus Differentialis* are the ſame method of Analyſis under two different names. Sir Iſaac Newton, and the Engliſh Mathematicians after him, call it the *Method of Fluxions*; but Leibnitz gave it the name of *Calculus differentialis*, in which he has been followed by almoſt all the Mathematicians abroad. The Marquis de l'Hoſpital publiſhed the elements of it under the title of *Analyſe, des infiniment petits*, i. e. *the Analyſis of infinitely ſmall quantities.* Sir Iſaac Newton's *Philoſophiæ Naturalis principia mathematica*, printed at London 1687, in 4*to.* is almoſt wholly founded upon the method of Fluxions; though he has not made uſe of that method to demonſtrate the great and ſurprizing

(3) See Mr. Des Maizeaux's *Preface* to his *Recueil de diverſes Pieces ſur la Philoſophie la Religion Naturelle, &c. par Mrs. Leibniz, Clarke, Newton, & autres Autheurs celebres*, edit. Amſterdam 1720.

prizing Theorems, which he has exhibited in that work. However we find there the principles of Fluxions in the ſecond Lemma of the ſecond book, where thoſe principles are demonſtrated, but always in a ſynthetical manner. He adds to that Lemma the following Scholium: *In literis, quæ mihi cum Geometrâ peritiſſimo* G. G. Leibnitio *annis abhinc decem intercedebant, cum ſignificarem me compotem eſſe methodi determinandi maximas & minimas, ducendi Tangentes, & ſimilia peragendi; quæ in terminis ſurdis æquè ac in rationalibus procederet, & literis tranſpoſitis hanc ſententiam involventibus* [Datâ æquatione quotcunque fluentes quantitates involvente, Fluxiones invenire, & vice verſa] *eandem celarem: reſcripſit Vir clariſſimus ſe quoq; in ejuſmodi methodum incidiſſe, & methodum ſuam communicavit à meâ vix abludentem præterquam in verborum & notarum formulis. Utriuſque fundamentum continetur in hoc Lemmate.* By this paſſage Sir Iſaac Newton gives us to underſtand, that in the Letters, which he wrote to Leibnitz *ten years before*, that is, June 13th and October 24th 1676 (†), he had informed him of his method, before Leibnitz had mentioned his own; which he did not do till eight months after, *viz.* June 21ſt 1677 (‡). Beſides, as it appears from Sir Iſaac Newton's letter of October 24th 1676, that he had been engaged *five years before* (§), that is, in 1671, in writing a Treatiſe, in which the method of Fluxions and that of Series were joined together; by referring to this letter, he gives us to underſtand, that the method of Fluxions was known to him at leaſt in 1671, ſix years before Leibnitz had diſcovered his method (*). Thus he aſſerted his right to the firſt invention of this method, and appealed in a manner to the judgment of Leibnitz himſelf, to whom theſe particulars were very well known, and who had nothing to object upon this occaſion in the letter, which he wrote to Sir Iſaac Newton in 1693, wherein he complimented him upon his *Principia*. He ſays in it, that it appeared from this work, that Sir Iſaac had a method of Analyſis much ſuperior to the common Analyſis; and only adds, that himſelf had alſo an Analyſis, which was applied to the higher Geometry with great ſucceſs. *Mirificè ampliaveras Geometriam tuis ſeriebus, ſed edito Principiorum opere oſtendiſti patere tibi, quæ Analyſi receptæ non ſubſunt. Conatus ſum ego quoque, Notis commodis adhibitis, quæ Differentias & ſummas exhibent, Geometriam illam, quam* tranſcendentem *appello, Analyſi quodammodo ſubjicere, nec res male proceſſit.* He claims to himſelf the invention of the *Calculus Differentialis*, but without any prejudice to the right, which Sir Iſaac Newton had to the method of Fluxions. Leibnitz had publiſhed in the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipſick for the year 1684 (*), the elements of the *Calculus Differentialis*, that is, the Algorithme of that *Calculus*, which contained the application of it to Addition and Subtraction, to Multiplication and Diviſion, to powers and roots under this title: *Nova methodus pro Maximis & Minimis, itemque Tangentibus, quæ nec fractas nec irrationales quantitates moratur, & ſingulare pro illis Calculi genus, per G. G. L.* The Brothers Bernoulli, famous Mathematicians, having afterwards obſerved the uſe, which Leibnitz made of this method, for the reſolving of the moſt difficult Problems, applied themſelves to the diſcovery of the ſecret, and by the Encouragement of Leibnitz himſelf arrived at it (†); ſo that this new Calculus was already famous in 1695. At this time Dr. John Wallis, who had publiſhed in the ſecond tome of his *Mathematical works*, extracts of the letters of Sir Iſaac Newton of June 13th and October 24th 1676, wrote to him, that he had been informed from Holland, that his *method of Fluxions* was received there with applauſe under the name of *Leibnitz's Calculus Differentialis*; and urged him to publiſh thoſe two letters intire. He repreſents to him, that it would be neglecting too much his own reputation and that of the Engliſh nation, to bury in his ſtudy pieces of ſuch importance, and to wait till others ſeized an honour, which was his right. He adds, that when he had received the account abovementioned, he had endeavoured to do him juſtice in an addition to the preface to the firſt Tome of his *Mathematical works*. The addition is as follows: *In ſecundo Volumine . . . habetur* Newtoni *Methodus de* Fluxionibus *(ut ille loquitur) conſimilis naturæ cum* Leibnitii *(ut hic loquitur)* Calculo differentiali *(quod qui utramque methodum contulerit, ſatis animadvertat, ut ut ſub loquendi formulis diverſis) quam ego deſcripſi* Algebræ cap. 91. &c. *præſertim* cap. 95. *ex binis* Newtoni *literis (aut earum alteris)* Junii 13, & Octob. 24. 1676. *ad Oldenburgum datis, cum Leibnitio communicandis, iisdem ferè verbis, ſaltem leviter mutatis, quæ in illis Literis habentur, ubi Methodum hanc* Leibnitio *exponit, tùm ante decem annos, nedum plures, ab ipſo excogitatam. Quod moneo, ne quis cauſetur, de hoc* Calculo differentiali *nihil a nobis dictum eſſe.* The writers of the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipſic gave an extract of the two firſt Tomes of Dr. Wallis's *Mathematical works* in their journal of June 1696 (†), and inſinuated that he treated in a very free manner the foreign Mathematicians; but they did not object to what he had ſaid, that Sir *Iſaac Newton* "had explained to *Leibnitz* in 1676 the method of Fluxions, which he had "invented ten years before, or even earlier ſtill," that is, in 1665 or 1666. They only remarked, that Dr. Wallis ſhould have been more ample upon *the Calculus differentialis*, and have obſerved, that *Leibnitz had that Calculus for above twenty years before*, that is, in 1676 or 1677, when Sir Iſaac Newton and he held a correſpondence by means of Mr. *Oldenburg*; and that this was a fact acknowledged by Sir Iſaac himſelf. *Cæterum ipſe* Newtonus *non minus candore quam præclaris in rem Mathematicam meritis inſignis, publice & privatim agnovit,* Leibnitium *tum cum (interveniente celeberrimo Viro* Henrico Oldenburgio *Bremenſi, Societatis Regiæ Anglicanæ tunc Secretario) inter ipſos, ejuſdem jam tum Societatis ſocios, commercium intercederet, id eſt, jam ferè ante annos viginti & amplius, Calculum ſuum differentialem ſeriesque infinitas, & pro iis quoque Methodos generales habuiſſe; quod Walliſius, in Præfatione operum factæ inter eos communicationis mentionem faciens, præteriit, quoniam de eo fortaſſe non ſatis ipſi conſtabat.* They obſerve afterwards, that Dr. Wallis would undoubtedly have done more juſtice to the German Mathematicians, if he had known them better, &c. The Doctor had no ſooner ſeen this article in the *Acta Eruditorum*, but he wrote to *Leibnitz* (†), to aſſure him, that if he had not treated at large of his *Calculus Differentialis*, it was really becauſe he knew nothing of it before, and had not even heard of the name of it, when one of his friends wrote to him from Holland, that this *Calculus* made a great deal of noiſe there, and that it was very near the ſame with Newton's method of fluxions, which gave him occaſion juſt to mention it in his Preface. Leibnitz wrote to him a very civil anſwer (‡), and aſſures him, that he was extremely well ſatisfied with him. *De te autem queri*, ſays he, *nunquam mihi in mentem venit, quem facile apparet noſtra in* Actis Lipſienſibus *prodita non ſatis vidiſſe.* Dr. Wallis wrote him a letter of thanks (*), at the cloſe of which he ſays, that though the *Method of Fluxions* and that the *Differential method* appear to him to be the ſame, yet this ought not to leſſen the honour due to thoſe, who were the inventors. *Et ni fallor, (ſic ſaltem mihi nuntiatum eſt)* Newtoni doctrina fluxionum, *res eadem (vel quam ſimillima) quæ vobis dicitur* Calculus differentialis; *quod tamen neutri præjudicio eſſe debet.* Leibnitz did not deny this in his anſwer (*). *Methodum* Fluxionum *profundiſſimi* Newtoni, ſays he, *cognatum eſſe Methodo meæ* Differentiali, *non tantum animadverti, poſtquam opus ejus & tuum prodiit, ſed etiam profeſſus ſum in* Actis Eruditorum, *& alias quoque monui. Id enim Candori meo convenire judicavi, non minus quam ipſius merito. Itaque communi nomine deſignare ſoleo,* Analyſeos Infiniteſimalis, *quæ latius quam Methodus* Tetragoniſtica *patet. Interim quemadmodum* & Vietæa & Carteſiana *Methodus* Analyſeos ſpecioſæ *nomine venit, diſcrimina tamen nonnulla ſuperſunt; ita fortaſſe* & Newtoniana & mea *differunt in nonnullis.* He afterwards mentions the reflexions, which had led him by degrees to the invention of his method; but does not take notice in what reſpect it differed from that of Sir Iſaac Newton. This was what Dr. Wallis was extremely deſirous of knowing, as appears from a letter, which he wrote ſoon after to Leibnitz (†). *Optaverim*, ſays he, *ut tibi vacet tuum* Calculum Differentialem, & Newtono *ſuam* Fluxionum Methodum, *juſto ordine exponere, ut quid ſit utrique commune, & quid interſit diſcriminis, & utrumque diſtinctius intelligamus.* Leibnitz wrote an anſwer to Dr. Wallis; and there paſſed ſeveral letters between thoſe Gentlemen, but without touching upon that point. Dr. Wallis publiſhed all theſe letters in 1699 in the *third volume* of his Mathematical *works*; and inſerted among them, with the conſent

(†) *See* Dr. Wallis's *Mathematical Works*, vol. 3. pag. 622, and 634.

(‡) See Mr. Leibnitz's *Letter*, ibid. pag. 648.

(§) Ibid. pag. 636.

(*) See Sir Iſaac Newton's *Remarks*, in Mr. Des Maizeaux's *Recueil*, tom. 2. pag. 87, 88.

(*) Pag. 467, & *ſeqq.*

(†) Leibnitz informs us how theſe Gentlemen attained it, in a *Memoire*, inſerted in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Nov. 1706, pag. 521. and in the *Memoires de Trevoux*, March 1707, pag. 540. See likewiſe thoſe *Memoires* March 1708, pag. 491.

(†) Pag. 249, & *ſeqq.*

(†) December 1, 1696. See the 3d tome of Dr. Wallis's *Mathematical Works*, pag. 653, 654.

(‡) Dated March 29. 1697. Ibid. pag. 673.

(*) Dated April the 9th. Ibid. pag. 675.

(*) Dated May the 28th. Ibid. pag. 678.

(†) Dated July the 30th. Ibid. pag. 681.

of Sir Iſaac Newton and Leibnitz, the letters which they had written to each other by means of Mr. Oldenburg, and among the reſt thoſe above cited. Though Dr. Wallis had given the world to underſtand, that Sir Iſaac Newton had invented his method in 1665 or 1666, he would not determine the time when Leibnitz invented his, nor inquire which of them two was the firſt inventor. But Mr. Nicholas Facio Duillier proceeded further; for in his *Lineæ breviſſimi deſcenſus Inveſtigatio Geometrica duplex: cui addita eſt Inveſtigatio Geometrica ſolidi rotundi, in quo minima fiat reſiſtentia*, printed at London in 1699, he declares Sir Iſaac Newton to have been the *firſt inventor*, and inſinuates that Leibnitz whom he calls the *ſecond inventor*, had made uſe of the lights of Sir Iſaac Newton. *Newtonum primum*, ſays he (*), *ac pluribus annis vetuſtiſſimum hujus calculi Inventorem, ipſâ veri evidentiâ coactus, agnoſco; à quo utrum quicquam mutuatus ſit Leibnitius ſecundus ejus Inventor, malo eorum quam meum ſit judicium, quibus viſæ fuerint Newtoni Literæ aliique ejuſdem manuſcripti codices.* Leibnitz thought, that he ought not to leave unanſwered this aſſertion, which detracted ſo much from his reputation. He wrote againſt Mr. Facio a memoire inſerted in the *Acta Eruditorum* for the year 1700; in which he affirms, that he had not taken his *Calculus* from Sir Iſaac Newton, and appeals even to the teſtimony of Sir Iſaac himſelf. *Certè*, ſays he (†), *vir egregius aliquoties locutus amicis meis ſemper de me bene ſentire viſus eſt, neque unquam, quod ſciam, querelas jecit; publicè autem ita mecum egit, ut iniquus ſim, ſi querar. Ego vero libenter ejus ingentia merita oblatis Occaſionibus prædicavi, & ipſe ſcit unus omnium optimè ſatiſque indicavit publicè, cum ſua Mathematicæ Naturæ principia publicaret anno* 1687, *nova quædam inventa Geometrica, quæ ipſi communia mecum fuere, neutrum luci ab altero acceptæ, ſed meditationibus quemque ſuis debere, & a me jam decennio ante expoſita fuiſſe. Certè*, adds he, *cum Elementa Calculi mea edidi anno* 1684, *ne conſtabat quidem mihi aliud de inventis ejus in hoc genere, quam quod ipſe olim ſignificaverat literis, poſſe ſe Tangentes invenire non ſublatis irrationalibus; quod Hugenius quoque ſe poſſe mihi ſignificavit poſtea, etſi cæterorum iſtius calculi adhuc expers. Sed majora multo conſecutum Newtonum, viſo demum libro Principiorum ejus, ſatis intellexi. Calculum tamen differentialem tam ſimilem ab eo exerceri, non ante didicimus, quam cum non ita pridem magni Geometræ Johannis Walliſii operum volumina primum & ſecundum prodiere, Hugeniuſque curioſitati meæ favens locum inde deſcriptum ad Newtonum pertinentem mihi maturè tranſmiſit.* Leibnitz would not determine the queſtion, whether Sir Iſaac Newton or himſelf was the *firſt* or *ſecond Inventor* of this method: he only aſſerts equally the invention to both. *Quam*, ſays he afterwards (§), *ante Dominum Newtonum & me nullus, quod ſciam, Geometra habuit; uti ante hunc maximi nominis Geometram nemo ſpecimine publicè dato ſe habere probavit; ante Dominos Bernoullios & me nullus communicavit.* Mr. Facio did not ſtop here; he ſent to the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* his reply, with a defence of his treatiſe of the *Lineæ breviſſimi deſcenſus Inveſtigatio* againſt Mr. John Bernoulli; but thoſe authors ſuppreſſed what related to Leibnitz, and only remarked in general, that the averſion they had for diſputes among Men of Letters, had induced them to retrench what was perſonal in Mr. Facio's memoire (‡). This put an end to the conteſt; and it is probable, that there would not have been any more diſpute upon this point, if a paſſage of the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* had not given occaſion to that, which roſe at firſt between Mr. John Keill and Leibnitz, and afterwards between Leibnitz and Sir Iſaac Newton himſelf. It was as follows. In 1704 Sir Iſaac Newton publiſhed at the end of his *Optics* a treatiſe of the *Quadrature of Curves*, which he had written ſeveral years before. As this treatiſe is founded upon the method of Fluxions, Sir Iſaac accompanied it with an introduction, in which he explains that method, and adds, that he had invented it in 1665 and 1666. *Conſiderando igitur*, ſays he, *quod quantitates æqualibus temporibus creſcentes & creſcendo genitæ, pro velocitate majori vel minori, qua creſcunt ac generantur, evadunt majores vel minores; methodum quærebam determinandi quantitates ex velocitatibus motuum vel incrementorum quibus generantur; & has motuum vel incrementorum velocitates nominando* Fluxiones *& quantitates genitas nominando* Fluentes, *incidi paulatim annis* 1665 *&* 1666 *in Methodum Fluxionum, quâ hic uſus ſum in Quadraturâ Curvarum.* The authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipſic gave an account of this book of Sir Iſaac Newton in their Journal of January 1705 (3); and having taken occaſion to explain the differential method of Mr. Leibnitz, they compared it with Sir Iſaac's method of Fluxions: *Ingenioſiſſimus deinde Autor*, ſay they, *antequam ad Quadraturas Curvarum (vel potius Figurarum Curvilinearum) veniat, præmittit brevem Iſagogam. Quæ ut melius intelligatur, ſciendum eſt, cum magnitudo aliqua continuè creſcit, veluti Linea (exempli gratia) creſcit fluxu puncti, quod eam deſcribit, incrementa illa momentanea appellari* differentias, *nempe, inter magnitudinem, quæ antea erat, & quæ per mutationem momentaneam eſt producta, atque hinc natum eſſe* Calculum differentialem, *eique reciprocum Summatorium; cujus Elementa ab Inventore Dn.* Godefrido Gulielmo Leibnitio *in his* Actis *ſunt tradita, variique uſus tum ab ipſo, tum à Dnn. Fratribus* Bernoulliis, *tum & Dn. Marchione* Hoſpitalio (*cujus nuper extincti immaturam mortem omnes magnoperè dolere debent qui profundioris Doctrinæ profectum amant*) *ſunt oſtenſi. Pro differentiis igitur* Leibnizianis *D.* Newtonus *adhibet ſemperque adhibuit*, Fluxiones, quæ ſint quam proxime ut fluentium augmenta æqualibus temporis particulis quam minimis genita; *iiſque tum in ſuis Principiis Naturæ Mathematicis, tum in aliis poſtea editis eleganter eſt uſus; quemadmodum &* Honoratus Faber *in ſuâ Synopſi Geometrica motuum progreſſus* Cavallerianæ *Methodo ſubſtituit.* It was this compariſon that occaſioned the diſpute. For as it is undoubted that Father Fabri is not the inventor of his method, but that he took it from Cavallieri, only changing the expreſſions; it was thought that the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* deſigned to intimate, that Sir Iſaac Newton was not the inventor of the method of Fluxions, but that he took it from Mr. Leibnitz. Mr. John Keill, being perſuaded that the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* had this deſign, undertook Sir Iſaac Newton's defence; and in a piece, which he wrote *de Legibus Virium Centripetarum*, addreſſed to Dr. Edmund Halley, and publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* for September and October 1708 (4), aſſerted, not only that Sir Iſaac had firſt invented the method of Fluxions, as appeared by his letters publiſhed by Dr. Wallis; but that Mr. Leibnitz had taken this method from him, only changing the name and notation. *Hæc omniaque ſequuntur*, ſays he, *ex celebratiſſimâ nunc dierum Fluxionum Arithmeticâ, quam ſine dubio primus invenit Dominus Newtonus; ut cuilibet ejus Epiſtolas à Walliſio editas legenti facilè conſtabit. Eadem tamen Arithmetica poſtea mutatis nomine & notationis modo, à Domino* Leibnitio *in* Actis Eruditorum *edita eſt.* Leibnitz wrote a letter to Dr. Hans Sloane, then Secretary of the Royal Society, dated March the 4th 1711, in which he required in effect, that Mr. Keill ſhould make him ſatisfaction for the injury, which, he ſaid, had been done to him. He proteſted, that "he was "ſo far from aſſuming to himſelf the method of Sir "Iſaac Newton, after having only changed the name "and notation, that he was abſolutely ignorant of the "name of the *Method of Fluxions*, and the notation "uſed by Sir Iſaac, till they appeared in the mathe-"matical works of Dr. Wallis." He deſired therefore the Royal Society to oblige Mr. Keill to diſown publicly the bad ſenſe, which his words might bear. This letter was communicated to the Royal Society; and Mr. Keill, to juſtify himſelf to Sir Iſaac Newton, ſhewed him the extract of his book of the *Quadratures of Curves* in the *Acta Eruditorum*. He deſired the Society at the ſame time not to condemn him without hearing him, and to give him leave to explain and defend what he had advanced. This was the more readily granted him, as Sir Iſaac and ſeveral other members of the Society found the ſame ſenſe as he had done in the compariſon of the *Acta Eruditorum*. Upon this Mr. Keill wrote to Dr. Sloane a letter, in which he obſerved, "that when he had aſſerted, that "Mr. Leibnitz had publiſhed as his own Sir Iſaac "Newton's method, after having changed the name "and notation, he did not mean, that the name, "which Sir Iſaac had given to his method, or the "notation, which he made uſe of, were then "known to Mr. Leibnitz; but only that Sir Iſaac was "the firſt inventor of the method of Fluxions or diffe-"rential

(*) *Lineæ Breviſſimus Deſcenſus &c.* pag. 3.

(†) *G. G. L. Reſponſio ad Dn. Nic. Fatii Duillerii Imputationes.* See *Acta Eruditorum*, Maii 1700, pag. 203.

(§) Ibid. pag. 206.

(‡) *Acta Eruditorum*, Martii 1701, pag. 134.

(3) Pag. 30, & ſeqq.

(4) Pag. 174, & ſeqq.

" rential method; and that the letters, which he had " written to Mr. Oldenburg, and which had been " ſent to Mr. Leibnitz, furniſhed light enough to a " man of Mr. Leibnitz's penetration, to diſcover the " principles of that method. But that not having " found the name, which Sir Iſaac Newton gave his " method, and the notation uſed by him, it was na- " tural for him to invent a new name and a new man- " ner of notation." Mr. Keill added, " that the au- " thors of the *Acta Eruditorum* had obliged him to " publiſh what he had aſſerted, by their having affirm- " ed in the extract of the book of *Quadratures*, that " Mr. Leibnitz had invented the differential method, " in the room of which Sir Iſaac Newton had ſubſti- " tuted his Fluxions. That he acknowledged with " pleaſure the great obligations, which the learned " world had to Mr. Leibnitz, and his profound ſkill " in the mathematics; but that as he had ſo great a " fund of his own, there was no occaſion to adorn him " with the ſpoils of others. And that having obſerved, " that Mr. Leibnitz's countrymen gave him commen- " dations, which did not belong to him, he thought " that it would not be an inſtance of miſtaken zeal for " the Engliſh nation, if he endeavoured to maintain " Sir Iſaac Newton's right." He then entered upon the ſubject, and undertook to ſhew from divers writ- ings of Sir Iſaac, " that he was the firſt and true inven- " tor of the method of Fluxions or the differential " method; and that the two letters of Sir Iſaac, which " Mr. Leibnitz received from Mr. Oldenburg, con- " tained hints of that method clear enough to enable " him to diſcover it." He concluded with ſaying, " that among the great ſervices, which Mr. Leibnitz " had done with regard to mathematics, his having " firſt publiſhed this method was one; and that all " lovers of that ſcience were obliged to him, becauſe " he had been unwilling, that ſo uſeful an invention " ſhould be longer concealed. And he did not doubt, " but that what he had written would juſtify his zeal " for his country, and furniſh a convincing proof, " that he had not aſſerted raſhly or out of a ſpirit of " calumny in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, what he " now had demonſtrated with ſo much clearneſs and " evidence." This letter having been read to the Royal Society May the 24th 1711, they ordered a copy of it to be ſent to Mr. Leibnitz, who found new matter of complaint in it; and in a ſecond letter, which he wrote to Dr. Sloane, dated at Hanover December the 29th 1711, he repreſented, that Mr. Keill had attacked his candour and ſincerity more openly than before; adding, that it was not ſuitable to a man of his age and experience to engage in a conteſt with an upſtart, who was unacquainted with what had paſſed ſo long before, and acted without any authority from Sir Iſaac Newton, who was the party concerned. That it was in vain for Mr. Keill to pretend to juſtify his proceeding by the example of the *Acta Eruditorum*, ſince in that Journal no injuſtice had been done to any man, but every one had received what was his due. That " himſelf and his friends had ſeveral times " ſhewn, that they conſidered Sir Iſaac Newton as the " inventor of Fluxions; but that himſelf had no leſs " right to the invention of the differential method, as " Mr. Huygens, a moſt able and impartial judge, " had publicly declared. That however he had not " haſtened to aſſert it as his own; and that after the diſ- " covery, it was a long time before he publiſhed it, in or- " der that no perſon might complain, that he had an- " ticipated them." He concluded with deſiring, that the Royal Society would enjoin Mr. Keill ſilence, not doubting but that what he had written was diſap- proved by Sir Iſaac Newton himſelf, who was well acquainted with what had paſſed formerly, and to whoſe judgment he was ready to ſubmit. Mr. Keill ſeeing himſelf treated as an upſtart, who was not in- formed of what had paſſed formerly, appealed to the regiſters of the Royal Society, and affirmed, that they would find there convincing proofs of what he had ad- vanced. Sir Iſaac Newton likewiſe being diſpleaſed at the compariſon in the *Acta Eruditorum*, and that Mr. Leibnitz ſhould have ſaid, that in that Journal every one had received what was due to him, left the Society to act as they ſhould think proper; who granted therefore to Mr. Keill what he deſired. They appointed a certain number of their members, as well Foreigners as Engliſh, to examine the regiſters, and eſ- pecially the papers of Mr. John Collins, who had a correſpondence with the moſt eminent mathematicians of his time, both in England and abroad. As ſoon as one of his correſpondents had imparted to him any diſco- very, he communicated it to others. In ſhort he was the Merſennus of England. The Society ordered the Committee to lay before them all the papers relating to the point in diſpute, and ſubjoin to them their own judgment; which was at laſt given in theſe words: " We have conſulted the letters and letter-books in " the cuſtody of the Royal Society, and thoſe found " among the papers of Mr. John Collins, dated be- " tween the years 1669 and 1677 inclusive; and " ſhewed them to ſuch, as knew and avouched the " hands of Mr. Barrow, Mr. Collins, Mr. Olden- " burg, and Mr. Leibnitz; and compared thoſe of " Mr. Gregory with one another, and with co- " pies of ſome of them taken in the hand of Mr. Col- " lins; and have extracted from them what relates to " the matter referred to us; all which extracts here- " with delivered to you, we believe to be genuine and " authentic; and by theſe letters and papers we find,

" I. That Mr. Leibnitz was in London in the be- " ginning of the year 1673, and went thence in or " about March to Paris, where he kept a correſpond- " ence with Mr. Collins by means of Mr. Oldenburg, " till about September 1676, and then returned by " London and Amſterdam to Hanover. And that Mr. " Collins was very free in communicating to able Ma- " thematicians what he received from Mr. Newton " and Mr. Gregory.

" II. That when Mr. Leibnitz was the firſt time in " London, he contended for the invention of another " *Differential Method* properly ſo called; and notwith- " ſtanding that he was ſhewn by Dr. Pell, that it was " Mouton's (*) method, perſiſted in maintaining it to " be his own invention, by reaſon that he had found " it by himſelf, without knowing what Mouton had " done before, and had much improved it. And we " find no mention of his having any other *Differential* " *Method* than Mouton's, before his letter of the 21ſt of " June 1677, which was a year after a copy of Mr. " Newton's letter of the 10th of December 1672 had " been ſent to Paris to be communicated to him, and " above four years after Mr. Collins began to commu- " nicate that letter to his correſpondents, in which let- " ter the method of *Fluxions* was ſufficiently deſcribed " to any intelligent perſon.

(*) See the book intitled, *Obſervationes Diametrorum Solis & Lunæ apparentium, &c. Auctore* Gabriele Mouton, *Lugdunenſi, Sacerdote in Eccleſiâ Collegiatâ S. Pauli.* Lyons 1670 in 4to.

" III. That by Mr. Newton's letter of the 13th of " June 1676 it appears, that he had the method of " *Fluxions* above five years before the writing of that " letter. And by his *Analyſis per Æquationes numero* " *Terminorum infinitas*, communicated by Dr. Barrow " to Mr. Collins in July 1669, we find that he had " invented the method before that time.

" IV. That the *Differential Method* is one and " the ſame with the *Method of Fluxions*, excepting the " name and mode of notation; Mr. Leibnitz calling " thoſe quantities *Differences*, which Mr. Newton calls " *Moments* or *Fluxions*; and marking them with the " letter *d*, a mark not uſed by Mr. Newton. And " therefore we take the proper queſtion to be, not who " invented this or that method, but who was the firſt " inventor of *the Method*. And we believe, that thoſe, " who have reputed Mr. Leibnitz the firſt inventor, " knew little or nothing of his correſpondence with " Mr. Collins and Mr. Oldenburg long before; nor " of Mr. Newton's having that method above fifteen " years before Mr. Leibnitz began to publiſh it in " the *Acta Eruditorum* of *Leipſick*.

" For which reaſons we reckon Mr. Newton the " firſt inventor; and are of opinion that Mr. Keil, " in aſſerting the ſame, has been no ways injurious to " Mr. Leibnitz. And we ſubmit to the judgment of " the Society, whether the extract and papers now " preſented to you, together with what is extant to " the ſame purpoſe in Dr. Wallis's third volume, may " not deſerve to be made public."

Theſe Papers were preſented to the royal ſociety April 24th 1712, which ordered them to be print- ed, with the report of the committee, and every thing that could be found in the *Acta Eruditorum*, which might ſerve to give light into the hiſtory of this diſ- pute. This collection appeared at the end of Decem- ber under the title of *Commercium Epiſtolicum D. Johannis Collins & aliorum de Analyſi promotâ: juſſu Societatis Regiæ in lucem editum.* in 4to pagg. 112. It was never ſold at bookſellers ſhops, and only a certain number

number of copies was printed off, in order for preſents. An extract of it was given in the *Philoſophical tranſactions*, which was afterwards tranſlated into French, and printed at London under this title; *Extrait du Livre intitulé*, Commercium Epiſtolicum Collinii & aliorum de Analyſi promota; *publié par ordre de la Societé Royale, a l'occaſion de la Diſpute elevée entre M.* Leibnitz & D. Keill, *ſur le Droit d'Invention à la* Methode des Fluxions, *par quelques-uns appellée*, Methode Differentielle. In 8vo, pagg. 38. This extract is inſerted in the VII Tome of the *Journal Literaire*. Mr. *Leibnitz* was at Vienna, when he heard of the publication of the *Commercium Epiſtolicum*. " I was " at Vienna, ſays he (5), when I was informed of the " publication of the book; but being aſſured, that it " muſt contain malicious falſities, I did not think proper " to ſend for it by the poſt, but wrote to Mr. *Bernoulli*, a Gentleman, who perhaps in all Europe has " ſucceeded beſt in the knowledge and uſe of this " *Calculus*, and who was abſolutely neuter, to give me " his ſentiments. Mr. *Bernoulli* wrote me a letter " dated at Baſil June 7th, 1713, in which he ſaid, " that it appeared probable, that Sir *Iſaac Newton* " had formed his *Calculus* after having ſeen mine, " ſince he had frequent occaſion in his works, to " make uſe of this *Calculus*, though there appears " no trace of it; and that he had even committed " ſome errors, which ſeemed incompatible with a " true knowledge of that *Calculus*. One of my friends " publiſhed this letter with reflections; and as I had " enough of other affairs to employ me, I was unwilling to enter farther into this, eſpecially as Sr. " *Iſaac Newton* had not ſaid any thing himſelf. I " thought it ſufficient therefore to have oppoſed to the " clamours of his adherents the judgment of a perſon of Mr. *Bernoulli's* learning and impartiality". Theſe two Latin pieces were publiſhed in Germany in a looſe ſheet, dated July 29th 1713. And it is remarkable, that the writer of the letter, which Mr. *Leibnitz* aſcribes above to Mr. *Bernoulli*, ſpeaks here of Mr. *Bernoulli* in the third perſon, and cites him with a compliment: *quemadmodum*, ſays he, *ab eminente quodam Mathematico dudum notatum eſt*; which might make it ſuſpected, that it was not written by Mr. *Bernoulli*. Mr. *Leibnitz* ſuppreſſed the citation, when he publiſhed this letter in French under Mr. Bernoulli's name in the *Nouvelles Literaires* of December 28 1715. A friend of Mr. *Leibnitz* ſent from Germany theſe two pieces to the authors of the *Journal Literaire*, with *Remarks* of his writing *upon the diſpute between Mr.* Leibnitz *and Sir* Iſaac Newton. A letter written from London, and inſerted in the *firſt Tome of that Journal*, gave occaſion to thoſe *remarks*; the author of which *Remarks* objects to the letter, as not giving an exact account of the diſpute between Mr. *Leibnitz* and Sir *Iſaac Newton*, and undertakes to give *a true relation of what had paſſed*. He aſſerts, that when Sir Iſaac Newton publiſhed his *Philoſophiæ naturalis Principia Mathematica* in 1687, *he did not underſtand the true Differential Method* (6); and pretends, that he took it from Mr. *Leibnitz*. Dr. John Keill oppoſed to all theſe pieces an anſwer printed at London in French, intitled, *Réponſe de* M. Keill, *M. D. Profeſſeur d' Aſtronomie Savilien, aux Auteurs des* Remarques ſur le Different entre M. de Leibnitz and M. Newton, *publiées dans le* Journal Literaire *de la Haye de Novembre & Decembre M. DCC. XIII.* There was but a few copies of this printed; but it was afterwards inſerted in the *IV Tome* of the *Journal Literaire*. Mr. *Chamberlayne* made an attempt about this time to reconcile Mr. *Leibnitz* and Sir *Iſaac Newton*; for which purpoſe he intimated his deſign to the former, who was then at Vienna. Mr. *Leibnitz* thanked him for his obliging offer in a letter dated April 28th 1714 (7), in which he declares, that he had not given occaſion to this diſpute, and complains, that the Royal Society and Sir *Iſaac Newton* himſelf had taken Dr. Keill's part againſt him; and without conſulting him, had made themſelves Judges, and condemned him by a pretended ſentence of the ſociety. Sir Iſaac Newton, ſays he, *has procured a book to be publiſhed, which was written purpoſely to diſcredit me, and ſent it into Germany, France, and Italy, as in the name of the Society.* He adds, that *learned men among the French, Italians, and other nations extremely diſapproved of this manner of proceeding, and were amazed at it*; and that he hoped, that in the *Society itſelf* every one would not approve of it. *For my ſelf*, continues he, *I have always acted in the moſt civil manner towards Sir* Iſaac Newton; *and though it appears now, that there was great reaſon to doubt, whether he knew my invention before he had it of me, I had ſpoken, as if he had diſcovered of himſelf ſomething like my method, But being abuſed by ſome ill adviſed flatterers, he has ſuffered himſelf to be engaged in attacking me in a very ſenſible manner. Judge now, Sir, from which ſide the ſteps neceſſary to put an end to this conteſt ought firſt to be made.* Mr. *Chamberlayne* communicated this letter to Sir *Iſaac Newton*, who anſwered in a few words (8), that *he had no ſhare in what Mr.* Facio *had written againſt Mr.* Leibnitz; that Mr. Leibnitz had *attacked his reputation* in 1705, by intimating in the extract of the treatiſe of *Quadratures*, that he had *borrowed from Mr.* Leibnitz *the method of Fluxions*; that Dr. Keill had only *defended him*; and that the paſſage of the *Acta Eruditorum* was not known to him, *till the coming of Mr.* Leibnitz's *firſt letter againſt Dr.* Keill, in which Mr. Leibnitz demanded, in effect, that he ſhould retract what he had publiſhed in the introduction to the treatiſe *of Quadratures*, viz. that he had invented the Method of Fluxions in 1665 and 1666: and laſtly, that if Mr. *Chamberlayne could point out* to him *any thing, in which he had injured* Mr. Leibnitz, *he would endeavour to give him ſatisfaction, but that he would not retract things, which he knew to be true*; and that he *believed* likewiſe, that *the Committee of the Royal Society had done no injuſtice* to Mr. Leibnitz in the affair of the *Commercium Epiſtolicum*. The Royal Society being informed, that Mr. *Leibnitz* complained of having been condemned without being heard, though they had not taken any party in this conteſt, and being willing to prevent the diſputes, which might ariſe upon it, declared on the 20th of May 1714, that they did not pretend, that the report of their committee ſhould paſs for a deciſion of the ſociety, and ordered this declaration to be inſerted in their journal. Mr. *Chamberlayne* ſent a copy of it to Mr. *Leibnitz* with Sir *Iſaac Newton's* letter, and Dr. *Keill's* anſwer to the pieces inſerted in the *Journal Literaire*. Mr. *Leibnitz* having ſeen the declaration of the Royal Society, aſſured Mr. *Chamberlayne* (9), that he was very well ſatisfied with the Society's conduct with regard to him, but thought, that Sir *Iſaac Newton's* was written in no very civil manner; and he ſeemed to make little account of Dr. *Keill's* piece. *As to the Letter*, ſays he, *which you ſent me a copy of, and which is written with very little civility, I conſider it* pro non ſcripta, *as well as the piece printed in French. I am not of an humour to put myſelf in a paſſion againſt ſuch people. Since it ſeems, that there are ſtill other letters relating to me among thoſe of Mr.* Oldenburg *and Mr.* Collins, *which have not been publiſhed, I could wiſh, that the Royal Society would order them to be communicated to me. When I ſhall return to Hanover, I ſhall be able to publiſh alſo a* Commercium Epiſtolicum, *which may be of ſervice to the hiſtory of learning. I ſhall be ready to publiſh as well thoſe letters, which may be urged againſt me, as thoſe which favour me, and I ſhall leave the judgment of them to the publick.* This letter having been read to the Royal Society, Sir *Iſaac Newton* obſerved, that, the laſt words, which we have tranſcribed, were injurious to the Committee, ſince they ſuppoſed, that they had not made a diſintereſted choice of the papers, which the Society had ordered them to collect. He added, that as he had no ſhare in the *Commercium Epiſtolicum*, but had left the Committee perfectly free to collect and print what they thought proper, he did not think it right for Mr. *Leibnitz* to publiſh himſelf a *Commercium Epiſtolicum*. Upon this he produced two letters, which had been written to him; one by Mr. *Leibnitz* in 1693, and the other by Dr. *Wallis* in 1695; and ſaid, that though theſe letters were very favourable to him, he had waved the communicating of them to the Committee, that he might not ſeem to become himſelf a witneſs in his own cauſe. Theſe two letters having been examined before the Society by Members of the Society, who knew the hands of the writers of the letters, they were read and depoſited among the archives of the Society (10). Sir *Iſaac Newton* remarked alſo the danger of ſending to Mr. *Leibnitz* the originals even of the letters of Mr. *Oldenburg* and Mr. *Collins*, which he ſeemed to deſire; but ſaid that atteſted copies might be ſent to him. He ſaid, that if Mr. *Leibnitz* had letters to produce in his favour, and would ſend the originals to ſome of his friends in England,

(5) In the *Poſtſcript* of a *Letter to Count Bothmer.* See Des Maizeaux's *Recueil de diverſes Pieces*, tom. 2. pag. 44, 45.

(6) *Journal Literaire*, tom. 2. pag. 447.

(7) Des Maizeaux, *Recueil*, tom. 2. pag. 116, *& ſeqq.*

(8) Ibid. pag. 121, 122.

(9) Ibid. pag. 123, 124.

(10) They are publiſhed by Mr. Des Maizeaux, *Recueil*, tom. 2. pag. 100 and 103.

land, to be ſhewn to the Royal Society, and examined by perſons who knew the hands, the originals ſhould be returned after authentic copies were taken, and that then theſe letters might be publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, or in Germany, as Mr. Leibnitz ſhould think proper. The affair ſtood in this ſituation when the Abbé *Conti*, a noble Venetian, came to England in 1715. He had written againſt the Signior Nigriſoli, who endeavoured to revive the Hypotheſis of Plaſtic Natures, and had imagined a certain Seminal Light, to which he aſcribed the generation of living beings. The Abbé conſulted Mr. *Leibnitz* concerning the opinions of his Antagoniſt, and Mr. *Leibnitz* wrote to him a Letter (*), in the Poſtſcript to which, he congratulates him upon his arrival in England. "I am glad, *ſays he* (†), that you "are in England; there are great advantages to "be made there, and it muſt be owned, that there "are Men of diſtinguiſhed abilities in that country; "but they are fond of paſſing for almoſt the only "inventors in the world, and this is manifeſtly what "they will not ſucceed in. It does not appear, that "Sir *Iſaac Newton* had before me the Infinitefimal "Characteriſtic and Algorithme, as Mr. *Bernoulli* has "very rightly judged; though it would have been "extremely eaſy to have attained to it, if he had "turned his thoughts that way, as it would have "been very eaſy for *Apollonius* to have attained to "the Analyſis of *Des Cartes* upon Curves, if he had "turned his Thoughts that way. Thoſe who have "written againſt me having made no ſcruple to at-"tack my Candor by forced and ill-grounded inter-"pretations, they ſhall not have the pleaſure of ſeeing "me anſwer the ſlight reaſons of people, who act "in ſo ill a manner, and beſides that deviate from "the point. The queſtion is concerning the *differ-"ential method*, and they turn it upon *Series*, in which "Sir *Iſaac Newton* preceded me without doubt; but "I diſcovered at laſt a general method for *Series*; and "after this I had no longer an occaſion to have re-"courſe to his Extractions. They would have done "better to have publiſhed letters entire, as Dr. *Wallis* "did with my conſent; and he had not the leaſt "diſpute with me, as theſe perſons would perſuade "the world. My adverſaries have publiſhed in the "*Commercium Epiſtolicum* of Mr. *Collins* only what "they thought capable of their falſe interpretations. "I became acquainted with Mr. *Collins* in my ſecond "voyage to England; for in my firſt (which was "but for a very ſhort time, becauſe I came with a "publick miniſter) I had not the leaſt knowledge of "the improvements of Geometry, and had neither "ſeen nor heard any thing of the correſpondence "between Mr. *Collins* and Mr. *Gregory* and Mr. *New-"ton*, as my letters exchanged with Mr. *Oldenburg* "at that time and for ſome time after will ſufficient-"ly prove. But in my ſecond voyage Mr. Collins "ſhewed me part of his correſpondence; and I ob-"ſerved, that Mr. Newton owned alſo his igno-"rance in ſeveral points, and ſaid among other "things, that he had not diſcovered any thing with "regard to the dimenſion of the celebrated Curve-"Lines, except the dimenſion of the Ciſſoide. But "all this has been ſuppreſſed. I am ſorry, that ſo "able a man as Sir Iſaac Newton has drawn upon "him the cenſure of intelligent perſons by having "too much regard to the ſuggeſtions of ſome flatter-"ers, who have been deſirous of raiſing a conteſt "between him and me." Mr. Leibnitz then attacks Sir Iſaac Newton upon his Philoſophy, eſpecially his opinions about *Gravity*, *Vacuum*, the *Intervention of God* for the conſervation of his creatures, *&c.* He accuſes him of reviving the *Occult Qualities* of the Schools, or of ſuppoſing Miracles perpetually, *&c.* This *Poſtſcript* was much talked of at Court, and ſome perſons of diſtinction greatly ſollicited Sir Iſaac Newton to write an anſwer. The Abbé Conti omitted nothing to engage him to it. But they could not prevail upon him to ſurmount his natural averſion to all kinds of diſputes or perſonal conteſts. At laſt King George I. having one day aſked, *When Sir Iſaac Newton's anſwer to Mr. Leibnitz was to appear?* Sir Iſaac could not excuſe himſelf any longer. He addreſſed his anſwer dated February 26th old ſtyle to the Abbé Conti, when ſent to Mr. Leibnitz, and wrote to him at the ſame time (11), that he *had read with great attention and without the leaſt prejudice the* Commercium Epiſtolicum, *and the little piece, which contains the Extract*; that he had alſo *ſeen at the Royal Society the original papers of the* Commercium Epiſtolicum, and ſome other original pieces relating to it. *From all this*, ſays he, *I infer, that if all the digreſſions are cut off, the only point is, whether Sir Iſaac Newton had the method of Fluxions or Infinitefimals before you; or whether you had it before him. You publiſhed it firſt, it is true; but you have owned alſo, that Sir Iſaac Newton had given many hints of it in his letters to Mr. Oldenburg and others. This is proved very largely in the* Commercium *and the extract of it. What anſwer do you give? This is ſtill wanting to the publick, in order to form an exact judgment of the affair.* He adds, that Mr. Leibnitz's own *Friends waited for his anſwer with great impatience*, and that they *thought he could not diſpenſe with anſwering, if not Dr. Keill, at leaſt Sir Iſaac Newton himſelf, who had given him a defiance in expreſs terms, as he would ſee in Sir Iſaac's Letter.* He informed him at the ſame time, that the King had deſired him to give him an Account of the whole affair. Mr. Leibnitz anſwered Sir Iſaac Newton in a letter, which he addreſſed to the Abbé Conti; but at the time when the Abbé waited to receive that letter, he received a ſhort letter (12), in which Mr. Leibnitz informed him, that he *had ſent it to Mr. Remond at Paris, who would take care that he ſhould receive it. I have taken this way*, ſays he, *in order to have indifferent and intelligent witneſſes, of our diſputes; and Mr. Remond will communicate it to others. I have ſent him at the ſame time a copy of your letter and of that of Sir Iſaac Newton. After this you will be able to judge whether the unjuſt Chicane of ſome of your new friends perplexes me very much.* Sir Iſaac Newton thought it wrong, that Mr. Leibnitz ſhould call in for witneſſes of that diſpute, perſons, who probably had not read the *Commercium Epiſtolicum*. He thought, that London, as well as Paris, might furniſh *indifferent and intelligent witneſſes*. He reſolved therefore to carry the diſpute no further; and when Mr. Leibnitz's anſwer came from France, he refuted it by *Remarks*, which he communicated only to ſome of his friends. Mr. Leibnitz died ſix months after, that is, November 14th 1716; and as ſoon as Sir Iſaac Newton heard of his death, he publiſhed at London the *Poſtſcript* and *Letter* of Mr. Leibnitz to the Abbé Conti, with his own Letter to the Abbé, and the *Remarks*. To the *Remarks* was prefixed the following Advertiſement, explaining the ſubject and occaſion: *Cum D. Leibnitius adduci non poſſet, ut vel* Commercio Epiſtolico *reſponderet, vel probaret quæ pro lubitu affirmabat, cumque præcedentes Epiſtolas in Galliam prius mitteret, quam earum tertia in Angliam veniret, & prætenderet ſe hoc facere, ut teſtes haberet, & alias etiam adhiberet contumelias: Newtonus minimè reſcripſit, ſed obſervationes ſequentes in Epiſtolam illam tertiam ſcriptas cum amicis ſolummodo communicavit.* To theſe Pieces was added Mr. Raphſon's *Hiſtory of Fluxions*, as a kind of ſupplement. They were publiſhed in the ſame languages, in which they were written, *viz.* thoſe of Mr. Leibnitz in French, and thoſe of Sir Iſaac Newton in Engliſh. The two laſt were tranſlated into French, and printed alſo at London. Mr. Des Maizeaux has reprinted them in the *ſecond Tome* of his *Recueil*, together with ſome other letters of Mr. Leibnitz upon the ſame ſubject. In 1720 Dr. John Keill publiſhed at London in *4to* the following piece: *Joannis Keill M. D. & R. S. S. in Academiâ Oxonienſi Aſtronomiæ Profeſſoris Epiſtola ad Virum clariſſimum Joannem Bernoulli in Academiâ Baſilienſi Mathematum Profeſſorem: in quâ Dominum Newtonum & ſeipſum defendit contra Criminationes* à Cruſio *quodam objectas, & in* Actis Lipſienſibus *publicatas. Ubi etiam queritur de novâ calumniandi methodo ab Authoribus* Actorum Lipſienſium *inventâ & uſurpatâ, quâ in Indicibus ſuis probra & convitia in alios fundunt.* In 1725 there was publiſhed at London in 8vo, a new Edition of the *Commercium Epiſtolicum* under the following title: *Commercium Epiſtolicum de variâ Re Mathematicâ, inter celeberrimos præſentis ſeculi Methamaticos, viz. Iſaacum Newtonum Equitem Auratum, Dominum Iſaacum Barrow, Dominum Jacobum Gregorium, Dominum Johannem Wallifium, Dominum J. Keillium, Dominum J. Collinium, Dominum Gulielmum Leibnitium, Dominum Henricum Oldenburgum, Dominum Franciſcum Sluſium, & alios. Juſſu Societatis Regiæ in lucem editum; & jam una cum Re-*

(*) Des Maizeaux, *Recueil*, tom. 2. pag. 337.

(†) Ibid. pag. 3, *& ſeqq.*

(11) Ibid. pag. 12, *& ſeqq.*

(12) Ibid. pag. 26.

long before made him famous over all Europe [*H*]. Beſides the office of Privy Counſellor of Juſtice, which the Elector of Hanover had given him, the Emperor, at the deſire of Anthony Ulric Duke of Brunſwick, appointed him in 1711 Aulic Counſellor; and the Czar made him his Privy Counſellor of Juſtice with a penſion of a thouſand ducats, after a converſation with him at Torgaw at the time of the marriage of the Princeſs

cenſione præmiſſâ inſignis Controverſiæ inter Leibnitium & Keillium de primo Inventore Methodi Fluxionum, & Judicio primarii, ut ferebatur, Mathematici ſubjuncto, iterum impreſſum. In the preface it is obſerved, that in the *Elogium* of Mr. Leibnitz publiſhed in the *Acta Eruditorum* for July 1717, his friends had declared, "that he had reſolved to publiſh, in anſwer to the "Engliſh *Commercium Epiſtolicum*, one of his own, "larger than that; and that a few days before his "death he ſignified to Mr. Wolfius, that he would "really confute the Engliſh, who had attacked his "reputation; and that as ſoon as he was at leiſure "from his Hiſtorical labours, he would give the world "ſomething in Analyſis, which was not expected, "nor had any affinity with the diſcoveries hitherto "publiſhed by Newton or any other perſon." But in the preface abovementioned, it is remarked, that it appears from Mr. Leibnitz's letters to the Abbé Conti, dated February 26th, 171$\frac{5}{6}$, and April 9th, 1716, that he had no *Commercium Epiſtolicum* to publiſh. And with reſpect to new inventions, which had no affinity with theſe, they were nothing to the point in queſtion.

[*G*] *He was engaged likewiſe in a Scheme for an univerſal Language.*] Dr. Wilkins Biſhop of Cheſter, and Dalgarme had been engaged in ſuch a deſign; but our author when he was in England, had told Mr. Boyle and Mr. Oldenburg, that he did not believe, that theſe great men had come to the point. They might enable Nations, who did not underſtand each other, to correſpond eaſily together; but they had not obtained the true *real characters*, which would be the beſt inſtrument of the human mind, and would extremely aſſiſt both the reaſon and memory, and the invention of things. Theſe characters ought to reſemble, as much as poſſible, thoſe of Algebra, which are very ſimple and expreſſive, and are never ſuperfluous or equivocal, but whoſe varieties are grounded on reaſon. Mr. Leibnitz ſpeaks in ſome place of an *Alphabet of human thoughts*, which he was contriving: it is very probable, that this alphabet had relation to his univerſal language (13).

(13) Fontenelle, pag. 321.

[*H*] *His writings had long before made him famous over all Europe.*] Beſides thoſe already mentioned he wrote the following. I. *Nova Methodus diſcendæ docendæque Juriſprudentiæ.* Francfort 1668 in 12mo. II. *Corporis Juris reconcinnandi Ratio.* Mentz 1668 in 12mo. III. *Marii Nizolii de veris Principiis & verâ ratione Philoſophandi contra Pſeudophiloſophos, cum Præfatione & Notis G. G. Leibnitzii.* Francfort 1670 in 4to. This work had been printed in 1553; but was entirely forgot, when Mr. Leibnitz thought proper to republiſh it, in order to expoſe the obſtinacy of thoſe, who were zealouſly attached to Ariſtotle, and whom Nizolius treats with great ſeverity, and ſays, that the regard which had been for ſo long time paid to that Philoſopher was only a proof of the multitude of Fools and the duration of Folly. Mr. Leibnitz has added critical notes, in which his only deſign is to ſeek the truth, without carrying his reſpect for Nizolius beyond what he deſerves. And he has ſubjoined a letter to Thomaſius, his former maſter, concerning the method of reuniting the new Philoſophy with the old. IV. *Sacroſancta Trinitas per nova inventa Logica defenſa.* 1671. Monſieur de Boinebourg having communicated to Mr. Leibnitz a letter of Wiſſowatius Nephew of Fauſtus Socinus, in which he endeavoured to recommend the Socinian notions, our author anſwered in this tract the arguments urged in favour of them. V. *Confeſſio Naturæ contra Atheos.* Mr. Spitzelius inſerted this piece in his treatiſe againſt the Atheiſts. VI. *Nova Hypotheſis Phyſica, qua Phænomenorum natura plerorumque cauſæ ab unico quodam univerſali motu in globo noſtro ſuppoſito repetuntur, ſeu Theoria motus concreti & abſtracti.* Mentz 1671. It was reprinted at London. He admitted in this work a *Vacuum*, and thought that matter was ſimple extenſion, abſolutely indifferent to reſt and motion; but he afterwards changed his opinion. Mr. Knoor de Roſenroth tranſlated this book into German and joined it to his tranſlation of Sir Thomas Brown's *Pſeudodoxia Epidemica* printed at Nuremburg in 1680 in 4to, under the name of *Chriſtophorus Peganius.* VII. *Notitia Opticæ Promotæ.* This piece, which he addreſſed to Spinoza, and in which he teaches a new method of poliſhing Teleſcope-Glaſſes, is publiſhed in the *poſthumous works* of the latter. VIII. *Cæſarini Furſtnerii de jure Suprematûs ac Legationis Principum Germaniæ.* 1677. in 12mo. The Plenipotentiaries of the crowned heads appointed to negotiate the peace at Nimeguen having refuſed to treat the miniſters of the Sovereign Princes of Germany, who were not Electors, in the ſame manner with the miniſters of the ſovereign Princes of Italy, Mr. Leibnitz wrote in favour of the former this work, in which he took the name of *Cæſarinus*, to ſhew that he was in the Emperor's intereſts, and that of *Furſtnerus*, to ſhew, that he was likewiſe in the intereſt of the Princes, *Furſt* in High Dutch ſignifying *Prince.* This book did him great honour. IX. *Entretiens de Philarete & d'Eugene ſur la Queſtion du temps agitée à Nimegue, touchant le droit d'Ambaſſade des Electeurs & des Princes d'Empire*, in 12mo. This is an abridgment of the preceding work. X. *De Arte combinatoria*, Francfort 1690 in 4to. This was printed without his knowledge: he had written it when he was very young in 1665, and it had been already publiſhed at Leipſic in 1668. XI. *De la Tolerance des Religions: Lettres de M. de Leibnitz, & Reponſes de M. Peliſſon.* Paris 1692 in 12mo. Mr. Leibnitz is for toleration in theſe Letters, and Mr. Peliſſon in his anſwers is againſt it. XII. *Codex Juris Gentium Diplomaticus, in quo Tabulæ Authenticæ Actorum publicorum, pleræque ineditæ vel ſelectæ continentur.* Hanover 1693 in fol. This curious work, in which the ſeveral pieces are digeſted into order of time, begins with the year 1096 and ends in 1499. XIII. In 1693 he publiſhed a little treatiſe concerning the ſtate of Germany, ſuch as it might be ſuppoſed to have been before we have any account in Hiſtory; and he gave it the name of *Protogæa*, a ſhort Eſſay of which we have in the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipſic for January 1693. This treatiſe was to precede the Hiſtory of the Houſe of Brunſwick. XIV. *Noviſſima Sinica Hiſtoriam noſtri temporis illuſtrantia.* 1697 in 8vo. He ſhews in this book the advantages which might be made from the miſſionaries being allowed to continue in China. XV. *Lettre ſur la connexion des maiſons de Brunſwick & d'Eſte.* 1698. and tranſlated into Italian by the Abbé Guidi. Mr. Leibnitz wrote this letter on occaſion of the marriage of the Duke of Modena with the eldeſt daughter of John Frederick Duke of Brunſwick-Lunenbourg. XVI. *Acceſſiones Hiſtoricæ, quibus utilia ſuperiorum Temporum Hiſtoriis illuſtrandis Scripta monumentaque nondum hactenus edita, inque iis ſcriptores diu deſiderati continentur.* Leipſic 1698 in 4to. XVII. *Acceſſionum Hiſtoricarum Tom. 2. continens potiſſimum Chronicon Alberici Monachi Trium-fontium.* Hanover 1698 in 4to. XVIII. *Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arcanæ, ſive Anecdota de Vitâ Alexandri VI. Papæ.* Hanover, 1696 in 4to. This fragment, to which Mr. Leibnitz has written a preface, was extracted from an hiſtory of that Pope written by John Burchard his maſter of the Ceremonies. Our author had only this piece in his hands, when he publiſhed it; but he afterwards procured the intire life, and was preparing to publiſh it when he died. XIX. *Mantiſſa Codicis Juris Gentium Diplomatici.* Hanover 1700 in fol. XX. *Scriptores Rerum Brunſwicenſium illuſtrationi inſervientes, antiqui omnes & Religionis Reformatione priores.* Hanover in fol. three volumes; the firſt publiſhed in 1707, the ſecond in 1710; and the third in 1711. XXI. *Eſſais de Theodicée ſur la Bonté de Dieu, la Liberté de l'Homme, & l'Origine du Mal.* Amſterdam 1710 in 8vo. two volumes.

Princeſs of Wolfenbuttel with the ſon of that Prince. He undertook at the ſame time to eſtabliſh at Vienna an Academy of Sciences; but his ſcheme was not executed. It is ſaid that the plague was the occaſion of it. However the Emperor, as a mark of his favour, ſettled on him a penſion of two thouſand florins, and promiſed him another of four thouſand florins, if he would come and reſide at Vienna. He would have complied with this offer, if he had not been prevented by death. Upon his return to Hanover in 1714 he found that the Elector, who was then raiſed to the throne of Great Britain, had appointed Mr. Eckhard for his collegue in writing the Hiſtory of Brunſwick. This work was interrupted by others, which he wrote occaſionally. The laſt affair he was engaged in was his

volumes. This work contains, 1. A long preface. 2. A Preliminary diſcourſe concerning the agreement of Faith with Reaſon. 3. An eſſay upon the goodneſs of God, the free-will of Man, and the origin of Evil, divided in three parts. 4. A Latin piece entitled, *Cauſa Dei aſſerta per Juſtitiam ejus, cum cæteris ejus perfectionibus cunctiſque Actionibus conciliatam.* 5. Some reflections upon a book of Mr. Hobbes concerning Free-will, Neceſſity and Chance. 6. Some remarks upon a book of Dr. William King, Archbiſhop of Dublin, *de Origine Mali.* In this work his deſign is to anſwer the objections urged by Mr. Bayle with regard to the goodneſs of God, the liberty of man, and the origin of evil. In the *Diſcourſe concerning the agreement of Faith with Reaſon*, he has the following paſſage: "We want no revelation to know, "that there is a ſole principle of all things, infinitely good, and infinitely wiſe. Reaſon teaches us "the exiſtence of that principle by infallible demonſtrations; and conſequently all the objections taken from the uſual courſe of things, wherein we "obſerved ſeveral imperfections, are grounded only "upon falſe appearances. For if we could underſtand "the univerſal harmony of the world, we ſhould ſee, "that thoſe things, which we are apt to blame, are "connected with the wiſeſt plan that could be choſen; in a word, we ſhould *ſee*, and not *believe* only, that what God has done is the beſt. By *ſeeing* I mean here what is known *a priori* by the cauſes; "and by *believing* what we judge only by the effects, "though the one be as certainly known as the other. "To which we may apply what St. Paul ſays (2 "*Cor.* v. 7.) that we walk by *Faith*, and not by "*Sight*. For the infinite Wiſdom of God being "known to us, we judge that he had good reaſons "to permit natural and moral Evil; and we judge "ſo by the effects or *à poſteriori*, that is, becauſe it "exiſts. Mr. *Bayle* owns this truth; and therefore "he ſhould have been contented with it, without "pretending that there ſhould be no falſe appearances "againſt it. It is juſt as if one ſhould require, that "there ſhould be no dreams, nor any deception in "opticks." He then obſerves, that the paſſages of ſeveral authors, quoted by Mr. *Bayle*, do not prove that there are any unanſwerable objections againſt any revealed doctrine. As for what concerns the Fathers, they did not abſolutely reject the uſe of reaſon; on the contrary, in their diſputes with the Heathens, they applied themſelves to ſhew that Paganiſm was contrary to reaſon, and that Chriſtianity had a great advantage over it even in that reſpect. In the *Eſſay upon the goodneſs of God, the Free-will of Man, and the Origin of Evil*, he undertakes to anſwer ſeveral difficulties, which concern not only revealed, but alſo natural Religion. God, *ſays he*, is *the firſt reaſon of things*; for things that are limited, (as every thing is, which we ſee and know by experience,) are contingent, and have nothing in them, that renders their exiſtence neceſſary; it being manifeſt that time, ſpace, and matter, which are uniform in themſelves, might have received quite different motions and figures, and in a different order. We muſt therefore look for the *reaſon of the exiſtence of the world*, which is the whole collection of contingent things, in that *ſubſtance, which carries the reaſon of its exiſtence along with it*, and is conſequently *neceſſary and eternal.* That cauſe muſt alſo be *intelligent*; for this world, which actually exiſts, being contingent, and an infinite number of other worlds being equally poſſible; the cauſe of the world muſt have conſidered all thoſe poſſible worlds to pitch upon one; which could not be done but by an *underſtanding*, that has the ideas of all poſſible things. This intelligent cauſe muſt be infinite in all reſpects, and abſolutely perfect in *power*, *wiſdom*, and *goodneſs*, ſince it tends to every thing that is poſſible. And becauſe all things are linked and connected together, there can be no reaſon to admit more than *one* firſt Cauſe. Its underſtanding is the ſource of *Eſſences*, and its will is the origin of *Exiſtences*. This is our author's proof of one only God, with his perfections, and of the origin of things. That ſupreme wiſdom, attended with an infinite goodneſs, could not but chooſe the *beſt*. If the works of God were not the beſt, ſomething better might have been done; which is inconſiſtent with his infinite wiſdom. If among all poſſible worlds, there was not one that is the beſt, God would have produced none. I call *world* the whole ſyſtem and collection of things that exiſt; leſt it ſhould be ſaid, that many worlds might exiſt at different times and in different places. For all of them muſt be accounted but one world, or, if you will, one *Univerſe*. And ſuppoſing that all places and times are filled up, it will be true ſtill that they might have been filled up after an infinite manner of ways, and that there is an infinity of poſſible worlds, whereof God muſt needs have choſen the beſt, ſince he does nothing without acting according to the ſupreme reaſon. If it be ſaid, that the world might have been without *ſin* and *miſery*, I deny that ſuch a world would have been the *beſt*. For all things are *linked* together in each poſſible world: the univerſe, whatever it may be, is all of a piece, like an ocean: the leaſt motion produces its effect to any diſtance, though that effect becomes leſs ſenſible in proportion to the diſtance. So that God has ſettled every thing beforehand, once for all, having foreſeen prayers, good and evil actions, *&c.* and every thing *ideally* contributed before its exiſtence to the reſolution that was taken about the exiſtence of all things; inſomuch that no alteration can be made in the univerſe (no more than in a number) without deſtroying its Eſſence, or, if you will, its *numerical individuality*. And therefore if the leaſt evil that happens in the world, was wanting in it, it would not be *this* world, which, all things duly conſidered, was accounted the beſt by the wiſe Creator who choſe it. It is true, one may imagine ſome poſſible worlds without ſin and miſery; but thoſe worlds would be in other reſpects very much inferior to ours in Good. I cannot make you ſenſible of it by entering into particulars; for can I know and repreſent to you infinites? Can I compare them together? But you ought to believe ſo, as well as I, *ab effectu*, ſince God has choſen this world ſuch as it is. Beſides, we know that an Evil does frequently produce a good thing, which would not have happened, had it not been for that Evil. Nay, two evils have frequently occaſioned a very good thing:

Et, ſi fata volunt, bina venena juvant.

A little acidity, acrimony, or bitterneſs is ſometimes more pleaſant than Sugar. Colours are heightened by ſhadows; and a diſſonance well placed renders harmony more beautiful. We deſire to be frighted by Rope-dancers, who are ready to fall; and to ſhed tears at the repreſentation of a tragedy. Does any one ſufficiently reliſh the happineſs of health, who has never been ſick? Is it not generally neceſſary, that a little Evil ſhould render a Good more ſenſible, and conſequently greater? It will be ſaid, that evils are very great and numerous, if compared with good things. But it is a miſtake. Want of attention is the only thing that leſſens our happineſs; and it is neceſſary, that this attention ſhould be raiſed by a mixture of evil. Let us ſupply by reflection what is wanting in our perception, to be more ſenſible of our happineſs. Were it not for the knowledge of a future life, I be-

his diſpute with Dr. Samuel Clarke, which was put an end to by Mr. Leibnitz's death, which was occaſioned by the gout and ſtone November the 14th 1716, he being then ſeventy years of age (*b*). He was of a moderate ſtature, and of a thin habit of body. He

(*b*) See *Acta Eruditorum*, ann. 1717, pag. 312. Fontenelle, *Hiſtoire de Renouvellement de l'Academie Royale des Sciences en M. DC. XCIX. & les Eloges Hiſtoriques de tous les Academiciens morts depuis ce Renouvellement*, tom. 2. pag. 274, *& ſeqq.* edit. Amſterd. 1720. *Europe ſçavante*, Novembre, 1718; *Nouvelles Litteraires* du 14 Aouſt 1717; *Memoires de Trevoux*, Aouſt 1721. and Niceron, *Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire des Hommes illuſtres*, tom. 2. pag. 64, *& ſeqq.*

lieve moſt people would be willing at the point of death to begin a new life, upon condition, that they ſhould enjoy as much good, and undergo as many evils, eſpecially if they were of another kind. They could be contented with a change, without requiring a more happy condition. Whoever conſiders the weakneſs and frailty of human bodies, muſt needs admire the wiſdom and goodneſs of the author of nature, who made them ſo laſting, and renders our lives ſo tolerable. It is no wonder if men are ſometimes ſick; but it is a wonder they are not always ſo. This conſideration ought to raiſe in us a greater admiration for the mechaniſm of our bodies, which though frail and ſubject to corruption, are capable of maintaing themſelves; for nature cures us rather than phyſic. But that very frailty is a conſequence of the nature of things; unleſs any one ſhould ſay, that this ſort of creatures, which are endowed with reaſon, and cloathed with fleſh and bones, ſhould not be in the world. But it would be an imperfection, which ſome ancient Philoſophers would have called *Vacuum Formarum*, a *Vacuum* in the order of ſpecies. Thoſe, who far from complaining of nature and fortune, appear well pleaſed with them, though their condition be none of the beſt, ſeem to me the wiſeſt. For, not to ſay that ſuch complaints are ill-grounded, it is an actual rebellion againſt Providence. No man ought to be very ready to join with the male-contents in the ſtate wherein we live; and none ought to appear diſcontented in the city of God, ſince it cannot be done without great injuſtice. Thoſe books, that treat of the miſery of mankind, ſuch as that of Pope *Innocent* III. are none of the moſt uſeful. We increaſe our evils by reflecting upon them, inſtead of conſidering the good things, which are far more numerous. Much leſs ſhould we value a ſort of books, like that of Abbé *Eſprit*, concerning the *falſity of human Virtues*. Such a book is only proper to make us put an ill conſtruction upon every thing, and to render men ſuch as they are repreſented by that author. However it muſt be confeſſed that there are ſeveral diſorders in this life, which particularly appear by the proſperity of many wicked perſons; and the unhappineſs of many good men. But it ought to be conſidered, that the wicked are frequently puniſhed in this world, and that virtue will be for ever rewarded in another life. It will be objected, that even after this life, miſery will prevail above happineſs, ſince there are but few elect; which appears inconſiſtent with the goodneſs of the Supreme Being. In anſwer to this difficulty, granting that the number of thoſe, who are to be tormented in hell, will be incomparably greater than that of the bleſſed, the evil will ſtill appear like nothing, if compared with the good, conſidering the true extent of the city of God. The antients had a narrow notion of the works of the author of nature; and St. Auguſtin, for want of knowing the modern diſcoveries, was not a little perplexed, when he undertook to juſtify the prevalency of evil. It was in former times a common opinion, that the earth was the only part of the world furniſhed with inhabitants; nay, the antients were afraid of admitting any *Antipodes*. They believed, that the reſt of the world did only conſiſt of ſome ſhining globes and chryſtalline ſpheres. But in our days it will be acknowledged that there is an innumerable multitude of globes, as large or larger than ours, which may be inhabited by rational creatures, though it does not follow that they are men. Our earth is only a planet, that is, one of the ſix principal ſatellites of our ſun. And becauſe all fixed ſtars are ſo many ſuns, it is plain, that the earth is a very inconſiderable part of the univerſe, ſince it is only an appendix of one ſun. Perhaps all the ſuns are inhabited by happy creatures; at leaſt we have no reaſon to believe that many of their inhabitants will be damned. Beſides, conſidering that there is no reaſon to affirm, that there are ſtars every where, it may very well be, that there is a vaſt ſpace beyond the region of the ſtars. Whether it be the *Empyreal Heaven*, or not, that immenſe ſpace, which ſurrounds all that region, may be filled with glory and happineſs. It may be conceived like an ocean, which receives the rivers of all happy creatures, when they have attained to their perfection in the ſyſtem of the ſtars. What will then become of the conſideration of our globe and its inhabitants? Will it not be a thing incomparably leſs than a Phyſical point, ſince our earth is like a point, with reſpect to the diſtance of ſome fixed ſtars? And therefore the proportion of that part of the univerſe, which we know, being left in a kind of nothingneſs, if compared to what is unknown to us; and all the evils, that can be objected, being only in that kind of nothingneſs; it may very well be, that all evils are almoſt nothing in compariſon with all the good things, that are in the univerſe. Mr. Leibnitz proceeds to enquire into the cauſe of evil, that it is in the ideal nature of creatures, inaſmuch as nature is comprehended in the eternal truths that are in the divine underſtanding, independently of the will of God. It muſt be conſidered, *ſays he*, that there is *an Original Imperfection in Creatures* before ſin, becauſe the creatures are eſſentially limited. Hence it is that they know not every thing, and may be miſtaken, and commit other faults. The *Region of Eternal Truths* in the divine underſtanding ought to be placed in the room of *Matter*, when the queſtion is to know the true cauſe of things. That region is the *Ideal Cauſe* of evil, (if one may ſay ſo) as well as of good; but properly ſpeaking, the *formal* part of evil has no *efficient* cauſe; it conſiſts in a *Privation*. Though *natural Evil* or miſery, and *moral Evil* or ſin be not neceſſary, yet they are poſſible by vertue of thoſe eternal truths. And becauſe that immenſe *Region* of truths contains all poſſibilities, there muſt be an infinite number of poſſible worlds; evil muſt come into many of them, and even the *beſt* of them all muſt contain ſome. This is what determined God to permit evil. That ſupreme Being could not be ſaid to act according to his wiſdom and goodneſs and all his perfections, if he did not chooſe what is abſolutely the beſt, though moral evil be involved in it by the ſupreme neceſſity of eternal truths. Mr. Leibnitz's concluſion upon this head is, that God *wills* all manner of good *antecedently*, the beſt *conſequently* as *an End*, and natural evil as *a means*; and that he only permits moral evil, as being connected and linked with what is beſt. And therefore the *conſequent Will* of God is only permiſſive with reſpect to ſin. In the next place Mr. Leibnitz anſwers the objections grounded upon the *Phyſical Concourſe* of God with the creatures, and thoſe that concern the liberty of man. He places that liberty in ſpontaneity and choice, and not in an indetermination or *Indifference* of *Æquilibrium*. Such an *Æquilibrium*, ſays he, is impoſſible, and abſolutely contrary to experience. Whoever examines himſelf, will find that there is ſome cauſe or reaſon that determines the will, though we are not always ſenſible of it, no more than we are ſenſible when we go out of a door, why we ſet the right foot before the left, or the left before the right. There is always a prevailing reaſon, that inclines the will, without neceſſitating it. The will is never moved but by the repreſentation of a good, which prevails above the contrary repreſentation. Every body owns it with reſpect to God, good Angels, and the bleſſed Souls, without pretending that they are not free. God does not fail to chooſe what is beſt, but he is not forced to it; and there is no neceſſity in the object of his choice, for another ſeries of things is equally poſſible. His choice is free and independent upon neceſſity, becauſe he chooſes the beſt world among many that are poſſible, and his will is only determined by the prevailing goodneſs of the object. And therefore it is not an imperfection in God, nor in the Angels and bleſſed Souls. On the contrary, it would be a great imperfection, or rather a manifeſt abſurdity, if it were otherwiſe,

He was ſhort-ſighted. In order to fix what he thought proper in his memory, he wrote it down, and never read it over again. His memory was ſo ſtrong, that even in his old age he could repeat Virgil exactly. He was naturally of a very warm temper, which he generally took care to reſtrain in a proper manner. He was very ſenſible of the honour of being conſidered as one of the greateſt men of Europe. He was ſollicitous to procure the

otherwiſe, even in men, and if they could act without any reaſon inclining them to it. No inſtance can be given of ſuch a liberty, and when any body reſolves upon a thing out of humour, to ſhew that he is a free agent, the pleaſure or the advantage, which he thinks to reap from that affectation, is one of the reaſons that move him to it. Every thing is certain and determinate beforehand in man, as every where elſe; and an human ſoul is a kind of *Spiritual Automaton*; though contingent actions in general, and free actions in particular, are not neceſſary of an abſolute neceſſity, which would be inconſiſtent with contingency. XXII. *De Origine Francorum Diſquiſitio.* Hanover 1715 in 8vo. In this work Mr. Leibnitz aſſerts that the *Franks* or *French* came from Pomerania and the banks of the river Oder. He was attacked in Germany by Mr. Grundlingicis, Profeſſor of the Univerſity of Hall, and in France by Father Tournemine, the Jeſuit. XXIII. *L'Anti-Jacobite.* 1715. In this book he anſwers ſome pieces, which had attacked the Lutheran Religion, with a deſign to inſpire the Engliſh with an averſion to their new King. XXIV. *Réponſe du Baron de la Hontan à la Lettre d'un particulier, oppoſée au Manifeſte de S. M. le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, comme Electeur d'Hanovre, contra la Saxe.* XXV. *Collectanea Etymologica illuſtrationi Linguarum veteris Celticæ, Germanicæ, Gallicæ, aliarumque inſervientia, cum Præfatione Jo. Georgii Eccardi.* Hanover 1717 in 8vo. XXVI. *A Collection of Papers, which paſſed between the late learned Mr.* Leibnitz *and Dr.* Clarke, *relating to the Principles of Natural Philoſophy and Religion.* London 1717 in 8vo. Tranſlated into High Dutch, and printed at Francfort 1720 in 8vo. XXVII. *Otium Hannoveranum, ſive Miſcellanea ex Ore & ſchedis G. G. Leibnitzii quondam notata & deſcripta, cum ipſi in colligendis & excerpendis Rebus ad Hiſtoriam Brunſwicenſem pertinentibus operam navaret Joachim Fredericus Fellerus.* Leipſic 1718 in 8vo. XVIII. *Recueil de diverſes Pieces ſur la Philoſophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Hiſtoire, les Mathematiques, &c. par M. de Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, & autres Autheurs celebres.* Amſterdam 1720 in 8vo. three volumes. Two diſputes, which Mr. Leibnitz had with the learned men of England, are the principal ſubject of this collection. One of theſe diſputes is merely hiſtorical, and turns upon a queſtion of fact, whether himſelf or Sir Iſaac Newton was the true or at leaſt the firſt inventor of Fluxions. The other diſpute is concerning the Newtonian Philoſophy, attacked by Mr. Leibnitz, and defended by Dr. Samuel Clarke. Mr. Des Maizeaux, the editor of this collection, has prefixed to it a long and curious preface containing a particular account of thoſe diſputes. In the *Journal des Savans* Mr. Leibnitz has the following pieces. 1. *Extrait d'une Lettre touchant le Principe des Horloges portatives de ſon Invention.* Printed in the Journal of March the 25th 1675. 2. *Lettre écrite d'Hanovre le 18 Juin 1677 contenant la Relation & la Figure d'un Chevreuil coëffé d'une maniere fort extraordinaire.* In the Journal of July the 5th 1677. 3. *Obſervation nouvelle de la maniere d'eſsrayer ſi un nombre eſt primitif.* In the Journal of February the 28th 1678. 4. *Lettre touchant la quadrature d'un portion de la Roulette.* In the Journal of May the 23d 1678. 5. *Lettre ſur la queſtion, ſi l'Eſſence du Corps conſiſte dans l'Etendüe.* In the *Journal* of June 18th 1691, and January 5th 1693. 6. *De la Chainette, ou Solution d'un Probleme fameux, propoſé par Galilée, pour ſervir d'Eſſai d'une nouvelle Analyſe des infinis avec ſon Uſage pour les Logarithmes, & une Application à l'avancement de la Navigation.* In the *Journal* of March 31 1692. 7. *Lettre ſur quelques Axiomes de Philoſophie.* In the *Journal* of June 2, 1692. 8. *Nouvelles Remarques touchant l'Analyſe des tranſcendantes differentes de celles de la Geometrie de M. Des Cartes.* In the *Journal* of July 14th, 1692. 9. *Conjectures ſur l'Origine du mot Blaſon.* In the *Journal* of July 28 1692. 10. *Lettre à M. l'Abbé Nicaiſe ſur la Philoſophie de M. Des Cartes.* In the *Journal* of April 13, 1692, 11. *Lettre à M. Foucher, Chanoine de Dijon.* In the *Journal* of Auguſt 3. 1693. 12. *Regle generale de la Compoſition des Mouvemens.* In the *Journal* of September 7. 1693. 13. *Deux Problemes conſtruits par M. de Leibnitz, en employant ſa Régle generale de la Compoſition des Mouvemens.* In the *Journal* of September 14. 1693. 14. *Lettre ſur une Maniere de perfectionner la Medecine.* In the *Journal* of July 26. 1694. 15. *Conſiderations ſur la Difference qu'il y a entre Analyſe ordinaire, & le nouveau Calcul des tranſcendantes.* In the *Journal* of Auguſt 23. 1694. 16. *Syſtême nouveau de la nature & communication des ſubſtances, auſſi bien que la union qu'il y a entre l'ame & le Corps.* In the *Journal* of June 27. and July 4. 1695. 17. *Eclairciſſement du nouveau ſyſteme de la communication des ſubſtances, pour ſervir de Réponſe à ce qui en a ete dit dans le Journal des Savans du 12 Septembre* 1695. In the *Journal* of the 2d and 9th of April 1696. 18. *Lettre ſur la connexion des maiſons de Brunſwick & d'Eſte.* In the *Journal* of March 12. 1696. 19. *Lettre de M. de Leibnitz ſur ſon Hypotheſe de Philoſophie & ſur le Probleme curieux, qu'un de ſes amis propoſe aux Mathematiciens, avec une Remarque ſur quelques points conteſtez entre l'Auteur de principes de Phyſique, & celui des Objections contre ces Principes.* In the *Journal* of November 19 1696. 20. *Lettre à M. l'Abbé Nicaiſe ſur la Philoſophie de Des Cartes, avec des Reflexions.* In the *Journal* of June 17, 1697. 21. *Réponſe aux Réflections precedentes touchant les conſequences de quelques Endroits de la Philoſophie de Des Cartes.* In the *Journal* of Auguſt 19 and 26 1697. 22. *Lettre à M. de Varignon, contenant l'Explication de ce qu'un a rapporté de lui ſur le Calcul differentiel dans les Memoires de Trevoux Novembre* 1701: In the *Journal* of March 20. 1702. 23. *Remarque ſur un Endroit des Elemens d'Algebre de M. Ozanam.* In the *Journal* of June 11 1703. 24. *Réponſe aux objections que le P. Lamy, Benedictin, a faites contre le ſyſteme de l'Harmonie préétablie.* In the *ſupplement* to the *Journal* of June 1709. In the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipſic he has the following pieces. 1. *De verâ proportione Circuli ad Quadratum circumſcriptum in numeris rationalibus.* Ann. 1682. p. 41. 2. *Unicum Opticæ, Catoptricæ, & Dioptricæ Principium.* Ann. 1682. p. 185. 3. *Meditatio de ſeparatione Salis & Aquæ dulcis, novoque ſeparationum Chymicarum genere.* Ibid. p. 386. 4. *Meditatio Juridico-Mathematica de Interuſurio ſimplice.* Ann. 1683. p. 425. 5. *De dimenſionibus figurarum inveniendis.* Ann. 1684. p. 233 and 585. 6. *Demonſtrationes novæ de reſiſtentiâ ſolidorum.* Ann. 1684. p. 319. 7. *Nova Methodus pro Maximis & Minimis, itemque Tangentibus quæ nec fractas nec irrationales quantitates moratur, & ſingulare pro illis Calculi genus.* Ibid. p. 467. 8. *Meditationes de cognitione, veritate, & ideis.* Ibid. p. 537. 9. *Demonſtratio Geometrica regulæ apud Staticos receptæ de momentis gravium in planis inclinatis, nuper in dubium vocatæ, & ſolutio caſus elegantis de Globo duobus planis angulum rectum facientibus ſimul incumbente, quantum unumquodque planorum prematur determinans.* Ann. 1685, p. 501. 10. *Brevis Demonſtratio Erroris memorabilis Carteſii & aliorum circa Legem Naturæ, ſecundam quam volunt à Deo eandem ſemper Quantitatem motûs conſervari, qua & in re mechanicâ abutuntur.* Ann. 1686. p. 161. 11. *Meditatio nova de naturâ Anguli contactûs & oſculi, horumque uſu in practicâ Matheſi, ad figuras faciliores ſuccedaneas difficilioribus ſubſtituendas.* Ann. 1686. p. 289. 12. *De Geometriâ recondità, & Analyſi indiviſibilium atque infinitorum.* Ibid. p. 292. 13. *De Lineis Opticis & alia.* Ann. 1689. p. 36. 14. *Schediaſma de reſiſtentiâ Medii, & motu projectorum gravium in medio reſiſtente.* Ann. 1689. p. 88, and Ann. 1690. p. 177. 15. *Tentamen de Motuum Cœleſtium Cauſis.* Ann. 1689. p. 82. 16. *De Lineâ Iſochronâ in quâ grave ſine acceleratione deſcendit, & de Controverſiâ cum Dn. Abbate D. C. [de Catelan].* Ibid. p. 195. 17. *De cauſâ Gravitatis, & Defenſio ſententiæ ſuæ de veris naturæ Legibus contra Carteſianos.* Ann. 1690. p. 228. 18. *Ad ea, quæ J. Bernoullius*

the favour of Princes, which he made uſe of for the advantage of learning as well as of himſelf. He was polite and obliging in converſation, and had an averſion to diſputes. He was ſuppoſed to love money; and it is ſaid, that though he left at his death ſixty thouſand crowns, he had put out between fifteen and twenty thouſand crowns to intereſt; the reſt was found in his chamber in corn-ſacks. He profeſſed the Lutheran Religion, but

noullius de ſorte Alearum publicavit, reſponſio. Ibid. p. 358. 19. *Quadratura Arithmeticæ communis ſectionum Conicarum, quæ Centrum habent, indeque ducta Trigonometria Canonica ad quantamcunque in numeris exactitudinem à Tabularum neceſſitate liberata, cum caſu ſpeciali ad lineam Rhomborum nauticam aptatumque illi Planiſphærium.* Ibid. p. 178. 20. *De Lineâ in quam flexile ſe pondere proprio curvet, ejuſque uſu inſigni ad inveniendas quotcunque medias proportionales & Logarithmos.* Ibid. p. 277. 21. *De ſolutionibus Problematis Catenarii vel funicularis à Dn. J. Bernoulli propoſitis.* Ibid. p. 435. 22. *De Legibus naturæ & verâ æſtimatione virium motricium contra Carteſianos Reſponſio ad Rationes à Dn. Papin propoſitas.* Ibid. p. 439. 23. *Additiuncula ad conſiderationes Ferdinandi Helfrici Lichtſcheid.* Ibid. p. 500. 24. *De Lineâ ex Lineis numero infinitis ordinatim ductis inter ſe concurrentibus formata, eaſque omnes tangente, ac de novo in eâ re Analyſis infinitorum uſu.* Ann. 1692. p. 168. 25. *Solutio Problematis Florentini, ſeu Conſtructio Teſtudinis Quadrabilis Hemiſphæricæ.* Ibid. p. 275. and Ann. 1693. p. 42. 26. *Generalia de naturâ linearum Anguloque Contactûs & Oſculi, provolutionibus aliisque cognatis & eorum uſibus nonnullis.* Ann. 1692. p. 440. 27. *Protogæa,* Ann. 1693. p. 40. 28. *Supplementum Geometriæ practicæ ſeſe ad Problemata tranſcendentiæ extendens, ope novæ Methodi generaliſſimæ per ſeries infinitas.* Ibid. p. 178. 29. *De Problemate Bernoulliano.* Ibid. p. 313. 30. *Supplementum Geometriæ dimenſoriæ, ſeu generaliſſima omnium Tetragoniſmorum effecto per motum; ſimiliterque multiplex conſtructio Lineæ ex datâ Tangentium conditione.* Ibid. p. 385, 477. 527. 31. *De prima Philoſophiæ emendatione, & de motione ſubſtantiæ.* Ann. 1694. p. 110. 32. *Nova Calculi differentialis applicatio & uſus, ad multiplicem Linearum conſtructionem, ex datâ tangentium conditione,* Ibid. p. 311. 33. *Conſtructio propria Problematis de curvâ Iſochronâ paracentricâ.* Ibid. p. 364. 34. *Specimen Dynamicum pro admirandis naturæ Legibus, circa Corporum vires & mutuas actiones detegendis, & ad ſuas cauſas revocandis.* Ann. 1695. p. 145. 35. *Notatiuncula ad conſtructiones Lineæ, in quâ ſacoma æquilibrium cum pondere moto faciens incedere debet, datas à Marchione Hoſpitalio, & quædam de quadraturis.* Ibid. p. 184. 36. *Reſponſio ad nonnullas difficultates à Dn. Bernardo Nieuwentiit circa Methodum differentialem ſeu Infinite-ſimalem motus.* Ibid. p. 310 and 369. 37. *De novo uſu centri Gravitatis ad dimenſiones & ſpeciatim pro areis inter curvas parallelas deſcriptas ſeu rectangulis curvilineis, ubi & de parallelis in univerſum.* Ibid. p. 493. 38. *Relatio ad inclytam Societatem Leopoldinam naturæ curioſorum de novo Antidyſenterico Americano magnis ſucceſſibus comprobato.* Ibid. pag. 559. 39. *Notatiuncula ad ſcriptum Jacobi Bernoulli.* Ann. 1696. p. 145. 40. *Communicatio ſuæ pariter duarumque alienarum ad edendum ſibi primum a Dn. Jo. Bernoullio, deinde à Dn. Marchione Hoſpitalio communicatarum ſolutionem Problematis curvæ celerrimi Decenſus à Dn. Joanne Bernoullio Geometris publicè propoſitis, una cum ſolutione ſuâ Problematis alterius ab eodem poſtea propoſiti.* Ann. 1697. p. 201. 41. *Epiſtola ad Actorum Lipſienſium Collectores.* Ibid. p. 254. 42. *De ipſa naturâ, ſive de vi inſitâ actionibuſque Creaturarum, pro Dynamicis ſuis confirmandis illuſtrandiſque.* An. 1698. p. 427. 43. *Reſponſio ad Dn. Nicolai Fatii Duellerii Imputationes. Acceſſit novæ Artis Analyticæ promotio ſpecimine indicata, cum deſignatione per numeros aſſumptitios loco literarum Algebra ex combinatoriâ arte lucem capit.* Ann. 1700. p. 198. 44. *Specimen novum Analyſeos pro ſcientia infiniti circa ſummas & quadraturas.* Ann. 1702. p. 210. & Ann. 1703. p. 19. 45. *De Lineæ ſuper Linea inceſſu, ejuſque tribus ſpeciebus, motu radente, motu provolutionis, & compoſito ex ambobus.* Ann. 1706. p. 10. 46. *Epiſtola pro ſuâ Hypotheſi Phyſicâ motûs Planetarii,* Ann. 1706. p. 446. 47. *Epiſtola de Hickeſii Theſauro Linguarum ſeptentrionalium.* Supplem. IV. p. 236. 48. *Epiſtola ad Chriſtianum Wolfium circa ſcientiam infiniti.* Supplem, V. p. 264. 49. *Obſervatio, quod Rationes ſive Proportiones non habeant Locum circa quantitates nihilo minores, & vero ſenſu methodi Infiniteſimalis.* Ann. 1712. p. 167. 50. *Problema poſthumum Auguſtini Thomæ a S. Joſeph ſolutioni commiſſum.* Ann. 1717. p. 353. 51. *Principia Philoſoſphiæ.* Supp. VII. p. 500. In the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres,* he has the following pieces. 1. *Demonſtration courte d'une erreur conſiderable de M. Des Cartes & de quelques autres, touchant une Loy de la Nature, ſelon laquelle ils ſoûtiennent que Dieu conſerve toûjours dans la matiere la même quantite de mouvement; de quoi ils abuſent même dans la Mechanique,* September 1686. p. 996. This demonſtration, which is here followed by an anſwer, is tranſlated from the Latin original printed in the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipſic, Ann. 1686. p. 161. 2. *Remarque ſur l'Article V. des Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres du mois da Fevrier* 1706. *où il y a des Erréurs de fait qui le regardent.* November 1706. p. 521. In the *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans* he has the following pieces. 1. *Remarques ſur l' harmonie de l' Ame & du Corps.* February 1696. p. 274. 2. *Eclairciſſement des Difficultez que M. Bayle a trouvées dans le ſyſtême nouveau de l'union de l' ame & du Corps.* July 1698. p. 329. Mr. Bayle anſwered him in the ſecond Edition of his *Dictionary* in the article *Rorarius.* 3. *Conſiderations ſur les principes de vie & ſur les natures Plaſtiques.* May 1705. p. 222. In the *Memoires de Trevoux,* he has the following pieces. 1. *Lettre ſur divers points de Litterature.* January 1701. p. 177. 2. *Lettre ſur ce qu' il y a dans les Memoires de Janvier & Fevrier* 1701 *touchant la Generation de la Glace, & touchant la Demonſtration Carteſienne de l' Exiſtence de Dieu, par le P. Lamy, Benedictin.* September 1701. p. 200. 3. *Mémoire touchant ſon ſentiment ſur le calcul differentiel.* November 1701. p. 270. 4. *Lettre ſur quelques Faits, qui le regardent, mal expliquez dans l' Eloge de M. Bernoulli prononcé à l' Academie des Sciences,* March 1707. p. 540. 5. *Remarques ſur un endroit des Mémoires de Trevoux.* March 1708. p. 488. 6. *Trois Lettres à M. Hartſoeker ſur la Dureté des Corps.* 1712. March. p. 294, & April. p. 676. 7. *Remarques ſur la ſixieme Lettre Philoſophique imprimée à Trevoux en* 1703. July 1712. p. 1235. 8. *Lettre au P. Tournemine ſur quelques points de Litterature.* January 1715. p. 155. 9. *Remarques ſur les Horloges.* March 1718, p. 531. In the *Hiſtoire Critique de la Republique des Lettres* by M. Maſſon he has the following pieces. 1. *Lettre à M. Des Maizeaux ſur ſon Syſtême de l'Harmonie préetablie.* Tom. II. p. 72. 2. *Reponſe aux Reflexions contenues dans la ſeconde edition du* Dictionnaire Critique *de M. Bayle, Article* Rorarius, *ſur le Syſtême de la Harmonie préétablie.* Ibid. p. 78. 3. *Eloge Critique des Oeuvres de my Lord Shaftſbury.* Tome X. p. 306. In the *Europe ſçavante* he has the following piece. *Principes de la Nature & de la Grace fondés en raiſon.* Tom. VI. p. 101. In the *Nouvelles Litteraires de la Haye,* Tom. II. p. 289. he has a piece entitled, *Remarques ſur le premier Tome de ces Nouvelles.* In the *Hiſtoire de l' Academie des Sciences* he has a piece entitled, *Explication de l' Arithmetique Binaire qui ſe ſert des ſeuls caracteres* O & I. *avec des remarques ſur ſon utilité, & ſur ce qu 'elle donne ſens des anciennes Figures Chinoiſes de Fohy.* Ann. 1703. In the *Recuëil de Litterature, de Philoſpohie, & d' Hiſtoire,* printed at Amſterdam 1730. in 12mo. he has theſe two pieces: 1 *Lettre à l' Academie des Sciences du* 26. *Fevrier* 1700. *ſur la Correction du Calendrier Gregorien.* p. 147. 2. *Lettre ſur les Phenomenes du Barometre,* p. 152. In the *Monumenta varia inedita of Joachim Frederic Fellerus* he has the following pieces: 1. *Lettre ſur le Peché Originel.* p. 1. 2. *Brevis Diſquiſitio, utros incolarum Germaniæ citerioris aut Scandiæ ex alterius initio profectos veriſimilius ſit judicandum.* p. 132. 3. *Epitre in vers à Madame de Scudery à la Loüange du Roy Louis* XIV. p. 63. 4. *Trois Lettres ſur differentes Matieres.* p. 253, 254, 380. 5. *Reflexions ſur l'Eſprit ſectaire.* p. 519. 6. *Obſervationes*

but never went to Sermons; and when he was upon his death-bed, his coachman, who was his favourite ſervant, deſiring him to ſend for a Miniſter, he refuſed, ſaying, he had no occaſion for one (*c*). He was never married. He had ſome thoughts of entering into that ſtate when he was fifty years old; but the perſon whom he deſigned to marry deſiring ſome time to conſider of it, Mr. Leibnitz had an opportunity to do the ſame, and concluded, that *marriage was very good, but that a man of ſenſe ought to conſider of it all his life* (*d*). He had in his youth a natural ſon, who afterwards lived with him, and ſerved him in a great many points, and had a conſiderable ſhare in his confidence. He went by the name of *William Dinniger*, and extremely reſembled Mr. Leibnitz. This particular we are informed of by the author of the *Recueil de Litterature* (*e*), who likewiſe aſſerts, that Mr. Leibnitz refuſed the place of Keeper of the Vatican Library offered him by Cardinal Caſanata, while he was at Rome. Mr. Lœflerus, ſon of his ſiſter by the mother's ſide, was his ſole heir, whoſe wife died ſuddenly with joy at the ſight of ſo much money left them by their uncle (*f*). Dr. Chriſtopher Matthew Pfaffius affirms (*g*), that our author was of Mr. Bayle's opinion, though he ſeemed to attack it in this *Theodicée*; and that he confeſſed to him in a letter, that his own ſcheme would rather ſupport than deſtroy Mr. Bayle. Mr. Le Clerc obſerves (*h*) that he had formed the ſame judgment of Mr. Leibnitz with Dr. Pfaff. But Father Tournemine the Jeſuit aſſures us, that Dr. Pfaff and Mr. Le Clerc were miſtaken, and that Mr. Leibnitz had written to him, that the *Theodicée* contained his real ſentiments (*i*). Mr. William Molyneux in a letter to Mr. Locke dated at Dublin March the 16th $169\frac{6}{7}$ ſpeaking of our author's Reflections on Mr. Locke's *Eſſay on human Underſtanding*, writes thus: "He is "certainly an extraordinary perſon, eſpecially in Mathematics; but really, to ſpeak "freely of him, in relation to what he may have to ſay to you, I do not expect any "great matters from him; for methinks (with all deference to his great name) he has "given the world no extraordinary ſamples of his thoughts that way, as appears by two "Diſcourſes he has printed, both in the *Acta Erudit. Lipſiæ*, the firſt *Anno* 1694, pag. "110. *de primæ Philoſophiæ Emendatione, &c.* the other *Anno* 1695, pag. 145, *Speci-*"*men Dynamicum*, which truly to me is, in many places, unintelligible." Mr. Locke in his anſwer to Mr. Molyneux, dated at Oates April the 10th 1697, writes thus: "To "anſwer your great freedom with the like, I muſt confeſs to you, that Mr. L——'s great "name had raiſed in me an expectation, which the ſight of his paper did not anſwer; "nor that diſcourſe of his in the *Acta Eruditorum*, which he quotes, and I have ſince "read, and had juſt the ſame thoughts of it, when I read it, as I found you have. "From whence I only draw this inference, that even great parts will not maſter any "ſubject without great thinking, and even the largeſt minds have but narrow ſwallows." And in another letter dated at Oates May the 3d 1697 Mr. Locke, having quoted a paſſage from a letter written to him from Holland concerning Mr. Leibnitz, proceeds thus: *I ſee you and I and this Gentleman agree pretty well concerning the man; and this ſort of fidling makes me hardly avoid thinking, that he is not that very great man as has been talked of him.*

(*c*) Niceron, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 75, 76.

(*d*) Idem, ibid. pag. 76, 77.

(*e*) Printed at Amſterdam in 1730.

(*f*) Niceron, pag. 77.

(*g*) *Diſſertationes* Anti-Bœlianæ, *in quibus* Petrus Bœlius, *Philoſophus Roterodamenſis, qui in Dictionario Hiſtorico & Critico, eo titulo, quo Pyrrhonem agit ſumtâ Abbatis Sceptici Larvâ, dogmata Chriſtiana de SS. Trinitate, &c. adortus fuerat refellitur, & confutatur.* Diſſert. 3. pag 9. edit. Tubing. 1720 in 4to.

(*h*) *Bibliotheque Ancienne & Moderne*, tom. 15. pag. 179.

(*i*) Niceron, tom. 10. Part 1. pag. 77, 78.

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tiones variæ de Linguis & Origine vocabulorum, necnon de concinnando Dictionario & perpoliendâ Linguâ Germanicâ. p. 594. 7. *Obſervatio de ſuperſtitionibus quibuſdam Sclavorum.* p. 693. 8. *Obſervatio de variis Ludis.* p. 642. 9. *Excerpta ex Litteris Leibnitzii.* p. 111. In the *Mémoires de Litterature* of father *Deſmolets*, Tome VIII. p. 211. we have a piece of our author entitled, *Lettres à M. Arnaud, où il lui expoſe ſes ſentimens particuliers ſur la Metaphyſique & ſur la Phyſique.* His *Reponſe aux objections du P. Tournemine contre la Diſſertation de M. Leibnitz ſur l'Origine des Francois* is publiſhed with his Diſſertation *de Origine Francorum* at the end of a work of John George Eccard, entitled, *Leges Francorum & Ripuariorum, cum additionibus Regum & Imperatorum variis*, Francfort 1720 in fol. The additions to the diſſertation of Mr. Leibnitz are by the Editor. Mr. Leibnitz had tranſlated that work into French, and ſent a MS. copy to Monſieur Remond to be preſented to the Marquis de Torci, and even to King Lewis XIV. if that miniſter ſhould think proper. This tranſlation is printed in Mr. Des Maizeaux's *Recueil des Pieces de Meſſieurs de Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, &c.* printed at Amſterdam 1700 two Tomes in 8vo. The *Reponſe aux objections du P. Tournemine* abovementioned is publiſhed likewiſe in the *Bibliotheque Germanique*, Tom. VII. p. 13. He wrote alſo the *Hiſtory of Balaam*, in which he endeavours to prove, that what is related of that Prophet did not happen really, but in a dream. Michael Gottlieb Hanſchius has collected with care every thing, that Mr. Leibnitz had ſaid in different paſſages of his works upon the principles of Philoſophy, and formed a complete Syſtem, under the title of, *G. G. Leibnitii Principia Philoſophiæ more Geometrico demonſtrata cum excerptis & epiſtolis Philoſophicis & ſcholiis quibuſdam ex Hiſtoriâ Philoſophicâ.* Francfort. 1728 in 4to. At the end of Mr. Toland's *Poſthumous works* printed at London in 1726, we find a piece of Mr. Leibnitz, entitled, *Annotatiunculæ ſubitaneæ ad Librum de Chriſtianiſmo myſteriis carente, conſcriptæ* 8. *Auguſti* 1701. He wrote likewiſe in French reflexions upon Mr. Locke's *Eſſay on Human Underſtanding*, printed in the *Familiar Letters of between Mr. Locke and ſeveral of his Friends*, and in the third volume of Mr. Des Maizeaux's *Recueil de diverſes Pieces ſur la Philoſophie, la Religion Naturelle, &c.* In 1734, and 1735, there was publiſhed a collection of his Letters by Mr. Chriſtian Kortholt at Leipſic in two volumes in 8vo. under the following title; *Vir illuſtris Godefridi Guil. Leibnitii Epiſtolæ ad diverſos, Theologici, Juridici medici, Philoſophici, Mathematici, Hiſtorici, & Philologica argumenti. E. MSS. Auctoris, cum Annotationibus ſuis primum divulgavit Chriſtian. Kortholtus, A. M. Ordinis Philoſophici in Academia Lipſienſi Aſſeſſor, & Collegii minoris Principum Collegiatus.* The Editor promiſes another volume at leaſt, for he has in his hands a great many original Letters of Leibnitz, which he had obtained lately. Mr. John Bernoulli has promiſed to furniſh him with ſome, which treat of very important ſubjects; and Mr. Nettelbladt, Profeſſor of civil Law at Gryphſwald, has engaged to recover thoſe, which lie concealed in Sweden. He has hopes likewiſe of receiving others from divers parts of Germany, and alſo from England. T.

LELAND (JOHN) an Engliſhman, born in London, applied himſelf ſo aſſiduouſly to the ſearch of Engliſh Antiquities, and was judged ſo well qualified to ſucceed in them, that Henry VIII honoured him with a very conſiderable penſion and the title of Antiquary, an employment which began and ended in him. That he might well diſcharge the duties of it, he viſited all the counties in England, examined all the remains of antient monuments; peruſed the manuſcripts of convents and colleges, and having ſpent ſix years in his perambulation, and collected all the materials he could poſſibly meet with, he undertook ſeveral conſiderable works [*A*]; but he had not time to finiſh, nor even to get them in any forwardneſs. The Court did not pay him his ſalary; and whether it were on this account, or for ſome other reaſons, he fell into ſo deep a melancholy as deprived him of his ſenſes [*B*], in which ſad condition he died. His manuſcripts are in the Bodleian Library. They conſiſt of a huge heap of undigeſted materials [*C*], which at the ſame time ſhew the greatneſs of his capacity. This appears ſtill more evidently, by a work which he compleated [*D*], and which deſerves to be printed (*a*). Camden was accuſed of having made a great uſe of Leland's manuſcripts (*b*); a circumſtance which was refuted by Dr. Smith.

(*a*) *Extracted from* Camden's Life, written by Dr. Thomas Smith, pag. 28, & *ſeq.*

(*b*) Ibid.

I muſt not omit that he ſtudied at Paris under Sylvius; that he began in 1534 his perambulations in ſearch after Engliſh Antiquities; that he abjured the Church of Rome ſome time before his death; and that he died the 18th of April 1552 (*c*).

(*c*) *See* Sir Thomas Pope Blount, *Cenſ. Auth.* pag. 442.

[*A*] *He undertook ſeveral conſiderable works.*] One book of the Topography of ancient Britain: *de Topographia Britanniæ primæ, in quo vetuſtas etiam locorum quorum meminiſſent Scriptores Romani, appellationes ſpiſſa caligine obſitas in lucem eſſet revocaturus.* Fifty books on the antiquities of Britain; *de Antiquitate Britannica, ſive de civili Hiſtoria juxta comitatuum Angliæ & Walliæ, quæ tunc temporis obtinuerat, partitionem.* Six books on the Iſlands lying about Britain; *de Inſulis Britanniæ adjacentibus.* Three books on the Britiſh Nobility, *de Nobilitate Britannica.* This is what he promiſed in a petition he preſented to Henry VIII, in the 37th year of his reign. This petition, entitled *Strena*, or new year's gift was publiſhed by Bale (1).

(1) Taken from Camden's *Life*, written by Dr. Thomas Smith, pag. 29.

[*B*] *He fell into ſo deep a melancholy as deprived him of his ſenſes.*] I will employ the nervous expreſſions of Dr. Smith. *Proh triſtes rerum humanarum vices! proh viri optimi deplorandam infeliciſſimamque ſortem! Non enim multo poſtquam fidem quod ſuſceperat præſtandi quaſi ſignatis tabellis obſtrinxiſſet, ſive operis promiſſi difficultatibus deterritus, ſive immenſis laboribus fatigatus fractuſque, ſive dolore nimio & melancholiâ, quod fructum induſtriæ juſtæque exſpectationi parem nondum percepiſſet, fortè oppreſſus, ſive quacunque aliâ de cauſâ, abalienatæ mentis, nullis è Religione & Philoſophiâ, nullis è Medicinâ petitis remediis ad priſtinum ſanumque ſtatum revocandæ, ægritudinem perpeſſus eſt, vaſtâ interim obſervationum, quas in Adverſaria ſine ordine & properante calamo, prout ipſi occurriſſent, congeſſerat, mole relicta* (2). i. e. "Oh deplorable viciſſitude of hu- "man things! ſad and moſt unhappy fate of a moſt "excellent man! for, not long after he had engaged, "under his hand writing as it were, to perform what "he had undertaken, whether he was deterred by "the difficulties of the promiſed work; or tired and "broke with the immenſity of his toils; or perhaps "oppreſſed with exceſs of ſorrow and melancholy, "becauſe he had not been recompenſed in a manner "any ways equal to his pains, and juſt expectation, "or from what other cauſe, he ran melancholy mad; "and could not be reſtored to his ſenſes by any re- "medies borrowed from Religion, Philoſophy or "Phyſick, leaving behind him a prodigious heap of "remarks, which he had thrown together in his *Ad-* "*verſaria* or notes, in a haſty, undigeſted manner, "juſt as they came in his way."

(2) Tho. Smith, ibid.

[*C*] *His Manuſcripts .... conſiſt of a huge heap of indigeſted materials.*] This the reader may have known by the cloſe of the paſſage juſt cited; here follows the ſequel of it, which deſcribes this much more particularly. *Harum* (Obſervationum) *quatuor libros, ut loquuntur in folio, & ſeptem minoris formæ, manu Lelandi plerâque ex parte deſcriptos, in perpetuam ipſius memoriam Bibliothecæ Bodl. Oxon. dono dedit V. Cl. Gulielmus Burtonus, famæ, ob editam* Agri Leiceſtrenſis deſcriptionem, *apud Antiquarios noſtros notiſſimæ. Reperitur quoque aliud volumen Collectionum Lelandi* (*) *in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ. Non irritabo Lelandi manes, ſi dixero, totum opus, quod ſæpè tractavi, mirè confuſum, diſtractum, nulloque ordine digeſtum, limam ubique deſiderare, & tanquam corpus exſuccum, exſangue, animâque deſtitutum proſtare* (3). i. e. "The moſt learned "William Burton, exceedingly well known to our "Antiquaries, by the deſcription he publiſhed of "Leiceſterſhire, to perpetuate the memory of Leland, "gave to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, four fo- "lio volumes of remarks, and ſeven volumes in a "ſmaller ſize, the greateſt part of theſe eleven volumes "being wrote in Leland's own hand. Another vo- "lume of Leland's collections is alſo found in the "Cotton Library. I ſhall not offend Leland's manes, "if I ſay that his whole work, which I have frequently "peruſed, is greatly confuſed, and incoherent, and "not digeſted into any order; that every part of it "wants poliſhing; and is a kind of bloodleſs body, "uninformed with a Soul." Here follows the judgment which Dr. Smith forms of Leland's vaſt deſign. *Vir minime vanus & omni procul oſtentatione profitetur, ſe multa & magna .... quæ infinitam illius induſtriam, ſolertiamque, & excelſæ mentis, ad maxima quæque aſpirantis, præclariſſimas cogitationes conatuſque abunde teſtantur, moliri* (4). i. e. "This author, who was "no ways vain, and abhorrent of all oſtentation. "declares that he had various and mighty underta- "kings in hand .... which abundantly prove his "prodigious induſtry, and application; and the ex- "cellent thoughts and efforts of his exalted mind, all "aſpiring to the nobleſt things."

(3) Thomas Smith, *in Vita Camdeni*, pag. 30.

(4) Idem, ibid. pag. 29.

[*D*] *A work which he completed.*] Dr. Smith informs us of the ſubſtance of it, and its merit. *Quantus verò fuerit Lelandus, ſi non ex editis opuſculis Collectaneis, ſaltem ex eximio opere (quod perfectum reliquit) de* Scriptoribus illuſtribus Britannicis, *quod in publicam lucem exeat, digniſſimo, colligere licet* (5). i. e. "How "great an author Leland was, may be gathered, if "not from his Notes or Collections which he pub- "liſhed, at leaſt from that excellent work, which he "had completed before his death, concerning the "*eminent Engliſh authors*; a book highly worthy "of being publiſhed." And as a ſpecimen of this work, he gives us Leland's collections with reſpect to Simon Stoch. Dr. Smith tranſcribed this Article, in order to ſend it to Papebroch the Jeſuit, compiler of the *Acta Sanctorum*. We meet with the titles of ſome of Leland's printed works in the Bodleian Catalogue. Teiſſier (6) ſhould have informed the publick, that this work *de illuſtribus Britanniæ Scriptoribus; de Academiis Britannicis, de Typographia, &c.* which he aſcribes to John Leland, have not been printed. I fancy he has wrote *Typographia* inſtead of *Topographia*; which will give occaſion to Leland's being ranked among the authors who have written on Printing.

(5) Idem, ibid. pag. 31.

(6) *In Bibliotheca Bibliothecar.* pag. 187.

(*) *Sub. Julio*, c. 6.

☞ LELAND or LEYLAND (JOHN)). We ſhall add ſome particulars to Mr. Bayle's article of this learned writer [*A*]. He was born in London (*a*); but in what pariſh or year, appears not (*b*). In his younger years being deprived of his relations, he was taken into the protection of Mr. Thomas Myles, a great favourer of learning, who not only exhibited to his wants, but likewiſe took care to have him inſtructed in grammar under the famous William Lily, maſter of St. Paul's School at London (*c*); from whence he was ſent to Chriſt's College in the Univerſity of Cambridge (*d*). He afterwards removed to Oxford, and ſpent ſeveral years in All-Souls College there (*e*). He went to Paris, where he made a great progreſs in learning under Budæus, Faber, Paulus Æmilius, Ruellus, and Francis Sylvius (*f*). Upon his return to England he entered into holy Orders, and became Chaplain and Antiquary to King Henry VIII (*g*), and Rector of Poppeling in the Marches of Calais. He was afterwards appointed Library-Keeper to his Majeſty; and in 1533 had a Commiſſion from him under the Broad Seal, whereby he was impowered to ſearch after Engliſh Antiquities, and view the Libraries of all Cathedrals, Abbies, Priories, Colleges, &c. as alſo all places, wherein records, writings, and ſecrets of Antiquity were repoſited. For this purpoſe having obtained in 1536 a diſpenſation for non-reſidence upon his Living of Poppeling, he ſpent above ſix years in travelling

(*a*) Balens, *Script. illuſtr. Britann.* Cent. 8. fol. 671.

(*b*) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 178.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

(*d*) Leland. *de Scriptor. Britannicis*, cap. 57.

(*e*) *Guil. Burtoni Corollarium Vitæ Johann. Lelandi*, prefixed to the firſt volume of *Leland's Collectanea*.

(*f*) *Vita Joann. Lelandi*, prefixed to Anthony Hall's edition of Leland. *de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, edit. Oxon. 1709.

(*g*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 83.

[*A*] *Learned writer.*] His writings are as follow. 1. *Næniæ in mortem Thomæ Viati Equitis incomparabilis.* London 1542. It is a Latin poem of one ſheet and an half in 4to. II. *Genethliacon illuſtriſſimi Eadvardi Principis Cambriæ, Ducis Coriniæ, & Comitis Palatini*, &c. Printed in 1543. It is a Latin Poem in four ſheets in 4to. III. *Syllabus & interpretatio antiquarum Dictionum, quæ paſſim per Libellum* [prædictum] *lectori occurrunt.* Printed with the preceding piece. IV. *Aſſertio inclytiſſimi Arturii Regis Britanniæ.* London 1544 in 4to. There is an Engliſh tranſlation of this book, printed under this title: *Ancient Order, Society and Unitie laudable of Prince Arthur and his Knightly Armory of the Round Table; with a threefold Aſſertion* &c. *Engliſhed from* Leland *by* R. Robinſon, 1583. V. *Elenchus antiquorum Nominum.* Printed with the *Aſſertio* abovementioned. VI. *Cygnea Cantio.* London 1545. It is a Latin poem in about five ſheets in 4to. It was reprinted at London 1658 in 8vo. VII. *Commentarii in Cygneam cantionem indices Britanniæ antiquitatis locupletiſſimi.* Printed with the two editions of *Cygnea Cantio.* VIII. *Laudatio Pacis.* London 1546. A Latin poem in two ſheets in 4to. IX. *A New Year's Gift to King Henry VIII.* (37th year of his reign) *concerning his laborious journey and ſearch for England's Antiquities.* London 1549 in 8vo. It was publiſhed with notes upon it by John Bale, who has added of his own, *A Regiſter of the Names of Engliſh Writers, whom the ſecond part of his work* de Scriptoribus Britanniæ, *ſhall comprehend.* X. *Principum ac illuſtrium aliquot & eruditorum in Angliâ Virorum Encomia, Trophæa, Genethliaca, & Epithalamia*, &c. London 1549 in 4to. Publiſhed by Thomas Newton of Cheſhire. XI. *Collectanea*, Collections from various authors, viz. from Chronologies, ancient Charters, Leiger-books, Hiſtories, Annals, publick and private Writings &c. written with Leland's own Hand, moſtly in Latin, in folio. Mr. Wood tells us (1), "that "there are in this book many needleſs additions and "illuſtrations put in by William Burton of Lindley, "who hath written ſome part of the life of Leland "before, and has made a uſeful Index to it." But Mr. Thomas Hearne (2) obſerves, that Mr. Wood's cenſure on Mr. Burton's additions is unjuſt, ſince they are taken from the beſt authors and monuments, and ſupply, correct, and illuſtrate Leland. "But this "cenſure, ſays he, is not to be wondered at in Mr. "Wood, who in other places paſſes raſh judgments "upon the writings of others." *Quin & Burtono non tantum Vita Lelandi, e Balæo (antiquitatum Britannicarum diligentiſſimo perſcrutatore) deſcripta, ejuſque Corollarium à ſeipſo Literis conſignatum, verum etiam inſignia illa è feneſtris aliiſque vetuſtatis reliquiis eruta, quæ cœnobiis aliquibus præfiguntur, adſcribenda. Hæc omnia aſſumenta memoravit item Woodius in Athenis ſuis Oxonienſibus. In illo tamen ceſpitavit, quod flocci æſtimanda eſſe ſubindicaverit. Ex optimis etenim auctoribus ac monumentis ſunt deſumpta, Lelandumque ſupplent, corrigunt, & illuſtrant: ſed hanc Woodii cenſuram non eſt cur miremur, quum alibi etiam minus conſiderate de aliorum ſcriptis pronuntiaverit.* Mr. Hearne publiſhed theſe *Collectanea* in ſix volumes at Oxford 1715 in 8vo. under the following title: *Joannis Landi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea. Ex autographis deſcripſit ediditque Tho. Hearne, A. M. Oxonienſis, qui & Appendicem ſubjecit, totumque opus (in VI Volumina diſtributum) Notis & Indice donavit.* XII. *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, auctore Joanne Lelando Londinate. Ex Autographo Lelandino nunc primus edidit Antonius Hall, A. M. Coll. Reg. Oxon. Socius.* Oxford 1709 in two Tomes in 8vo. The Editor in his preface obſerves, that Leland deſigned to have written four Books concerning the illuſtrious men of Britain, but was prevented by death from finiſhing and publiſhing them. He informs us likewiſe, that Dr. Thomas Gale had an intention to have publiſhed this work, and to have illuſtrated it by the means of that of Boſton of Bury. And the ſame deſign was undertaken by Dr. Thomas Tanner, the late Biſhop of St. Aſaph. XIII. *An Itinerary throughout moſt parts of England*: a manuſcript in 4to. Mr. Harriſon in page 63 of his ſecond edition of his *Deſcription of Britain* writes of this work thus: *For ſo moth-eaten, mouldie, and rotten are thoſe books of Leland, which I have, and beſide that his Annotations are ſuch and ſo confounded, as no man can (in a manner) pick out any ſenſe from them by a leaf together. Wherefore I ſuppoſe, that he diſperſid and made his Notes intricate of ſet purpoſe; or elſe he was loth that anie man ſhould eaſilie come to that knowledge by reading, which he with his great charge and no leſs travell attained unto by experience.* But Mr. Hearne (3) remarks upon this paſſage: "This great Antiquary [Leland] was of a noble, ge- "nerous, and publick ſpirit, and could not be guilty "of any ſuch pitiful, mean trick, as this, which is "mentioned by Harriſon, who methinks ſhould have "ſtudiouſly avoided all unbecoming reflections upon "ſo great a man, from whom he borrowed the moſt "valuable and moſt judicious paſſages in his ſaid "*Deſcription of Britain*, his own remarks being ge- "nerally very mean and trivial.... Nor do I think, "that Harriſon would have ſpoke contemptuouſly of "theſe papers, had it not been out of a deſign to "advance the credit of his own obſervations; which "is a crime that ſome of our modern writers have "been guilty of, when they have had occaſion to "ſpeak of Leland." Mr. Hearne publiſhed an edition of our author's *Itinerary* at Oxford in 9 volumes in 8vo. XIV. *Codrus, ſive Laus & Defenſio Gallofridi Arturii Monumetenſis contra Polydorum Vergilium:* printed by Mr. Hearne in the fifth volume of Leland's *Collectanea*. XV. Ἐγκώμιον τῆς εἰρήνης, *ſive Laudatio Pacis*; printed by Mr. Hearne in the fifth volume of the *Collectanea*. XVI. *Bononia Gallo-Maſtix in laudem victoriæ feliciſſimi Henrici VIII. Anglici, Francici, Scotici*, &c. reprinted by Mr. Hearne in the ſixth volume of the *Collectanea*. Bale and Pits mention other writings of our author; whoſe manuſcripts and collections were, after his death, by order of King Edward VI, put into the hands of Sir John Cheke, Tutor to his Majeſty, who not long after gave the four volumes of his *Collectanea* to Humphry Pureſoy Eſq; afterwards of the Privy Council to Queen Elizabeth in the North; whoſe ſon Thomas Pureſoy of Barwell in Leiceſterſhire Eſq; giving them to Mr. Will. Burton of Lindley in the ſame County in 1612, they came many years

(1) *Athen Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 83.

(2) *Præfatio in Lelandi Collectanea*, Sect. 2. pag. 4, 5.

(3) *Notes on Mr. Wood's Life of John Leland*, prefixed to the 1ſt volume of his edition of *Leland's Collectanea*.

travelling about England, and collecting Antiquities. At the time of the diſſolution of the monaſteries, he ſaw with great regret what havock was made of antient monuments of learning; and that, if no remedy ſhould be taken, they would all periſh. Upon this he wrote a letter to Secretary Cromwell dated July the 16th for his aſſiſtance in bringing to light many antient authors, and in ſending them to the King's Library; adding, that "it would be a great profit to Students, and honour to this Realm; whereas "now the Germans perceiving our deſidiouſneſs and negligence, do ſend daily young "ſcholars hither, that ſpoileth them, and cutteth them out of Libraries, returning home, "and putting them abroad as monuments of their own country." April the 3d 1542 he was preſented to the Rectory of Haſely near Oxford; and in the beginning of April 1543 was preferred by the King to a Canonry of King's College, now Chriſt-Church in Oxford; and about the ſame time he was collated to the Prebend of Eaſt Knoll and Weſt Knoll near Saliſbury in Wiltſhire. But he loſt the Canonry in Chriſt Church in 1545, upon the ſurrender of that College to the King, and inſtead thereof had no penſion allowed him, as the other Canons had, but preferment elſewhere. At laſt having made a vaſt collection of Antiquities, he retired to his houſe in the pariſh of St. Michael le Querne in London; "where ſpending about ſix years more in compoſing ſuch books "as he had promiſed to the King, he did at length (upon a foreſight that he was not "able to perform his promiſe, or, as the Roman Catholics ſay, that *he had degenerated "from the antient Religion*) fall diſtracted and loſt his ſenſes." This his diſtemper being made known to the King and his Council, King Edward VI; by his Letters Patents dated March the 5th 1550, granted the cuſtody of him by the name of John Laylond Junior of St. Michael's Pariſh in le Querne, Clerk, to his brother John Laylond Senior, and for his maintenance to receive the profits of Haſely, Poppeling, Eaſt Knoll and Weſt Knoll abovementioned (*h*). He died April the 18th 1552 (*i*), and was interred in the Church of St. Michael le Querne (*k*). He was univerſally eſteemed an excellent Orator and Poet, and was well ſkilled in the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spaniſh, Britiſh, Saxon, Welch, and Scotiſh tongues (*l*). His enemies, as Polydore Virgil, Dr. John Caius, &c. uſed to repreſent him as a vain-glorious perſon, who promiſed more than he was able to perform; and others ſaid, that *his poetical wit made him ſo conceited, that it was the chief cauſe of his phrenſy* (*m*).

(*h*) Idem, ibid. col. 82, 83.

(*i*) Balæus, *ubi ſupra*.

(*k*) Burtonus, *ubi ſupra*.

(*l*) Nicholſon's *Engliſh Hiſt. Library*, Part 2. pag. 226.

(*m*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 83.

years after by his gift, when he had made uſe of them in compiling his *Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire*, into the Bodleian library at Oxford, together with the *Itinerary*. As for other of his collections, they came after the death of Sir John Cheke into the hands of William Lord Paget and Sir William Cecil, but to whom from them, does not appear. Perhaps among theſe collections were thoſe, which came afterwards into Sir Robert Cotton's hands, and the *Itinerary*, which came into the poſſeſſion of Mr. Burton. Camden made a conſiderable uſe of his collections in the writing of his *Britannia* (4); as Sir William Dugdale has likewiſe done in compiling his *Antiquities of Warwickſhire* and his *Baronage of England*. John Bale was alſo greatly aſſiſted in his book *de Scriptoribus Britanniæ* by our author's work on the ſame ſubject. Mr. John Bagford in a letter to Mr. Hearne relating to the antiquities of London, and dated at the Charter-Houſe, Feb. 1. 171⅘, and prefixed to the firſt Volume of Mr. Hearne's edition of Leland's *Collectanea*, obſerves that what had been formerly done by Leland with reſpect to the antiquities of London, "ſeems now to be loſt, though "it muſt be owned, that many authors, that have "written of the antiquities of England ſince his time, "have made frequent uſe of his works, he alone laying the foundation of what hath ſince been diſcovered. For I do not in the leaſt queſtion, but that "moſt of his writings, after his death, firſt came into the hands of *Reginald Wolfe*, the Printer, at "whoſe houſe, I believe, *Leland* died, which was at "that time ſituated in the Pariſh of St. Michael in "the Querne, though afterwards he removed into the "Pariſh of St. Faith's. I take this *Wolfe* to have "been one of the firſt builders of a houſe in St. Paul's "Church-yard, and to have been not only the firſt "projector of the two Tomes of the Chronicles of England (which commonly go under the name of *Raphael Hollinſhead* and *William Harriſon*) out of *Leland*; but alſo to have been the firſt deſigner of a "large map of England by the ſketches he had taken "from *Leland's New year's gift*; though nothing of "the like nature was afterwards done till the time of *Saxton* in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The ſe-"cond edition of *Hollinſhead* is continued by *John "Stow*; and I muſt be ſo free in my thoughts to tell "you, that (to ſay nothing of what Camden borrow-"ed from him) it is my opinion, that *Stow* had in "his poſſeſſion *Leland*'s antiquities of London, and "for want of Learning moſt grievouſly mangled the "work on purpoſe to make it his own. This hint "I have taken partly from the benefit of your laſt "converſation, when you was pleaſed to read to me "what *Leland* has upon the ſame ſubject; and partly "from my own reflection upon the Qualifications of "*Stow*, who certainly was not capable of making ſuch "a collection; and therefore I cannot but conclude "that he muſt have been beholden to *Leland*; which "I think is likewiſe confirmed from hence, that in his "*Survey of London* he makes very little mention of "*Leland*, although in his *Annals* he often takes notice "of him". *I had formerly*, continues Mr. Bagford, *a much greater veneration for* Stow, *before you acquainted me, that* Leland *had wrote the antiquities of this city, (of which he was a native) under the Britains, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, and ſo down to the time himſelf lived in; by which work we might have ſeen what diſcoveries he had made from antient authors, moſt of which are ſince loſt, and might likewiſe have had the benefit of divers uſeful remarks, grounded upon his own obſervations on the antient buildings of the Romans in this famous City; which remarks could not be expected from Mr.* Stow, *who was little acquainted with the Coins and other antiquities of the Romans. The beſt account we have from him is that relating to* Monumental *inſcriptions in Churches; which brings to my mind a folio Manuſcript, I have ſeen, of thoſe in Chriſt-church (formerly the Gray-Friars) within New-Gate, which were not inſerted in the firſt impreſſion of the* Survey. *I gather from the hand, that this very book was collected by* Leland; *and it happened therefore very luckily, that the inſcriptions in it were afterwards added in the edition ſet out by Stow.*

(4) *See* Ralph Brook's *Diſcovery of Errors* in *Camden's Britannia*.

T

LEMNIUS (LÆVINUS) a famous Phyſician, was born at Ziric-Zee in Zeland, the 20th of May 1505. One of his chief works is that *de occultis Naturæ*

tura Miraculis [*A*]. WILLIAM LEMNIUS his ſon practiſed Phyſic ſucceſsfully, for which reaſon Eric King of Sweden ſent for him to his Court, and appointed him his firſt Phyſician (*a*). He adhered with ſo much fidelity to this Prince, that he was thrown into priſon, and was put to death in 1568 when Eric was dethroned (*b*).

(*a*) See the *Epiſt. Dedicat.* to *de occultis Naturæ Miraculis* of the ſecond, and ſucceeding editions.

(*b*) Melchior Adam. *in Vit. Medicor.* p. 100.

[*A*] *One of his chief works is that* De occultis Naturæ Miraculis.] It has borne ſeveral impreſſions. Several editions (1) of it are mentioned in *Lindenius renovatus*; but no notice is there taken of the firſt, which was that of Antwerp *apud Gulielmum Simonem* 1559 8vo. The work conſiſted then but of two books; and was dedicated, by the author, to Matthias Gallomontanus *ab Heeſuwiick, apud Metelliburgum Antiſtes*. The ſecond edition, printed by Plantin, at Antwerp in the year 1564, in 8vo, contains four books; and was dedicated, by the author, to Eric King of Sweden. We are told in the preface, that Lemnius intended to add two books more to the four in queſtion.

(1) That which I make uſe of is of Frankfort 1593 in 8vo, *ap.* Joh. Wechel. It is enlarg'd with ſome chapters; and there is annexed to the treatiſe *de Vita cum animi & corporis incolumitate recte inſtituenda*, then firſt publiſhed.

LEMNOS, an iſland in the Ægean Sea, near Thrace, and Mount Athos [*A*], was famous on many accounts. It was ſo called from the great Goddeſs named Lemnos, and to whom young maidens were ſacrificed (*a*). The Sinti, a people of Thrace, were the firſt who inhabited it (*b*). There were but two cities in it, the one called Hepheſtia, and the other Myrana (*c*). Its labyrinth was one of the four edifices of that kind, mentioned by the antients [*B*]. The inhabitants of Lemnos were the firſt who forged weapons of war (*d*); which doubtleſs was one of the reaſons which obliged the Poets to feign that Vulcan, being precipitated from heaven to earth, fell into this iſland, where he met with a very kind reception, and ſet up a forge (*e*) [*C*]. The place where he fell was remarkable

(*a*) Steph. Byzant. *Voce* Λῆμνος.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

(*c*) Plinius, lib. 4. pag. m. 461.

(*d*) Hellenicus, *apud Scholiaſt. Apollonii* in lib. 1. ver. 608. & *Scholiaſtes Homeri in Iliad.* lib. 1. ver. 594.

(*e*) See the cloſe of the remark [*F*].

[*A*] *Near ... mount Athos.*] A great number of authors have obſerved, that the ſhadow of this mountain extends as far as the iſland of Lemnos. *Lemnos ab Atho LXXXVII. mill. paſſuum. Circuitu patet CXII. M. D. paſſ. Oppida habet, Hephæſtiam & Myrinam, in cujus forum ſolſtitio Athos ejaculatur umbram* (1). i. e. "Lemnos is fourſcore and ſeven miles "from Athos, and an hundred and twelve miles in "circumference. Hephæſtia and Myrina are its towns, "into whoſe Forum Athos projects its ſhadow, at the "Solſtice." We find by theſe words of Pliny, that mount Athos was 87 miles from the iſland of Lemnos, and Solinus ſuppoſes it but a mile leſs (2). However, this does not agree with the obſervations of Belon, an eye-witneſs, and conſequently more worthy of credit than Pliny. I will copy his words. "The iſland is "more extended in length than in breadth, from "Eaſt to Weſt; ſo that when the ſun ſets, the ſhadow "of mount Athos, which ſtands above eight leagues "from thence, falls on the harbour, and over a point "of the iſland, on the left ſide of Lemnos, a circum-"ſtance we obſerved the 2d of June: for mount Athos "is ſo high, that though the ſun was not very low, "nevertheleſs the ſhadow touched the left angle of the "iſland (3)." Here is a teſtimony that ought to perſuade us, that the antients had reaſon to extend the ſhadow of this mountain, as far as the iſland of Lemnos, but that they were not well acquainted with the meaſure of that extent. The diſtance would be about thirty five French leagues (4), were we to compute according to the eighty ſeven miles of Pliny. But how great a ſubſtraction muſt we make, ſince Belon ſpeaks of only a little above eight leagues? We will here quote a paſſage which will ſhew that Plutarch had committed the ſame miſtake as Pliny. *I am ſenſible that neither of us has been in the iſle of Lemnos; yet both of us have frequently heard the following verſes.:*

Mount Athos ſhall project its mighty ſhade,
And ſcreen the ox, in Lemnos's iſland fix'd.

For the ſhadow of this mountain reaches to the ſtatue of a brazen ox ſtanding in Lemnos, extending itſelf over the ſea no leſs than ſeven hundred ſtadia; not that the mountain which projects the ſhadow is of that height as to cauſe it; but becauſe the diſtance of the light makes the ſhadow of bodies many times greater than the bodies themſelves (5). Plutarch's 700 ſtadia make 87500 paces; he conſequently makes the interval or diſtance greater than either Pliny or Solinus. According to Apollonius, it was equal to the ſpace that a ſhip can ſail from day-break to noon. Salmaſius proves that, according to the uſual computation of the antient Geographers, this ſignifies two hundred and fifty ſtadia (6); whence we may infer, that Apollonius leſſened, by more than one half, which the other authors compleat between mount Athos and the iſland of Lemnos, and that he yet ſuppoſes it much greater than Belon found it; eight French leagues containing but one hundred and ſixty ſtadia. Note Apollonius obſerves, that the ſhadow of mount Athos extended as far as the city of Myrina.

Ἦρι δὲ νισσομένοισιν ἄθα ἀνέλλαε κολώνη
Θρηϊκίη, ἣ τόσσον ἀπόπροθι λῆμνον ἔῃσαι,
Ὅσσον ἐς ἤνδιον κεν ἐΰσολος ὁλκὰς ἀνύσσαι,
Ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ σκιάει, ϗ ἐσάχρι μυρίνης (7).

"Then, as they ſail'd, by the ſtill doubtful light,
"They ſpied the Thracian Athos, which projects
"A ſhade quite to Myrina, in fam'd Lemnos,
"Whoſe ſhores the ſwifteſt ſhip can ſcarce attain,
"E're mighty Sol has run through half his courſe.

(1) Plin. lib. 4. pag. m. 161. *juxta editionem* Harduini.

(2) Solin. cap. 11. pag. 31.

(3) Belon, *Obſervat. de pluſieurs ſingularitez*, lib. 1. chap. 26. pag. 58, 59.

(4) Our Geographers generally aſſign 2500 paces to a common French league.

(5) Plut. *de facie in orbe Lunæ*, pag. 935, F. Note, Mr. Boyle made uſe of Amyot's verſion on this occaſion.

(6) Salmaſ. *in Solinum*, pag. m. 184.

(7) Apoll. *Argon.* lib. 1. ver. 601. pag. m. 61.

Salmaſius (8) quotes Stephanus Byzantinus (9) to ſhew, that according to Pliny and Solinus, the ſhadow of mount Athos could not have extended as far as the iſland of Lemnos. He objects to them that, according to this writer, the ſhadow did not extend above 300 ſtadia; but he might have refuted them in a more ſolid manner, as well as many others, by the teſtimony of Peter Belon.

(8) Salmaſ. *in Solin.* pag. 184.

(9) Stephan. Byzant. *Voce* Ἄθως.

[*B*] *Its labyrinth was one of the four edifices of that kind, mentioned by the antients.*] The three others were, that of Egypt, that of the iſland of Crete, and that which King Porſenna built in Tuſcany (10). *De Ægyptio & Cretico labyrinthis, ſatis dictum eſt. Lemnius ſimilis illis, columnis tantum centum quinquaginta mirabilior fuit: quarum in officina turbines ita librati pependerunt, ut puero circumagente tornarentur. Architecti illum fecere Zmilus & Rholus, & Theodorus indigena. Exſtantque adhuc reliquiæ ejus, cum Cretici Italicique nulla veſtigia exſtent.* i. e. According to Pinet's verſion; "So much for the labyrinths of Egypt "and Candy (Crete). That of Stalimene (*) was the "ſame, except that it had an huudred and fifty mar-"ble columns more than the reſt, which had been ſo "artfully turned, that a child uſed to turn the wheel "which formed them; ſo finely poliſhed were the "irons and axes that ſupported them. By the way, "it is ſaid that Zmilus, Rholus, and Theodorus, all "natives of the ſaid iſland, built the labyrinth in "queſtion, of which ſome footſteps are ſtill remain-"ing; and yet not the leaſt traces of that of Candy "or of Tuſcany are found." This tranſlator ſuppoſes, that the three architects who raiſed this labyrinth were Lemnians; but the original affirms this only of Theodorus, who perhaps is the ſame who wrote a book concerning a Temple of Juno, *Eſt is fortaſſis quem de æde Dorica Junonis quæ eſt Sami, commentarium condidiſſe Vitruvius prodidit in præfatione libri 7. pag.* 124 (11).

(10) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 13. pag. m. 305.

(*) *Lemnos inf.*

[*C*] *Vulcan .... fell into this iſland .,. and ſet up a forge.*] Some authors relate that Jupiter threw him headlong; and that had not the Lemnians held out their arms to him, whilſt he was coming down through the

(11) Harduin. *in Plinium*, lib. 34. cap. 13. pag. m. 305.

remarkable for a kind of earth that was endued with great virtues, and it cured Philoctetes when bit by a ſerpent [*D*]. The Poets have very much ſung the diſpleaſing ſtay he made

(12) Lucian, *de Sacrific.* pag. 354. tom. 1.

(13) Homer, *Iliad.* lib. 18. ver. 396. pag. m. 556.

(14) Idem, ibid. lib. 1. ver. 591.

the air, he would have been killed (12). But he himſelf ſays in Homer, that Juno precipitated him, and that Eurynome and Thetis, the daughters of Oceanus, caught him, and ſaved his life (13). He declares in another part of the Iliad (14), that Jupiter took him by the foot, and threw him out of heaven; and that having taken up a whole day in falling, he fell into the iſland of Lemnos at ſun-ſet; that he was almoſt dead, and that the inhabitants took him up. Homer, it will be objected, ſhould have been a little more careful not to contradict himſelf; but what he ſays does not imply a contradiction, he only relating two different adventures. Valerius Flaccus ſuppoſes that Vulcan fell on the ſhore of Lemnos; that the inhabitants ran the inſtant they heard his voice, and furniſhed him with every thing he wanted, ſo that he retained, from that time, a great affection for this iſland.

Jam ſummis Vulcania ſurgit
Lemnos aquis, tibi per varios defleta labores
Ignipotens; nec te Furiis & crimine matrum
Terra, fugæ meritique piget meminiſſe prioris.
Tempore quo primùm fremitus inſurgere opertos
Cœlicolûm, & regni ſenſit novitate tumentes
Jupiter; ætheriæ nec ſtare ſilentia pacis:
Junonem volucri primam ſuſpendit Olympo,
Horrendum chaos oſtendens, pœnamque baratri..
Mox etiam pavidæ tentantem vincula matris
Solvere, prærupti Vulcanum vertice cœli
Devolvit: ruit ille polo, noctemque diemque
Turbinis in morem; Lemni cum litore tandem
Inſonuit: vox inde repens ut perculit urbem,
Acclivem ſcopulo inveniunt, miſerentque foventque
Alternos ægro cunctantem poplite greſſus.
Hinc reduci, ſuperas poſtquam pater annuit arces,
Lemnos cara deo; nec fama notior Ætnæ
Aut Lipares domus (15).

(15) Valer. Flaccus, *Argonaut.* lib. 2. ver. 78. pag. m. 91.

" High above th' abyſs Vulcanian Lemnos riſes,
" By thee, great God of fire, thro' various toils
" Full long deplor'd; nor grieves it thee, O land,
" To call to mind his flight, and wonted merit,
" When ſecret murmurs roſe, and the Gods arm'd;
" When fierce rebellion brav'd almighty Jove;
" Shook his bright throne, and broke the peace of
" Heaven.
" Jove firſt ſuſpended Juno from Olympus,
" And, to her aching eye, diſclos'd dread Chaos
" And all the tortures of the infernal ſhades.
" Then Vulcan, who ſtrove to unbind the chains
" Of his affrighted mother, next he ſeiz'd,
" And hurl'd him from the ſkies; ſwift round and
" round
" He fell, both night and day, till down he dropt
" On Lemnos iſle; and when his mournful voice
" Had reach'd the neighbouring town, the gazing
" crouds
" Reclin'd againſt a rock, when mov'd to pity,
" They ſoon conſol'd him, lam'd by the dread fall.
" Vulcan reſtor'd to Heaven, and recollecting
" The courteſies the Lemnians had indulg'd him,
" Their iſle he favours; Lemnos not inferior
" To Lipare, or Ætna."

Homer affirms, that no country in the world was ſo dear to Vulcan as Lemnos.

(16) Homer. *Odyſſ.* lib. 8. ver. 283. pag. m. 230.

Εἶσατ' ἴμεν ἐς Λῆμνον ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
Ἣ οἱ γαιάων πολὺ φιλτάτη ἐξὶν ἁπασέων (16).

Simulabat ſe iterum in Lemnum pulchrè fabricatum oppidum,
Quod illi terrarum multò chariſſimum eſt omnium.

We will now mention a circumſtance, which ſhews the long duration of the moſt fabulous traditions. Belon who travelled in Turkey in the year 1548, ſays, " that there is no inhabitant of Lemnos but knows " ſomething relating to Vulcan. And in like manner as the little children of the iſland of Corſula " will relate the hiſtory of the Dolphin, as though it " happened but a little before; ſo every body in the " iſland of Lemnos relates the adventures of Vulcan, " but differently; for ſome ſay that he and his horſe " broke their thighs by a fall; and that he was ſpeedily cured by the virtue of the earth on which he " fell (17)."

(17) Belon, *Obſervat.* lib. 1. chap. 29. pag. 68.

[*D*] *The place where he fell was remarkable for a kind of earth that was endued with great virtues, and it cured Philoctetes when bit by a ſerpent.*] Philoſtratus relates an incident that differs greatly from the common tradition. He ſays that Philoctetes did not ſuffer in Lemnos the bitter pains which have been ſo much ſpoke of. This brave man, adds he (18), " was " inſtantly cured by the Lemnian earth, which is taken " from the very ſpot where Vulcan fell antiently from " heaven; for that earth has the vertue to ſooth and " heal all kinds of violent and furious diſeaſes, and to " ſtop all bloody fluxes; but it does not cure the bite " of ſerpents except that of the hydra." Here follow ſome particulars which I extract from the obſervations of Peter Belon, who travelled into that country about the middle of the ſixteenth century. " The antients, " *ſays he* (19), had a kind of earth that was accounted an " excellent remedy for many diſeaſes, and is at this " day as much uſed as ever. The Latins call it *Terra* " *Lemnia*, or *Terra ſigillata*, and the French *Terre* " *ſellée*. This earth is ſo great a rarity, that thoſe " Embaſſadors who return from Turkey, generally " bring ſome of it away, in order to make preſents of " it to perſons of high diſtinction; it being good, " among other properties, againſt the plague and " defluxions of every kind. Druggiſts indeed ſell " what is called *Terra ſigillata*, but it is generally " adulterated; the iſland of Lemnos being the only " country where it is to be found." He gives (20) the figure of ſeveral ſeals which are employed to mark that earth, and adds (21), " that the whole crew of " a ſhip which was come from Lemnos to Conſtanti- " nople, aſſured him, that it was impoſſible to get any " except by the Under-Baſhaw of the iſland; and that " thoſe who were deſirous of ſeeing it in its natural " ſtate muſt go thither, the inhabitants being forbid " to export any, on pain of loſing their heads. They " declared farther, that if any of the inhabitants " ſhould ſell only a ſmall cake of it, or any was found " in his houſe unknown to the Governor, he was fined " a large ſum of money; for no perſon is allowed to " diſtribute or give any except the Under-Baſhaw in " queſtion, who farms the iſland, and pays a tribute " for it to the Grand Signior." Belon got himſelf conducted to the place whence that earth is taken, and ſaw nothing but an *oblique hole* (22), that was ſtopped; and it was impoſſible for him to get it opened, that being done but once a year, the 6th of Auguſt, on which occaſion *great ceremonies are obſerved and preparations made.* " This earth, *continues Belon* (23), " ſhews how greatly ceremonies inhance the value of " things that are mean and inconſiderable in themſelves; for notwithſtanding that the earth in queſtion " is endued with ſuch great virtue, yet was it ſo common " that any perſon might go and procure any of it, it " would be deſpiſed, were it not for the great ceremo- " nies I ſpeak of: ſo that if any other vein of earth, " like that of Cochino, had been found in another " part of the iſland in queſtion, I do not doubt but " that the Greeks would ſcruple to uſe it, unleſs the " (*) Caloyers had been preſent at the digging it, and " performed the uſual ceremonies; and though they " had got ſome from Cochino abovementioned, they " yet would ſcruple to uſe, or give it to other people, " had it not been dug the ſixth of Auguſt: they imagining that part of its virtue proceeds from the ceremonies which are practiſed by men on thoſe occaſions; and would even think that it had no vertue, " unleſs they themſelves ſaw it dug up." Nothing can be more judicious than theſe obſervations of Belon, who gives the two examples following. " There " are great quantities of the Iris's growing on the " mountains of Macedonia, and were to be ſold at a " dear price; yet it was thought that no perſons " ſhould be allowed to gather it but ſuch as were

(18) Philoſtrat. *in Heroicis.* N. B. Mr. Bayle makes uſe of Vigenere's tranſlation, tom. 2. folio 253 edit. 4to.

(19) Belon, *Obſervat.* lib. 1. chap. 22. p. 51.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Ibid. chap. 23. pag. 54.

(22) Ibid. chap. 28. pag. 63.

(23) Ibid. chap. 29. pag. 65.

(*) Greek Monks.

made in the iſland of Lemnos [*E*], whilſt the Greeks were beſieging Troy. Some other reaſons gave riſe to the fiction I related concerning Vulcan; for it was ſaid, that in antient times ſtrong flames uſed often to iſſue from the ground in the iſland of Lemnos [*F*], and particularly on the ſummit of Mount Moſchylus. Two maſſacres were perpetrated in that iſland, which gave occaſion to ſome proverbs (*f*). The firſt of thoſe maſſacres is that which I mentioned under the article HYPSIPYLE; and this country would in a certain time have been quite depopulated, had not the Argonauts prevented it. The women had murthered all the men, and did not intend to give a reception to the firſt comers; for hearing that a veſſel was come to their iſland, they ran armed to the ſhore, fully determined to oppoſe the invaſion (*g*); but when they found theſe were not the

(*f*) *See* Eraſmus's *Chil.* Cent. 9. num. 27. and *Chil* 2. Cent. 10. num. 44.

(*g*) Apollon. *Arg.* lib. 1. ver. 633.

" chaſte; and that the earth muſt be ſprinkled, three " months before with holy-water, in order to pacify " it. And ſeveral other ceremonies, which Theo- " phraſtus has deſcribed, were to be practiſed (24)." He then takes ſome notice of the antient ceremonies relating to the earth of Lemnos. " As early as Dioſ- " corides, who wrote before Galen, it was a cuſtom " to mix he-goat's blood with earth, in order to make " cakes of it. The reader is to know, that ſome ce- " remonies uſed to be performed in killing the he-goats " conſecrated to Venus, who, as the fables relate, " makes the Lemnian women ſmell rank like goats; " and their huſbands having expreſt a diſguſt at them, " they all, with one common conſent, killed all the " men in that iſland. For this reaſon, the Prieſteſs " uſed to ſeal thoſe cakes with a ſeal on which was " the image of a goat, whence they took their Greek " name *Sphragida ægos*, which ſignifies a goat's ſeal ... " Galen being deſirous to know the truth of what " was related concerning this earth, as he returned " from Troy, called then Alexandria, a colony inha- " bited by the Romans, in his way to Rome, he paſt " by Lemnos, and enquired whether they ſtill had the " cuſtom of mixing goat's blood with earth before it " was ſealed. But he being on the very ſpot in " queſtion, in Lemnos, found that this cuſtom had " been laid aſide. He gives an account of what was " performed when he was there; and relates that a " Prieſteſs threw, here and there, ſome wheat and " barley on the ground, and practiſed certain other " ceremonies according to the cuſtom of that country; " after which ſhe filled a waggon with this earth, and " had it carried with her into the city of Hephæſtia. " Galen relates this, and much more, which we will " not relate for brevity ſake (25)." With regard to the modern ceremonies, he tells us, *what had been confirmed to him by above ſix hundred men, who had ſeen them ſolemnized all their life-time.* " The chief per- " ſons both Greeks and Turks, with their Prieſts and " Friars, meet together. The Greeks then go to the " little chapel called Sotira, and there ſolemnizing " Maſs, after the Grecian manner, accompanied with " prayers, they all go together accompanied by the " Turks, and aſcend the hill which is but two bow- " ſhot from the chapel; and cauſe the earth to be dug up, " by fifty or threeſcore men, till they have found out " the vein, and are come to it; and when they are " got to the earth, the Greek Monks fill ſmall bags " with it made of beaſt's ſkins, and theſe they give " to the Under-Baſhaw or Vayvod; and when they " have taken enough for that time, the diggers imme- " diately cloſe or ſhut up the earth; after which the " Under-Baſhaw ſends the greateſt part of the earth " that was taken up to the Grand Signior at Conſtan- " tinople, and ſells the reſt to Merchants ... Thoſe " who are preſent when the earth is drawn out of its " vein, may every one take a little for their reſpective " uſes, but dare not ſell it. The Turks are leſs ſcru- " pulous than the Greeks and many other nations. " They ſuffer the Greek Chriſtians to ſay their prayers " on the ſealed earth in their preſence, and they " themſelves joyn with them. And if what the oldeſt " inhabitants relate be true, the cuſtom of ſelecting " one day only in the year, was introduced at the time " that the Venetians were poſſeſſed of Lemnos, and " the iſlands of the Ægean ſea (26)." Stephen Alba- carius, whom Buſbequius ſent purpoſely into the iſland of Lemnos, in order that he might inform himſelf of all thoſe particulars, was more fortunate than Belon, he aſſiſting in the ceremonies. See the relation he wrote of it to that illuſtrious Embaſſador. See alſo the *Egeo redivivo, ò ſia Chorographia dell' Achipelago* of Francis Placentia, Profeſſor of Geography at Modena (27).

(24) Ibid. pag. 66.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Belon, *Obſervat.* liv. 1. chap. 29. pag. 67.

Pliny (28) gives a long account of the virtues of the *Terra ſigillata* of Lemnos, but he takes it to be a kind of vermilion, and confounds it with a red chalk which was dug in the ſame iſland. See Salmaſius (29). The reader will meet with many particulars in Chapter III, Book III, Tom. II, of Lewis Guyon,

(27) This work is mentioned in the *Acta Eruditi*, for Oct. 1688, pag. 521.

(28) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 6.

(29) Salmaſ. in *Solin.* pag. 1157.

[*E*] *The Poets have very much ſung the diſpleaſing ſtay he made in the iſland of Lemnos.*] Some relate that the Greeks ſent him thither, becauſe Vulcan's Prieſts could cure the bite of ſerpents. *Neque multo poſt Philocteta cum paucis ubi curaretur in Lemnum inſulam mittitur, namque in ea ſacri Vulcani antiſtites inhabitare ab accolis dicebantur ſolitî mederi adverſum venena hujuſmodi* (30). He was left there till the end of the ſiege of Troy, and he bore with extreme impatience the rigours of his condition.

(30) Dictys Cretenſis, lib. 2. pag. m. 171. *See alſo* Euſtathius in Book 2. Iliad.

Non te, Pæantia proles,
Expoſitum Lemnos noſtro cum crimine haberet,
Qui nunc (ut memorant) ſylveſtribus abditus antris,
Saxa moves gemitu, Laërtiadeque precaris
Quæ meruit, quæ (ſi dii ſunt) non vana precaris.
Et nunc ille eadem nobis juratus in arma,
(Heu!) pars una ducum, quo ſucceſſore ſagittæ
Herculis utuntur, fractus morboque fameque
Venaturque aliturque avibus, volucreſque petendo
Debita Trojanis excercet ſpicula fatis (31).

(31) Ovid. *Met.* lib. 13. ver. 45.

" Nor Philoctetes had been left inclos'd
" In a bare iſle, to wants and pains expos'd,
" Where to the rocks with ſolitary groans,
" His ſufferings and our baſeneſs he bemoans;
" And wiſhes (ſo may Heaven his wiſh fulfill)
" The due reward to him who caus'd his ill.
" Now he, with us to Troy's deſtruction ſworn,
" Our brother of the war, by whom are borne
" Alcides's arrows pent in narrow bounds,
" With cold and hunger pinch'd, and pain'd with
" wounds,
" To find him food and cloathing, muſt employ
" Againſt the birds the ſhafts due to the fate of
" Troy." DRYDEN.

The Tragic Poets diſplayed all their eloquence on this occaſion. Read the following words from Tully (32). *Turpe putandum eſt non dico dolere (nam id quidem eſt interdum neceſſe) ſed ſaxum illud Lemnium clamore Philoctetео funeſtare.*

(32) Cicero, lib. 2. *de finib.* cap. 29.

Quod ejulatu, queſtu, gemitu, fremitibus
Reſonando mutum flebiles voces refert.

i. e. " It ought to be looked upon as ſhameful, I do " not ſay to grieve, this being indeed neceſſary ſome- " times, but to be for ever wailing like Philoctetes's " Lemnian rock;

" Which, with deep wailings, bitter ſighs and
" groans
" Loud ecchoing, utters mournful ſounds, tho' mute."

See alſo Sophocles's Tragedy entitled *Philoctetes*.

[*F*] *Strong flames uſed often to iſſue from the ground in the iſland of Lemnos.*] Euſtathius mentions this as the reaſon why it was feigned that Vulcan fell into that iſland. Ὅτι πῦρ ἐκεῖ γῆθεν ἀνεδίδοτό ποτε αὐτόματον (33). i. e. " Becauſe antiently fire uſed to iſſue " ſpontaneouſly from the ground in that iſland." The Scholiaſt on Lycophron, quoting Hellanicus's book of the foundation of Chios, relates, that the invention

(33) Euſtat. in lib. 1. Iliad.

the Thracians their enemies coming to attack them, and that the veſſel in queſtion belonged to the Argonauts, they ſhewed them all manner of kindneſs; and told thoſe brave men that they ſhould have leave to come on ſhore, provided they would promiſe, upon oath, to lie with them [G]. The Argonauts accepted of the condition, and fulfilled it in ſo delightful a manner, that one would have concluded they had laid aſide all thoughts of

of fire and arms, was owing to the falling of lightning on a tree, in the iſland of Lemnos. This he ſays on ſome words of Lycophron, where the fire is called Lemnian (34). Almoſt the ſame things have been related of mount Moſychlus as of Ætna. See Heſychius and Nicander and the Scholiaſt on the latter, with the verſes he quotes from Antimachus (35), and do not forget the following of Seneca.

(34) Τερῳώσας γυῖα λημναίῳ πυρι. *Comburens artus igne Lemnio.* Lycophr. ver. 227.

Quæ tanta nubes flamma Sicanias bibit?
Quæ Lemnos ardens? quæ plaga igniferi poli
Vetans flagranti currere in zona diem (36).

(35) They are in Bochart. *Geog. Sacr.* lib. 1. cap. 12. pag. m. 432.

(36) Seneca *in Hercule Oetæo*, ver. 1360.

" What are theſe flames that drink Sicilian clouds?
" Say, is this fiery Lemnos? What burning clime
" In heav'ns high arch, not ſuffering the day
" To run its courſe around the flaming zone.

At this rate it might well be ſaid that Vulcan had forges in the iſland of Lemnos. Ἐν τῇ λήμνῳ τὰ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἐργαστήρια (37). *In Lemno Vulcani fabriles Officinæ*

(37) Schol. Sophocl. *in Philoct.* ver. 1000.

[G] *Provided they would promiſe, upon oath, to lie with them*]. As this circumſtance is contrary to the decorum which Poets commonly obſerve in their relations, it will be proper for me to produce a proof for it, in the words of the original. The Greek paſſage therefore is as follows: Αἰσχύλος ἐν ὑψιπύλῃ ἐν ὅπλοις φησὶν αὐτὰς ἐπελθούσας χειμαζομένοις τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις, μέχρις οὗ ὅρκον ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποβᾶσι μιγήσεσθαι αὐταῖς. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Λημνίαις καὶ μάχην ἰσχυρὰν αὐτὰς συνάψαι φησίν (38). Theſe words ſignify, that the Lemnian women took up arms; and would not leave off threatning the Argonauts buffeted by the ſtorm, till they had ſwore that they would lie with them. Euripides even ſays, that they really fought with great vigour. This incident cannot appear probable to any but thoſe who well weigh the circumſtances; but if we conſider, on one hand, that theſe women in queſtion had deſtroyed all the males who were in the iſland; and, on the other, that they reſolved on ſuch a maſſacre, merely becauſe their huſbands, unable to bear with their ill ſmells, had got concubines (39), the thing will appear extremely probable. One cannot wonder that the Lemnian women ſhould have been ſo indiſcreetly forward in their advances, and that the Argonauts ſhould have diſcovered ſo little tenderneſs and galantry. The military dreſs and warlike air of theſe women, was far from being alluring objects. The reflexion on the maſſacre they had juſt before perpetrated on their fathers, huſbands, ſons, and brothers, was adapted to inſpire no other paſſion but horror. Beſides, the conſideration of the motive of this ſlaughter, muſt neceſſarily have proved an obſtacle to the love, with which the Argonauts might otherwiſe have been fired for them; and this motive was no other but the diſtaſte of the Lemnians, ariſing from the *ill ſmell of the Lemnians, which proceeded from their breath; but ſome are of opinion, that it came from their armpits, which we commonly call, to ſmell rank; and the antients, to ſmell like a he-goat. Lactantius, on the fifth book of Statius's Thebaid, follows this opinion; he calling the ſmell of the Lemniades,* hircinum oderem, *a goatiſh ſmell. Dion Chryſoſtom ſays alſo to the ſame purpoſe, in his 33d oration,* Λημνίων ταῖς γυναιξὶ, τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὀργισθεῖσαν λέγουσι διαφθεῖραι τὰς μασχάλας. *As he related that Venus, being exaſperated againſt the wives of the Lemnians, infected their arm-pits* (40). All things duly weighed, one may eaſily perceive that the antients did not tranſgreſs the laws of veriſimilitude, in ſuppoſing that it was with reluctance, Jaſon's companions could be prevailed upon to promiſe, upon the Lemnian ſhoar, what they would have aſked for, and offered, in other places. The women who parleyed with them, deſerved to be told what was ſaid by Catullus againſt one Rufus, who was ſurprized to meet with none but cruel fair-ones.

(38) Scholiaſt. Apollon. in lib. 1. ver. 773. pag. m. 79.

(39) See the remark [A] of the article HYPSIPYLE.

(40) Meziriac on *Ovid's Epiſtles*, pag. 557, 558.

Noli admirari, quare tibi fœmina nulla
Rufe, velit tenerum ſuppoſuiſſe femur.
Non illam raræ labefactes munere veſtis,
Aut perluciduli deliciis lapidis.
Lædit te quædam mala fabula, qua tibi fertur
Valle ſub alarum trux habitare caper.
Hunc metuunt omnes: neque mirum, nam mala valde eſt
Beſtia, nec quicum bella puella cubet.
Quare aut cruelem naſorum interfice peſtem:
Aut admirari deſine, quur fugiunt (41).

(41) Catul. Epig. 70. pag. m. 157.

The ſenſe is

" O Rufus, wonder not, if all the fair
" Refuſe to liſten to thy fond Devoirs:
" They are not won with the gay charms of dreſs,
" Nor with the diamond's ever-ſparkling Rays.
" A certain evil rumour ſays that Thou
" Beneath thy Arm-pits hid'ſt a cruel Goat;
" This frightens every one; and who can wonder
" That each bright Nymph ſhould conſtantly refuſe
" To take ſo foul a Beaſt to her embraces.
" Therefore, or kill the ſtench that ſo offends them,
" Or ceaſe to wonder why they ever fly thee.

Ovid ſaid

Quam ſæpe admonui ne trux caper iret in alas,
Neve forent duris aſpera crura pilis! (*).

(*) Ovid. *de Arte Amandi*, lib. 3. ver. 193.

That is

" I need not warn you of too powerful ſmells,
" Which, ſometimes health, or kindly heat expels:
" Nor, from your tender legs to pluck with care
" The caſual growth of all unſeemly hair.

CONGREVE.

Horace gave the like reaſon to a woman, who complained of the contempt with which he treated her.

Quid tibi vis mulier nigris digniſſima barris?
Munera cur mihi, quidve tabellas
Mittis, nec firmo juveni, neque naris obejæ?
Namque ſagacius unus odoror,
Polypus, an gravis hirſutis cubet hircus in alis,
Quàm canis acer ubi lateat ſus.
Quis ſudor vietis, & quàm malus undique membris
Creſcit odor, cum &c (42).

(42) Horat. Epod. Od. 12.

The ſenſe is

" Thou Hag, whom only Elephants ſhou'd claſp,
" Why peſter me with Billet doux and Preſents?
" I am too weak, and of ſo fine a ſmell,
" That never Hound diſcovered a boar's Haunts
" Sooner than I a luſtful female's ſtench.
" How flows the ſweat from her ſalacious limbs
" When! &c.

i. e. According to the tranſlation of Robert and Anthony le Chevallier d'Agneaux.

Que me demandes-tu, femme ſur toute digne
D'elephans noirs? pour quelle cauſe à moy
Ny roide jouvenceau, ny d'épeſſe narine,
Fais-tu de dons & de Lettres envoy?
Car plus ſubtilement, que la bauge, où ſe cele
Le porc ſanglier, le chien n'odore ſin;
Je ſen s'au nez le poulpe, ou ſi deſſous l'aiſſelle
Au rouge poil loge un ſtair de bouquin.
Quelle ſueur luy croiſt combien luy croiſt mauvaiſe
Es membres ſtacs un odeur, lors qu'étant &c.

There are ſome people who, by conſidering too attentively theſe circumſtances, will perhaps be of opinion, that the rules of probability would have been better followed, if the ſame conduct had been aſcribed to the Argonauts which Auguſtus obſerved, when Fulvia propoſing peace or war to him (43), he made choice of the latter. But it is certain that veriſimilitude has been ſufficiently obſerved in the epiſode of Lemnos; the choice the Argonauts made being the moſt natural. Their ſhip lay in the road, and was buffeted by a ſtorm;

(43) See the remark [C] of the article of the firſt GLAPHYRA; and the remark [F] of the article LYCORIS.

of the expedition to Colchos; but Hercules, who had remained in the ſhip, reprimanded them for giving a looſe to pleaſure in the manner they had done, and obliged them to return on board [*H*]. According to ſome writers, they paſſed two or three years with the women of Lemnos, and the iſland was repeopled by this means. The other maſſacre was, when all the children which the Lemnians had by their Athenian concubines were ſlain [*I*]. I ſhall ſpeak of this in a remark. This iſland was very much infeſted by

ſtorm: they had occaſion for a port in Lemnos, and it was highly neceſſary for them to land there: but this they could not do without coming to a battle, and they had already experienced the valour of the Lemnian women; they having fought with very great bravery, and had not been conquered. It was neceſſary, either to renew the attack, or retire, or take an oath to indulge all the wanton wiſhes of the women in queſtion. To retreat would be ignominious, whether before the deciſion of a ſecond battle; or, after freſh attempts as unſucceſsful as the former. Could any ſucceſs be hoped for (would all Greece ſay) from the expedition of Colchos ſince our Heroes have fallen in the iſland of Lemnos, where they were repulſed by ſilly women, and obliged to fly? The ſtorm defeated all their hopes with regard to ſucceſs, in caſe of a new battle. The only thing that remained then was, to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the oath which was required. And perhaps they imagined that the cauſe of the occaſion of the Lemnians was over, or in a great meaſure abated; and that, whatever might happen, they might ſoon be able to free themſelves from the ungrateful yoke, ſince nothing particular was enjoyned them, either as to time or other circumſtances. Such might be the conſiderations which obliged them to take an oath; and we are not to believe that they once thought of equivocations or mental reſervations, or the right or privilege which diſpenſes thoſe perſons from the obſervance of on oath, extorted by force, and *metu cadente in conſtantem virum*. The reader will find, by the following remark, that they were very true to their promiſe.

[*H*] *Hercules, who had remained in the ſhip, reprimanded them, . . . and obliged them to return on board.*] One may juſtly wonder that Hercules, loving the fair ſo paſſionatlely as he did, ſhould not have diverted himſelf, in the iſle of Lemnos, after the ſame manner as his companions; for altho' the Lemnian women, for the reaſons already mentioned, could not be very temping, yet one ſees no reaſon why he ſhould be more delicate than the reſt of the Greeks who were with him. It will be anſwered, that the oath they required carried ſome ſuſpicion along with it; and that ſince they did not look upon a bare promiſe as a ſufficient tye, he concluded that they muſt be extremely diffident of the power of their charms; that here was ſomething concealed; and that it was not worth their while to go on ſhore. But once again, how came Hercules, (than whom no one could be more luſtful) to be more ſcrupulous than his companions? I will own that I know not how to anſwer this difficulty, and muſt therefore take up with the bare matter of fact. Apollonius declares, " that Hercules could never be prevailed up-
" on to go aſhore on the Iſland, but kept con-
" ſtantly on board the ſhip Argo, that he might have
" a juſt title to cenſure his companions, who gave
" too great a looſe in the pleaſures they took with
" the Lemnian women, and laid aſide all thoughts of
" their enterprize; which he did with ſo much the
" greater freedom, as he himſelf was not liable to
" the cenſure in queſtion (44)." According to Valerius Flaccus, our young heroes were ſo entirely devoted to the adminiſtring conſolation to theſe Lemnian widows, that they thought no more of returning on board their ſhip. They quite forget themſelves in the iſland; they are delighted with the game; Hercules muſt be obliged to drag them thence by dint of reproaches; and to addreſs himſelf, in very ſevere terms, to Jaſon, the Chieftain of the enterprize.

(44) Meziriac, *on Ovid's Epiſtles* pag. 585, 586.

Urbe ſedent læti Minyæ, viduiſque vacantes
Indulgent thalmis; nimboſque educere luxu:
Nec jam velle vias: Zephyroſque audire vocantes
Diſſimulant; donec reſides Tyrinthius Heros
Non tulit; ipſe rati invigilans atque integer, urbis
Invidiſſe deos tantum maris æquor adortis,
Deſertaſque domos, fraudataque tempore ſegni
Vota patrum: quid & ipſe viris cunctantibus aſſit?
O miſeri, &c (45).

(45) Valer. Flaccus, lib. 2. ver. 370. pag. m. 101.

The ſenſe is

" With joy Minyans in the city ſtay,
" And wanton in the widow'd Lemnians arms:
" All thoughts of parting, now, are laid aſide,
" And they don't hear the winds that chide their ſtay;
" But Hercules was griev'd at their ſupineneſs,
" Himſelf unhurt, and watching o'er his ſhip;
" Then ſtrives t'inſpire 'em with the pleaſing thoughts
" Of their own country; their deſerted houſes;
" Their parents wiſhes for their ſafe return;
" Next cries, O wretched men, &c."

I obſerved elſewhere (46), that the beſt prize fell to Jaſon's ſhare; the Queen of the iſland falling in love with him, and indulging him the fondeſt marks of her tenderneſs and paſſion. The remonſtrances of Hercules awakened the heroes; they returned on board, without once regarding the plaints and lamentations of the Lemnian women (47). Ovid (48) ſuppoſes that they continued two years with them; but Apollonius informs us that they made a much ſhorter ſtay, which ſeems more probable; for had they ſpent two years in thoſe delights, there had been no need of ſounding Orpheus's Lyre to draw them thence; that lyre whoſe power was ſo great, that even ſtones obeyed its harmony (49). Now it was neceſſary to have recourſe to the machine; for otherwiſe they could never have tore themſelves from the Lemnian women.

(46) In the article HYPSIPYLE.

(47) *See* Valer. Flaccus, lib. 2. ver. 393, *& ſeq.*

(48) Ovid. in *Epiſt. Hypſip.*

(49) Ovid. *Met.* lib. 11. ver. 2 & 42.

Ἄλλη δ' ἄλλῳ ἔμικτο, καὶ ἐκλελάθοντο πορείης,
Εἰ μὴ ἀποπροτοίοις ἐνοπαῖς θελξίφρονι θυμῷ
Ἡωτίζῳ θελχθέντες ἔβαν πολὺ νῆα μέλαιναν,
Εἰρεσίην ποθέοντες, ἐπεμνήσαντο δὲ μόχθων.
Aliæque alius commiſcebatur, & obliti fuiſſent itineris ſui,
Niſi quidem revocatoriis monitis, ſuavique cantu
Noſtro perſuaſi, deſcendiſſent ad navem nigram,
Remigationem deſiderantes, recordatique fuiſſent laboris (50).

(50) Orpheus in *Argonauticis*, ver. 478. pag. m. 34.

The ſenſe is,

" So thrilling were their joys, they'd now forgot
" The expedition, had not I recall'd
" Their roving thoughts, by the enticing ſounds
" Of my harmonious Lyre; and thus prevail'd
" With them to reaſcend the mighty ſhip;
" Sail on, and reaſſume their promis'd labours."

I will here take notice of an error in Barthius. He ſays that Ovid makes the Argonauts continue three years in that iſland, and proves it thus (51): *Sic enim ipſum penes Jaſoni ſcribit bona noſtra Hypſipyla.*

(51) Barth. *in Statium*, tom. 3. pag. 228.

Tertia meſſis erat, cum tu dare vela coactus,
Impleſti lacrymis talia verba tuis.

That is,

" Our Hypſipyle writes to Jaſon as follows,
" 'Twas the third harveſt, when oblig'd to go,
" You thus addreſt me (weeping as you ſpoke)."

Had he taken notice of the preceding verſe (52), he would have ſaid only two years; and this is an inſtance to ſhew, how incumbent it is on writers not to go on too faſt; but to examine with patience the words before and after the paſſages they intend to quote. Three harveſts do not make three years, but are included pretty nearly in two years, as three ſundays in the compaſs of two weeks.

(52) *Hic tibi biſque æſtas, biſque concurrit hiems.*

[*I*] *The other maſſacre was, when all the children, which the Lemnians had by their Athenian concubines, were ſlain.*] To give a juſt illuſtration of the words, I muſt obſerve (53), that the Athenians, having drove the Pelaſgi out of Attica, gave them the tract of land which lies under the mountain Hymeſſus for an habitation (54). This was to reward the Pelaſgi, for the pains they had taken, in building the wall of the citadel

(53) Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 137, *& ſeq.*

(54) Thus Herodotus calls it; others ſay *Hymettus.*

by grasshoppers; on which account every inhabitant was commanded, by way of tax, to kill a certain number of them; and those birds were worshipped which destroyed them [*K*].

Bacchus

tadel of Athens. They were so laborious in cultivating the country which was given them, that the soil which before was extremely ungrateful, was by them rendered extremely fruitful, for which reason the Athenians drove them from it. This is the only reason that Hecatæus the historian assigns for it; but they themselves would not own this injustice. They asserted that their children of both sexes (55) going to fetch water from the nine fountains, had met with very ignominious treatment from the Pelasgi, who, not contented with that insult, prepared to make an inroad, and were convicted of it. The Athenians asserted, that it was at their option to put them to death; and that they had shewn a great deal of clemency, in only driving them out of the country. The Pelasgi withdrew to different places, and particularly to the isle of Lemnos. They sought for opportunities to revenge themselves; and knowing the times on which the Athenians solemnized their festivals, they lay in ambush for those Athenian women, who were celebrating the festival of Diana in Brauron, and carried off a great number whom they made their concubines. They had a great many children by them, and taught them the language and manners of the Athenians. These children grew proud, and disdained to associate with those who were born of Lemnian mothers; and if any among them happened to fight with a child, who was a Pelasgian both by father and mother, they all ran to his assistance, and affected a superiority in every respect. The Pelasgi observing this, concluded that as these bastards might, from their infancy, unite together against legitimate children, and pretend to command over them, they would one day grow very formidable: they therefore put them all to death, and afterwards killed their Athenian concubines. This was followed by a remarkable sterility, which extended itself to their wives, their fields and their flocks. They then applied themselves to the oracle for some relief, when Apollo commanded them, to make the Athenians all the satisfaction that should be demanded. They went to Athens, and declared that this was their intention; but when a country was demanded of them, resembling a table that was spread in the Prytaneum, and covered with dainties of every kind, they replied, *we will comply, when a ship shall come, in twenty four hours, from your country to ours, by a north wind.* These imagined they had not bound themselves by any promise, considering the situation of Athens with respect to Lemnos. Miltiades, several years after, seized upon the Thracian Chersonesus, whence he set sail towards Lemnos; and declared to the inhabitants, that the condition contained in their promise was fulfilled, and consequently that they must quit the country. The Hephæstians obeyed, but the Myrinians made a resistance, alledging that the Chersonesus was not Attica; but Miltiades besieged them, and forced them to surrender; this is what we are told by Herodotus (56). This relation is not exactly like, in all respects, to that of Cornelius Nepos, with regard to the conquest of the island of Lemnos; for this last historian (57) supposes that Miltiades, before he subdued the Chersonesus, directed himself to the Lemnians, to summon them to retire voluntarily elsewhere, and that they made him the abovementioned answer; that having conquered the Chersonesus, he returned to Lemnos, and demanded the performance of what had been stipulated; and that the Lemnians not having dared to resist, gave up the island to him. Cornelius Nepos calls them Carians, and not Pelasgi. It appears from several passages of Thucydides, that the inhabitants of Lemnos sided with the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war. They at that time spoke the same language, and governed by the same laws as the Athenians (58).

(55) Herodotus observes, that neither the Athenians, nor the rest of the Greeks had slaves in those days.

(56) Herodotus, lib. 6. cap. 137, *& seq.*

(57) Cornelius Nepos, *in Vita Miltiadis.*

(58) Thucydides, lib. 7. pag. m. 436.

Note, Herodotus observes, that the Greeks gave the name, Lemnian action, to a heinous crime, because of the massacre of the Athenian concubines &c. and the barbarity with which the Lemnian women had dispatched their husbands, without even sparing King Thoas. This is the true sense of the words of this historian; and it is without reason that a learned Critic finds some faults in them (59). *Verba Herodoti, ubi de Thoante sermo est, omnino mendosa sunt.* Ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξέ σφισι κλείνειν τὰς παῖδας σὺς ἐκ τῶν Ατλικέων γυναικῶν. Ἀπὸ τύτυ δὲ τῦ ἔργυ καὶ τῦ προλέγυ τύτυ τὸ ἐργάσανλο αἱ γυναῖκες, τὰς ἅμα Θόανλι ἄνδρας σφελέας ἀποκλείναται, νενόμισαι ἀνὰ τὴν ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάνλα Λήμνια καθέεσθαι (60). *Nemo enim de Thoante hoc tradidit. Igitur duæ voces,* ἅμα Θόανλι, *aut glossemata sunt, aut corrupta est prior, & legendum:* παρὰ Θόανλ☉. Barthius does not express his idea very clearly; for we do not know what he means by these words, *Nemo de Thoante hoc tradidit.* Does he mean, that no author has related that the Lemnian women, favoured or assisted by Thoas, dispatched their husbands? But this is not Herodotus's meaning. Does he mean that all authors are agreed, that Thoas was not killed; and therefore that there is an error in the passage of Herodotus, if it be pretended that Thoas is here included in the number of the Lemnians who were killed by the women? In that case he is mistaken; since some authors say, that the women having discovered that Hypsipyle had not killed her father Thoas, they *made so narrow a search after her, that they found her, and put her to death* (61).

(59) Barth. *in Statium Theb.* lib. 5. ver. 328. pag. 167. tom. 3.

(60) Here follows the Latin translation of this Greek, in the editions of Herodotus: *Itaque placitum est ut eos filios è matribus Atticis susceptos necarent.... Ex hoc facinore, & illo superiore feminarum, quæ viros suos una cum Thoante interemerunt, usu receptum est per Græciam ut terrima quæque facinora Lemnia appellentur.*

Erasmus has committed some errors, in epitomizing Herodotus's relation. He says (62), in the first place, that the Lemnians carried off the Athenian women, during the celebration of a festival of Minerva at Brauron. He should have said Diana, and not Minerva. He adds, in the second place, that the Athenian concubines would not suffer their sons to marry the legitimate daughters of the Lemnians. Now Herodotus does not say this, but supposes that those bastards were killed before they had attained a marriageable age. Erasmus's third error is, his asserting that, after this massacre, the Lemnians were affected with barrenness, pestilence, and many other evils. Herodotus mentions only the barrenness of the earth, and that of women Πιεζόμενοι δὲ λιμῷ τε καὶ ἀπαιδίῃ. *Pariter fame & liberorum orbitate vexati* (63). Fourthly; Erasmus charges him most falsely with saying, that these evils partly gave rise to the proverb *Lemnia mala.* Fifthly; that the other circumstance which gave rise to this proverb was, that the Lemnian women, unable to bear the stench of their husbands, murthered them all, being assisted by Thoas. It is true indeed that Herodotus vouches occasionally, as one of the reasons of the proverb, the slaughter which the Lemnian women made; but he does not say that their husbands stunk; and affirms that Thoas met with the same unhappy fate as the rest. Benedict, in his paraphrase of Pindar, is grosly mistaken; for, instead of saying that the Lemnians were incommoded with the stench of their wives, he affirms that the latter were incommoded with the stench of their husbands. *Quinetiam in Lemnium venerunt* (Argonautæ) .. *& cum Lemniadibus mulieribus, quæ maritos omnes eorum graveolentia offensæ occiderant, rem habuerunt* (64). This error has not been corrected in the edition of Pindar, printed at Oxford in 1698. The Scholiast, from whom Benedict had taken a passage (65), not long before, might have kept him from falling into Erasmus's snare. Moreri falls into it headlong, though he did not copy all the errors of that learned man; and indeed he has only taken a very small number of incidents which he met with in his Adages. *The Pelasgi,* says he (66), *carried off the Athenian women, and had children by them whom they afterwards killed, observing they had inclinations contrary to theirs. And they killed their husbands by the assistance of Thoas.* It is plain to every one, that this is assigning in too indefinite and too unlikely a manner, the motive which prompted the Lemnians to murder their husbands. It is likewise plainly telling us, that the action of these women was after the massacre of the bastards; as extravagant a falsity as the pretended assistance of Thoas.

(61) *See* Meziriac on *Ovid's Epistles,* pag. 561. *See also* pag. 558.

(62) Erasmus, *Adag.* Chil. 1. Cent. 9. num. 27. pag. m. 302.

(63) Herod. lib. 6. cap. 139.

(64) Paraphr. Pindari, Od. 4. Pyth. pag. m. 371.

(65) *Ad Strophe* 5. Od. 4. pag. 330.

(66) Moreri, under the word *Lemnos.*

[*K*] *Birds were worshipped .. which .. killed .. Grasshoppers.*] Here follows a very curious passage (67). *In Cyrenaïca regione lex etiam est ter anno debellandi eas, primo ova obterendo, deinde fœtum, postremo adultas: desertoris pœna in eum, qui cessaverit. Et in Lemno insula certa mensura præfinita est, quam singuli enecatarum ad magistratus referant. Gracculos* (68) *quoque ob id colunt, adverso volatu occurrentes earum exitio.*

(67) Plinius, lib. 11. cap. 29. pag. m. 528.

(68) Father Hardouin has a good remark here. *Corniculorum,* says he, *e genere avis est gracculus veterum Latinorum; nos* Choucas *vocamus, ut rectè Bellonius admonet,* lib. 6. cap. 3 & 7.

i. e.

Bacchus and Diana were there had in great veneration; but not Venus [*L*], who, on the other hand, did not love that country. She had received a ſignal affront there, it being in the iſland of Lemnos that Vulcan expoſed her linked with the God Mars (*b*); and gave all the Gods a ſight of her, as catched in the amorous act; however Homer is not of that opinion; he ſuppoſing heaven to be the ſcene of this adventure (*i*). The Perſians took this iſland in the reign of Darius ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and placed a Governor over it who treated the people with great inhumanity (*k*). It was ſubdued long after by Miltiades (*l*), on which occaſion Herodotus tells us an incident which cannot be made to agree with that of Plutarch [*M*]. Ubbo Emmius affirms that the Amazons reigned in that iſland before it was inhabited by the deſcendants of the Argonauts (*m*). I ſhould be glad to know in what good author he found that circumſtance. I have read in Vitruvius, that the Romans gave the revenue of it to the Athenians (*n*). If what Strabo wrote concerning it had been preſerved, I do not doubt but we ſhould have met with ſome curious particulars in them; but this part of that excellent Geographer's work is loſt; and Moreri

(*b*) See the Scholiaſt of Statius in Theb. *lib.* 5. *ver.* 59.

(*i*) Homer. *Odyſſ.* lib. 8.

(*k*) Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 26, 27.

(*l*) Idem, lib. 6. cap. 140.

(*m*) Ubbo Emmius, lib. 7. *de Veteri Græcia*, pag. 141. I am to obſerve, that if he goes upon what Strabo, lib. 11. pag. 348. relates, viz. that the Amazons had built the city of Myrina, his foundation is quite bad, there being ſeveral cities called Myrina.

(*n*) Vitruv. lib. 7. cap. 7.

i. e. "There is a law, in Cyrene for deſtroying "them thrice a year; firſt by breaking their eggs, "next their young, and laſtly ſuch as are full grown; "and thoſe perſons who diſcontinued the ſlaughter "were puniſhed as deſerters. And it is decreed in "the iſland of Lemnos, that every man ſhall kill a "certain number, and bring them to the magiſtrate. "They alſo worſhip Jays, who fly forward when "they go to deſtroy them." I will alſo quote Plutarch, though he differs from Pliny, with reſpect to the kind of bird which the Lemnians worſhipped. The Egyptians, ſays he (69), honoured the Ox, the Sheep and Ichneumon, *for the advantage and profit which they receive from them, as the inhabitants of Lemnos honoured Sky-larks, becauſe they find out Graſhoppers eggs, and break them to pieces.*

(69) Plut. *de Iſide & Oſiride*, pag. 380. N. B. Mr. Bayle made uſe of Amiot's verſion.

[*L*] *Bacchus and Diana were there had in great veneration, but not Venus.*] Thoas King of Lemnos, was the ſon of Bacchus and Ariadne (70); and therefore it is no wonder that the worſhip of Bacchus ſhould be well eſtabliſhed in this iſland. It was in the temple of this God that Hypſipyle concealed her father, the night of the maſſacre (71). Strabo informs us, that the myſteries of Samothrace and thoſe of Lemnos reſemble the ceremonies obſerved by the Bacchantes (72). Farther, this iſle was ſo fruitful in wine, that this circumſtance alone might make it be conſidered as a country conſecrated to the God in queſtion. Quintus Calaber calls it ἀμπελόεσσαν, abounding in wines (73), and travellers relate, that it very juſtly deſerves this epithet to this day (74). With reſpect to the worſhip of Diana, I ſhall content myſelf with pointing out the place where Plutarch relates that the Lemnians, being drove from their iſland, carried with them wherever they went the image or ſtatue of Diana, which they had carried off from Brauron (75). I likewiſe will obſerve that they ſtamped the figure of this Goddeſs on their *Terra ſigillata*. See Salmaſius in his *Exercitationes Plinianæ in Solinum*, pag. 1156. All authors; who mention the brutal fury with which the Lemnian women were fired againſt their huſbands, obſerve, that the ſtench which made them ſo diſtaſteful, was owing to Venus's anger, at her being ſo much neglected and deſpiſed in that iſland! See Apollodorus (76), Hyginus (77), the Scholiaſt on Apollonius (78), &c. Barthius has committed another error. He is of opinion that the Lemnians, in proceſs of time, conſecrated an image of Venus, which was one of the moſt perfect ſtatues of antiquity. Venerem *etiam* Lemniam, ſays he (79), *inter pulcherrima ſimulacra cultam poſtea, diſcimus ex Luciani Imaginibus. Item* Lemniam Minervam, *à Lemniis dedicatam, quod omnium fuerit Phidiæ operum elaboratiſſimum, Pauſaniæ Atticis.* i. e. "Lucian's images inform us, that the "Venus of Lemnos was afterwards adored among the "moſt beautiful ſtatues: we learn alſo from Pauſanias's "Atticks, that the inhabitants of Lemnos dedicated a "*Lemnian Minerva*, which was the moſt elaborate "of all Phidias's works." He has reaſon to ſay that the Minerva, which was Phidias's maſter-piece, was dedicated by the Lemnians. Pauſanias affirms that it was therefore ſirnamed the *Lemnian*. See the 28th chapter of his firſt book: but Barthius is in the wrong to diſtinguiſh it from the image mentioned by Lucian, and pretend that Lucian ſpoke of a Lemnian Venus. He has mentioned the Minerva of that name. This cannot be doubted, when we take notice of the remark he has made, viz. that it was the moſt excellent work Phidias ever made, and to which he ſet his name (80).

(70) Ovid. *Epiſt. Hypſipyl. Apollon.* lib. 1. Argon. *& multi alii apud* Meziriac on *Ovid's Epiſtles*, pag. 532.

(71) Val. Flacc. lib. 2. ver. 254.

(72) Strabo, lib. 10. pag. 321.

(73) Quint. Calab. lib. 9. ver. 337.

(74) See Belon, *Obſervations*, lib. 1. chap. 25.

(75) Plutarch. *de Virtutib. Mulier.* pag. 247.

(80) Lucian. *in Imagin.* pag. 5. tom. 2.

[*M*] *Herodotus tells us an incident, which cannot be made to agree with that of Plutarch.*] This laſt mentioned author relates, that the Tyrrhenians having ſeized on the iſlands of Lemnos, and of Imbros, carried off the Athenian women from Brauron, and had children by them. This race was drove from thoſe iſlands by the Athenians, who looked upon them as half barbarous. The race or people in queſtion failed towards Peloponneſus, and went aſhore at Tenarus, where they did good ſervices to the Lacedemonians, in the war againſt the Heilotes, for which they were rewarded with their freedom, and liberty to marry into the Lacedemonian families; but not the privilege of ſerving publick offices, or being admitted into the council. This excluſion made the people in queſtion be ſuſpected of deſigning to embroil the ſtate; upon which their perſons were ſecured, and they were confined cloſe priſoners, till ſuch time as proofs ſhould be got to prove them guilty of the plot. Now their wives having obtained leave to viſit them, changed clothes with their huſbands, by which means they got out of confinement, and left the wives in their room. Having poſſeſſed themſelves of mount Taygetus, they joined the Heilotes, and became ſo formidable to the Lacedemonians, that it was thought proper to capitulate with them. Their wives were reſtored to them, they were furniſhed with money and ſhips; and a promiſe made, that they ſhould be acknowledged as relations, and as a colony of Spartans, wherever they might ſettle. They accepted of theſe conditions, and part of them went and ſettled at Melos, and the reſt in Crete. The latter, after fighting ſeveral battles, poſſeſſed themſelves of Lyctus, with ſome other cities; and thence the inhabitants of Lyctus pretended, that they, by the mother's ſide, were related to the Athenians; and looked upon themſelves as a Lacedemonian colony (81). This is Plutarch's relation. Thoſe whom he calls Tyrrhenians, and a little lower Pelaſgi, are the ſame people as thoſe whom Herodotus calls Pelaſgi. Theſe two names belong to the ſame people (82); and we are not to imagine, that thoſe authors who have ſaid, that the iſle of Lemnos was inhabited by the Tyrrhenians (83), differ from thoſe who ſay it was poſſeſſed by the Pelaſgi. Hitherto then there is no difference between Herodotus and Plutarch; but when the latter affirms, that the poſterity of the Athenian women, carried off from Brauron by the Tyrrhenians, who had ſettled in the iſlands of Lemnos and Imbros; that this poſterity, I ſay, were drove from thoſe iſlands by the Athenians, he does not agree with Herodotus, who aſſerts, that the Lemnians themſelves killed all the children which thoſe Athenian women brought them. Theſe two hiſtorians differ greatly with reſpect to the æra; one of them (84) declares that Miltiades drove out the Lemnians; and the other makes this expulſion to be of much more remote antiquity, or at leaſt confounds what he ought to have ſeparated. The hiſtory of theſe women, who procured liberty to their huſbands, relates, in Herodotus, to a period that is much earlier than Miltiades, and has not the circumſtances obſerved by Plutarch.

(81) *Extracted from* Plutarch, *de Virtut. Mulierum*, pag. 247.

(82) *See* Cluverius *in Italia Antiqua*, lib. 2. cap. 1. *and* Strabo, lib. 5. pag. 153.

(83) Schol. Apollonii in lib. 1. ver. 608.

(84) i. e. Herodotus.

Herodotus's account is as follows (85). The inhabitants of Lemnos, deſcended from the Argonauts,

(85) Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 145 *& ſeq.*

Moreri (*o*) cites him as an author who ſpeaks *pretty circumſtantially* of it. Lemnos is now called Stalimene. The Turks beſieged it in 1475, but were forced to raiſe the ſiege. It was on this occaſion that a maiden named Marulla (*p*) diſplayed her great courage; a circumſtance which Moreri has mentioned (*q*), but he falſely ſuppoſes that ſhe lived in the fourteenth Century. He adds (*r*) that Mahomet II diſpoſſeſſed the Venetians of that iſland; but this is not expreſſing himſelf with accuracy, ſince he became maſter of it only by a treaty of peace in the year 1478 (*s*). The Venetians reconquered it in the year 1656; and the Turks recovered it the ſucceeding year, after a long ſiege. I forgot to mention the flower called *Lychnis*. See the margin.

(*o*) Under the word *Lemnos*.
(*p*) *See* Vianoli, *dell' Hiſtoria Veneta*, tom. 1. pag. 724.
(*q*) Under the word *Stalimene*.
(*r*) Under the word *Lemnos*.
(*s*) Vianoli, *dell' Hiſtoria Veneta*, tom. 1. pag. 138.

(*t*) The flower *Lychnis* did not grow more beautiful in any country than in the iſland of Lemnos. It ſprung from the water in which Venus waſhed herſelf after ſhe had lain with Vulcan. See *Athenæus*, lib. 15. pag. 681. Compare with this the remark [*DD*] of the article JUNO.

nauts, were drove from that iſland by the Pelaſgi who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron. They retired to the country of the Lacedemonians, and informed them, that they were the deſcendants of the Argonauts; and that having been drove from their country, they returned to their anceſtors, and deſired leave to live with them. The Lacedemonians calling to mind that Caſtor and Pollux had ſhared in Jaſon's expedition indulged a very gracious reception to theſe fugitives; gave them lands, and incorporated them into their tribes. Theſe refugees married other wives, after yielding to other men thoſe whom they had brought from the iſle of Lemnos. They ſoon grew proud; would govern others, and commit very heinous actions, upon which they were caſt into priſon; and a reſolution was taken to put them to death, but their wives ſaved them, by changing their clothes in the manner abovementioned. The deſign was ſtill continued of putting them to death; but Theras, who was preparing to found a colony, interceded for them; and promiſed to take them along with him, and by that means prevent all fears of further dangers from them. His requeſt was granted; moſt of theſe people diſperſed themſelves; and the reſt followed Theras, who founded a colony in the iſland which went by his name (86). It is to be obſerved that he had been preceptor to Euriſthenes and Procles, the ſons of Ariſtodemus, one of the chiefs of the Heraclidæ, who returned to Peloponneſus (87); and conclude from thence, that he flouriſhed ſix hundred years, or thereabouts, before Miltiades. It is alſo to be remarked that the Scholiaſt on Pindar (88) relates the incident very near the ſame as Herodotus; and that both obſerve that Battus ſprung from one of the Lemnians of Theras's colony, founded the city of Cyrene.

It would be unjuſt for any perſon to aſſert that this is foreign to my ſubject. Two reaſons would refute this reproach; firſt, becauſe, as a critick, I am bound to ſhew the variations between Herodotus and Plutarch; and ſecondly, as an hiſtorian, I am obliged to collect the adventures of the inhabitants of the iſland of Lemnos.

(86) The iſland of Thera.

(87) Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 147.

(88) *Scholiaſtes Pindari in Od. 4. Pyth.* ver. 88. pag. 218. edit. Oxon. 1698. He will have it that the priſoners were delivered by their mothers.

☞LENFANT (JAMES), a learned French writer in the eighteenth Century, was born at Bazoches in Beauſſe April the 13th 1661. He was ſon of Paul Lenfant, Miniſter at Chatillon ſur Loin, who died at Marbourg in June 1686, by Anne Dergnouſt of Preſſinville, who died at Berlin December the 6th 1692. Our author ſtudied Divinity at Saumur, where he lodged at the houſe of James Cappel, Profeſſor of Hebrew, by whom he was always highly eſteemed; and afterwards went to Geneva to continue his ſtudies there. He left that city towards the end of the year 1683, and went to Heidelberg, where he received impoſition of hands for the Miniſtry in Auguſt 1684. He diſcharged the duties of his function there with great reputation, as Chaplain of the Electreſs Dowager of Palatine, and Paſtor in ordinary to the French Church. The deſcent of the French into the Palatinate obliged Mr. Lenfant to depart from Heidelberg in 1688. Two letters which he had written againſt the Jeſuits, and which are inſerted at the end of his *Preſervatif*, would not permit him to continue at the mercy of a ſociety, whoſe generoſity is not very remarkable. He left the Palatinate therefore in October 1688 with the conſent of his Church and Superiors, and arrived at Berlin in November following. Though the French Church of Berlin had already a ſufficient number of Miniſters, the Elector Frederick, afterwards King of Pruſſia, appointed Mr. Lenfant one of them, who begun his functions there on Eaſter-day March the 21ſt 1689, and continued them in that Church thirty nine years and four months, diſtinguiſhing himſelf to great advantage by his writings [*A*]. In 1705 he married Emilia Gourgeaud de Venours, a young Lady of a good family in Poitou; but had no children by her. His merit was ſo

[*A*] *His writings.*] They are as follow. I. *Conſiderations generales ſur le Livre de Mr. Brueys.* He wrote theſe conſiderations in the year 1683, when he was but between twenty two and twenty three years of age, and they were printed at Rotterdam the year following. II. *Lettres choiſies de St. Cyprien.* Amſterdam 1688 in 8vo. III. *L'innocence du Catechiſme de Heidelberg.* 1690 This little piece was reprinted in 1723 at the end of his *Préſervatif.* IV. *De inquirendâ Veritate.* Geneva 1691 in 4to. It is a Latin tranſlation of Father Malebranche's *Recherche de la Verité.* It appears from a letter of Mr. Lenfant to Mr. du Sauzet publiſhed in the *Nouvelles Litteraires* of February 15, 1716, that this Tranſlation was finiſhed in 1683; but that it was not printed till 1691 on account of ſome diſorder, which happened in the affairs of the Bookſeller, who had undertaken the impreſſion. We find in the ſame *Nouvelles Litteraires* the letter, which Father Malebranche wrote to Mr. Lenfant upon his tranſlation. V. *Hiſtoire de la Papeſſe Jeanne fidelement tirée de Diſſertation Latine de Mr. Spanheim, Profeſſeur en Theologie à Leyde.* Cologne, (that is, Amſterdam) 1694 in 8vo. The fourth part is by Mr. Des-Vignoles, who has added to it ſeveral articles in a ſecond edition printed at the Hague in 1720. Mr. Lenfant had no ſhare in that edition. See the bookſeller's advertiſement. VI. *Remarques ſur l'Edition Grecque du N. Teſtament par M.* Mill, dated June the 5th 1708. This piece is publiſhed in the *Bibliotheque choiſie* of Mr. Le Clerc, Tom. XVI. p. 275. VII. *Lettre Latine ſur le meme ſujet*, dated December the 31ſt 1708. Printed in the ſame *Bibliotheque*. Tom. XVIII. pag. 209. VIII. *Lettre Latine a Mr.* Des-Vignoles *ſur l'Edition du N. Teſtament donnée par M.* Kuſter. Dated June the 17th 1710, and publiſhed in the ſame *Bibliotheque*, Tom. XXI. p. 97. IX. *Réfléxions & Remarques ſur la Diſpute du* P. Martianay *avec un Juif:* Inſerted in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* of May 1709, p. 479, and June, p. 599. X. *Memoire Hiſtorique touchant la Communion ſous les deux Eſpeces:* Inſerted in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* of September 1709, p. 243. XI. *Critique des Remarques du* P. Vavaſſeur *ſur les Réfléxions du* P. Rapin, *touchant la Poetique:* Inſerted in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* of February 1710. p. 123, and March p. 253. XII. *Réponſe de M.* Lenfant *à M.* Dartis *au ſujet du Socinianiſme.* Berlin 1712 in 4to. Our author publiſhed another pamphlet at the ſame place in 1719, in which he replied to divers things advanced by Monſieur Dartis in a letter, which he

ſo conſpicuous, that he had all the marks of diſtinction ſhewn him ſuitable to his profeſſion. He was Preacher to the late Queen of Pruſſia, Charlotta Sophia, who was eminent for her admirable ſenſe and extenſive knowledge. After her death he became Chaplain to the late King of Pruſſia. He was Counſellor of the Superior Conſiſtory, and Member of the French Council, which were formed to direct the general affairs of that Nation. In 1710 he was choſen a Member of the *Society for propagating the Goſpel* eſtabliſhed in England; and March the 2d 1724 was elected Member of the *Academy of Sciences* at Berlin. In 1707 he took a journey to Holland and England, where he had the honour to preach before Queen Anne; and if he had thought proper to leave his Church at Berlin, for which he had a great reſpect, he might have had a ſettlement at London with the title of Chaplain to her Majeſty. In 1712 he took a journey to Helmſtad, in 1715 to Leipſick, and in 1725 to Breſlaw. His deſign was to ſearch for rare books and manuſcripts neceſſary for the compiling the hiſtories which he was writing. He was honoured with ſeveral from the Electreſs of Brunſwic-Lunebourg Princeſs Palatine; the Princeſs of Wales, now Queen of Great Britain; the Count de Fleming; Monſieur Dagueſſeau,

he entitled, *Lettre Paſtorale*. Our author did not think it worth his while to reply to ſeveral other pieces of Monſieur Dartis. XIII. *Lettre ſur le ſens litteral des anciens Oracles, à l'occaſion de Diſſertation ſur le Pſeaume* CX. publiſhed in the *Hiſtoire Critique de la Republique ces Lettres*, Tom. VI. p. 43. XIV. *Lettre ſur un Diſpute avec le* P. Vota *Jeſuite:* Publiſhed in the *Bibliothéque Choiſie*, Tom. XXIII. p. 327. XV. *Hiſtoire du Concile de Conſtance, tirée principalement d'Auteurs, qui ont aſſiſté au Concile. Enrichie de Portraits.* Amſterdam 1714, two volumes in 4to. A new edition reviſed, corrected, and conſiderably enlarged, was printed at Amſterdam 1728 in two volumes in 4to. Father Niceron tells us (1), "that there are few Hiſtories written ſo exactly and judiciouſly as this; and "though compiled by a Proteſtant, it does not ſhew "the leaſt ſign of partiality." Biſhop Burnet in the preface to his third volume of the *Hiſtory of the Reformation* gives the following character of it. "There "is another Hiſtory written in French, and which, I "hope, is ſoon to appear in our own language, which "I cannot recommend more than it deſerves. It is "Mr. *Lenfant's Hiſtory of the Council of Conſtance*, in "which that excellent perſon has with great care, and "a ſincerity liable to no exception, given the world "ſo true a view of the ſtate of the Church and of "Religion, in the age before the Reformation, that I "know no book ſo proper to prepare a man for read-"ing the *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, as the attentive "peruſal of that noble work. He was indeed well "furniſhed with a collection of excellent materials, "gathered with great fidelity and induſtry by the "learned Dr. *Vander Hart*, Profeſſor of Divinity in "the Univerſity of Helmſtadt, and procured for him "by the noble zeal and princely bounty of that moſt "ſerene and pious Prince *Rodolph Auguſt*, the late "Duke of Brunſwic-Wolfembuttle, who ſet himſelf "with great care, and at a vaſt charge to procure from "all places the copies of all papers and manuſcripts, "that could be found, to give light to the proceed-"ings of that great aſſembly. That collection a-"mounted to ſix volumes in folio. From theſe "authentic vouchers the *Hiſtory* of that *Council* is now "happily compiled. And if that learned author can "find materials to give us as full and as clear a "Hiſtory of the *Council of Baſil*, as he has given of "that *Conſtance*, I know no greater ſervice can be "done to the world. For by it Popery will appear "in its true and native colours, free from thoſe pal-"liating diſguiſes, which the progreſs of the Refor-"mation, and the light, which by that has been "given the world, has forced upon thoſe of that com-"munion. We have the celebrated *Hiſtory of the* "*Council of Trent* written with a true ſublimity of "judgment and an unbiaſſed ſincerity. But how well "and how juſtly ſoever the Hiſtory, which Father "*Paul* gave the world of that Council, is eſteemed, I "am not afraid to compare the late *Hiſtory of the Coun-*"*cil of Conſtance* even to that admired work, ſo far at "leaſt, as that if it will not be allowed to be quite "equal to it, yet it may be well reckoned among the "beſt of all that have written after that noble pattern, "which the famous *Venetian* Friar has given to all "the writers of *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*." It was tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. *Stephen Whatley*, and printed at London 1730 in 4to. XVI. *Apologie pour l'Auteur de l'Hiſtoire du Concile de Conſtance contre le Journal de Trevoux du Mois de Decembre* 1714. Amſterdam 1716 in 4to. This apology is reprinted at the end of the ſecond volume of the ſecond edition of the *Hiſtoire du Concile de Conſtance*. XVII. *Diſcours prononcé à Berlin dans l'Egliſe de Werder le* 26 *Decembre de l'année* 1715 *jour de Jubilé, ſur les* 15 *premiers verſets du Chapitre XLIV de l'Eccléſiaſtique:* Berlin in 4to and reprinted more correctly in 12mo at Amſterdam 1716. XVIII. *Traduction du N. Teſtament avec des Remarques, & d'amples Préfaces.* Our author made this tranſlation of the New Teſtament in conjunction with Monſieur *Beauſobre*. It was printed at Amſterdam 1718 in two volumes in 4to. XIX. *Le* Poggiana, *ou la Vie, le Caractere, les Sentences, & les bons mots de* Pogge *Florentin, avec l'Hiſtoire de Florence écrite par le* Pogge. *Et un Supplement de diverſes Pieces importantes.* Amſterdam 1720 in 8vo. XX. *Lettre à M. de la Motte,* being a ſupplement to the *Poggiana* publiſhed in the *Bibliotheque Germanique*, Tom. I. p. 112. XXI. *Lettre à M. de la Croſe,* concerning ſome corrections of the *Poggiana:* Inſerted in the *Bibliotheque Germanique*, Tom. I. p. 240. XXII. *Réponſe aux Remarques de M. de la Monnoye ſur le Poggiana:* Inſerted in the *Bibliotheque Germanique*, Tom. IV. p. 70. XXIII. *Lettre a M. Des Vignoles ſur les Prieres des Payens*, Ibid. p. 189. XXIV. *Diſſertation ſur cette Queſtion; Si Pythagore & Platon ont eu Connoiſſance des Livres de Moiſe & de ceux des Prophétes:* Inſerted in the *Bibliotheque Germanique*, Tom. II. p. 124. XXV. *Eclairciſſement ſur ce qu'il avoit fait deſcendre Charles VI de Charlemagne:* Ibid. p. 173. XXVI. *Lettre ſur les paroles inutiles; Matth.* xii. 36. Inſerted in the *Bibliotheque Germanique*, Tom. III. p. 98. XXVII. *Préſervatif contre la réunion avec le Siege de Rome. ou Apologie de notre ſeparation d'avec ce Siege.* Amſterdam 1723 in 8vo five volumes, including *L'Innocence du Catechiſme de Heidelberg demontrée contre deux Libelles d'un Jeſuite du Palatinat, ou l'on a joint des Diſcours ſur les Catechiſmes, ſur les Formulaires, & ſur les Confeſſions de Foi.* XXVIII. *Hiſtoire du Concile de Piſe, & de ce qui s'eſt paſſé de plus memorable depuis ce Concile juſqu' au Concile de Conſtance. Enrichie de Portraits.* Amſterdam 1724, two volumes in 4to. XXIX. *Seize Sermons ſur divers Textes*; Amſterdam 1728 in 8vo. XXX. *Une Preface generale ſur l'Ancien & le Nouveau Teſtament:* Prefixed to a French Bible, printed in 8vo at Hanover and Leipſick in 1728. XXXI. *Remarks upon Father Giſbert's Treatiſe upon Chriſtian Eloquence*, publiſhed with the following title: *L'Eloquence Chrétienne dans l'idée & dans la Pratique. Par le P. Giſbert, de la Comp. de Jeſus. Nouvelle Edition, ou l'on a joint les Remarques de Mr. Lenfant.* Amſterdam 1728 in 12mo. XXXII. *Hiſtoire de la Guerre des Huſſites & du Concile de Baſle. Enrichie de Portraits.* Utrecht 1731, two volumes in 4to, It is dedicated by his widow to the Prince Royal of Pruſſia. This was the laſt work, in which our author was engaged. He haſtened the finiſhing it as much as poſſible, and as if he had foreſeen his approaching death. He had reviſed the copy of the firſt volume, and was actually reading over that of the ſecond, when he was ſeized with the apoplexy. If he had not been prevented by this, he would have continued his Hiſtory to about the year 1460, whereas it concludes with the beginning of the year 1454. To this Hiſtory is added Monſieur Beauſobre's *Diſſertation upon the Adamites of Bohemia.* XXXIII. He left behind him remarks on ſeveral works, and ſome tracts.

T.

(1) *Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire des Hommes illuſtres*, tom. 9. pag. 251.

Dagueſſeau, Chancellor of France; and a great number of learned men, both Proteſtants and Papiſts, among the latter of whom was the Abbé Bignon. It is not certain whether it was he, who firſt formed the deſign of the *Bibliotheque Germanique*, which began in 1720; or whether it was ſuggeſted to him by one of the ſociety of learned men, which took the name of *Anonymous*. They ordinarily met at his houſe. When the King of Poland was at Berlin, in the end of May and beginning of June 1728, Mr. Lenfant dreamt, that he was ordered to preach. He excuſed himſelf that he was not prepared; and not knowing what ſubject he ſhould pitch upon, was directed to preach upon theſe words, Iſaiah xxxviii. 1. *Set thine houſe in order, for thou ſhalt die, and not live.* He related this dream to ſome of his friends, but ſaid nothing of it to his wife for fear of alarming her. It is not known whether this dream made any impreſſion on him; for he was not at all credulous or ſuperſtitious; but it is certain, that he made the utmoſt haſte to finiſh his *Hiſtory of the war of the Huſſites and the Council of Baſil.* On Sunday July the 25th following he had preached in his turn at his Church upon *Matth. vii.* 24, 25. but on Thurſday following, which was the 29th of the ſame month, he was ſurprized with a ſlight attack of the palſy; but on the 4th of Auguſt he was ſeized with a more violent fit of that diſtemper, of which he died on the 7th of that month, aged ſixty ſeven years, four months, and ſix days. His body was interred at Berlin Auguſt the 9th at the foot of the pulpit of the French Church, called *Werder-Church*, from the quarter, where it is ſituated, in which Church our author ordinarily preached ſince the year 1715, when his Pruſſian Majeſty appointed particular Miniſters to every Church, whereas before they were all ſerved by the ſame Miniſters in their turns. His ſtature was a little below the common height. His eye was very lively and penetrating. He did not talk much, but always extremely well. Whenever any diſpute aroſe in converſation he ſpoke without any heat; a proper and delicate irony was the only weapon he made uſe of on ſuch occaſions. He loved company, and paſſed but few days without ſeeing ſome of his friends. But his writings loſt nothing by this. He returned to his labour with new vigour, and never wrote better than when he had been enlivened with an agreeable converſation. He was a ſincere friend, and an enemy to no man. He was remarkable for a diſintereſted and generous diſpoſition. He had the reputation of an excellent Preacher, and was really ſo. His voice was good; his pronunciation diſtinct and varied; his ſtyle clear, grave, and elegant without affectation; and he entered into the true ſenſe of a text with great force (*a*).

(*a*) See the *Memoire Hiſtorique de la Vie, de la Mort, & des Ouvrages de Mr. Lenfant*, printed in the *Biblioth. Germanique*, tom. 16. pag. 115. and prefixed to his *Hiſtoire de la Guerre des Huſſites & du Concile de Baſle*, edit. Utrecht 1731, in 4to.

LENTULUS (SCIPIO) was a Neapolitan, who quitted the Church of Rome, and embraced the Proteſtant Religion in the ſixteenth Century. He was Miniſter at Chiavenne in the country of the Griſons; and employed his pen in defending an edict which the Griſon Leagues publiſhed in 1570 againſt the Sectariſts (*a*) [*A*]. Theſe did not fail to attack this edict, with thoſe arguments for toleration, which the Proteſtants themſelves alledged againſt Roman Catholics, in countries where perſecution was practiſed; but our Lentulus anſwered thoſe arguments. He compoſed an Italian Grammar that was printed in Geneva in the year 1568 (*b*).

(*a*) *Epitome Biblioth. Geſneri.*

(*b*) Ibid.

I add that he ſometimes preached in Ferrara, before the Dutcheſs Renata of France (*c*); that he afterwards was Miniſter of St. John's Church in the Vale of Lucerne (*d*); that he made a reply to a work of Poſſevinus the Jeſuit, who, in the year 1560 had been ſent into that country to make converts [*B*]; that he ſuffered greatly by the caprices and injurious

(*c*) Pierre Gilles, *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. des Valées de Piedm.* pag. 110.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 105.

[*A*] *He . . employed his pen in defending an edict . . . againſt the Sectariſts.*] In the Epitome of Geſner's *Bibliotheque*, this work of Lentulus is mentioned as a book which was not yet printed. *Ejuſdem liber de jure Magiſtratuum in puniendis hæreticis, quo Sylvii cujuſdam Epiſtolam hæreticis patrocinantem refutat nondum editus.* This is found in page 744 of that epitome, Zurich edition 1583. In fine, the work was printed at Geneva by John le Preux anno 1592 in 8vo. The title of it is this: *Reſponſio orthodoxa pro Edicto Illuſtriſſimorum D. D. trium fœderum Rhetiæ adverſus hæreticos, & alios Eccleſiarum Rheticarum perturbatores promulgato; in qua de Magiſtratus authoritate & officio in coercendis hæreticis, ex verbo Dei diſputatur.* I know ſome people, who having read in the catalogue of the Bodleian library, that Lentulus's apology for the edict of the Griſon leagues was printed in 1502, racked their imaginations to find out what this ſect could be, which occaſioned the enacting of this league among the Griſons, in the beginning of the XVI century. A great number of books were turned over; and even perſons were conſulted who had fine libraries, and who ſtarted a thouſand conjectures. At laſt, the true date of the edition of the apology was diſcovered; and a freſh inſtance was given of the confuſion, into which the errors of the preſs throw authors on a thouſand occaſions. Voetius obſerves, that the ſectariſts, condemned by the edict of the Griſon leagues were Arians, or worſe than Arians; and that Lentulus gave the particulars of their blaſphemous Tenets in his preface (1). He likewiſe obſerves (2), that Lentulus's orthodox anſwer *pro Edicto* &c. refuted the complaints, which an anonymous author had publiſhed in 1570 againſt the edict of the Griſons, and that it was publiſhed in 1573. This differs widely from what is found in the epitome of Geſner.

(1) Giſbert, Voetius, *Polit. Eccleſ.* tom. 2. pag. 539.

(2) Ibid. pag. 386.

[*B*] *He made a reply to a work of Poſſevinus the Jeſuit, who, in* 1560, *had been ſent into that country to make converts*]. Poſſevinus, but a few months before, had been made a Jeſuit at twenty ſix years of age (3); and I therefore do not wonder that this title ſhould not be given him, by the hiſtorian who furniſhes me with the following paſſage. The Pope having ſignified to the Duke of Savoy, that it would be neceſſary to employ force, in order to convert the hereticks of the valleys of Piedmont, *it was reſolved, in his Highneſs's council*, to comply with the Pope's advice; *but that, to keep up ſome ſhew of a regularity in proceeding, ſome perſon, who was well qualified to point out, and convince the people in queſtion of their errors, ſhould be ſent into the vallies; and that they ſhould proceed to ſuch meaſures as were needful, according to the ſucceſs which this perſon ſhould meet with; and, for the affair in queſtion, they made choice of Anthony Pouſſevin, commander of St. Anthony de Foſſano* (4), *a man of great reputation among them, but whoſe actions ſhewed he was not the man they took him*

(3) *See* Alegambe, pag. 42.

(4) Alegambe, pag. 41. obſerves that Cardinal Hercules de Gonzaga had given Poſſevin the Commandry of St Anthony de Foſſano. S. Antonii *apud* Foſſanum, *Præceptoriâ donatus.*

rious treatment of Caſtrocaro who commanded in the vallies of Piedmont; that he was obliged, on this account, to ſeek another dwelling in the year 1565, and that he retired to *Chiavenne in the country of the Griſons, and there continued the exerciſe of his miniſterial functions till his death* (e). No one ought to be ſurprized, upon pretence that Lentulus himſelf had been formerly perſecuted, at his writing an apology for the edict which the Griſons had publiſhed againſt the Heretics; nothing being more common than to hear perſons who fled for the ſake of Religion, ſounding the alarm againſt Sectariſts.

(e) Ibid. pag. 201.

him for. His highneſs gave him his letters patents, dated the ſeventh of July, which declared him as ſent to eſtabliſh preachers of the Chriſtian Doctrine in his dominions; and particularly in his vallies of Piedmont, with proviſions neceſſary for their maintenance. Commanding, for this end, all perſons bearing eccleſiaſtical or civil offices; all ſyndicks, communities, and in general all his ſubjects, to afford him all the aſſiſtance neceſſary for the execution of the ſaid commiſſion (5). *This man having ſet out from Nice, where his Highneſs was, went directly to Cavour .... and having aſſembled the people in the chief Church of the town, he went up into the pulpit; read the Letters of his commiſſion, by way of text; explained them by enlarging and exaggerating on what he intended to do in the neighbouring vallies, viz. to convince and confound the miniſters; to drive them away; to ſet up in their room perſons who ſhould preach up the Pope; to prove that the maſs was good, to oblige all the inhabitants of thoſe vallies to go to it; and to denounce extirpation with reſpect to all thoſe who ſhould refuſe obedience to his commands* (6). He went and did the ſame in Bubiano in the valley of Luſerne, and in *Luſerne the capital of the valley, ... and commanded the leaders of the Proteſtants to attend him, the 26th of July.* He came into the aſſembly, *together with a great number of the nobility, magiſtrates, and other principal men of the religion he profeſſed, when he laid before them the reaſons of his coming, and cauſed the letters of his commiſſion to be read; he afterwards cauſed to be read the letters and petitions which the Proteſtants had writ to his royal Highneſs, and his council, which he had brought back with him, and demanded of them,* Whether they owned the ſending of ſuch pieces or writings, and whether they would obſerve what they had promiſed in them. *They anſwered yes* (7). He then offered ſome reaſons to prove the maſs; when the proteſtant Miniſters having propoſed their difficulties to him, "he "broke with the utmoſt fury into exclamations and "abuſive language; at which the perſons who accompanied him ſeemed very much grieved and aſhamed, "to ſee that a man of ſo much reputation among "them, had not been able to produce one ſingle reaſon in defence of their religion; nor any thing to "point out, to the other party, their errors; and beſides, had behaved in ſo immoderate and abuſive a "manner. Coming a little to himſelf he ſaid, *that "he was not come to diſpute with the proteſtant clergymen, but to drive them away, and ſettle other preachers in their room, purſuant to the commiſſion he had received for that purpoſe*; and without hearing any "thing, or making the leaſt anſwer, he commanded "Mr. Anthony Malingre, Notary of Bagnol, to draw "up in form his command to the Syndicks of the "ſeveral communities; *and in their perſons, to all the "other inhabitants of the ſaid places reſpectively*, to "drive away all the Lutheran Miniſters who preached "there, without hearing them any more either in public or private; and farther, to receive and hear the "preachers he ſhould ſettle among them, as ſoon as "the Proteſtant Miniſters ſhould be gone away; and "to provide them with proper dwellings and maintenance, under the penalties contained in his Highneſs's edicts; ordering them to report to him the "reſult of their deliberation in three days (8)." The Syndicks gave in their anſwer, to which he replied, "the fifth of Auguſt, by a long letter, informing them, "*that his commiſſion implied a tacit authority to drive "away the Proteſtant Miniſters, ſince he was commanded to ſettle other preachers, which it would not be "poſſible for him to do, ſo long as the Proteſtant Miniſters ſhould be there, who would be for ever contradicting what his preachers ſhould ſay and do.* This letter "was filled with ſtrong exhortations to the Proteſtants, "to go over to the Church of Rome; with many promiſes to thoſe perſons who ſhould do this ſpontaneouſly, and without conſtraint. He ſubjoined to this letter another writing, by which he endeavoured to repair "part of the breach he had made in his reputation, "in the aſſembly of the 27th of July; for he had collected ſome few paſſages of the holy Scriptures, and "a few more from the Doctors of the antient Church "to prove ſome parts of the Maſs, and likewiſe the "practice of celibacy among the Clergy. But Scipio Lentulus, a Neapolitan, Paſtor of St. John's "Church, wrote a learned anſwer to him, which was "printed a little after; and wherein he ſhews how "greatly Pouſſevin was miſtaken in the arguments "produced by him; and how widely the new Romiſh "Church had deviated, in ſuch things, from the right "way (9).

(5) Peter Gilles, *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. des Egliſes Reformées des Valeés de Piedm.* pag. 101. *ad ann.* 1560.

(6) Gilles, ibid. pag. 102.

(7) Gilles, ibid. pag. 103.

(8) Ibid. pag. 104.

(9) Ibid. pag. 205.

"The moſt reverend Pouſſevin (the greateſt men of "his party beſtow this honourable title on him) perceiving that he could not repair the breaches made "in his reputation, any more by his writings than "his harangues; directing himſelf to thoſe who were "able to anſwer him, quite left them, and went "and wreaked his indignation on ſuch of the poor "faithful (Proteſtants) as were ſcattered and diſperſed "among the Papiſts in the loweſt part of the vallies, "and particularly in Campillon and Fenil." *He impriſoned the perſons, and plundered the effects of the ſaid ſcattered Proteſtants... The greateſt part of them fled, but ſuch as were ſeized, met with ill treatment. Some, through infirmity, abjured the Proteſtant religion in the Church of Campillon, the 5th of Auguſt, in preſence of all the aforeſaid perſons, who cauſed inſtruments thereon to be drawn up with great ſolemnity; they then ſet them at liberty, and reſtored to them their plundered poſſeſſions; however, the greateſt part of them returned afterwards in the right way* (10).... *The greateſt part of Auguſt was ſpent in theſe exactions ... Pouſſevin returned to the Duke's Court the beginning of September; and prevailed ſo far, by his odious and ſlanderous reports, that the reſolution was confirmed, of proceeding againſt the Proteſtants of the vallies by force of arms* (11). A ſtrange way this of converting hereticks!

(10) Pierre Gilles, *Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſtique des Egliſes Réformées des Vallées de Piedmont*, pag. 106.

(11) Gilles, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. des Vallées de Piedm.* pag. 107.

LEO I, ſurnamed the Great, aſcended the pontifical throne the 10th of May 440. He was a man of very great abilities; was very eloquent, courageous, and well ſkilled in affairs. He did not want for opportunities of diſplaying his exalted talents; he finding exerciſe enough for them in the hereſies he was obliged to combat, and the wild havock committed in the Roman Empire. His zeal againſt the Manichees, the Priſcillianiſts, the Pelagians, the Neſtorians and Eutychians was wonderfully ſeconded by the penal Laws of the Emperors, which were ſeverely executed. He did not diſapprove of the extending them ſo far as the effuſion of blood [*A*]: the deputation he ſent to Attila was productive

[*A*] *He did not diſapprove of the extending them ſo far as the effuſion of blood.*] The reader will quickly have a proof of this, from a paſſage of Maimburg. It relates to the putting to death of Priſcillian, and many of his followers, and the baniſhing ſeveral of them; which Sulpitius Severus greatly condemned, as *a very pernicious example*. "Becauſe he thought that nothing "like it had been ſeen before. With regard to the "point of baniſhment, no one can deny but that he "was in the wrong: for it is univerſally known that

productive of very happy effects [B]; but the miracle which is added to it, is a mere fiction [C]. His eloquence had not the ſame ſucceſs with reſpect to King Giſeric; nor yet

" Conſtantine baniſhed thoſe Biſhops who refuſed to " ſubſcribe to the condemnation of Arius, that he " likewiſe puniſhed with baniſhment, which the other " Emperors did after him. With regard to putting " to death, it is true indeed, that Hereticks had not " yet been puniſhed capitally; but this does not im- " ply that they may not be proſecuted with that ri- " gour, as has often been done ſince. And without " mentioning thoſe who have proved in their writings, " that this was not only very lawful but alſo very " expedient, we need but peruſe what St. Leo has writ " on this ſubject, when giving (as we ſhall ſoon ſee) " the neceſſary orders for proceeding in Spain againſt " the hereſy of Priſcilian, he applauds Maximus for " that action, and ſays; *that the rigour and ſeverity of* " *the Juſtice he exerciſed againſt that hereſiarch and* " *his diſciples, whom that Prince put to death, has been* " *of very great ſervice to the clemency of the Church.* " *For though the Church contents itſelf with the lenity of* " *Judgment, which the Biſhops, purſuant to the Canons,* " *pronounce againſt obſtinate hereticks, and does not ad-* " *mit of any bloody executions; it is nevertheleſs greatly* " *aided and ſupported by the ſevere ordinances of the* " *Emperors, ſince the fear of ſo rigorous a puniſhment,* " *ſometimes prompts hereticks to have recourſe to the ſpi-* " *ritual remedy, to cure the mortal diſeaſe of their he-* " *reſy, by a true converſion* (1)." Profuit diu iſta diſtrictio Eccleſiaſticæ lenitati, quæ etſi ſacerdotali contenta judicio cruentas refugit ultiones: ſeveris tamen Chriſtianorum Principum conſtitutionibus adjuvatur, dum ad ſpiritale nonnunquam recurrunt remedium, qui timent corporale ſupplicium (*).

(1) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pontificat de St. Leon*, liv. 1. pag. 55, 56. edit. Holland.

(*) S. Leo, *Epiſt.* 95. *ad Turib.*

[B] *The deputation he ſent to Attila was productive of a very happy effect*]. As this is one of the fineſt paſſages in the life of this Pope, it will be proper to enlarge a little upon it in this place. Attila had taken Aquileia, and burnt it almoſt to the ground: *He had deſtroyed whatever was in his way, during his march from Aquileia to Pavia and Milan; he had made himſelf maſter of thoſe two great Cities, and treated them as he had done all the reſt, viz. had laid them quite waſte....* (2). *So many calamitous expreſſes arriving upon one another's heels in Rome, threw the inhabitants of it into the utmoſt conſternation* (3). The Senate was called together in order to debate, whether the Emperour ſhould abandon Italy as Ætius adviſed him to do. In ſhort they did not know what courſe to take. " To defend Rome, in the condition it was then, againſt " a numberleſs multitude of Barbarians, ſeemed a direct " impoſſibility; to forſake it and fly, in order to ſeek " an aſylum elſewhere; this would reflect the higheſt " ignominy on an Emperor, who ought to die honour- " rably, rather than ſurvive ſo ſhameful an act of " cowardice. What then could be done? A medium " was found between theſe two extremes, viz, to ſend " a ſolemn embaſſy to Attila, in order to obtain peace " from him, on conditions that might not be intole- " rable. This being reſolved, it was thought that no " perſon was better qualified for that employment than " the holy Pope Leo, to whom ſtrength of mind, con- " ſummate prudence, his addreſs in engaging the " hearts of men, his virtue, knowledge and eloquence " joyned to his dignity of Sovereign Pontiff, which " made him venerable to the whole world, had acqui- " red univerſally the reputation of being indiſputably " the greateſt man of his age. The Emperor there- " fore conjured him to accept of that employment, " which he did very willingly to ſave the capital of the " empire, and the holy ſee from the invaſion of Barbari- " ans. To honour the embaſſy, and the Pope who was " at the head of it, there were aſſociated to him two " of the greateſt men of the Empire, Avienus and " Trigetius, one of whom had been Conſul, and the " other Prefect of Rome. Some Senators were added, " among whom was the father of Caſſiodorus, who, " ſwayed by filial affection in one of his epiſtles (*), " where he ſpeaks as an orator, in making his fa- " ther's elogium, aſcribes to him the whole honour " and effect of this important Embaſſy. But in his " chronicle, where he ſpeaks as a true hiſtorian, he " unſays it, and aſcribes the whole to St. Leo, in like " manner as all other authors (4)." Attila gave a favourable reception to this Embaſſy, *Tota legatione dignanter accepta, ita ſummi Sacerdotis præſentia Rex gaviſus eſt, ut bello abſtineri præciperet* (5); *near Mantua, at a ſmall diſtance from the place where the river Mincio diſcharges itſelf in the Po* (6); and notwithſtanding the fierce diſpoſition of this Prince, he paid *all kind of honours to the Pope; he liſtned favourably to his ſpeech which he cauſed to be interpreted; and found it ſo beautiful, ſo judicious, ſo ſtrong and ſo affecting; that Attila, this ſcourge of Heaven, that enemy to human nature, whoſe bare aſpect ſtruck the moſt intrepid ſouls with terror, and whoſe name alone made the earth to tremble, was ſoftened on a ſudden; grew gentle as a Lamb, he who before had been a ravenous Wolf, and immediately granted the peace he implored at his hands; and that without exacting any grievous condition, promiſing to preſerve it inviolably on his part; after which, turning back, he went on the other ſide of the Danube, whence he never returned* (7).

(2) Ibid. lib. 3. pag. 219, *ad ann.* 452.

(3) Ibid. pag. 220.

(4) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pontificat de St. Leon*, liv. 3. pag. 221.

(5) Proſper *in Chron. à Duchenio vulgato*, cited by Maimbourg, ibid. pag. 223.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. pag. 224.

[C] . . . *but the miracle which is added to it is a mere fiction.*] Were I to quote a Proteſtant, I ſhould ſtartle all tender minds of the Romiſh Communion; and therefore I chooſe rather to cite a perſon who reſided a long time among the Jeſuits, and who is no ways diſpoſed to favour thoſe who are not of the Romiſh Communion. His words are as follow (8). " I know it is generally related, to make the in- " cident more miraculous, that Attila's captains aſking " him why he had paid ſo much honour to this Pon- " tiff, ſo far as to obey all his commands; that Prince " anſwered trembling, that whilſt Leo was addreſ- " ſing his ſpeech to him, he ſaw near him a ve- " nerable old man, who holding a drawn ſword, " threatned to kill him in caſe he did not comply " with all things the Pope deſired. But I am obliged " to ſay, that a perſon may ſcruple to believe any " part of this, without being incredulous. And in- " deed this viſion has not been inſerted in the Paris " breviary, ſince our learned Archbiſhop Francis de " Harlay has reſtored it to its genuine ſtate; having " carefully expunged from it whatever was apocry- " phal or very doubtful; and ſubſtituted as the " leſſons, the fineſt paſſages from the writings of the " fathers of the Church, and ſuch as are beſt adapted " to the ſubject, and to the feſtival that is ſolem- " nized. I therefore will be ſo bold as to aſſert, " that a perſon may, without ſcruple, differ in opi- " nion from thoſe who give credit to this viſion: " for ancient authors, as Jornandes, Theophanes, " Suidas, Count Marcellinus, Caſſiodorus, Anaſtaſi- " us, and the reſt who have written that embaſſy of " St. Leo; not to mention St. Proſper who was then " in Rome, and told us all the circumſtances of it; " and St. Leo himſelf who mentions it in one of his " Sermons (*), take no notice of this viſion, on which " they however would not have been ſilent, had it " been true. So far from it, inſtead of aſcribing this " condeſcenſion in Attila to the fear he was un- " der from the viſion and threatning ſword we " have ſpoke of, they all declare unanimouſly, that " it was an effect of the majeſtick preſence and power- " ful eloquence of St. Leo, which ſoftened and molli- " fied the heart of this Barbarian; and the holy " Pope, who was far from glorying in it, ſaid that " it muſt be aſcribed, not to the influence of the ſtars, " as ſome of the profane would have it, but ſolely " to the infinite mercy of God, who vouchſafed " to ſoften and change the hearts of the Barbari- " ans. *Quorum precibus divinæ cenſuræ flexa ſenten-* " *tia eſt. Non ſicut, opinantur impii, ſtellarum affectibus,* " *ſed ineffabilis Dei omnipotentis miſericordiæ deputantes,* " *qui corda furentium Barbarorum mitigare dignatus* " *eſt* (†). There is nothing here that intimates the " viſion in queſtion. The circumſtance which made " it current of late years was, its being inſerted in " the hiſtory called *Miſcella*, which is falſely aſcribed " to Paulus Diaconus. But beſides its not being in- " ſerted in the ancient editions of that compiler, which " ſhews that it was added at random without proof " or authority; not to mention that a great many " more

(8) Ibid.

(*) *Serm. in Acta Apoſtol.*

(†) *Miſcell.* lib. 15.

(*) *Variar.* lib. 1. Epiſt. 4.

yet was it wholly fruitleſs [*D*]. Thoſe writers who affirm that Leo cut off his own hand [*E*], becauſe he felt ſome irregular impulſes whilſt a woman was kiſſing it, and who add that he got it reſtored by the great fervency of his prayers, relate two falſities. The beſt edition of his works is that of Father Queſnel (*a*). Some of the books which are

(*a*) Printed at Paris in 1675. See the *Journal des Savans* of February 17, 1676; and Du Pin's *Biblioth.* tom 3. Pars. 2. pag. 264. Dutch edit.

" more palpable falſities are included in this hiſtory; " the viſion in queſtion is related there merely on a " doubtful report as follows, *Ferunt poſt diſceſſum Pon-* " *tificis interrogatum eſſe Attilam à ſuis, &c.* (i. e. " It is related that, after the departure of the Pope, " Attila was aſked by his attendants, &c.) I there- " fore may juſtly ſay, that we are at liberty not to " give credit to this viſion; and that we are not to " look for a greater miracle on this occaſion than that " which St. Leo wrought, in his mollifying, and " changing to ſuch a degree (merely by his eloquence) " the heart of the fierceſt and moſt formidable of men; " that he obtained from him, on the ſpot, and with- " out any conditions, a peace, and made him leave " Italy. A very remarkable circumſtance on this oc- " caſion is, that this great man, who ſoftned the " hearts of thoſe barbarous infidels with ſo much " eaſe, could not be able, by his Letters, to prevail " as far over the hereticks." Theſe laſt words furniſh the hiſtorian with a happy tranſition.

[*D*] *His eloquence had not the ſame ſucceſs with reſpect to King Giſeric, nor yet was it wholly fruitleſs.*] The Empreſs Eudoxia, widow to Valentinian, had been forced to marry Maximus, who had ſeized upon the throne after having cauſed Valentinian to be aſſaſſinated. This Maximus had the inſolence to tell Eudoxia, that the paſſion he had to poſſeſs her, was the only motive which prompted him to murder the Emperor. Eudoxia being furiouſly *exaſperated at ſo horrid a declaration, ... ſent ſecretly to Carthage, one of her chief confidents to Giſeric King of the Vandals, who had ſubdued Africa; conjuring him by all the moſt powerful motives ſhe could ſuggeſt, (eſpecially from the facility of the enterprize, every thing being in a defenſeleſs ſtate at Rome, as in a time of full peace) to come with all poſſible expedition, and revenge the death of Valentinian his ally; and reſcue her from her oppreſſion and tyranny of the moſt cruel and moſt wicked wretch living* (9). *This barbarous King, who at that time had a ſtrong fleet in Carthage*, did not let ſlip the opportunity; but embarked on board his ſhips, landed in Italy without reſiſtance, advanced towards Rome, and, *without drawing the ſword, had the ſatisfaction to ſee that city ſurrender at diſcretion, all the gates being thrown open to him* (10), " It was then that St. Leo, ſeeing " his poor flock expoſed to the fury of thoſe wild " beaſts, like the good Shepherd who lays down his " life to ſave his ſheep, went in perſon, and addreſſed " this Vandal and Arian King, whom he knew to be " a mortal enemy to the Catholicks and particularly " to the Biſhops, on whom he had diſcharged his " fury in Africa, by treating them with greater cruelty " and barbarity than any of the reſt. Nevertheleſs " this cruel tyrant, who was going to march into " Rome, fully determined to deſtroy all things there " with fire and ſword, ſtopped on a ſudden at the ſight " of that wonderful Pontiff; and, as if the auguſt, " the ſacred majeſty which ſhone on his face, had on " a ſudden changed his tyger-heart into that of a " reaſonable man, he paid him all the honour due to " the head of the Church. He liſtned patiently to " all he would ſay; and if his eloquence did not " then work the ſame miracle as it had before done " in the perſon of Attila, in cauſing him to return " whence he came, yet it performed three very re- " markable ones. In ſhort his eloquence was ſo per- " ſuaſive, that he made Attila promiſe, that neither " the inhabitants ſhould be put to the ſword, the " houſes fired, nor the three chief Churches touched " or prophaned, viz. the Conſtantian, that of St. " Peter in the Vatican, and of St. Paul without the " walls. He was as good as his word; and after giv- " ing up Rome to be plundered by the ſoldiers during " fourteen days, he returned on board his ſhips load- " ed with plunder and rich captives, (in order that " they might be ranſomed) among whom were the " Empreſs Eudoxia, with the Princeſſes Eudocia and " Placidia her two daughters, all whom he treated " with the utmoſt generoſity.

(9) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pontif. de St. Leon*, liv. 4. pag. 246. *ad ann.* 455.

(10) Ibid. pag. 247.

[*E*] *Some ſay that Leo cut off his own hand.*] It is ſaid that a devout, beautiful woman being admitted to this Pontiff, on Eaſter-Sunday, according to cuſtom, to kiſs his hand, he felt I know not what emotions too like thoſe of fleſh and blood; and imagined that it was his duty to follow literally the precept of our Saviour; *If thy hand offend thee cut it off. Fuerunt qui ſcriberent eum piæ mulieris ſpecie præſtantis, oſculo manui Pontificiæ religioſe admoto perculſum, muliere neque participe neque conſcia, cœni aliquid contraxiſſe* (11). *Cum ipſo die Paſchatis, pro more recepto, mulierculam ad figendum manui ſuæ oſculum admiſiſſet, humanum quippiam paſſus, manus illius abſciſſione ſe multavit: ſecutus illam Chriſti vocem:* Si manus tua ſcandaliſat te, abſcinde eam (*). But as he was rendred incapable, by his maiming himſelf in this manner, of ſaying Maſs, there aroſe murmurs among the people, which made him beg earneſtly of God that his hand might be reſtored to him, and it accordingly was ſo. From that time we are told, the cuſtom of kiſſing the Pope's hand was changed to that of kiſſing his foot. Others relate that St. Leo cut off his own hand, becauſe of his being ſtung with a remorſe of conſcience, for having conferred holy orders on a perſon undeſerving of them. *Cùm autem ſanctus Leo eam ob cauſam ſacrificare deſiiſſet, idque in populo Romano murmur non leve excitaret, impetravit à Deo ardentiſſimis precibus, ut manus abſciſſa ſibi reſtitueretur. Ex eo tamen tempore, abolito uſu manibus Pontificis oſcula figendi, inductus eſt uſus figendi oſculum pedibus. Scribunt hæc de ſancto Leone varii; ac nominatim Sabellicus lib. 5. Andreas Eborenſis tit. de Caſtitate, ac Majolus lib. 1. de irregularit. cap. 14. n. 4. qui addit, aliquos aſſerere, contigiſſe ut ſanctus Leo manum ſibi abſcideret, actus ſancto erga ſe odio, ob male impoſitas alicui manus, & præcipitem indigni hominis initiationem* (12). i. e. " But when St. Leo left off, on that account, celebra- " ting Maſs, and the inhabitants of Rome murmured " very much at it, he obtained, by moſt fervent " prayers, that his hand which had been cut off " ſhould be reſtored. The practice of kiſſing the " hands of the Roman Pontiff being from that time " aboliſhed, the cuſtom was brought in of kiſſing his " feet. Many authors write theſe things of St. Leo, " eſpecially Sabellicus in his fifth book, Andrew Ebo- " renſis in his ſection concerning Chaſtity, and Majo- " lus in his firſt book upon irregularity, chap. 14. n. " 4, who adds, that it is affirmed by ſome writers, " that St. Leo cut off his own hand; fired with an " holy hatred againſt himſelf, becauſe he had inad- " vertently and raſhly conferred orders on a man un- " worthy of them." The author from whom I borrow this paſſage, looks upon this ſtory as fabulous, and obſerves, that the cuſtom of kiſſing the Pope's hand on Eaſter Sunday has been continued without interruption to either ſex; and with reſpect to the ſcruple of orders raſhly conferred, he relates the origin of it as follows (13): *Quod ad eos attinet qui hanc narrationem referunt ad manus indigno appoſitas, videntur adducti ad hanc fabellam de ſancto Leone confingendam, ex lectione revelationis ex Moſcho deſcriptæ capite* 149 *Prati ſpiritualis. Quod ſcilicet ſancto Leone pro peccatis ſuis ferventer precato, apparuerit ei B. Petrus, dicens exoraſſe ſe ei omnium erratorum veniam, ſalva diſcuſſione peccatorum, ſi quæ fuiſſent ab eo admiſſa ob indignorum ordinationem. At aliud eſt quod hac revelatione continetur, aliud quod habet fabuloſa calumnia quam retulimus.* i. e. " With regard to thoſe perſons who refer " this relation to his conferring orders on an unwor- " thy perſon, they ſeem to have been led to this fic- " tion related of St. Leo, by the peruſal of the reve- " lation deſcribed from Moſchus, in the 149th chap- " ter of his *ſpiritual Meadow*; viz. that St. Leo hav- " ing prayed with great fervency on account of his " ſins, St. Peter appeared to him, and ſaid, that he " had obtained for him the pardon of all his ſins, " thoſe excepted which he might have been guilty " of, by ordaining of unworthy perſons. But the " fabulous ſlander we have related, is different from " what is contained in that revelation."

(11) Theoph. Raynaud. *Hoplothec.* Sect. 2 Serie 3. cap. 10. pag. m. 361.

(*) Idem, ibid. Serie 3. cap. 20. pag. 409.

(12) Idem, ibid. pag. 409.

(13) Ibid.

Some aſſert that the hand St. Leo had cut off, to

are aſcribed to him in that edition, are ſaid, by other authors, to have been wrote by St. Proſper [*F*], which has given occaſion to a learned diſpute. A famous Proteſtant Miniſter was a little puzzled, by his fixing the æra of Antichriſt under Pope Leo [*G*], who died in 461.

extinguiſh an unchaſte fire, *ut libidinis ignem reſtingueret* (14), was reſtored to him by the virtue or power of a picture of the Virgin Mary (15), and made by St. Luke. It is related by St. Antoninus and many others; and yet Baronius can ſcarce give credit to it (16).

(14) Paulus de Angelis, *ubi infra.*

(15) Paulus de Angelis, in *Deſcript. Baſilicæ St. Mariæ Majoris de Urbe*, *apud* Daniel. Papebrochium, *Reſp. ad Exhib. Error.* pag. 14.

(16) Papebroch. ibid.

[*F*] *Some of the books which are aſcribed to him ... are ſaid, by other authors, to have been wrote by St. Proſper.*] Father Queſnel declares, that the two books concerning the calling of the Gentiles, the letter to Demetrias, and the chapters concerning Grace and Free-will, were not wrote by St. Proſper as is commonly believed, but by St. Leo. See the book (17) entitled, *De veris Operibus SS. Patrum Leonis Magni & Proſperi Aquitani, Diſſertationes criticæ, quibus Capitula de Gratia, &c. Epiſtolam ad Demetriadem, nec non duos de Vocatione omnium Gentium libros, Leoni nuper adſcriptos abjudicat, & Proſpero poſtliminio reſtituit Joſephus Antelmius, Preſbyter & Canonicus Eccleſiæ Forojulienſis.* Abbot Antelmi has ſtrongly oppoſed this aſſertion; he even maintains that St. Proſper is certainly author of the ſermons which are thought to be written by St. Leo. A remarkable circumſtance in this diſpute is, that both the combatants inſiſt on the conformity of ſtyle; one to prove that St. Leo is author of the works in queſtion; the other to prove that they are not ſo, but have St. Proſper for their author (18). The pains which Abbot Antelmi took on this occaſion is very remarkable; he having made tables in two columns, wherein he compares ſeveral paſſages of St. Proſper, extracted from books which are confeſſedly his, and others which are diſputed; and ſhews a great conformity between theſe paſſages reſpectively. Theſe parallels or comparisons with regard to St. Leo's ſermons, *point out to us forms of ſpeech ſo peculiar, expreſſions and turns ſo much ſtudied and ſo compoſed, that it ſeems next to impoſſible that they ſhould be made by different authors* (19). Notwithſtanding this Mr. du Pin ſays, that *Abbot Antelmi's ſyſtem with regard to the Sermons which go under St. Leo's name, appears to him chimerical; and that the Proofs he alledges for that purpoſe are exremely weak* (20). What is much more, du Pin denies the conformity of ſtyle inſiſted upon by Antelmi, and the conſequence he ſhould draw from it. " Any perſon who ſhould take " the pains to compare the paſſages cited by him, " would find that there is no conformity of ſtyle, be- " tween the paſſages of both authors, though the ſame " words occur in both. And beſides, though there " ſhould be ſome ſlight conformity of ſtyle between " St. Proſper's writings and thoſe of St. Leo, ſhould " we not have reaſon to ſay, that St. Proſper had " imitated his maſter, whom he uſed to hear frequent- " ly both ſpeak and preach, whoſe Sermons he uſed " to read, and perhaps copied, to preſerve them in " the archives of the Church of Rome, *in ſcrinio Ro-* " *manæ Eccleſiæ*, ſuppoſing he had been Notary of " the Church of Rome (21)?" Here we have an incident which confirms the reflexions the reader may have ſeen in the *Entretiens ſur la Cabale chimerique* (22) See the Articles ERASMUS (23), and JULIUS II (24).

(18) See the *Journal des Savans* 1689, pag. 290, 294, 301, 321. Dutch edit.

(19) Ibid. pag. 321.

(20) Du Pin, *Biblioth.* tom. 3. Part 2. pag. 157.

(21) Ibid. pag. 158.

(22) Pag. 150, *& ſeq.*

(23) In the remark [*Y*].

(24) In the remark [*N*].

" [I am of opinion, that thoſe who aſcribe the " two books *de Vocatione Gentium* to St. Leo, have " no proof for it; and that thoſe have no better foun- " dation who think they were wrote by St. Proſper. " By the pieces which are extant of St. Proſper, we " find that he was much more vehement in diſputa- " tion than the author of thoſe books was. In my " humble opinion it is ſafeſt to ſay, that we do not " know the author of thoſe books, who indeed was " a learned man and of a very pacifick temper, and " contemporary with St. Leo and St. Proſper.]" Remark from the Paris Edition (1734) of Bayle's Dictionary.

[*G*] *A famous Proteſtant Miniſter was a little puzzled, by his fixing the æra of Antichriſt under Pope Leo.*] " He " will be drove much farther. According to him, in " the age of St. Leo, idolatry was ſo conſiderable in " the Church, as to form an Antichriſtian Church, " and make St. Leo himſelf Antichriſt; and yet the " Miniſter in queſtion writes as follows, in the thir- " teenth letter of this year. *Whilſt Antichriſt was* " *little, he did not deſtroy the eſſence of the Church.* " *Leo ... and a few of his ſucceſſors were good men, ſo* " *far as goodneſs and piety are conſiſtent with a boundleſs* " *ambition. It is likewiſe certain that the Church, in* " *his time, was* DEEPLY IMMERSED IN THE IDO- " LATRY *of the worſhip of the creatures, which is* " *one of the characteriſticks of Antichriſtianity; and* " *though theſe evils were not yet extreme, nor ſuch* " *as to* DAMN *the perſon of Leo, who otherwiſe was* " *poſſeſſed of good qualities; they nevertheleſs were ſuffi-* " *cient to form the beginning of Antichriſtianity.* You " ſee then that a man is not damned, though he is not " only an idolater, but alſo *deeply immerſed in the idola-* " *try of the worſhip of creatures.* If a man be not of the " number of the ſaints, and if we ſhould be obliged " to eraſe St. Leo from that catalogue, he may at " leaſt be of the number of good men; and the ſin of " idolatry is not ſo great that a perſon ſhall be damned " on that account. To urge this matter farther: it " has been proved in the Book of Variations, and in " other places (*), by the expreſs words of St. John (†), " that the beaſt and Antichriſt have blaſphemed and " been idolatrous from their birth, and during the " whole extent of the 1260 days of their continuance. " The Proteſtant Miniſter would fain have diſſembled " this, to prevent his being obliged to charge theſe " crimes, on the time and perſon of St. Leo, St. Sim- " plicius, St. Gelaſius, and other holy Pontiffs of the " fifth century; but he at laſt was forced to out with " it (‡). *It is certain that all the characteriſticks of the* " *beaſt began from that time. As early as the time* " *of Leo the Great, the Gentiles or Heathens began to* " *tread the Church under foot; for heatheniſm, which* " *is the worſhip of the creatures, entred into it. From* " *that period began the blaſphemy againſt God and his* " *Saints; for the taking from God his true worſhip, to* " *make Saints partake of it, is blaſpheming againſt* " *God.* Thus we have Antichriſtian blaſphemy and " idolatry eſtabliſhed under St. Leo. He could not be " free from it, ſince he himſelf was the Antichriſt; " and indeed, it is certain, that he paid as much ho- " nour to relicks, and implored the aſſiſtance of the " prayers of the Saints, as the reſt. Here then we " find not only an idolater, but alſo the chief or head " of Antichriſtian idolatry in the number of the elect; " and that idolatry does not hinder ſalvation (25)." As this is a diſpute between man and man, and not a controverſy on the general doctrines of the two Communions, I may be allowed to obſerve, that the author who was puzzled took the beſt courſe he could, according to the maxims of human prudence: he held his peace; and would not even ſeem to know, that the public had been made ſenſible of his confuſion.

(*) *Var.* 13. n. 21. *Apocal. Avertiſſ. aux Prot.* n. 27, 28. pag. 612, 613.

(†) *Apocal. XI, XII,* 6. 14. *XIII,* 5, 6.

(‡) *Lett. XIII,* pag. 99. 2. 6.

(25) Mr. de Meaux, *III Avertiſſement aux Proteſtans ſur les Lettres du Miniſtre Jurieu contre l'Hiſt. des Variat.* pag. 86. edit. de Hollande.

LEO X, created Pope the 11th of March 1513, was called John de Medicis. He had been honoured with a Cardinal's * Hat at fourteen years of age by Pope Innocent VIII, and a great many years after with the dignity of Legate by Pope Julius II. He was in that quality in the army which was defeated by the French near Ravenna in the year 1512; was taken priſoner there, and, during his captivity, he made a wonderful experiment of the aſcendant which ſuperſtition has, even over the minds of ſoldiers [*A*]. It is

* [" Leo was " born in Flo- " rence in the " year 1475, " and was cre- " ated Cardinal " in 1489."] From the Remarks to the Paris ed. (1734) of Bayle's Dictionary.

[*A*] *He made a wonderful experiment of the aſcendant which ſuperſtition has, even over the minds of ſoldiers.*] The ſoldiers who had overcome him, ſhewed him ſuch great veneration, that they humbly aſked his pardon for

is pretended that no circumſtance contributed more to the raiſing him to the Pontificate, than the wonnds he had received in the battles of Venus [*B*]. He ſpent prodigious ſums the day of his coronation [*C*] ; and led ſuch a life as was little ſuited to one who ſet up

for their gaining the victory ; beſought him to give them abſolution for it ; and promiſed never to bear arms againſt the Pope. It is Cardinal Palavicino informs me of theſe particulars, after obſerving that, in contempt of the royal authority, the Milaneze looked with horror on the Cardinals who were aſſembled at Piſa. *In Milano con vilipenſione dell' autorità Reale furon ricevuti non come Cardinali, Grado riveritiſſimo nella Chriſtianità, mà come huomini peſtiferi e ſcelerati, e comete di ſciagura ne' paeſi dove giugneſſero. Anzi, non oſtante che i Franceſi riportaſſono la memorabil vittoria di Ravenna, e conduceſſero prigione à Milano il Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici Legato dell' Eſercito pontificio, che poi aſſunto al Pontificato preſe il nome di Leon Decimo ; non ſi tennero i ſoldati vincitori dall' andare con incredibil frequenza à venerar come Legato del Vicario di Chriſto il lor prigioniero ; ricevendone l'aſſoluzione ch'egli havea pedeſtà di dar loro per haver combattuto contro alla Chieſa, con promeſſione d'aſterſene per innanzi* (1).

(1) Palavic. *Iſtoria de Concilio di Trento*, lib. 1. cap. 1. num. 2. pag. m. 47. *See alſo* Paulus Jovius, *in Vita Leonis X*, lib. 2. pag. m. 110.

[*B*] *No circumſtance contributed more to the raiſing him to the Pontificate, than the wounds he had received in the battles of Venus.*] I have ſo frequently given the reaſon, why I chooſe to cite, on ſuch occaſions, Romiſh authors rather than Proteſtant ones, that without farther preamble I ſhall here quote the words of a French hiſtorian who is a great enemy to the Proteſtants (2). " Three months were not paſt ſince Cardinal de Medicis was returned to Florence, when " the death of Pope Julius II obliged him to leave it, " to go to Rome. He cauſed himſelf to be carried " in a litter, becauſe of an impoſthume he had in " thoſe parts which modeſty will not ſuffer me to " name ; and travelled ſo ſlowly, that the Pontiff's " funeral was over, and the Conclave begun, by that " time he arrived there ..... (3). The Conclave " had not ended ſo ſoon as it did, the young and old " Cardinals perſiſting in contrary opinions with equal " obſtinacy, had not an odd accident brought them " to agree. Cardinal de Medicis having hurried about " prodigiouſly in the great number of viſits he uſed to " make every night to the Cardinals of his faction, " his impoſthume or ulcer broke, and the matter " which ran from it exhaled ſo great a ſtench, that " all the cells, which were ſeparated only by thin " partitions, were poiſoned by it. The old Cardinals, " whoſe conſtitutions were leſs able to reſiſt the ma- " lignant influence of ſo corrupted an air, conſulted the " Phyſicians of the Conclave, to know what they muſt " do ; theſe Phyſicians, who viſited Cardinal de Me- " dicis, and formed a judgment of his conſtitution, " by the ill humours that flowed from his body, rather " than by the ſtrength of nature which drove them " out, anſwered, after having been bribed by the pro- " miſes of Bibiana, that Cardinal de Medicis could " not live a month longer. Their paſſing this ſentence " of death upon him occaſioned his being choſen " Pope ; in that the old Cardinals, thinking to out- " wit the young ones, would indulge them a ſatiſ- " faction which they imagined would not be of long " duration. They therefore waited upon them, and " told them that they yielded at laſt to their obſti- " nacy, upon condition that the ſame ſhould be done " for them another time. Thus Cardinal de Medicis " was elected Pope on a falſe information, he not " being at that time quite thirty ſix years old ; and as " joy is the moſt ſovereign of all remedies, he ſoon " after recovered ſo perfect a ſtate of health, that " the old Cardinals had reaſon to repent their too " great credulity." To conceal nothing, it is incumbent on me to inform my readers, that Paulus Jovius does not fix this ulcer in the ſame part as Varillas, but in the anus, which would not imply an ignominious origin. *Propter innatum ab ima ſede abſceſſum Romam modicis itineribus ad comitia contendit* (4). *Fuere qui exiſtimarent vel ob id ſeniores ad ferenda ſuffragia facilius acceſſiſſe, quod pridie diſrupto eo abſceſſu qui ſedem occuparat, tanto fœtore ex profluente ſanie totum comitium implevisſet, ut tanquam à mortifera tabe infectus, non diu ſupervicturus eſſe vel medicorum teſtimonio crederetur* (*). From the ſame principle of ſincerity I add, that this Pope, at his acceſſion to the throne, was in great reputation for his chaſtity, if Guicciardin may be credited (5) ; and was looked upon as very chaſte from his youth, if Paulus Jovius may be believed. *Conſtat tamen eum, quod à prima adoleſcentia opinione omnium ſummam continentiæ laudem fuiſſet adeptus, non importuna quædam pudicitiæ caſtitatique præſidia quæſiviſſe : quando nequaquam priſtinæ vitæ more tam multis delicatiſque obſoniis uteretur* (6). One ought to conclude from hence, that the Pontificate proved the ruin of the morals of Leo X ; and that he grew vicious where he ought to have grown virtuous. In fine, I obſerve, that it is only by conſequences which are not abſolutely neceſſary, that one may find in the words of Varillas, the ſenſe in which I alledge them, and which Mr. de Seckendorf gives them (7). I ſubmit them to the judgment of my readers.

(4) Jovius, *in Vita Leonis X.* lib. 3. pag. 126.

(*) Idem, ibid. pag. 128.

(5) See the remark [*O*].

(6) Jovius, *in Vita Leonis X*, pag. 193.

(7) *Hiſtor. Lutheran.* lib. 1. pag. 190. col. 1. num. 3. & col. 2. litera E.

[" Bayle has juſtly ſuppoſed, that every Proteſtant " who firſt writes down an incident diſadvantageous to " the memory of a Pope, or does not give good proofs " of it, may juſtly be excepted againſt. See his re- " mark I. But then to act as a judicious and impar- " tial critic, he ought to have ſuppoſed it as a truth, " that among the Roman Catholics there are, and " ever have been, authors, who have writ like open " enemies againſt the Popes ; and with as much fury " as the Proteſtants, or the moſt paſſionate Heretics. " Schiſms, and the diſputes of Kings and Princes " with the Roman Pontiffs, were the cauſe and occa- " ſion of this. The jealouſy, pride, or rage with " which a writer has been fired, becauſe a Pope would " not gratify him in all he demanded, the itch of " publiſhing a repartee, a paſquinade, or any other " ſatyr, and ſo many other paſſions, have alſo given " riſe to a numberleſs multitude of libels on the Popes. " It is likewiſe very certain, that even among ſuch " hiſtorians as are leſs prejudiced againſt the See of " Rome, many of them had not abilities ſufficient for " diſcuſſing incidents with great exactneſs ; for making " a judicious choice of the materials with which they " were furniſhed ; but are faulty in ſetting down one in- " cident without good proofs, or of altering them &c. " All this is indiſputable. Conſequently every critic who " undertakes to ſpeak of a Pope, and that purſuant " to all the rules which a good hiſtorian ought ever " to have before his eyes, and never deviate from, " ſhould be very much upon his guard, eſpecially " when he is to write of a Pope who was in ſuch cir- " cumſtances as obliged him, as it were, neceſſarily to " be attacked by a numberleſs multitude of ſlande- " rers, and by whom it is certain that he has been " prodigiouſly ſlandered."] From the remarks on the Paris edition (1734) of *Bayle's Dictionary*. The Popiſh author of theſe remarks makes ſome others which do not appear juſt.

[*C*] *He ſpent prodigious ſums the day of his coronation.*] He would be crowned the ſame day he loſt the battle of Ravenna and his liberty the year before, and he rode the Turkiſh horſe he had mounted the day of that battle ; for he had paid a ranſom to the French for this horſe ; had a particular affection for it, and had it kept and pampered very carefully to an extreme old age. *Vectus eſt etiam in pompa illo eodem equo Thracio in quo ad Ravennam captus fuerat, quem ab hoſtibus pecunia redemptum ita adamavit, ut poſtea uſque ad extremam ſenectutem ſumma cum indulgentia alendum curarit* (8). And his imagination being filled with the magnificence of antient Rome, and the triumphal days of the antient Conſuls, he endeavoured to revive thoſe noble ſpectacles ; and was ſo well ſeconded in his deſign, that ever ſince the irruption of the Goths, there had not been ſeen any ſight more magnificent at Rome than his coronation. Read the deſcription of it in Paulus Jovius (9), who ſays, with Guicciardin (10), that the expence of it amounted to an hundred thouſand ducats. Gretſer cenſures du Pleſſis for ſaying it coſt a million, *nec mitius agit Pleſſæus cum Leone X, quem* die coronationis ſuæ decies centena aureorum millia, *hoc eſt ut vulgo loquimur* millionem *conſumpſiſſe ſcribit* (11). This is found in the Latin edition which Father Gretſer made uſe of ; but in the French edition I uſe, du Pleſſis Mornai mentions only the hundred thouſand ducats of Guicciardine.

(8) Jovius, *in Vita Leonis X*, pag. 129, 130.

(9) *Ubi ſupra.*

(10) Guicciard. lib. 11. folio m. 326 *verſo.*

(11) Gretſer. *in Exam. Myſter. Pleſſæani*, pag. 561. citing pag. 618. of the *Myſtere.*

up for a ſucceſſor of the Apoſtles; a life, I ſay, that was wholly voluptuous [D]. He took too much delight in hunting. It is related that his eye was ſurprizingly quick at this ſport [E]. Having been educated by Preceptors (a), who had taught him perfectly the *Belles Lettres*, he loved and protected men of wit and learning. The Poets were chiefly happy in his munificence, which he ſometimes indulged, without preſerving the gravity

(a) Among others, Peter Ægineta, a Greek, who explained Ariſtophanes in Bologna, and had taught him the Greek tongue. See Langius's *Letters*, pag. m. 473.

[D] *He led... a life... that was wholly voluptuous.*] Paulus Jovius cannot be accuſed of having been too ſparing of his encomiums on Leo X; but, on the other hand, it muſt be confeſſed that he expreſſes himſelf with ſo much plainneſs on the vices of this Pontiff, that he does not leave an intelligent reader in doubt or ſuſpence. The pleaſures, ſays he, in which he too frequently immerſed himſelf, and the lewd actions objected to him, ſullied the luſtre of his virtues. He adds, that a diſpoſition more eaſy and complacent than corrupt, threw him down the precipice; he having been ſurrounded only with a ſet of people, who, inſtead of admoniſhing him of his duty, were for ever propoſing ſome party of pleaſure. The original is more emphatical than the extract I give of it, for which reaſon I will here add the words of Paulus Jovius. *Has præclaras liberalis excelſique animi virtutes, cum nimia ſæpe vitæ luxuria, tum objectæ libidines obſcurabant: ita tamen, ut jucunditate blandæ faciliſque naturæ potius, ac regia quadam licentia, quàm certo depravati animi judicio in ea vitia prolabi videretur, quum frequenti blandientium turba cubiculi fores obſeſſæ paucos admitterent, qui alioqui docilis verecundique hominis ſolutos mores cohiberent, amicorum optimis ad ea connive ntibus, ac libenter ſeſe illecebrarum miniſtris immiſcentibus, ne gratiam apud ſummos principes in lubrico poſitam in diſcrimen adducerent, ſi ingratum auribus potentium reprehenſionis officium honeſtatis atque benevolentiæ ſpecie ſuſcepiſſent. Verùm hominem hilaritati humaniſque ſenſibus facile ſervientem mirum in modum incitabant plerique Cardinales opibus ætateque florentes, qui illuſtri loco nati, ac liberaliter educati, regio luxu vitam in venationibus, conviviis, atque ſpectaculis libentiſſimè traducebant* (12). He confeſſes a little after that this Pope was accuſed of Sodomy (13): *Non caruit etiam infamia, quòd parum honeſte nonnullos è cubicularii s (erant enim è tota Italia nobiliſſimi) adamare, & cum his tenerius atque liberè jocari videretur. Sed quis vel optimus atque ſanctiſſimus princeps in hac maledicentiſſima aula lividorum aculeos vitavit? & quis ex adverſo tam malignè improbus ac invidiæ tabe conſumptus, ut vera demum poſſet objectare, noctium ſecreta ſcrutatus eſt?* i. e. "He alſo was accuſed of being engaged in an ignominious commerce with ſome young Gentlemen of his bedchamber, who were of the nobleſt families in all Italy, and of ſporting ſhamefully with them. But what Prince, though the worthieſt and moſt pious, was exempt from the darts of envy in this very ſatyrical Court? And what perſon, on the other hand, was fired with ſo malignant and envious a ſpirit, as to pry into the ſecrets of the night, in order to get ſubjects for reproach?" I paſs over what is related concerning the luxury of his table, and the buffoonries acted at it. *Mire quoque favit Pogio ſeni, Pogii hiſtorici filio, itemque Moro nobili à gulæ intemperantia, articularibus doloribus diſtorto, & Brandino equiti, Marianoque ſannioni cucullato facetiſſimis helluonibus, & in omni genere popinalium deliciarium eruditiſſimis..... Verum feſtiviſſimis eorum facetiis, ſalſiſque & perurbanis ſcommatibus magis quam ullis palati lenociniis oblectabantur* (14). I have made ſome mention of this in the article of HADRIAN VI (15), ſucceſſor to Leo X, and who retrenched the luxury of that Pontiff, as the reader will now ſee. "The other day the grooms of the late Pope Leo deputed a perſon from among them, and ſent him to the Pope, to ſpeak in the name of all the reſt. The Pontiff aſked how many of them had been in the retinue of Leo; when the perſon deputed anſwered, an hundred. Adrian croſſing himſelf, as aſtoniſhed at ſo ſuperfluous a number, anſwered, that four would be enough for him; but that he was content that twelve ſhould be put upon the liſt, ſince ſome he muſt have, in order to exceed the number kept by the Cardinals. In a word, the common opinion is, that this Pope will be a good oeconomiſt and treaſurer for the Church; a thing that in reality is greatly wanted, conſidering his predeceſſor's prodigality." This paſſage is found in a letter of Jerom Niger (α), writ from Rome the 1ſt of September 1522. It is inſerted in the collection of Ruſcelli, tranſlated by Belleforeſt. [N. B. Mr. Bayle tells us, that he had made uſe of the verſion and marginal note of the laſt mentioned tranſlator.]

(12) Jovius *in Vita Leonis X*, pag. 188.

(13) Idem, ibid. pag. 192.

(14) Idem, ibid. pag. 191.

(15) Citat. (68).

§ (α) The name of this Italian author, in his own tongue, was *Negro*, and not *Niger*; he always ſubſcribing his letters in the former manner. REM. CRIT.]

[E] *His eye was ſurprizingly quick at hunting.*] This I ſhall take notice of, after mentioning the prodigious paſſion which Leo X had for the ſport in queſtion. He took a wonderful delight in it; he knew and obſerved the laws of it, much better than thoſe of the ſcripture; he could not bear that any one ſhould diſturb him in his ſport; and gave no quarter to thoſe perſons who, through imprudence or otherwiſe, made him loſe the prey they were in queſt of. On theſe occaſions he would revile ſuch perſons in the ſharpeſt manner. He was always ſo much out of humour when he failed of ſport, that his courtiers were ſure never to aſk any favours of him at ſuch times; but whenever he met with a great deal of game, he would be ſo overjoyed on this account, that theſe would be the moſt propitious moments (16) for obtaining all that might be requeſted. Paulus Jovius relates this with very great elegance. *Venationibus & aucupiis nobilioribus adeò perditè ſtudebat, ut ſpurciſſimas ſæpe tempeſtates inſalubreſque ventos, & frequentia manſionum ac itinerum incommoda obſtinatè contemneret...* (17). *In venando autem ſicuti præcepta artis ad normam exactioris diſciplinæ patientiſſimè obſervare erat ſolitus, ita ſeveritatem aſperè admodum vir alioqui leniſſimus ſemper exercuit; in eos præſertim, qui petulanti diſcurſu aut vocibus temere editis improviſa feris effugia præbuiſſent: ita ut claros ſæpe viros acerbiſſimis contumeliis oneraret. At ſi quando imperitia, vel fortuito errore hominum, aut feris ſubtiliore aliquo inſperatæ fugæ compendio ſervatis, vel iis denſo in nemore contumacius latentibus infeliciter venaretur, incredibile eſt quali vultus animique habitu dolorem iracundiamque præferret. Propterea amici familiares ea temporis momenta provocandæ liberalitati maximè adverſa ſedulo devitabant: quando aliàs ſecundum opimam venationem, ac præſertim vario ac inſigni labore aliquo nobilem, maxima beneficia incredibili benignitate collocaret* (18). i. e. "He was ſo exceſſively delighted with hunting and hawking, that he would often obſtinately contemn the moſt foul ſtorms, the moſt inſalubrious winds, and the many inconveniences of travelling.... But in hunting, as he obſerved very ſtrictly the laws of that exerciſe, ſo he was extremely ſevere, though otherwiſe of the moſt gentle diſpoſition, on theſe occaſions; particularly towards thoſe perſons, who, by their petulant diſcourſe or noiſy clamour, gave the Game an opportunity of eſcaping; inſomuch that he would inveigh bitterly againſt perſons of quality. But whenever it happened, either through ignorance or miſtake of the ſportsmen; or that the game unexpectedly eſcaped, or could not be forced out of its haunts, that he thereby was unſucceſsful in the chace, he would appear ſurpriſingly grieved and exaſperated. And therefore his intimate friends were prodigiouſly careful not to ſue for any favour at this time. But, on the contrary, when he was ſucceſsful in the chace, and it was diſtinguiſhed by the greatneſs of the toil, he would beſtow the moſt conſiderable favours with prodigious liberality."

(16) *Molles additus & quæ molliſſima fandi Tempora.* Virgil. Æn. lib. 4. ver. 423, & 293.

(17) Jovius, *in Vita Leon X*, pag. 196.

(18) Idem, pag. 197.

With regard to his ſight, here follows a paſſage from the *Bigarrures of the Sieur des Accords* (19). "Pope Leo having cauſed the following numerical letters to be engraved on a table, to denote the year of his Pontificate, they were thus interpreted M. CCCCLX. [This paſſage from the *Bigarrures*, has a very groſs error in it which eſcaped Mr. Bayle, where it is ſaid, *Pope Leo having cauſed the numerical letters* MCCCCLX *to be engraved... to denote the year of his Pontificate*

(19) Des Accords, *Bigarrures*, chap. 12. folio m. 105 *verſo*.

(b) See the close of the remark [F].

gravity his character required [F]. This was visible on many occasions, and even in the privileges he granted to Ariosto's Poems (b). In short, it may be said, that men of learning

" *Pontificate &c.* These letters make 1460, and Leo " was not born then." From the remarks to the Paris edition (1734) of *Bayle's Dictionary*.]" *Multi Cardinales* " *cæci crearunt cæcum Leonem decimum.* (Many blind " Cardinals created the blind Leo X.) Now to speak " it occasionally; I know not why he is called blind, " since he could see in hunting, at the highest soar by " the help of glasses, Hauks, Vultures, and Eagles. " But then, on the other hand, whenever he read, he " used to put the paper to his nose; and even then " could not distinguish a letter, as Luke Gauricus in- " forms us *in schematibus cælestibus*. This puts me " in mind of an honest sort of a Parson, who cannot " read the large letters of the Church-books without " spectacles; and yet shall distinguish the smallest dice " that can be found, and cannot be imposed upon." Paulus Jovius confirms but part of this; he asserting that Leo X could read the smallest character with great ease, when he brought the paper close to his eye. *Subtrahebant magna ex parte oris suavitatem obesæ malæ & oculi extantes convolutique & hebètes, verùm si ad pupillam inspicienda propius admoveret, supra fidem acutissimi: supplices enim libellos, vel minutissimis literis, & crebris syllabarum compendiis properanter exaratos celerrimè & distinctissimè lectitabat: admota autem cristallo concava, oculorum aciem in venationibus & aucupiis adeò latè extendere erat solitus, ut non modò spaciis & finibus, sed ipsa etiam discernendi felicitate cunctis anteiret* (20). i. e. " A circumstance that very much " lessened the sweetness of his aspect was, his bloated " cheeks, and his eyes which were prominent, row- " ling, and dim-sighted; and nevertheless extremely " sharp whenever he brought any thing near to the pu- " pil; he reading with great quickness, and distinctly, " petitions though in the minutest characters, and " with many contractions; and, by using a concave " glass, he would extend his sight to such a degree " in hunting, that he surpassed every one, not only in " space, but even in discerning acutely." I have just now consulted Luke Gauricus's book cited by Des Accords, and do not find he says that Leo X could not see at all *when he put the paper to his nose*. I will cite Gauricus, whose impertinence cannot fail of being wondered at, to find him ascribe to the planets, the various qualities of the two eyes of the Pope in question. *Sol cum stellis nebulosis, oculi dextri aciem penitus hebetavit cum multis lineis transversis. Luna in sexta cæli statione sub Geminorum asterismo ad Martis tetragonam radiationem defluens, oculi quoque sinistri lucem impediebat, adeo quidem quod nec legere, neque aliquid intueri potuerat absque conspicillo magno christallino, non autem illius aciem prorsus desiderabat, quoniam salutaris Stella Jovis, Lunam trigonica radiatione intuebatur, & ita Literas lectitabat naso proximiores & oculo, sed cum illo vitreo ocello suspiciebat Accipitres, Aquilas, Astures altius volitantes, & longe melius quam alii venatores, ibatque sæpius ad venationes Leporum, Caprearum silvestrium, & vulpium, illasque optime conspiciebat, quæ à canibus leporariis & molossis capiebantur* (21). i. e. " The Sun, with cloudy stars, quite dimmed (with a " great number of transverse lines) the sight of his " right eye. The moon, in the sixth house, in the " constellation of Gemini, turning to the quartil of " Mars, injured the sight of his left eye to such a de- " gree, that he could not read at all without the help " of a large crystal glass. However, the light of it " was not quite gone, because the salutary planet Ju- " piter was at that time in trine with the moon, and " in this manner he read over letters by putting " them near to his nose and eyes. But by the help " of his glass, he could perceive Hawks and Eagles, " when soaring aloft, much better than the other " sportsmen; he often used to divert himself with hare- " hunting, and that of wild goats and foxes; and had a " perfect sight of them, when seized by the hounds " and mastiffs."

(20) Jovius, *in Vita Leoni X*, pag. 211.

(21) Lucas Gauricus, *Geophonensis, Episcopus Civitatensis in Tractatu Astrologico, in quo agitur de præteritis multorum hominum accidentibus per proprias eorum genituras ad unguem examinatis*, folio 18 *verso* edit. Venetæ apud Curtium Trojanum Navo 1552 in 4to.

[F] *The Poets were chiefly happy in his munificence, which he sometimes indulged without preserving the gravity his character required.*] The pleasures he sometimes used to indulge himself in with them, degenerated sometimes to buffoonry. Quernus, who had been crowned in a solemn manner, and raised to the honour of Poet Laureat, might be considered as a Merry-Andrew. He used to come where Pope Leo was at dinner; and eat, at the window, the morsels which were handed to him. He was allowed to quaff liberally of the Pope's wine, but it was on condition that he should make some *ex tempore* verses on any given subject. He was obliged to compose two lines at least; and in case of his failure, or if his verses were good for nothing, he was sentenced to drink a large quantity of water with his wine (22). *Fuit diu inter instrumenta eruditæ voluptatis longè gratissimus, quum cænante Leone porrectis de manu semesis obsoniis, stans in fenestra vescerètur, & de principis lagena perpotando, subitaria carmina factitaret: ea demum lege, ut præscripto argumento bina saltem carmina ad mensam, tributi nomine solverentur, & in pœnam sterili vel inepto longe dilutissimè foret perbibendum* (23). Sometimes too the Pope would make *ex tempore* verses with his Poet-Laureat, at which the company would burst out a laughing. How ludicrous was all this! *Ab hac autem opulentia hilarique sagina, vehementem incidit in podagram; sic ut bellissimè ad risum evenerit, quum de se canere jussus, in hunc hexametrum erupisset;*

(22) Jovius, *in Elogiis*, cap. 82.

(23) Idem, ibid. pag. 191.

Archiepoëta facit versus pro mille poëtis,

Et demum hæsitaret, inexpectatus Princeps hoc pentametro perargutè responderit;

Et pro mille aliis Archipoëta bibit.

Tum verò astantibus obortus est risus, & demum multò maximus, quum Quernus stupens & interritus, hoc tertium non inepte carmen induxisset:

Porrige, quod faciat mihi carmina docta, Falernum.

Idque Leo repente mutuatus à Virgilio, subdiderit,

Hoc etiam enervat: debilitatque pedes (24).

(24) Ibid.

The sense is,

" The living in this luxurious manner brought a " severe gout upon him; notwithstanding which he " excited laughter, when being commanded to write " some verses on himself, he broke into the following " Hexameter.

" For just a thousand Bards the Laureat writes;

" And hesitating, the Pope unexpectedly added this " very witty pentameter;

" The Laureat drinks for just a thousand more.

" This made the company fall a laughing; and " they afterwards were ready to split their sides, when " Quernus surprized, but undismayed, added this third " pretty line;

" Give me Falernian wine to raise my Muse,

" To which Leo, instantly borrowing from Virgil, " added;

" This likewise weakens and enerves the feet."

One day a Poet presenting to him some Latin verses, in rhime, the Pope, for diversion sake, gave him no other reward but an extempore flight, containing the same number of verses, with the same rhymes. The Poet exasperated against Leo for not bestowing any recompence on him, let fly the following Distich:

Si tibi pro numeris numeros fortuna dedisset,
Non esset capiti tanta corona tuo.

The sense is,

" Had fate thus given thee only verse for verse,
" So great a crown had not adorn'd thy head."

Upon this the Pope exerted his usual beneficence to him (25). By this it appears that our Pope did all that lay in his power to divert himself. But here follows

(25) Extracted from a book intitled, *La sage folie*, translated from the Italian of Antonio Maria Spelta, Historiographer to the King of Spain, and printed at Roan in 1635. Part. 1. pag. 103, 104.

learning and buffoons ſhared equally his friendſhip [G]; but he had not the ſame affection for theological ſtudies [H]. I would not take upon me to warrant the truth of a ſtory which is related, viz. that he one day ridiculed the whole Chriſtian doctrine as fabulous [I]. He had the addreſs to ruin the Council, which the Emperor and King of France had oppoſed to Julius II, and made the Council of Lateran to triumph; he obtaining

lows an incident, which plainly ſhews the buffooning ſpirit that then prevailed in this Pope's palace. A man having a favour to ſue for from Leo X; and being trifled with ſeveral days by inconvenient delays, which put him out of all hopes of being introduced, he thought of the following artifice. He told Leo's great chamberlain, that he had ſome of the fineſt verſes that were ever read to ſhew him. The chamberlain, in the utmoſt tranſports of joy, flies to the Pope, and tells him that he had met with the Prince of fools; one who would give him the greateſt diverſion. It was the cuſtom of the courtiers of Leo X, to look out for perſons that were half crazed, and to make them quite ſo for the diverſion of the head of the Church (26). But they were over-reached by the pretended Poet in queſtion; for the moment he was introduced to the Pope, he confeſſed the true reaſon which had prompted him to counterfeit a crack-brained Poet, and told him his buſineſs. But thoſe who underſtand Latin, will read this with more ſatisfaction in the following words of Nicius Erythræus. *Hoc hominum ridicule inſanientium genere non minimum delectabatur Leo X Pontifex Max. cujus Gnathones, quos circa ſe habebat, dabant operam, ut eos, quibus levis mens eſſet, ad inſaniam adigerent, ſeque eos eſſe, qui non eſſent, arbitrarentur. In quo mirabiliter luſus eſt à quodam, cui petenti aditum conveniendi non dabat: qui cùm multos dies expectaſſet, atque omnes ad Pontificem allegationes difficiles, omnes aditus arduos intercluſoſque videret, ſeducto Pontificii cubiculi præfecto in aurem dixit, ſe eſſe poëtam, ſolum præter cæteros, qui ſua vellet carmina Pontifici tradere, quibus lectis obſtupeſceret, horreret, ad incredibilem admirationem efferretur. Quo ille audito, ventis atque avibus ocius advolavit in Leonis cubiculum, atque hilaritate lætitiaque redundans, Invenimus, inquit, perfectæ inſaniæ hominem, qui tibi voluptati maximæ erit. At ille ſine mora intromiſſus, ex illis ſe integumentis ſimulationis evolvit, cauſam, cur inſaniam ſimulaſſet, aperuit, negotium, quod volebat, expoſuit. Itaque ille deridiculo eos habuit, quibus ludendus tradebatur* (27). Was it obſerving the decorum which the dignity of Pontiff required, to iſſue out a Bull ſo favourable to Arioſto's poems? Cardinal Hyppolito di Eſte, to whom this Poet's Orlando Furioſo was dedicated, formed a very true judgment of it, when he put the following queſtion to the author, *Meſſer Lodoïco dove Diavolo havete pigliato tante coionerie*. i. e. "Arioſto, "whence, in the Devil's name, could you collect ſo "much nonſenſe?" But Leo X was infinitely more gracious to this author. "Almoſt at the ſame time "that he fulminated his anathemas againſt Martin "Luther, he did not bluſh to publiſh a Bull in favour "of Arioſto's profane poems; threatning to excom-"municate thoſe who ſhould cenſure them, or any "way impede the Printer's profit (28)." We ſhall ſee in another place (29), that he was a great admirer of pieces in a comic ſtrain.

(26) *See* Paulus Jovius, *in Vita Leonis X*, lib. 4. pag. 189, 190. when he ſpeaks of Tarafcon the Muſician, and Baraballus the Poet. See citation (58) and the following (*).

(27) Janus Nicius Erythræus, *Pinacoth.* 2. cap. 33. pag. 110.

(28) David Blondel, *Examen de la Bulle d'Innocent X*, pag. 3.

[G] *Men of learning and buffoons ſhared equally his friendſhip.*] Peter Matthieu the hiſtorian, having obſerved that Leo X *had as great an affection for buffoons, as for the moſt learned men of Italy, and changed his humours from one extreme to another* (30), quotes the following paſſage from Aretin. "E beato colui "che e pazzo, ne la pazzia ſua compiace ad altri e a "ſe ſteſſo. Certamente Leone hebbe una natura da' "ſtremo à eſtremo, & non ſaria opra da ogniuno il "giudicare chi piu gli dilettaſſe, o la vertu de i dotti, "o le ciancie de i buffoni, e di cio fa fede il ſuo ha-"dato à l'una e à l'altra ſpecie eſſaltando tanto queſti "quanto quegli." i. e. "Happy is that man who "is a fool, and whoſe folly pleaſes others and him-"ſelf too. Certainly the caſt of Leo's diſpoſition was "for extremes; and it would be no eaſy matter to "judge which gave him the greateſt pleaſure, the "ſcience of the Literati, or the jeſts of buffoons; and "this is manifeſt by his favouring both theſe ſorts of "men, ſometimes preferring the one, and ſometimes "the other." Peter Matthieu, who often cites our Aretin, took much more pains than Menage (31).

(29) In the remark [B] of the article MACHIAVEL.

(30) Matthieu, *Hiſt. de Henri IV*, liv. 3. tom. 2. pag. m. 716.

[H] *He had not the ſame affection for theological ſtudies.*] Cardinal Palavicino could not deny this. He owns frankly that Leo X had a greater regard for perſons who underſtood mythology, the Poets of antiquity, and profane learning, than for thoſe who were converſant in divinity, and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. Here follow his words, which are more frank and leſs inſincere than uſual. *Gli oppone il Soave, ch'egli haveſſe maggior notizia di lettere profane che ſacre ed apartenenti alla religione: nel che io non gli contradico. Havendo Leone ricevuto da Dio un ingegno capaciſſimo e ſingularmente ſtudioſo; ed appena uſcito dalla fanciullezza veggendoſi toſto nel ſupremo Senato della Chieſa; mancò al ſuo debito con traſcurar nella letteratura una parte non ſolamente la più nobile, mà la più proporzionata al ſuo Grado. E s'accrebbe tal mancamento quando in età di trentaſett'anni coſtituito Preſidente e Maeſtrò della religione, non ſolo continuò di donarſi tutto alle curioſità degli ſtudii profani; mà nella Reggia della medeſima religione con maggior cura chiamò coloro à cui foſſer note le favole della Grecia e le delizie de' Poeti, che l'Iſtorie della Chieſa, et la dottrina de' Padri. Non laſciò ei veramente di rimunerar la Scholaſtica Theologia, onorandola con la Porpora in Tommaſo di Vio, in Egidio da Viterbo, e in Adriano Florenzio ſuo Succeſſore, e coll' ufficio di Maeſtro del Sacro Palazzo in Silveſtro da Prierio; le cui penne illuſtrarono immortalmente quella ſacra diſciplina. Mà nè co' Theologi uſò di converſare come co' Poeti; ne promeſſe l'erudizione ſacra come la profana; laſciando la Chieſa in quella ſcarſezza in cui la trovò di perſone che dopo l'infelice ignoranza di molti ſecoli rauvivaſſero la prima, comi ſi rauvivava già la ſeconda* (32). i. e. "Fra Paolo objects to him, that he was better ſkil-"led in profane Literature than in ſacred or religious "learning, which I do not deny. Heaven had be-"ſtowed on Leo a conſummate genius, and a ſingular "induſtry; and, though but young, ſeeing himſelf "ſeated in the ſupreme Senate of the Church, he yet "was wanting in his duty, in neglecting, the ſpecies "of Literature, not only the nobleſt in its kind, "but the moſt ſuitable to his ſtation. And this ne-"glect increaſed, when, being ſeven and thirty years "old, and being ſet at the head of all religious af-"fairs, he not only continued to devote himſelf wholly "to the curioſity of profane ſtudies; but, for the re-"gulating of religion, was more aſſiduous in inviting "thoſe who were converſant in the fables of Greece, "and the compoſitions of Poets, than ſuch as were "acquainted with eccleſiaſtical hiſtory and the doc-"trine of the fathers. He nevertheleſs encouraged "ſchool Divinity; he raiſing to the purple, Thomas "di Vio, Giles da Viterbo, and Adrian Florenzio "his ſucceſſor; and appointing Silveſter da Prierio "maſter of the ſacred Palace, whoſe Pens will il-"luſtrate to lateſt poſterity that ſacred ſcience. But "he did not converſe with the Divines as with the "poets, nor ſo much encourage ſacred erudition as "he did profane; leaving the Church in the ſame "want as he had found it, of learned men, who, af-"ter the unhappy ignorance of many centuries, ſhould "revive the former, as the latter was revived." It were to be wiſhed that theſe two hiſtorians, had agreed together ſo well on all occaſions.

(31) See citation (46) of the article ARETIN (Peter).

(32) Palavic. *Iſtoria del Concilio di Trento*, lib. 1. cap. 2. num. 2. pag. 50.

[I] *It is related... that he one day ridiculed the whole Chriſtian doctrine as fabulous.*] (β). The tradition is, that upon his ſecretary Bembus's quoting ſomething from the Goſpel, he anſwered, "It is well "known of old how profitable this fable of Jeſus Chriſt "has been to us;" *quantum nobis noſtriſque ea de Chriſto fabula profuerit, ſatis eſt omnibus ſeculis notum.* This ſtory is related in the *Myſtere d'Iniquité* (33), and in a numberleſs multitude of other books, but without being ſupported by citations, or any other proof than the authority of Bale; ſo that the three or four hundred authors who, copying one another, have related this, ought to be reduced to a ſingle teſtimony, and that is Bale; a teſtimony manifeſtly exceptionable,

(33) Cardinal Bembo his Secretary (theſe two titles do not agree well. Bembo not being a Cardinal under Leo X) quoting a paſſage to him out of the Goſpel, he had the preſumption to ſay, what great ſervice has this fable of Chriſt done to us and to our whole College? Du Pleſſis, *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 584.

taining from Lewis XII all the ſubmiſſion he could deſire from him (c). But he obtained from Francis I a much more ſolid advantage, by the Concordat concluded between them in the year 1515; which nevertheleſs did not incline him more to favour France. So far from

(c) See remark [G] of the article JULIUS II.

ceptionable, as he wrote in open war againſt the Pope, and the Church of Rome in general. No court of Judicature in the world would admit the depoſitions of ſuch a witneſs, making oath that he has heard ſo or ſo; for when once the perſon appears to be an open enemy to the man he accuſes, the challenges of the party impeached would be declared valid. As therefore controverſial books are produced by the contending parties in a cauſe pleaded before the publick; it is certain that neither the teſtimony of a Proteſtant controverſial writer, with regard to an incident which reflects on the Roman Pontifs, nor the teſtimony of a Popiſh controverſial writer with reſpect to an incident that reflects on the Proteſtants, ought to be conſidered as any thing. The publick, who are the judges of ſuch cauſes, ought to reject all ſuch depoſitions, and pay no more regard to them than to things that never happened. Particular perſons are allowed, if once fully perſuaded of Bale's veracity and honour, to believe what he affirms; but then they ought to keep their belief to themſelves; and not exhibit it to the publick as a judicial proof of one's pretenſions againſt the adverſe party. This, in my opinion, is a circumſtance that is not ſufficiently obſerved.

§. (β) It was in the Pontificate of Leo X that Ulric de Hutten publiſhed his dialogue entitled *Trias Romana*. Now that author ſays as follows, in this ingenious ſatyr of the court of Rome; *Tria*, VADISCUS *ait, pauciſſimi Romæ credunt, animarum immortalitem, communionem Sanctorum, & Infernorum Pœnas.* ERNH. *Perſuaſit. Exiſtimo enim, ſi animam crederent immortalem, utique eam excoleret quiſque, ejuſque commodis inſerviret, nunc corporis voluptatem in tantum ſectantur, ut animam premant modis omnibus. Illam verò beatorum communionem ſi quid facerent, etiam ejus participes eſſe vellent. Porrò de pœnis Infernorum vel verbum dicere inter præclaros hos Quirites pro anili eſt* FABULA (*). " It is obſerved, that very few in Rome " believe three things, the immortality of the Soul, the " communion of Saints, and hell torments. For did " they believe the firſt, they would adorn it to the ut- " moſt of their power, and do all things for its ad- " vantage; inſtead of which they indulge ſo much in " bodily pleaſures, that they oppreſs the ſoul by all me- " thods poſſible. Then had they any value for the com- " munion of Saints, they would be partakers of it. Laſt- " ly, to mention but a word of hell torments before theſe " illuſtrious Romans, is looked upon as an old wife's FA- " BLE." This very probably may be the original of this ſtory. REM. CRIT.] Another ſtory is related, which is liable to the ſame objections as the firſt. It is ſaid that Leo hearing two men diſpute, one whereof denied, and the other aſſerted the immortality of the Soul, pronounced that the affirmative ſeemed true to him, but that the negative was more proper to give a man a chearful countenance. *Leonis X Papæ dictum refert* (Lutheras) *qui audita diſputatione in qua unus immortalitatem animæ defendebat, alter oppugnabat, dixerit,* tu quidem vera videris dicere, ſed adverſarii tui oratio facit bonum cultum, *id eſt lætiorem mentem* (*Ital.* buona cera) *ex Epicuri ſcilicet ſententia.* It is Luther ſays this (34). A perſon may, if he pleaſes, believe Luther; but then his teſtimony ought not to be admitted. He is a man who is engaged in open war with the Pope; he is an enemy perſecuted and excommunicated; the practice of courts of Judicature requires that his teſtimony ſhould be excepted againſt, and even that his oath ſhould be refuſed; he ought to prove his aſſertions or ſay nothing. A famous profeſſor of divinity in Zurick relates this incident on the authority of a book (35), that is as exceptionable as Luther himſelf. *Qualis fuerit Leo . . . conſtabit . . . . ſi de ejus . . . . impietate & atheiſmo nonnihil attexuerimus. Ille ſcilicet ὑπόψηφος Johannis XXIV. animam in corporis domicilio ſic inſinuatam ſtatuentis, ut extra illum carcerem non duret; juſſit aliquando (uti* Recuſat. Synod Trid. par. 2. cauſ. 8. pag. 266. *comprobitam videre eſt) perſonatos Philoſophos duos, ceu moriones ex adverſo ad menſam aſſiſtere; quos animi gratia de immortalitate animæ diſputantes audiret; alterum qui affirmaret, & qui impugnaret, alterum. Cumque finita diſputatione judicium in arbitrium Pontificis hi rejicerent, ille ſic definita ſententia controverſiam diremit:* Etſi tu, *inquit ad affirmantem,* pulchras & bonas rationes habeas; tamen ego ſententiam hujus, *negantis,* approbo, ceu firmiorem, & quæ faciat bonum vultum (36). i. e. " It will appear what kind of man " Leo was, if ſome particulars be added concerning " his impiety and atheiſm. The Pontiff in queſtion " entertaining the ſame opinion with John XXIV. " who ſuppoſed that the ſoul was ſo attached to the " body that it could not exiſt ſeparately from it, " commanded one day (as is manifeſt from *Recuſat. Synod. Trid. par. 2. cauſ. 8. pag.* 166) two mimic " Philoſophers, like buffoons, to ſtand oppoſite to " each other at a table; and to argue before him " concerning the immortality of the Soul, the one to " aſſert, and the other to deny it. The diſpute being " ended, and the deciſion of it referred to the Pon- " tiff, he pronounced concerning this conteſt as fol- " lows: *Notwithſtanding that you,* ſays he to the aſ- " ſertor, *have offered fine and good reaſons, I never- " theleſs approve the opinion of this man* (the denyer) " *as the more ſolid, and what gives a man a more " chearful countenance.*" He afterwards relates the anſwer, which it is ſaid he made Bembus; and as he was fully ſenſible that all things of this kind ought to be proved by the teſtimony of Roman Catholick authors, he orders the matter thus; he quotes the famous Count of Mirandola's nephew: *Et ne ab hæreticis hæc conficta clamitent οἱ ἐξ ἐναντίας, ejus rei αὐτόπτην & αὐτήκοον* (37) *teſtem damus, qui & ſcire debebat, & cauſam cur mentiretur non habebat, Johannis Pici, Mirandulani Comitis nepotem ex fratre minimè degenerem, qui in illo Piſani & Lateranſis Conſilii conflictu, quæſtionem tractans,* utrùm Concilia vel Pontifices errare poſſint, *inter alia de Leone hoc loquens:* Meminimus, *inquit,* Pontificem creditum & adoratum, qui nullum Deum credens, omne infidelitatis (ἀθεότητος) culmen excederet: peſſimaque ejus opera in coëmendo Pontificatu, in omnigenis ſceleribus exercendis, id ipſum teſtabatur: ſed & peſſima quoque dicta confirmabant. Namque faſſum eum affirmabatur domeſticis quibuſdam, nullum ſe Deum aliquando, etiam dum Pontificiam Sedem teneret, credidiſſe, *quæ ejus verba libro* de fide & ordine credendi, theorem. 4. pag. 259, 260. *legere eſt* (38). i. e. " And to prevent our antagoniſts from crying " aloud, that theſe things are only fictions invented " by hereticks, I ſhall preſent you with an eye wit- " neſs, as well as ear witneſs, to this thing; a wit- " neſs who both ought to know, and had no induce- " ment to tell an untruth; I mean the excellent ne- " phew of John Picus, Count of Mirandola, who, " in that conflict of the council of Piſa and Lateran, " arguing on the following queſtion, viz. *whether it be " poſſible for Councils or Popes to err*; among other " particulars, ſays as follows of Leo: *I remember a " Roman Pontiff believed and worſhipped, who himſelf " not believing a God, exceeded the utmoſt limits of " atheiſm. That this was true, is confirmed by his pur- " chaſing the Pontifical Throne; by his committing wicked- " neſs of every kind; and even his abominable words. " For it is affirmed, that he owned to ſome of his do- " meſticks, even whilſt he ſat in the pontifical chair, " that he did not believe the exiſtence of a God,* which " words of this Pope you may find in the book *de " fide & ordine credendi, theorem.* 4. pag. 259, 260." The reader will doubtleſs be pleaſed to ſee here more at large, and in Engliſh, John Picus's account. " Treat- " ing alſo the queſtion, *whether it be poſſible for Coun- " cils or Popes to err,* which may be eaſily determined " from his own notion, ſince he preſuppoſes that they " may ſwerve from the holy Scriptures, he tells us, that " ſeveral councils have erred, and ſeveral Popes fallen " into hereſy; it often happening, that he who was " looked upon as Preſident or Head of the Church, " either did not rightly preſide, or was not capable of " doing it: *For,* ſays he, *Hiſtory informs us, that a " woman was looked upon as Pope; and I remember " that in our age, a learned man, of applauded morals, " and raiſed to honours in the order to which he be- " longed, declared, but not in public, that he who was " looked*

(*) Paſquillor. *tomi duo Elenther.* 1544, tom. 2. pag. 258.

(34) *Commentar. In Caput xix Geneſeos, ver.* 13. folio 132. *apud* Seckendorf, *Hiſt. Lutheran.* lib. 3. pag. 676. col. 1.

(35) Intitled, *Recuſatio Synodi Tridentinæ.* See the article TUPPIUS.

(36) Heidegger. *Hiſtor. Papat.* pag. 204, 205. He may have found all this very near word for word in Bernegerus's *Tuba pacis,* pag. 272, 273. edit. 1624.

(37) Nevertheleſs, what Heidegger advances, is not mentioned by John Picus's nephew as a thing which it was ſaid a Pope had confeſſed. He does not ſay that he heard the Pope himſelf ſay ſo.

(38) Heidegger, *Hiſt. Papatus,* pag. 205.

from it, he concluded Leagues againſt that Kingdom; and took, as we are told, this affair ſo much to heart, that when news was brought of the ill ſucceſs the French had met with, he died through exceſs of joy (*d*) [*K*]. Not but there are writers who affirm that he was poiſoned. He did not always take ſuch meaſures as were agreeable to the Emperor Maximilian [*L*]. The ſordid traffic to which he reduced the diſtribution of indulgences,

(*d*) In the beginning of December 1521.

" *looked upon as Pope was not really ſuch, becauſe he had* " *exerciſed the Pontifical office, before he had been* " *elected by both parties of the Cardinals, in oppoſition* " *to the laws of the Church, which decree, that ſuch a* " *man not only is not Pope; but that he alſo is abſolutely* " *unqualified and incapacitated for that office, as being* " *under an anathema.* II. *We alſo remember another* " *choſen and worſhipped as Pope, whom nevertheleſs* " *ſeveral great men thought was not, nor could be ſuch,* " *becauſe he did not believe a God, and was arrived at* " *the higheſt pitch of infidelity; which was evident* " *from his moſt wicked works, he having purchaſed the* " *Papal throne, and committing all kinds of vices in* " *it; and even confirmed it by his moſt execrable diſ-* " *courſes; for it is affirmed that he had owned to ſome* " *of his domeſticks, that even while he ſat in the Pon-* " *tifical chair, he did not believe the exiſtence of a God.* " III. *We have heard ſpeak of another, who, when* " *living, had declared to a particular friend of his,* " *that he did not believe the immortality of the ſoul;* " *but that when dead, he appeared to him, as he was* " *awake; and declared that he experienced immortality,* " *he being ſentenced to everlaſting fire by the juſt judgment* " *of God* (39)." Du Pleſſis was of opinion, that the firſt of theſe three things related to Julius II, and the ſecond to Leo X. Coeffeteau (40) only anſwered, that *du Pleſſis preſuming to ſcrutinize the conſciences of mankind in general,* had made this application *without proof or judgment*; but Gretſer made a better anſwer; he ſhewing that not one of theſe three things related to Leo X, becauſe John Francis Picus's book was printed during the Pontificate of Julius II. *Intolerabilis porro & plane diabolica calumnia eſt, cum ſcribit Pleſſæus, ea quæ Theoremate quarto Joannis Franciſci continentur, de quodam Pontifice, qui domeſticis confeſſus fuerit,* nullum ſe Deum aliquando, etiam cum cathedram Pontificiam teneret, credidiſſe, *ad Leonem X, pertinere; nam Joannes Picus edidit Commentarium* de Fide & ordine credendi *ante Leonis Pontificatum; inſcripſit enim Julio II. Quomodo igitur relatione illa ſeu hiſtoriæ ſeu fabellæ Leonem X denotare potuit* (41)? Rivet acquieſced in this cenſure, his words being as follow: " As to the application made by our author to Julius II " and Leo X, of what he ſaid of ſome Popes, viz. " that many great men did not look upon them as " ſuch, for the reaſons he gives; it matters not in " reality to whom this aſſertion is directed, provided " it is certain that it is to Popes, of one of whom he " ſays it was aſſerted, *that he did not believe the* " *exiſtence of a God; that he exceeded the higheſt pitch* " *of infidelity; and even declared, in his diſcourſes,* " *that he did not believe in God.* If we will clear " Leo X of this imputation, (he perhaps not ſpeaking " of him, becauſe he dedicates his books to Julius, " unleſs he enlarged them afterwards, as is often done,) " we yet cannot deny it of Alexander VI." There was in him, ſays Guicciardin (*), neither truth, faith, nor religion. Theſe are Rivet's words (42). I am to obſerve that, according to Guicciardin (43), we cannot charge Leo X with ſimony or purchaſing of the Pontificate.

(39) Du Pleſſis Mornai, *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 590.

(40) *Réponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 1233.

(41) Gretſer. *in Examine Myſter. Pleſſ.* pag. 573.

(*) *Hiſtory of Italy*, liv. 1.

(42) Rivet, *Remarques ſur le Reponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité*, Part 2. pag. 646.

(43) See the remark [*O*].

Had Heidegger, who was happy in a good memory, remembered this, he would not have believed that John Francis Picus had been a witneſs to the impieties of Leo X. His miſtake may and ought to ſerve as a leſſon to a great number of others. I will conclude with obſerving that a Judge cannot, without infringing his duty, pronounce againſt this Pope, unleſs he has more authentic depoſitions. The reader will ſee in other remarks (44), whether thoſe who apologize for him argue juſtly.

(44) In the remarks [*P*] and [*Q*].

[*K*] *When news was brought of the ill ſucceſs the French had met with*, it was ſaid, *he died through exceſs of joy.*] " Having lighted up anew the war be- " tween the Emperor Charles and the King of France, " in order to drive the French out of Italy; advice " was brought him at Magliano one of his country " ſeats, of the diſpoſſeſſing them of Milan and Parma, " which gave him ſuch an exceſs of joy, that he was " ſeized that very night with a ſlight fever, and died " of it a few days after (45)." Theſe are du Pleſſis's words. It is agreed by all Hiſtorians that Leo X felt a prodigious ſatisfaction at hearing this good news; but I do not find many who affirm that this was the cauſe of his death; and though many had affirmed it, I would not believe it; for thoſe who die through exceſs of joy, die ſuddenly, overpower'd, in all probability, by too great a flow of blood into the ventricles of the heart. If a perſon can withſtand the firſt impreſſions of a riſing joy, as the Pope did, he grows better afterward; ſo far from being ſeized with a dangerous fever, when other reaſons do not occaſion it. John Creſpin's relation ſeems much more probable; for he ſuppoſes that Leo's death was ſudden: but indeed not of that ſudden kind occaſioned by exceſs of joy. " Hearing that the French had been overcome " at Milan by the Emperor's forces, and driven out " of Italy, to which he indeed gave a helping hand; " as he was carouzing and indulging his appetite, and " rejoicing in an extraordinary manner at the news, " it is ſaid that he ſuddenly gave up the ghoſt, he who " always diſbelieved a heaven and hell after this " life (46)." The following diſtich (47),

Sacra ſub extrema ſi forte requiritis hora
Cur Leo non poterat ſumere? vendiderat.

" You aſk why Leo in his dying moments
" Could not receive the Sacraments? He had ſold 'em."

this diſtich, I ſay, alledged by that author favours the ſuppoſition of ſudden death; but it is nevertheleſs certain that the ſickneſs of which Leo X died, was of ſome days continuance (48). Famianus Strada has given two accounts of the death of this Pontiff (49); the one in Livy's ſtyle and the other in Tacitus's manner, both which are beautiful and elaborate.

(45) Du Pleſſis *Myſtére d'Iniquité*, pag. 590.

(46) Jean Creſpin, *Etat de l'Egliſe, ad ann.* 1521, pag. m. 516.

(47) Of Sannazar.

(48) *See* Paulus Jovius, *in Vita Leonis X*, pag. 209.

I muſt here take notice of a miſtake of the tranſlator of Guicciardin. " Advice, *ſays he*, was brought, " that Pope Leo died ſuddenly the firſt of December. " For having received, in his Villa of Magliano, " whither he went often to divert himſelf, news of " the taking of Milan, he fell into ſuch an exceſs of " joy, that he was ſeized with a ſlight fever, that very " night; and being on this account carried to Rome " the next day, although the Phyſicians made light " at firſt of his indiſpoſition, he yet died in very few " days, not without a great ſuſpicion of his being " poiſoned, as it was ſaid, by Barnabas Maleſpina his " chamberlain, who was appointed to give him his " drink (50)." How abſurd is it to ſay, almoſt in the ſame period, that a perſon dies *ſuddenly*, and that he dies of a ſlight fever which the Phyſicians made light of at firſt? Guicciardin could not poſſibly have made ſuch a blunder, he not ſaying that he died ſuddenly *mori di morte ineſpetata* (51); nor has he connected the great joy of this Pope with the fever, as the cauſe with its effect. *Ricevutone incredibile piacere; ſoprapreſo la notte medeſima di picciola febbre, e fattoſi il giorno ſequente portare à Roma &c.* (52). This connection is more than a poetical licence of the tranſlator. It may be obſerved by the way, how cloſely the words of an original ought to be followed, when a perſon would tranſlate faithfully.

(49) *Proluſ. Academic.* 2. lib. 2. pag. m. 247, & *ſeq.*

(50) Homodei, Tranſlation of Guiceiard. Book 14. chap. 14. folio 143. *ad ann.* 1521. [This *Homodei* is an error of the preſs; it ſhould be *Chomedey*, as it is written in ſome other places.] Remarks from the Paris edit. (1734) of Bayle's Dictionary.

(51) Guicc. lib. 14. folio m. 415 *verſo.*

(52) Idem, ibid.

[*L*] *He did not always take ſuch meaſures as were agreeable to the Emperor Maximilian.*] This Monarch had flattered himſelf that Leo X would have favoured him; but when he heard of this Pope's correſpondence with the French, he cried; *had not this Pope deceived me alſo, he would have been the only Pontiff whoſe honour and integrity I ſhould have had reaſon to applaud.* Niſi me hic quoque Papa fefelliſſet, ille unicus eſſet cujus bonam fidem laudare poſſem (53).

(53) *See* Seckendorf, *Hiſt. Lutheran.* lib. 1. pag. 43. col. 1. *See alſo* Heidegger, *Hiſt. Papatu*, pag. 201.

indulgences [*M*], proved the occaſion of the reformation eſtabliſhed by Luther, as is univerſally known. It is related by ſome writers, that he at firſt beſtowed the higheſt elogiums on that great Reformer [*N*]. I do not find that Guicciardin laſhes this Pontiff with ſo much ſeverity as Varillas inſinuates [*O*]; but the apology of Paulus Jovius appears to

[*M*] *The ſordid traffic to which he reduced the diſtribution of indulgences.*] A kind of monopoly was made of them; indulgences were let out to farm; and the Commiſſioners appointed to collect the monies, bought their employments of the Pope; and this done, they were extremely rigorous in their exactions, and had ſo little regard to decency, that the powers for releaſing ſouls out of purgatory were played for in taverns, as Guicciardin affirms. *Haveva ſparſo per tutto il mondo, ſenza diſtintione di tempi e di luoghi, indulgentie ampliſſime, non ſolo per poter giovare coneſſe quelli, che ancora ſono nella vita preſente, ma con facultà di potere oltra queſto liberare l'anime de defunti dalla pene del Purgatorio: lequali, percha era notorio che ſi concedevano ſolamente per eſtorquere danari da gli huomini; & eſſendo eſſercitate imprudentemente da Commiſſarii deputati a queſta eſattione, la più parte de' quali comperavi dalla Corte la facultà di eſſercitare; haveva concitato in molti luoghi indignatione, e ſcandalo aſſai, e ſpecialmente nella Germania, dove a molti de' miniſtri era veduto vendere per poco prezzo, ò giocarſi ſur le taverne la faculta del liberare l'anime d' morti dal Purgatorio* (54). i. e. "He diſperſed throughout the whole "world, without any regard to times or places, very "ample indulgences, not only for the advantage of "the preſent life, but endued with a power to free "the ſouls of the dead from the pains of purgatory; "which, as it was notorious that they were granted "in no other view but to draw money out of peo"ple's pockets, and were levied imprudently by "Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, moſt of "whom bought their employments of the Court of "Rome; they therefore occaſioned in many places, "great indignation and ſcandal, particularly in Ger"many, where they were ſold for little or nothing; "and the power of freeing the ſouls of the dead from "purgatory, was played for in taverns." The diſcontent of the people increaſed, when it was known to what uſe theſe ſums were applied; for moſt of the money levied in Germany was for the uſe of the Pope's ſiſter.

(54) Guicci. lib. 13. fol. 395, *verſo*. *See alſo* Fra Paolo, lib. 1.

[*N*] *It is related by ſome writers, that he at firſt beſtowed the higheſt elogiums on that great reformer.*] This circumſtance would have been little known, had not Colomeſius mentioned it. Mr. de Seckendorf (55) learnt it from him; he having been told by a counſellor of Spire, that it was in the *Opuſcula* of Colomeſius. The paſſage is this. "Voſſius having told me, that "he remembred to have read, in the tragical hiſtories "of Bandelli, an elogium beſtowed on Luther by Pope "Leo X, I went immediately into his library, where "turning over that author's hiſtories, I met with the "following words in the preface to the twenty fifth "novel of the third part: *Nel principio che la Setta "Lutherana comincio à germogliare, eſſendo di brigata "molti Gentilhuomini, ne l'hora del meriggio, in caſa "del noſtro virtuoſo Signor L. Scipione Attellano, è di "varie coſe raggionandoſi, furono alcuni che non poco "biaſimarono Leone* X *Pontefice, che ne i principii non "ſi metteſſe remedio, à l'hora che Frate Silveſtro Prie"rio, Maeſtro del ſacro Palazzo, gli moſtrò alcuni pun"cti d'hereſia che Fra Martino Lutero haveva ſparſo "per l'opera, la quale de le Indulgentie haveva intitola"ta; perciochè imprudentemente riſpoſe, che Fra Mar"tino haveva un belliſſimo ingegno, e che coteſte erano "invidie Frateſche.*" i. e. "When the ſect of Luther "began to make its appearance, ſeveral gentlemen "being together, at noon, in the houſe of our excel"lent Signior L. Scipio Attellano, and diſcourſing "upon various ſubjects; ſome of them greatly blamed "Pope Leo X, for not taking care in time, when Sil"veſter Prierio, maſter of the ſacred palace, pointed "out to him ſome heretical tenets which Friar Mar"tin Luther had ſcattered up and down his treatiſe "concerning indulgences; but he imprudently anſwe"red, that Friar Martin had a fine genius, and that "theſe were mere ſurmiſes ariſing from the jealouſy "of the Monks." Sleidan would not have failed to prefix theſe words to his hiſtory, had he known them (56).

(55) *Hiſt. Luther.* lib. 1. pag. 40. col. 2. littera b.

(56) Colomies, *Recueil de l'particularitez*, pag. 3.

[*O*] *I do not find that Guicciardin laſhes this Pontiff with ſo much ſeverity as Varillas inſinuates.*] This author wrote a great number of books againſt the houſe of Auſtria, which perhaps would have been printed, if Mr. Colbert had not repreſented, after the peace of the Pyrenees, that it would be no ways decent to diſguſt the Spaniards, by permitting the impreſſion of ſo many volumes filled with ſuch injurious particulars. The plan of this voluminous work has been ſeen in a piece entitled, *La Politique de la Maiſon d'Autriche* (the politicks of the houſe of Auſtria.) The author ſets out with a kind of apology, for the liberty he has taken to touch upon the vices of Princes. *I only*, ſays he (57), *imitate the ſtyle, and copy the reverſe of the picture which Livy drew of Hannibal* (*); *and I have fallen ſo ſhort of it, that the reader will not meet with a perſon of what rank or quality ſoever, ſo injuriouſly treated in my work, as Pope Leo X is in the elogium which Guicciardin has made of him* (†), *and for which he was not any way reproved that I can find* (‡). It is plain that this elogium of Leo X is repreſented as a very ſatyrical piece; otherwiſe it would be abſurd to mention his example. Now it is certain that we do not meet with any thing in Guicciardin, which anſwers to this idea. The twelfth book cited by Varillas, is leſs to his purpoſe than the two following. It is in the thirteenth book that we have an account of the trade of indulgences, as has been already ſeen; and in the fourteenth a cenſure of this Pope for ſquandring ſuch ſums, and for being ſo fond of muſick and farcical entertainments (58). *Egli per natura dedito all' ocio, & a' piaceri, & hora per la troppa licenza, e grandezza alieno ſopra modo dalle facende, immerſo ad udire tuttol' giorno muſiche, facetie, e buffoni, inclinato ancora troppo più che l'honneſta a piaceri: pareva doveſſe eſſere totalmente alieno dalle guerre.* i. e. "Being naturally prone to "idleneſs and fond of pleaſure; and now, by the ex"alted height he had attained, being utterly averſe "to buſineſs; ſpending whole days in hearing muſick, "jeſts and buffoonries; and being too much devoted "to his pleaſures, it was judged that he would be to"tally averſe to war." *Quali ſorte di buffonerie, e di facetie piaceſſero a Papa Leone; ſi può raccoglier dal lib.* 4. *della vita di lui del Giovio: dove pone, che furon recitate Comedie, ſi fece profeſſion di fare impazziro huomini, & altre piacevolezze tali: onde il Taraſcone ſi perſuaſe d'eſſere gran Muſico, il Baraballo fu laureato Poeta, e mandato ſu l'Elefante, & i Paraſiti furon ſommamente favoriti.* i. e. "What kind of buffoonries "were moſt pleaſing to Pope Leo X may be gathered "from book IV of his life written by Paulus Jovius, "who ſays, that they acted plays; that they made it "their buſineſs to make ſome ſelf-conceited men quite "frantic, and ſuch like extravagancies; whence Ta"raſcone imagined himſelf to be a great muſician; "Baraballo was created Poet Laureat and rode upon "the Elephant; and paraſites were highly favoured." In a word, we find in the XIV book a general judgment on the conduct of this Pope; but this is a compoſition of praiſes and cenſures; and cannot paſs for ſatyrical, nor even diſreſpectful. Guicciardin's words are as follow: *Principe nel quale erano degne di laude, e di vituperio molte coſe, e che ingannò aſſai l'eſpettatione, che quando fu aſſunto al Ponteficato s'haveva di lui: conciofia ch' criuſciſſe di maggior prudenza, ma di molto minore bonta di quello ch'era giudicato da tutti*)59). i. e. "A Prince who poſſeſſed many good and many "ill qualities; and who greatly deceived the expecta"tion, which people entertained of him when he was "raiſed to the Pontificate; he diſplaying more wiſ"dom and much leſs goodneſs than the world had "imagined." When this hiſtorian ſpeaks of the election of Leo X, he does it in ſuch a manner as is extremely glorious to this Pope. He owns that it was no way ſimoniacal, or bad; and that not the leaſt objection could be made to the moral conduct of the cardinal elected. *Senti di queſta elettione quaſi tutta la Chriſtianità, grandiſſimo piacere, perſuadendoſi univerſalmente gli homini che haveſſe a eſſere rariſſimo Pontefice, per la chiara memoria del valore paterno, e*

(57) Varillas, *Politique de la Maiſon d'Autriche*, pag. 73, 74. Hague edit. of 1688.

(*) In book 21.

(†) In book 12. of his Hiſtory.

(‡) Not even by le Beny.

(58) Lib. 14. folio 398, *verſo*.

(59) Guicciard. lib. 14. folio 416.

to me very weak [P]; and occaſioned its being made a queſtion, whether he ought to be

per la fama che riſonava per tutto della ſua liberalità, e benignità, ſtimato caſto e di perfetti coſtumi, e ſperandoſi che a eſſempio del padre haveſſe a eſſere amatore de' letterati, e di tutti gli ingegni illuſtri: laquale eſpettatione accreſceva l'eſſere ſtata fatta l'elettione candidamente ſenza ſimonia, ò ſoſpetto di macula alcuna (60). i. e. " Almoſt the whole Chriſtian world was highly pleaſed at this election; every one being perſuaded that " he would prove a moſt excellent Pontiff, from the " great reputation of his father's valour, and the good " opinion mankind in general entertained of his libe- " rality, benignity, chaſtity and moral conduct; and " hoping that, in imitation of his father, he would " eſteem and patronize learned men, and thoſe who " excelled in their talent: which expectation increaſed " becauſe his election was no ways ſimoniacal, and " was quite exempt from the leaſt ſuſpicion of fraud!" See in the remark [R] a contradiction of Varillas.

(60) Guicc. lib. 11. folio 326.

[P] *The apology of Paulus Jovius appears to me very weak.*] The methods this author takes to juſtify Leo X may be reduced to four, I. He ſays that it was not from a vicious nature, but from a ſoft, eaſy and generous temper that this Pope, ſurrounded with perſons of a voluptuous turn, immerſed himſelf a little too much in pleaſures (61). This is but a poor excuſe, and many common proſtitutes might be juſtified from that way of reaſoning. They are not naturally wicked, brutal or cruel, but their too great good nature, eaſy temper and complaiſance, is the occaſion of their falling into the tempter's ſnare. I will obſerve by the way, that Politian ſays wonders of Leo X, in a letter which he wrote to Pope Innocent VIII, when this youth was honoured with the purple. *Ita natus & factus, ita altus atque educatus, ita denique eruditus atque inſtitutus hic eſt, ut nemini ſecundus ingenio, nec æqualibus induſtria, nec præceptoribus literatura, neque gravitate ſenibus conceſſerit. Nativa in eo probitas, & genuina: diligentia quoque parentis ita impenſe culta eſt, ut ex illius ore non modo non verbum dictu fœdius, ſed ne levius quidem unquam aut etiam licentius exciderit. Non actio, non geſtus, non inceſſus, in illo notatus: non aliud poſtremo quod in deteriorem partem conſpiceretur. Sic in viridi ætate cana maturitas, ut qui loquentem ſenes audiant, proavitam in eo, nos paternam certe indolem agnoſcamus. Cultum pietatis & religionis pene etiam cum lacte nutricis exſuxit: etiam tum ab incunabulis ſacra meditatus officia* (29). i. e. " This youth was ſo " formed by nature and education, that not being in- " ferior to any one in genius, he does not yield to his " equals in induſtry; to his preceptors in erudition; " nor to old men in gravity. He is naturally honeſt " and ſincere; and educated in ſo ſtrict a manner by " his father, that never drops a looſe expreſſion, or " even a light one. No action, geſture or gait, or a- " ny other circumſtance, diſtinguiſhed him in ſuch a " manner, as might give an ill impreſſion of him. " His judgment appears ſo ripe and mature, though " he be extremely young, that whenever old men hear " him talk, they revere him as a parent. Together " with his nurſe's milk he ſucked in piety and reli- " gion; preparing himſelf, even from his cradle, for " the holy office." Paulus Jovius ſays in the place, that Leo, if compared with his predeceſſors, will be found extremely chaſte. *Si aliqua ex parte eo nomine ſugillari inclyta virtus potuit, Leo certè cum ſuperiorum principum fama comparatus æſtimatione rectiſſima continentiæ laudem feret* (63). This excuſe is not much better than the other. III. He ſays that this Pontiff having been renowned for his continence, ſecured himſelf at laſt from the temptations of impurity, by diſcontinuing to indulge himſelf in high feeding, and by regular faſtings, *Conſtat tamen eum, quod à prima adoleſcentia opinione omnium ſummam continentiæ laudem fuiſſet adeptus, non importuna quædam pudicitiæ caſtitatique præſidia quæſiviſſe: quando nequaquam priſtinæ vitæ more tam multis delicatiſque obſoniis uteretur: Itemque animo verè pudico die mercurii carnes non edere, die autem Veneris nihil guſtare præter legumen & olera, ac die demum Saturni cœna penitus abſtinere, incorrupta lege inſtituiſſet* (64). i. e. " It is nevertheleſs certain, that " having gained an univerſal good reputation for con- " tinence from his youth, he did not look out for any " importunate guardians of his modeſty and chaſtity, " ſince he no longer indulged himſelf in eating of " ſuch a variety of dainties as formerly: For he did " not eat fleſh on Wedneſdays; on Fridays he fed on " nothing but pulſe and herbs, and on Saturdays he " did not ſo much as break his faſt; which courſe of " life he never ſwerved from." This exceeds all the reſt. In fine, he ſays that a great difference ought to be made between the vices which belong to a ſovereign as ſuch, and thoſe which belong to him as a man. And he inſtances the emperor Trajan, who was ſo dear to the people of Rome, that it was the height of their wiſhes, that the ſucceeding emperors ſhould reign as well as he; and yet Trajan's drunkenneſs and ſodomitical practices were well known. The meaning of this is, that the vices of Leo X were not repugnant to the qualities of a good Prince; but only to thoſe of a good Chriſtian; and therefore that we ought to pardon the irregularities of his youth, ſince they did not prevent his being a good Prince. *Alia principis, alia hominis eſſe vitia quis neſcit? hæc uni privata conditione quum noceant, etiam aliquibus fortaſſe proſunt: illa verò ab dira poteſtate, & luctum & calamitatem univerſis mortalibus apportant: idque veriſſimum eſſe conſtat præclaro quondam populi Romani teſtimonio, qui neminem ſibi principem Trajano meliorem exoptavit, quanquam eum illicitæ libidinis ac ebrietatis cenſura notaſſet. Sed demus aliquid humanitati Leonis, uti in ſumma licentia fervidæ ætatis ac proſperæ valetudinis æſtum ægerrimè ſuſtinenti, poſtquam in magnis ſalutaribuſque virtutibus optimi atque benefici cognomentum facile meruerit* (65).

(61) See the words of Paulus Jovius, remark [D] citation (12) above.

(63) Jovius, *in Vita Leonis X*, pag. 192.

(64) Ibid. pag. 193.

(65) Ibid. pag. 192, 193.

Generally ſpeaking, this author's maxim is true. It is very poſſible for a Prince to be a good, a worthy man, and at the ſame time a poor Monarch; that is a Monarch who is not able to cauſe the Laws to be executed with vigour, nor to heal the diſorders and evils of the State. On the other hand, it is very poſſible for a Prince to deviate very much from the rules of morality, which preſcribe the duties of perſons; and nevertheleſs he may be a good Monarch; that is, a Monarch who maintains order in his Kingdom; and who enacts, with wiſdom, rewards and puniſhments, without loading his people with taxes, and pecuniary edicts. But it is very rare that a voluptuous and prodigal Monarch, like Leo X, is a good Prince; to ſupply his expences he muſt load his ſubjects with taxes; and he generally diſpenſes his favours, according to the caprice of thoſe who adminiſter to his pleaſures; and conſequently to unworthy perſons, whoſe evil conduct he has not time to puniſh, he being too much taken up with his pleaſures, to allow the functions of his kingly dignity the application which it requires. One might eaſily prove, that the ſubjects of Leo X were greatly loaded. Farther, it ought to be conſidered that Leo's chief dignity was a ſacred and eccleſiaſtical dignity. To know therefore whether he diſcharged his duty, the chief queſtion is not whether he has done what his temporal dignity required; it will be impoſſible to juſtify him, but by ſhewing that he diligently diſcharged the duty of his other function, that is, obſerved the precepts of the Goſpel, and did all that lay in his power to make others practiſe them. Theſe are his chief functions, and here his apologiſt is obliged to forſake him. *In his vero quæ rem divinam reſpicerent, nequaquam ſecunda fama prægravari eſt viſus. Nam indulgentias vetera Pontificum ad parandam pecuniam inſtrumenta adeo plene atque affluenter provinciis dedit, ut fidem ſacroſanctæ poteſtatis elevare videretur* (66). i. e. " He does not ſeem to have a " good character as to divine matters; for he was " ſo extremely profuſe of indulgences (old inſtru- " ments by which the Pontiffs raiſe money) that the " credit of the ſacred authority ſeems to have been " leſſened by him."

(66) Jovius, *in Vita Leon.* pag. 193.

A reflection on the uniting the temporal and ſpiritual authority in one perſon.

I will obſerve by the way, that this uniting of the temporal and ſpiritual authority in the ſame perſon, is generally the ruin of the evangelical ſpirit. The heathens had this mixture of characters,

Rex Anius Rex idem hominum Phœbique ſacerdos (67).
That is,
" Anius a King, and likewiſe Phœbus' Prieſt."

(67) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 3. ver. 80.

This

be considered as an Atheist (e); but the rest of the Apologists have not succeeded much better [Q]. Varillas alone is sufficient to refute himself. I will copy a long passage from his Anecdotes, which contain a pretty just character, though in a concise way, of Leo X [R], and whence I entreat my readers to supply, whatever may be wanting in the

(e) Voetius, *Disputat.* tom. 1. pag. 204.

This mixture was not unuseful to the temporal good of Religion, and it has remarkably served the same ends under the Christian dispensation; but then it has occasioned an extreme corruption of manners. The ecclesiastical character ought to prevail and be predominant, since the other dignity is only an adjunct; and nevertheless it is generally swallowed up by its collegue. The joining of these two offices together, is joining a dead to a living body, a fatal conjunction, where the carcass communicates its rottenness and stench to the living body, and receives vital influence from it.

Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis,
Componens manibusque manus, atque oribus ora,
Tormenti genus! & sanie tabeque fluentes
Complexu in misero, longa sic morte necabat (68).

(68) Idem, lib. 8. ver. 485.

" The living, and the dead, at his command
" Were coupled, face to face, and hand to hand:
" Till choak'd with stench, in loath'd embraces ty'd,
" The lingring wretches pin'd away, and dy'd.
DRYDEN.

The world, the flesh, the weak part draws the resolutions and conclusions after it; the same as in a syllogism, the weakest of the two first propositions is the rule of the consequence or conclusion (69). The author of the *Critique Generale* (70) speaking of the distinction that has been invented between a Pope who pronounces *ex Cathedra*, and the same Pope who speaks in another manner, has given us the following smart jest of a peasant in the Electorate of Colen. I thought for a very long time that this jest had been preserved only traditionally, but I was mistaken, it having been printed above a century ago in books of a serious and grave character. Duaren has inserted it in one of his pieces (71), and copied it from Fulgosius (72). Here follows the whole story from old French. It is true indeed that an Elector of Colen is not expresly named. " There is a very merry story " of a German peasant, who, being at work in a " field of his, saw his Bishop pass by, with a long " train more becoming a Prince, than one who called " himself the successor or deputy of an Apostle. Being greatly scandalized at this, he could not forbear " laughing, and laughed so loud, that Sir Reverend " enquired the reason of it. The peasant answered " in his natural character, that is truly and simply; " I laugh when I think of St. Peter and St. Paul, " and see Thee in this geer. How is that, says the " Bishop? Do you ask how, says the rustic? It was " very silly in them to trudge alone on foot through " the world, as they were the head of the Christian " Church, and deputies of Christ Jesus the King of " Kings: whilst thou, who art no more than our Bishop, art so well mounted, and hast so long a train " of bravoes, that thou resemblest a Prince more than " a Pastor of the Church. Here Sir Reverend replied: But friend, thou dost not consider that I am " a Count and Baron as well as thy Bishop. This " made the clown laugh louder than before, when " the Bishop asking him the reason of it, he answered; But, Zir; when this Count and Baron you " are speaking of shall be in hell, where will the " Bishop be? This so confounded the Right Reverend, " that he rode away without speaking a word (73)."

(69) *Conclusio sequitur debiliorem partem.*

(70) Tom. 2. pag. 161. 3d edit.

(71) *De sacris Eccles. Minister.* lib. 1. cap. 4.

(72) Bapt. Fulgosius, *Factor. & Dictor. Memorab.* lib. 6. cap. 2. folio m. 198.

(73) Peter Viel, Doctor of Sorbonne, in the *Treatise of Simony*, chap. 6.

[Q] *The rest of the Apologists have not succeeded much better.*] I will speak a word or two concerning the manner in which some authors have endeavoured to justify Leo X as to the article of impiety. Coeffeteau (74) produces no other apology but the following words of Onuphrius Panvinius (75): *Erat rerum divinarum diligens observator.* i. e. " He was a diligent observer of religious ceremonies, &c." Rivet (76) answers thus: " There are many profane persons and atheists, who observe very exactly all the " ceremonies of Religion, in order to conceal their " impiety under this foliage, who, among friends, " say they are *ad morem, non ad rem*; *legibus justæ,* " *non Diis gratæ.* Sannazarius, who makes him die " without receiving the Sacraments, because he had " sold them before, does not represent him in the " light which Onuphrius would do." It is to be observed particularly, that Sannazarius does not say that Leo refused the Sacraments. If this Pope did not receive the Sacraments &c. upon his death-bed, it was because he was light-headed. James Gretser, besides the words of Panvinius, alledges Leo Xth's bull against Luther. *Bulla qua Leo Lutheri errores damnat, immanem hanc pseudologiam perspicuè redarguit* (77). i. e. " That bull in which Leo condemns Luther's " errors, evidently refutes this egregious false asser- " tion." But this is pitiful; for though this Pope had had no Religion, he yet would have followed the ordinary style in his bull; and have displayed great zeal against a heretick, who contested with him an authority on which all his temporal felicity depended. Palavicino (78) endeavouring to take off the reproach which Father Paul makes to this Pope, viz. of his having very little regard to religion and piety: *Sarebbe stato un perfetto Pontefice, se con queste havesse congiunto qualche cognitione delle cose della religione, & alquanto piu d'inclinatione alla pieta: deli' una & dell' altra delle quali non mostrava haver gran cura* (79). Palavicino, I say, in his endeavours to take off this reproach, does three things. He alledges, 1. The testimony of Politian (80); 2dly, that Pope's fasting; 3dly, the majesty and good grace with which Leo solemnized mass. The second of these three particulars, if the fact be really as Paulus Jovius has told it (81), is, in my opinion, a good proof of religion, when we weigh well the several circumstances of it. The first is nothing; for children, till they come to a certain age, are always persuaded of the truth of the lessons of their catechists, and raise no objections to them. If they become impious, it is when they are from under the tuition of their preceptors; and when they corrupt themselves, either by bad company, or by following a false philosophy. The last circumstance is rather a corporal talent, than an indication of the persuasion of the soul. Let us see what Paulus Jovius says on this occasion. *Sacra confecit, singulaque ceremoniarum obivit munia singulari cum majestate, ut non falso nemo superiorum Pontificum eo augustius & decentius sacrificasse diceretur* (82). i. e. " He solemnized " the several religious ceremonies with so singular a " majesty, that it was justly said none of the Pontiffs " his predecessors celebrated them with greater." It is very probable that Onuphrius means only this, when he says, *fuit rerum divinarum diligens observator, & sacris ceremoniis deditus:* this being such a proof of piety as is altogether ambiguous and equivocal.

(74) *Réponse au Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 1227.

(75) *In Vita Leonis X.*

(76) *Remarques sur la Reponse au Mystere d'Iniquité*, Part 2. pag. 640.

(77) *In Examine Mysterii Plessæan.* pag. 563.

(78) *Istor. del Concilio*, lib. 1. cap. 2.

(79) Fra Paolo, *Istor. del Concilio*, lib. 1. pag. 5.

(80) See the remark [P] citation (62).

(81) See the remark [P], citation (64).

(82) Paul. Jovius, *in Vita Leonis X*, lib. 4. pag. m. 212.

[R] *I will copy a long passage from* Varillas's *Anecdotes, which contain a pretty just character, though in a concise way, of Leo X.*] It is in the Preface to that work, and is as follows. " Guicciardin . . . . . exhibits this Pope to us (*), as a perfect model of " modern Politicks, and the greatest statesman of his " age. He makes him superiour to King Ferdinand " the Catholick; and causes him to triumph, in his " younger years, over the artifices of that old usurper. It is to him he ascribes the secret of causing " all his designs to be seconded by the council of Spain, " whether they would or no. After having established these wonderful principles, there are no shining " virtues but what heighten and illustrate the picture " of Leo X. He formed, at but twelve years of " age when he was created Cardinal, those vast pro- " jects which he afterwards put in execution, when " he was raised to the pontifical chair (†). He ne- " gotiates with the states of Venice to save the ruins " of his house, which had not been able to withstand " our Charles VIII. The seeing his brother drowned " as he was crossing a river, had not the power to " make him change his resolution. He thought of " nothing but the bringing up an only son, (in the cradle) whom this brother had left; and thereupon " he returns to Rome, where, by his intrigues, he " gains the favour of Pope Julius II, and they occa- " sioned

(*) In the twelve first articles of his history.

(†) " [I do not " doubt but that " the politicks, " which Guicciardine ascribes " to Leo when " but 12 years " are a mere chimera of that " Historian."] From the Remarks to the Paris edit. (1734) of Bayle's Dictionary.

the text of this article. Varillas is alſo miſtaken with regard to Paulus Jovius [S].

The Literati, of what Religion or Country they may be, ought to praiſe and bleſs this Pope's memory, for the great zeal he ſhewed, in recovering the manuſcripts of the Antients. He was not ſparing of his care, nor of his money, in making the reſearches in queſtion, and to procure very good editions. I have two Anecdote Letters that prove this [T], and

" ſioned his being appointed Legate in the army de-
" ſigned to drive the French out of Italy. He is
" taken priſoner in the battle of Ravenna, but makes
" his eſcape in a happy juncture, Julius II. expiring
" juſt at that time. He goes into the Conclave, where
" he takes ſo much advantage of the caprice of the
" young Cardinals, who had flattered themſelves with
" the hopes of electing a juvenile Pope, that he cauſes
" them to give their votes in his favour. He joins
" with the Spaniards; and is tender of their friend-
" ſhip ſo long as it is of ſervice to ſettle his houſe in
" the chief employments of magiſtracy in Florence;
" but the inſtant fortune frowns on them, and that he
" finds their council does not care to let him uſurp
" the dukedom of Urbino, in order to inveſt his
" nephew with it, he treats with the French on that
" condition; he draws up the famous concordate, in
" which he eludes the ſtratagems and long experience
" of Chancellour du Prat; he diſcovers the higheſt
" friendſhip for Francis I, ſo long as that Monarch
" is able to do him ſervice; but the inſtant he has
" obtained his deſires, he abandons him, in order to
" be reconciled to Charles V. He projects a league
" with this Monarch, in order to eſtabliſh the Sforza's
" in the Dukedom of Milan. He ſucceeds in it ſooner
" than he expected; and is fired with ſuch an exceſs
" of joy as kills him at receiving this News."

[S] *Varillas is alſo miſtaken with regard to Paulus Jovius.*] This hiſtorian, if Varillas is to be credited, has not ſo much written a hiſtory as a ſatyr with regard to Leo X. " Paulus Jovius, ſays he (83), re-
" preſents him as a man of a violent ſpirit, and who
" would gain every thing by forcible methods. He
" declares him to have been fired with the ſame mar
" tial diſpoſition as his predeceſſor Julius II. He
" makes him entertain, even before his exaltation, a
" diſdainful contempt for all the reſt of the ſacred
" College, founded on an imaginary precedency of
" the houſe of Medicis over the reſt of Italy. He
" brings in this contempt into all actions of ſplen-
" dor, and even the moſt auguſt ceremonies; he
" looks upon it as the ſource and foundation of the
" obſtinate war which was waged againſt the Duke of
" Urbino, and of the other quarrels which broke out
" in the whole courſe of his Pontificate; in a word
" he declares that vanity, but a haughty, diſtaſteful
" vanity, was his predominant paſſion. If you were
" very deſirous of knowing how it was poſſible for
" Paulus Jovius to pierce ſo far into Leo's mind, as
" to form ſo deciſive a judgment of it, he himſelf
" anſwers before hand, that he had been this Pope's
" creature; that it was he who made him leave the
" ſtudy of phyſick, and the pretenſions to a chair in
" Padua, to devote himſelf to an eccleſiaſtical life;
" who made him Biſhop of Como; who choſe him
" for his confident, and to aſſiſt in thoſe councils
" where the moſt important and moſt ſecret reſolu-
" tions were taken; who engaged him to write the
" hiſtory of his own time; who employed his good
" offices for him in France and Spain, in order that
" ſuch authentick pieces might be communicated to
" him, as he believed were neceſſary for improving
" his work; and who revealed his whole ſoul to
" him, in frequent and familiar converſations." The reader has ſeen in the foregoing remarks, that Paulus Jovius does not conceal the faults of Leo X; but it is certain that the vice of which Varillas ſpeaks is that, of all others, the leaſt, which Paulus Jovius imputes to him. It is even certain that he declares him poſſeſſed of the oppoſite virtue. *Pontifex*, ſays he (84), *cujus mite ingenium facilemque naturam in ſpecimen cæterarum virtutum omnes illo tempore laudabant, clementius agendum ſibi . . . exiſtimavit.* i. e. " The Pope,
" whoſe gentle diſpoſition and eaſy nature were ap-
" plauded by all, as a ſpecimen of the reſt of the
" virtues he poſſeſſed, was of opinion that it was in-
" cumbent on him to ſhew a litte clemency." This author was never Biſhop of Como; and was made a Biſhop (85) by Clement VII. and not by Leo X. This intimate confidence and admiſſion to the moſt ſecret councils are, in my opinion, a mere romantic fiction: and I have not found the leaſt footſteps of them in the writings of Paulus Jovius.

(83) Preface to the *Anecdotes of Florence*. He cites Paulus Jovius, in his book, and the particular elogium of Leo X. Both theſe are unexact citations; the general Hiſtory of Paulus Jovius including ſeveral books; and he not having written a particular elogium, but the Life of this Pope.

(84) Jovius, *Hiſtoriar.* lib 11. *ſub fin.* See him alſo in *Vita Leonis X*, pag. m. 109.

(85) The 13th of January 1528, according to Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* tom. 7. pag. 744.

[T] *I have two anecdote letters which prove this.*] They were communicated to me by Mr. de Seidel, privy councellor to his Pruſſian Majeſty. His father left him a fine library, which he has enlarged very conſiderably, and particularly with ſcarce books and manuſcripts. He brought ſeveral from Greece, in a voyage he made thither. He is worthy in all reſpects of poſſeſſing ſuch a treaſure, he being a gentleman of profound erudition, and who takes great delight in favouring the ſciences. The copy which he was ſo good as to ſend me of Leo the Xth's letter, is faithful and extremely accurate; and the originals, in Sadolet's own hand-writing, are ſtill extant. It may be obſerved by the way, that there was printed in *Nova literaria Maris Balthici & Septentrionis* (86), for November 1699, a letter written, on a like account, to his Daniſh Majeſty by Leo X. the 8th of November 1517. Mine are as follow:

(86) Page 348.

Venerabili Fratri Alberto Moguntin. & Magdeburgen. Archi-Epiſcopo, Adminiſtratori Halberſtaten. Principi Electori ac Germaniæ Primati.

LEO PP. X.

Venerabilis Frater, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Mittimus dilectum filium Joannem Heytmers de Zonvelben, Clericum Leodienſis diœceſeos, noſtrum & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Commiſſarium ad inclytas Nationes, Germaniæ, Daniæ, Suetiæ, Norvegiæ, & Gothiæ, pro inquirendis dignis & antiquis libris qui temporum injuria periere, in qua re nec ſumptui nec impenſæ alicui parcimus, ſolum ut ſicut uſque à noſtri Pontificatûs initio propoſuimus, quòd Altiſſimo tantum ſit honor & gloria, viros quovis virtutum genere inſignitos, præſertim literatos, quantum cum Deo poſſumus, foveamus, extollamus ac juvemus. Accepimus autem penes Fraternitatem Tuam, ſeu in locis ſub illius ditione poſitis eſſe ex dictis antiquis libris, præſertim Romanarum Hiſtoriarum, non paucos qui nobis cordi non parum forent. Quare cum in animo nobis ſit tales libros, quotquot ad manus venire potuerint in lucem redire curare pro communi omnium literatorum utilitate, Fraternitatem Tuam eâ demum quâ poſſumus affectione hortamur, monemus, & enixius in Domino obteſtamur, ut ſi rem gratam unquam facere animo proponit, vel eorundem librorum omnium exempla fideliter & accuratè ſcripta, vel quod magis exoptamus ipſoſmet libros antiquos ad nos tranſmittere quanto citius curet, illos ſtatim receptura, cum exſcripti hic fuerint, juxta obligationem per Cameram noſtram Apoſtolicam factam, ſeu quam dictus Joannes Commiſſarius noſter præſentium lator ad id mandatum ſufficiens habens nomine dictæ Cameræ denuo duxerit faciendam. Et quia dictus Joannes promiſit nobis ſe brevi daturum trigeſimum tertium librum Titi Livii de bello Macedonico, illi commiſimus ut eum ad manus Tuæ Fraternitatis daret, ut ipſa quam primum poſſet per fidum nuntium ad nos vel dilecto Filio Philippo Beroaldo Bibliothecario Palatii noſtri Apoſtolici mittat. Quoniam vero eidem Joanni certam ſummam pecuniarum hic in urbe enumerari fecimus pro expenſis factis & fiendis, & certam quantitatem debemus, volumus, & ita Fraternitati Tuæ committimus & mandamus, ut poſtquam acceperit prædictum librum Titi Livii ipſi Joanni ſolvat ſeu ſolvi faciat centum quadraginta ſeptem ducatos auri de Camera ex pecuniis indulgentiarum conceſſarum per illius provincias in favorem fabricæ Baſilicæ Principis Apoſtolorum de urbe; quam quidem pecuniarum ſummam in computis Tuæ Fraternitatis cum Camera Apoſtolica admittemus, prout in præſentiâ per præſentes admittimus & admitti mandamus. Juvet præterea eundem Joannem ſalvis conductibus literis & auxiliis, & illi per Provincias ſuas aſſiſtat pro libris extrahendis, & pro illo etiam fide jubeat, ſi opus eſt, pro dictis libris intra certum tempus à nobis

and which my readers will doubtleſs be well pleaſed to ſee here.

LEO

à nobis reſtituendis & ad ſua loca remittendis. Quod ſi Fraternitas Tua fecerit, ut omnino nobis perſuademus, & ingens nomen apud Viros literatos conſequetur, & nobis rem gratiſſimam faciet. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum ſub annulo Piſcatoris die XXVI. Novembris M. DXVII. Pontificatus noſtri anno quinto.

JA. SADOLETUS.

" To our venerable Brother Albert, Archbiſhop of " Mentz and Magdeburg, Adminiſtrator of Hal- " berſtat, Electoral Prince and Primate of Ger- " many.

LEO X.

" Venerable brother, health and apoſtolical bleſ- " ſing. We ſend our beloved ſon John Heytmers de " Zonvelben, Clerk of the Dioceſs of Leige, our " Commiſſary and that of the Apoſtolical See, to the " renowned Nations of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, " Norway and Gothland; to ſearch for ſuch ancient " books of value as were loſt by the injury of time, " wherein we are not ſparing of expence, only that, " as we purpoſed from the beginning of our Ponti- " ficate, ſolely with the view to promote the honour " and glory of the moſt high, we by the aſſiſtance " of heaven, may cheriſh, raiſe, and aſſiſt men who " excell in any talent, particularly the learned. We " have been told, that there are, either in your poſ " ſeſſion, or the places ſubject to you, a great number " of ſuch ancient books, and particularly relating to " the Roman hiſtory, which would be very acceptable to us. As therefore we deſign to procure the " publication of as many of the books in queſtion as " we can get, for the common benefit of the Literati " in general; we therefore exhort you in the moſt " affectionate manner, and beſeech you in the Lord, " that if you ever propoſe to yourſelf the perform- " ing of a grateful action, that you would ſend to us, " with all imaginable ſpeed, accurate and faithful co- " pies of all thoſe ancient books, or rather the books " themſelves, which ſhall be ſent back to you as ſoon " as copied here, purſuant to an inſtrument or obliga- " tion drawn up by our apoſtolical chamber; or " ſuch as the aforeſaid John our Commiſſary, bearer " of the preſent letters, who has ample inſtructions " for that purpoſe, ſhall think proper to be drawn " up in the name of the ſaid chamber. And becauſe " the ſaid John promiſed us to deliver, in a little " time, the thirty third book of Livy, relating to " the Macedonian war, we have ordered him to put " it into yonr hands; in order that it may he ſent " as ſoon as poſſible, by a faithful meſſenger, either " to us, or our beloved ſon Philip Beroaldus, library " keeper of our apoſtolical palace. And becauſe we " have ordered that the ſaid John ſhould be paid a " certain ſum of money, in this city, and that we " owe him a certain ſum, for expences made and to " be made; we will, commiſſion and command you, " after you ſhall have received the aforeſaid book " of Livy, to pay or cauſe to be paid, an hundred " and forty ſeven gold Ducats of the chamber, from " the monies ariſing out of indulgences granted in " thoſe provinces, for the Church of the Prince " of Apoſtles; which ſum of money we will admit " or allow in the accounts between yourſelf and the " apoſtolical chamber; as we now allow, and com- " mand to be allowed by theſe preſents. Farther, " you muſt favour the aforeſaid John with ſafe con- " ducts; and aſſiſt him, through your provinces, in " diſcovering Books; and, if it be neceſſary, engage " your word for him, that the books in queſtion ſhall " be reſtored by us at a certain limited time, and " ſent to the places to which they reſpectively belong. " If you ſhall perform this, as we are entirely per- " ſuaded you will, you will thereby gain great " fame among the learned, and do a thing that " will be extremely agreeable to us. Given in Rome, " at St. Peter's, under the Fiſherman's ring, the 26th " of November, 1517, in the fifth year of our Pon- " tificate.

JA. SADOLET.

This is the firſt of the two letters in queſtion, and here follows the ſecond. From ſome particulars in it we may juſtly ſuppoſe that the whole hiſtory of Livy was then in being. Mr. de Seidel has been credibly informed, that it is thought that a canon of Magdeburg, at that time one of the miniſters of ſtate, to the Marquis Joachim Frederick, adminiſtrator of the Archbiſhoprick, took advantage, of the confuſion things were then in; and ſtole from the publick library ſeveral manuſcripts, and particularly Livy, in order to enrich his own. His heirs preſerved it; but they concealed to the utmoſt of their power, ſuch manuſcripts as were put into it by unlawful means. At laſt, the whole was deſtroyed when the city was plundered in the year 1631.

Venerabili Fratri noſtro Archiepiſcopo Moguntin. Principi Electori & Germaniæ Primati.

LEO PP. X.

Dilecti filii (87), *Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Rettulit nobis dilectus filius Joannes Heytmers de Zonvelben Clericus Leodienſis diœceſeos, quem nuper pro inquirendis antiquis libris, qui deſiderantur ad inclitas nationes Germaniæ, Daniæ, Norvegiæ, Suetiæ & Gothiæ noſtrum & Apoſtolicæ ſedis ſpecialem Nuncium & Commiſſarium deſtinavimus, à quodam, quem ipſe ad id ſubſtituerat, accepiſſe literas, quibus ei ſignificat in veſtra Bibliotheca reperiſſe Codicem antiquum, in quo omnes Decades Titi Livii ſunt deſcriptæ, impetraſſeque à vobis illas poſſe exſcribere, cum originalem codicem habere fas non fuerit. Laudamus profecto veſtram humanitatem & erga ſedem Apoſtolicam obedientiam. Verum, dilecti filii, fuit nobis ab ipſo uſque Pontificatus noſtri initio animus, Viros quovis genere exornatos, præſertim literatos, quantum cum DEO poſſumus, extollere ac juvare. Ea de cauſa hujuſcemodi antiquos & deſideratos libros, quotquot recipere poſſumus, prius per viros doctiſſimos, quorum copia DEI munere in noſtrâ hodie eſt curiâ, corrigi facimus; deinde noſtra impenſa ad communem eruditorum utilitatem diligentiſſime imprimi curamus. Sed ſi ipſos originales libros non habeamus, noſtra intentio non plane adimpletur, quia hi libri, viſis tantum exemplis, correcti in lucem exire non poſſunt. Mandavimus in Camera noſtra Apoſtolica ſufficientem præſtare cautionem de reſtituendis hujuſcemodi libris integris & illæſis eorum Dominis, quam primum hic erunt exſcripti, & dictus Joannes, quem iterum ad præmiſſa Commiſſarium deputavimus, habet ad eandem Cameram ſufficiens mandatum, illam obligandi ad reſtitutionem prædictam, modo & forma quibus ei videbitur. Tantum ad commodum & utilitatem Virorum eruditorum tendimus; de quo etiam dilecti filii Abbas & Conventus Monaſterii Corwienſis Ordinis S. Benedicti Padebornenſis diœceſeos noſtri locupletiſſimi poſſunt eſſe teſtes, ex quorum Bibliotheca cum primi quinque libri Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Cornelii Taciti qui deſiderabantur, furto ſubſtracti fuiſſent, illique per multas manus ad noſtras tandem perveniſſent, nos recognitos prius eoſdem quinque libros & correctos à Viris prædictis literatis in noſtra Curia exiſtentibus, cum aliis Cornelii prædicti operibus, quæ extabant, noſtro ſumptu imprimi fecimus. Deinde vero, re comperta, unum ex voluminibus dicti Cornelii, ut præmittitur, correctum & impreſſum, ac etiam non inordinate ligatum, ad dictos Abbatem & Conventum Monaſterii Corwienſis remiſimus, quod in eorum Bibliotheca loco ſubſtracti reponere poſſent. Et ut cognoſcerent ex ea ſubſtractione potius eſt commodum quam incommodum ortum, miſimus eiſdem pro Eccleſia Monaſterii eorum indulgentiam perpetuam. Quocirca vos & veſtrum quemlibet, ea demum qua poſſumus affectione in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ monemus, hortamur, & ſincera in Domino caritate requirimus, ut ſi nobis rem gratam facere unquam animo proponitis, eundem Joannem in dictam veſtram Bibliothecam intromittatis, & exinde tam dictum codicem Livii, quàm alios qui ei videbuntur per eum ad nos tranſmitti permittatis, illos eoſdem omninò recepturi, reportaturque à Nobis præmia non vulgaria. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, ſub annulo Piſcatoris, die prima Decembris MDXVII. Pontificatus noſtri anno quinto*

JA. SADOLETUS.

(87) Mr. de Seidel thinks that this letter was wrote to the Canons of Magdeburg; ſince Albert of Brandenburg was Archbiſhop of Magdeburg as well as of Mentz.

" To our venerable brother Albert, Archbiſhop of " Mentz, Electoral Prince, and Primate of Ger- " many.

" LEO X.

" Beloved ſons, health and apoſtolical bleſſing. We " have been informed by our beloved ſon John Heyt- " mers, de Zonvelben, Clerk of the Dioceſe of Liege, " whom

LEON (ALOSIO, or LEWIS DE) in Latin *Legionenſis*, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Salamanca (*a*), ſon of a Gentleman of Caſtile, entred into the Order of the Hermits of St. Auſtin, the 29th of January 1549 (*b*). He was well ſkilled in Greek and Hebrew, and explained the ſacred Writings in his Lectures with great ſkill. In 1588 he drew up the rules of the diſcalceate Friars, who began then to appear under the name of Recollects. He was made Vicar-General of the Order and Provincial, the 22d of Auguſt 1591; and died the next day [*A*] at Madrid, aged ſixty four years. He had been involved in a very troubleſome affair before the tribunal of the inquiſition; but had extricated himſelf honourably, after ſome years impriſonment (*c*) [*B*]. I do not doubt but this occaſioned an explication he made of a verſe in Solomon's Song [*C*]. This

(*a*) Schottus, *Bibliotb. Hiſpan.* pag. 266.

(*b*) Philippus Elſſius, *Encomiaſt. Auguſtin.* pag. 443.

(*c*) *Extracted from* Elſſius, *ubi ſupra.*

" whom we lately appointed, for the ſearching after " antient books, ſpecial Nuntio and Commiſſary from " us and the Apoſtolical See, to the renowned nations " of Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Gothland; " that letters had been ſent him by a perſon whom he " had appointed for that purpoſe, by which he tells " him, that he had found, in your library, an antient " manuſcript containing all Livy's Decads; and that " he had got your leave to copy them; not being per- " mitted to have the original book. We applaud " your condeſcenſion and obedience to the Apoſtolical " See. But, beloved ſons, it was our intention, from " our firſt acceſſion to the Pontificate, to raiſe and pa- " tronize, with the aſſiſtance of heaven, men who " excel in any talent, and particularly perſons of eru- " dition. In this view, we get as many as we can " of theſe ſo much wanted antient books, which are " firſt corrected by men of vaſt erudition, of whom, " God be praiſed, there are now great numbers in " our Court; and afterwards very carefully printed at " our expence, for the common advantage of the Li- " terati. But if we do not get the original books " themſelves, our views will not be compleatly an- " ſwered; becauſe theſe books, if only copies of them " are inſpected, cannot be publiſhed correctly. We " have ordered, in our Apoſtolical Chamber, that a " ſufficient ſecurity be given, that ſuch books ſhall " be returned whole and undamaged to their reſpective " owners, after they have been tranſcribed here; and " the ſaid John, whom we have again deputed for the " aforementioned purpoſe, has a ſufficient mandate or " order to the ſame chamber, to oblige it to make the " ſaid reſtitution, in ſuch manner and form as he ſhall " judge proper. The ſole object we aim at, is the " conveniency and advantage of learned men, of which " our beloved ſons, the Abbot and Friars of the mo- " naſtery of Corwey, of the order of St. Benedict of " the dioceſe of Padeborn, are ample witneſſes; out " of whoſe library, when the firſt five books of Cor- " nelius Tacitus's Roman Hiſtory were ſtolen, and " after paſſing through many hands, came at laſt into " ours, we cauſed thoſe five books to be firſt reviſed " and corrected by the aforeſaid Literati reſiding in our " Court; and had them printed, at our expence, with " the reſt of the works of the ſaid Tacitus. After " this, the affair being diſcovered, we ſent a volume " of the ſaid Cornelius Tacitus, corrected, printed, " and neatly bound, to the ſaid Abbot, and Friars of " the monaſtery of Corwey, to be lodged in their li- " brary in lieu of that which had been ſtole. And, " that they might be ſenſible that this theft was rather " of benefit than a loſs to them, we tranſmitted to " them a perpetual indulgence for the Church of their " monaſtery. For this reaſon, with all imaginable " affection, and by virtue of holy obedience, we ad- " moniſh, exhort, and with ſincere charity in the Lord " require, you and any of you, that if you ever deſign " to do any thing to oblige us, ye would ſuffer the " ſaid John to have acceſs to your library, and per- " mit him to ſend us from thence the ſaid book of " Livy, as well as any other he ſhall judge proper, " all which ſhall be ſafely ſent back by us, with a con- " ſiderable reward. Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, " under the Fiſherman's ring, the 1ſt of December, " 1517, in the fifth year of our Pontificate."

JA. SADOLET.

[*A*] *He was made Vicar-General of the Order and Provincial, the 22d of Auguſt* 1591, *and died the day after.*] It is nevertheleſs ſaid that he governed his Province in a laudable manner, and gave riſe to a ſtricter diſcipline. *Vicarii Generalis officio, & Provincialis munere* 1591. 22. *Auguſti honoratus, Provinciam laudabiliter rexit, arctioriſque vitæ initium fuit.... Obiit... altero ab electionis die in Provincialem* (1). Who would imagine that an author could give ſuch a relation as this? I know not whether Elſſius did not mean, that Lewis de Leon had been ſome years Vicar-General of the Order, but that he was not appointed Provincial till the night before he died. By this we ſhould know, that this Auſtin Friar had diſcharged an employment very worthily; but ſtill Elſſius's relation would be very defective.

(1) Philippus Elſſius, *in Encomiaſt. Auguſtin.* pag 443.

[*B*] *He had been involved in a very troubleſome affair before the tribunal of the inquiſition; but had extricated himſelf honourably, after ſome years impriſonment.*] Let us cite an advocate for the Archbiſhop of Sebaſte (2). " Fa- " ther Aloyſio de Leon, an Auſtin Friar, Scripture-Pro- " feſſor in Salamanca, was impriſoned near five years " in the Spaniſh Inquiſition. But meeting at laſt with " an equitable Judge, he was cleared, was reſtored to " his employment and entred Salamanca in a trium- " phant manner, which filled his unjuſt cenſors with " confuſion." According to Elſſius, our Profeſſor of Salamanca was impriſoned but two years; and this author takes a pleaſure in relating the circumſtances of his glorious re-exaltation. *Edidit Heroicum ſpecimen præclaræ patientiæ, & magni animi indicium. Cùm enim aliquorum invidiâ S. Inquiſitioni delatus ſimulque conſtrictus, ejuſdem carceribus biennium integrum detentus fuiſſet, tandem infracti animi vir, publico triumpho, cum palma & laurea educitur, ac veſte candidâ, in ſignum innocentiæ amictus, præcone præeunte, deducitur, priſtiniſque honoribus, titulis, ac Profeſſioni Theologicæ reſtituitur. Primam verò lectionem, poſt tenebras, ut auſpicabatur, pleno conceſſu ad novitatem evocato inquit:* Dicebamus heſterna die (3). i. e. " He gave an heroic " example of patience and ſtrength of mind. For " being impeached, by the envy of ſome perſons, to " the Inquiſition, and impriſoned full two years in " it, this courageous man was brought out of it, " triumphing in a public manner; being dreſſed in a " white robe to denote his innocence, a Herald march- " ing before him; and was reſtored to his former ho- " nours, titles and his Profeſſorſhip of Divinity. The " firſt lecture he read after his troubles, before a full " aſſembly, he began as follows, *We ſaid yeſterday.*"

(2) *Sincere Advice to the Catholics of the United Provinces, on the decree of the Inquiſition of Rome againſt the Archbiſhop of Sebaſte*, pag. 22, 23. edit. 1704.

(3) Elſſius *in Encomiaſt. Auguſtin.* pag. 443.

[C] *I do not doubt but his impriſonment occaſioned an explication he made of a verſe in Solomon's Song.*] I ſpeak of the verſe where the ſpouſe ſays, *The watchmen that went about the city found me, they ſmote me, they wounded me; the keepers of the walls took away my veil from me* (*). Aloyſio de Leon ſays, that the ſpouſe ſpeaks thus in the perſon of ſuch good Chriſtians as are perſecuted by *powerful Eccleſiaſticks* (3). He obſerves, that *ſuch ſort of vexations are trials of the hardeſt kind; ſuch as are moſt difficult to be borne with, and which heaven often reſerves for the moſt perfect.* " It will, " *ſays he*, be thought ſurpriſing, that the ſpouſe ſhould " always meet with the watchman in her way, from " whom ſhe not only does not receive the leaſt ſuc- " cour, but even receives injurious language and evil " treatment. Could one believe that thoſe who are " appointed to preſide over the faithful, and who go- " vern the Churches of God, (for theſe are to guard " the city and the walls,) ſo far from giving them the " leaſt ſuccour, ſhould often afflict and perſecute good " people, and ſuch as love God beſt? Nevertheleſs, " this we are obliged to believe, according to all that " follows of that divine ſong. And indeed, as no- " thing is better, nor more uſeful to ſalvation than " good Biſhops who are faithful to the duties of their " ſacred Miniſtry; on the contrary, unjuſt and wicked " Paſtors, who make the authority they have re-

(*) *Solomon's Song*, chap. v. ver. 7.

(4) See, *Sincere Advice to the Catholicks of the United Provinces*, pag. 6, 7.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Schottus *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 266.

(f) Idem, ibid.

This Latin Commentary on this book of Scripture, was printed in Salamanca in the year 1589 (*d*). He publiſhed it likewiſe in Spaniſh (*e*). We have ſome other works of his compoſing [*D*], which have made it be wiſhed that the reſt of his works were publiſhed (*f*).

" ceived, to govern God's people, ſubſervient to their " deſigns and temporal intereſt, are pernicious to man- " kind in general; and particularly to perſons of the " greateſt goodneſs, and to the greateſt ſaints, and can " only ruin them. There have been always a great " number of ſuch Paſtors in the Church; and it is " properly to them that the verſe in Solomon's Song, " which I explain, is to be applied." He ſays ſeveral more things in the ſame ſtrain, and ſtill more home; all which may be ſeen in French in the work I quote (5). I ſhould be glad to know, if any commentator, who had been thoroughly ſatisfied with his Biſhop, and had always been of the ſtrongeſt party, has given the ſame explanation of theſe words of Solomon's Song. Perſecutions ſharpen the underſtanding, and give a man a wonderful inſight into the myſtical ſenſe.

(5) Ibid. pag. 8, 9.

[*D*] *We have ſome other works of his compoſing.*] A treatiſe printed at Salamanca in 1590, *de utriuſque agni typici ac veri immolationis legitimo tempore*, wherein he aſſerts that the Paſchal Lamb was ſlain the beginning of the 14th day of the moon (6), and that Jeſus Chriſt, who conformed to this practice of celebrating the Paſſover, was crucified on that very day (7). A treatiſe *de probæ matrisfamilias Officio*; another *de divinis Nominibus* (8). A commentary on Pſalm xxvi (9). It is to be obſerved that this author is one of thoſe, who apply to Mahomet, the Prophecies of the Apoſtles relating to Antichriſt (10).

(6) i. e. the evening of the day which we ſhould call the 13th.

(7) Schottus, *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 266.

(8) Idem, ibid.

(9) Printed at Salamanca, in 1580, and 1585.

(9) Elſſius, *Encomiaſt. Auguſtin.* pag. 443.

(10) *See* Heidegger. in *Myſter. Babyl. Magnæ*, pag. 70. tom. 1.

LEON (PETER CIECA DE) author of a Hiſtory of Peru. He left Spain, his native country, at thirteen years of age, in order to go into America, where he reſided ſeventeen years (*a*); and obſerved ſo many remarkable things in it, that he reſolved to commit them to writing. I will mention ſome of them, though it were only to ſhew the injuſtice of thoſe who aſſert, that the Chriſtians taught the Americans to be wicked [*A*]. Such an aſſertion cannot be true but with a great many reſtrictions. Poſſibly

(a) Cieça, *in Proemio.*

[*A*] *I will mention ſome of them, though it were only to ſhew the injuſtice of thoſe, who aſſert, that the Chriſtians taught the Americans to be wicked.*] He ſays that the great Lords of the valley of Nora, endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs their enemies of as many of their women as they could poſſibly; that they lay with them, and that they fed the children they had by them in the moſt delicate manner; but that when they were twelve or thirteen years old, and were grown very fat, they killed and eat them, and that this was delicious food to the people in queſtion (1). I will now ſpeak of the manner in which the inhabitants of this country treated their priſoners of war. They made them ſlaves; obliged them to marry, and eat all the children ſprung from theſe marriages, and afterwards eat the ſlaves themſelves when they were no longer able to get children. *Mangiavano i figliuoli de quei ſchiavi, & poi mangiavano gli iſteſſi ſchiavi quando erane tanto vecchi che non potevano generare* (2). The firſt time that the Spaniards entered this valley, a Lord named Nabonuco came to them in a very amicable way, accompanied by ſome women. Night being come, two of them laid themſelves at full length on a carpet; another laid herſelf croſs wiſe to ſerve as a pillow for Nabonuco, whilſt the other two ſerved him as a matreſs. He then laid himſelf down on theſe two, and took a fourth woman, who was very beautiful, by the hand; and being aſked what he intended to do with her, he anſwered that he would eat her, and alſo to feed upon a child ſhe had had (3). The author obſerves, that in the country of Quito, the women uſed to till the ground, and get the harveſt in; and that the men were wholly employed in ſpinning, and affairs of the houſe (4). The Sun was worſhipped in Peru, and one of the chief acts of adoration was to offer him ſix teeth, which the worſhippers had pulled out of their heads (5). In many provinces of this country, the people had extinguiſhed all the ideas of honour with reſpect to chaſtity. One of their diverſions was to ſing the illuſtrious actions of their anceſtors; which was done by dancing to the ſound of a Drum, and by drinking till they had quite intoxicated themſelves, after which they ſingled out any woman they liked, and enjoyed her uncenſured by any one. *Alcuni pigliano quelle donne, che gli piacciono, & condottele in certe caſe, sfuocano con quelle la lor luſſuria, non ſe lo recando à biaſmo, perche non conoſcono qual dona ſi conſerva con la verecondia, ne tengono conto di honore, e manco riguardano al mondo* (6). This we ſhould ſtrongly obſerve to thoſe, who ſpeak ſo much in favour of the good morals of the Americans; and who pretend that we have taught thoſe nations to be wicked, ever ſince we brought them the light of the Goſpel. The greateſt debauchees among the Spaniards had never ſeen in their native country, what they ſaw in the new-diſcovered world; I mean the women run after them in furious tranſports of luſt, and provided them with certain ſecrets or charms to heighten the pleaſure. Here follows an Italian paſſage on that ſubject: *Nell' Iſtorie del l' Indie narra Amerigo Veſpucci d'eſſer capitato ad una certa coſta, dove trovò femmine di tanta libidine, che come ſpiritate correvano dietro a' ſuoi marinari, perche uſaſſero con eſſo loro: e dice, che havevano un ſugo di non sò che erba, col quale bagnando le parti genitali de gli huomini, non ſolo cagionano*, ut citius, ac ſæpius erigerent, ſed etiam quod eorum penis in inſolitam excreſceret magnitudinem: *il che piaceva loro mirabilmente* (7).

(1) Pietro Cieca, *Hiſtoria del Peru*, cap. 12. folio m. 23.

(2) Idem, ibid. folio 23 *verſo.*

(3) Idem, ibid. folio 24.

(4) Idem, ibid. cap. 40. folio 78 *verſo.*

(5) Idem, cap. 49. folio 99.

(6) Idem, cap. 41. folio 82 *verſo.*

(7) Aleſſandro Taſſoni, *Penſieri diverſi*, lib. 5. cap. 30. pag. 145.

What follows is much worſe. The author relates that, in the province of Carthagena, the men, (if the women they are to marry have their maidenheads) conſider this as a blemiſh; and for this reaſon they do not conſummate the marriage till ſhe has been well cleanſed of this ſtain by her relations or friends. In ſome places this good office is done by the mother; but to prevent frauds, it muſt be done in preſence of witneſſes. *In certe parti della provincia Cartagena, quando maritano le figlivole, e che la ſpoſa dove andare à marito, la madre della giovane in preſentia d'alcuni ſuoi parenti le toglie la virginità con le dita, ſi che riputavano, che fuſſe piu honoro mandarla à marito coſi corotta, che non la ſua virginità. Ma tra queſti coſtumi uſati da loro, era miglior di alcune terre, che i parenti, ò amici, toglievano la virginita alla giovane, & con queſta conditione la maritavano, & il marito la riceveva* (8). Diodorus Siculus aſcribes the ſame practice to the inhabitants of the iſlands we now call Majorca and Minorca (9). He affirms that, at their weddings, the bridegroom never enjoyed his bride till all the relations and friends, who were invited to the nuptials, had enjoyed her, each according to the precedency which his age gave him (10). It is very ſurprizing, that a nation ſo laſcivious as this ſhould have ſo little jealouſy; for generally ſpeaking, the more people are inclined to this brutal pleaſure the more jealous they are. The Turks and Moors are a proof of this. The latter are far from having the ſame turn of mind with the Americans of the province of Carthagena. They require, above all things, a wife who has kept her virginity very ſcrupulouſly; and if they have not proofs of this the day after the wedding, they ſend her back to her relations. See an account of Morocco publiſhed by Mr. de St. Olon in 1694. Some nations have been found near the Red Sea, who are furiouſly jealous on this article; theſe would not be ſatisfied, had not certain meaſures been taken in the bride's infancy, which would oblige the bridegroom to begin with a kind of Chirurgical operation. Cardinal Bembus's Latin will let us into the meaning of this. *Aliis poſt hos relictis populis, mare rubrum*

(8) Cieca, folio 99. cap. 49.

(9) Antiently called *Baleares.*

(10) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 5. cap. 18.

(11) The inhabitants of the Baleares were ſo luſtful, that whenever a pyrate uſed to bring them women to ſell, they gave three or four males for one female. Diod. Sicul. lib. 5. cap. 17.

Poſſibly in ſome countries of the newly-diſcovered world, the ruſtick and ſimple inhabitants might have followed, with plainneſs and frugality, the laws of nature; and that they learnt deceit and riotous exceſs by their frequenting the Chriſtians; but, in general, the depravity of the Americans was ſo brutal and enormous, that we cannot enough deteſt it. The deſign of our Cieca was to write a complete hiſtory of Peru, in four parts (*b*); it is not known whether he compleated them; the only circumſtance we are informed of is, that the firſt part was printed at Sevil in the year 1553. He began it in 1541, and ended it in the year 1550 (*c*). He was at Lima, the Capital of the Kingdom of Peru, when he gave the finiſhing ſtroke to it, and was then thirty two years of age (*d*). The work in queſtion was tranſlated into Italian [*B*].

(*b*) *See* Nicholas Antonio, *Bibliotb. Script. Hiſt.* tom. 2. pag. 146.

(*c*) Cieça *in fine Operis.*

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

brum ingreſſi, complures nigrorum item & bonorum hominum, ac bello fortium civitates adierunt: qui natis ſtatim fœminis naturam conſuunt, quoad urinæ exitus ne impediatur, eaſque cum adoleverint, ſic conſutas in matrimonium collocant; ut ſponſi prima cura ſit, conglutinatas atque coalitas puellæ oras ferro interſcindere: tanto in honore apud homines barbaros eſt non ambigua ducendis uxoribus virginitas (12). i. e. "Leaving other "nations after theſe, and entering the Red Sea, they "landed at ſeveral places inhabited by blacks, who "were good men, and valiant in war. Theſe, the "inſtant a female child is born among them, ſew up "certain parts, but in ſuch a manner as not to prevent "the urine from paſſing; and when their females "grow up, they marry them ſewed up in this man-"ner. Therefore the bridegroom's firſt care is to o-"pen the cloſed paſſage with an inſtrument; ſo honou-"rable is it eſteemed among theſe Barbarians, not to "marry a woman, whoſe virginity is doubtful." Strange that man can be ſubject to follies ſo diametrically oppoſite!

(12) Petrus Bembus, *Hiſt. Venet.* lib. 6. folio m. 130.

To return to the Americans. Moſt of them remove themſelves the evil, there would be in their marriage, in caſe the bride ſhould be a virgin. One would conclude that they truſt only to themſelves; they leave nothing for the friends and relations to do; I mean, that before ever they ſpeak of contracts or any thing of that kind, they do whatever they have a mind to do with thoſe who are to be their brides. *Si maritavano alla foggia de i lor vicini: & odo dire, che alcuni, ò la maggior parte, prima che ſi maritino, togliono la virginità à quelle, che s'haveano da maritare, meſcolandoſi con quelle luſſurioſamente* (13). By the way, all the Americans in general do not contemn maidenheads in this manner. In ſeveral countries of America, all huſbands require their brides to be virgins, but few find them ſuch, they coming too late; *La maggior parte de gli Indiani ſi maritano con le figlivole & ſorelle d' altri, ſenza ordine, & pochi trovano le mogli vergini* (14). What this author obſerves with regard to Sodomy is horrid, it being practiſed publickly: *Non oſtante ch' haveſſino molte donne belliſſime, tuttavia (ſi come da loro inteſi) uſavano publicamente il triſto vitio della ſodomia, & anco ſe ne vantavano alla ſcoperta* (15). And there were even temples in which it was practiſed as a pious act (16); an abomination unknown to the heathens of antient Greece, though it was very common for them to proſtitute women in honour of the Gods. I have not obſerved in Cieca, that ſome nations in this new found world never uſed to cover their *pudenda*; but other travellers affirm this in the moſt poſitive terms, and with this very odd circumſtance, that ſuch females as had their virginity did not conceal their *pudenda*; and that thoſe who had loſt it, only hid thoſe parts: *Hiſpanis ulteriora tentantibus, terra eſt objecta, continens paulo minus decies centena millia paſſuum ab Hiſpaniola protenſa meridiem verſus: atque in ea populi ſub rege bellum cum finitimis gerente occurrerunt: quorum fœminæ virum paſſæ nullam partem corporis, præter muliebria, virgines ne illam quidem tegebant* (17). This is very ſurprizing, ſince that the laws which relate to decorum allow, in all countries, a greater latitude to married women than to maidens.

(13) Cieça, cap. folio 99.

(14) Idem, cap. 19. folio 37 *verſo.*

(15) Idem, cap. 49. folio 99 *verſo. See alſo* cap. 52. folio 104 *verſo.*

(16) Idem, cap. 64. folio 128.

(17) Petrus Bembus, *Hiſt. Venet.* lib. 6. folio 127 *verſo.*

It is to be obſerved that this horrid depravity, which had extinguiſhed the laws of humanity and modeſty; and which had immerſed theſe nations in the cruelty and ferocity of man-eating, and the moſt monſtrous laſciviouſneſs, had not yet extinguiſhed or ſtifled the ideas of religion. They believed the immortality of the ſoul, as appears from all their funeral ceremonies (18); they worſhipped the Sun (19); believed a creator of all things (20); offered ſacrifices to their idols, and did not even ſpare human blood in them (21). The author obſerves very often, that they ſerve the Devil; but they look upon him as a being exceedingly powerful; and who, notwithſtanding his wickedneſs, does yet partake in ſome little meaſure of the divine nature. *Indiani di Tacunga credono l'immortalità dell' anima, quanto intendiamo da loro, & che vi ſia un Creatore del tutto. Conſiderando la grandezza del cielo, il muovemento del Sole, della Luna, & altre coſe maravigliose, quantunque acciecati dal Demonio, credono, che eſſo habbia poſſanza in ogni coſa. Benche alcuni conoſcendo le ſue malvagità, & come é ſempre buggiardo, & gli tratta peſſimamente, lo hanno in odio, ma pur l'ubbidiſcono per timore, credendo, che ſia in lui qualche Deità* (22). i. e. "The Indians of "Tacunga, as they relate, believe the immortality of "the ſoul, and that there is a creator of all things. "Conſidering the wide extent of the heavens, the Sun's "motion, and that of the moon, and other wonder-"ful things, notwithſtanding they are blinded by the "Devil, they believe that he has power over all things. "However, ſome being ſenſible of his malice, and "knowing that he is always a liar, and treats them "vaſtly ill, hate him; and yet they obey him through "fear, believing that there is ſomething of divinity "in him." He obſerves that their prieſts lead a holy life, and are had in great honour (23).

(18) *See* Cieça, cap. 8, 48, 51, & *paſſim alibi.*

(19) Idem, cap. 43. folio 87; & cap. 49. folio 99.

(20) Idem, ibid.

(21) Idem, cap. 4. folio 8 *verſo*; & cap. 20. folio 39.

(22) Idem, cap. 41. folio 82 *verſo.*

(23) Ibid.

[*B*] *The work in queſtion was tranſlated into Italian.*] Nicholas Antonio (24) obſerves, that the Spaniſh edition of Seville, 1553 in folio, was followed the year after by that of Antwerp in 8vo, and by an Italian edition of Rome 1555 in 8vo. He ſays that the Italian verſion was by Auguſtin de Gravaliz. I add that it was printed at Venice *appreſſo Giordano Ziletti* in the year 1557, 8vo. I make uſe of this edition, and ſuch is the printer's name in the title; but I find the following words in the laſt page: *In Vinegia, appreſſo Domenico de' Farri, ad inſtantia di M. Andrea Arrivabene* M. D. LVI. This edition was not known to Nicholas Antonio, who ſays that the other parts of this hiſtory were impatiently expected by the publick *reliquæ valde ab omnibus deſiderantur* (25).

(24) Nicol. Antonio, *Bibliotb. Scriptor. Hiſp.* tom. 2. pag. 146.

(25) Idem, ibid.

LEO (GONSALEZ PONTIUS DE) was a native of Seville, and lived in the ſixteenth Century. He reſided in Rome in the year 1585, and there publiſhed a Latin anſwer (*a*) to a book, which a German Proteſtant named Leonhart Waramund, had wrote in defence of Gebhard Truchſes, Archbiſhop of Colen. He wrote with great paſſion in this Reply; and, according to the practice at that time, vented a numberleſs multitude of injurious expreſſions againſt his adverſary. He does not write ill, in Latin, for a Spaniard [*A*], and had read a great deal.

(*a*) It is a volume in quarto, and contains 185 pages.

LEONCLAVIUS

[*A*] *He does not write ill, in Latin, for a Spaniard.*] I will not ſay but that there are Spaniards, who have underſtood the Latin tongue extremely well, and have wrote it with great purity and elegance; my meaning

LEONCLAVIUS (JOHN) one of the moſt learned men of the ſixteenth Century, was a native of Weſtphalia, and a Gentleman by birth. He ſpent near two years at the Duke of Savoy's Court, on the affairs of Lazarus Suendius, or Swend (*a*); after which he travelled a long time in the retinue of Baron Zerotini; he alſo reſided ſome years with the Baron de Kilts. He had been invited to Heidelberg to be Greek Profeſſor in that City; but Prince Caſimir's death made this invitation of no effect (*b*). During his abode in Turkey, he collected excellent materials for compoſing the Ottoman Hiſtory; and it is to him the publick is indebted for the beſt account we have of that Empire [*A*]. To the knowledge in the learned languages he had added that of the civil law; whereby he was extremely well qualified to tranſlate the *Baſilica* [*B*]. His other verſions were eſteemed, though

(*a*) He was a General.

(*b*) *Extracted from* Melchior Adam, *in Vitis Philoſophorum*, pag. 379.

ing is, that the writers of that country are generally too negligent in this particular. Some of them are careleſs even of the orthography, and write u inſtead of b, and y inſtead of i. Here follows an example of this. *Cujus* (rei maritimæ) *itidem polytica tractatio, diſpoſitio & Archiguvernatio à Magno Philippo noſtro Hiſpaniarum Rege .... tuæ ſollicitudini & prudentiæ emandata prædicatur.* Thus writes the Licentiate Don John Baptiſt de Urquiola & Elorriaga, in the preliminary epiſtle to a treatiſe on the civil Law (1) printed in 1663 (2), and dedicated to Don Franciſco Ramos del Manzano. He always writes *Lypſius* inſtead of *Lipſius*.

(1) Intitled, *Repetitio ſolemnis ad l. unic. C. de Claſſic. tit.* 12. *lib.* 11.

(2) At Salamanca in 4to.

[*A*] *It is to him the publick is indebted for the beſt account we have of the* Ottoman *empire.*] Thuanus ſpeaks of him as follows. *Juris Romani Græcique conſultiſſimo, & rerum Turcicarum apprime perito, ad quas linguæ ipſius Byzantina peregrinatione comparatam cognitionem, exactam ultimæ Hiſtoriæ Græcæ lectionem, & acre ac admirandum judicium attulit, quod non ſolum ſcriptis ab ipſo dum viveret publicatis, ſed in iis quæ poſt mortem ejus edita ſunt, elucet.* i. e. "He was extremely well ſkilled in "the Greek and Roman laws, and in Turkiſh af- "fairs; to the ſtudy whereof he brought the know- "ledge of the language itſelf which he learnt by "travelling to Conſtantinople; a diligent peruſal of "the later hiſtory of Greece, and a ſubtle and ad- "mirable judgment; all which is manifeſt not only "by his compoſitions publiſhed by himſelf, but like- "wiſe by thoſe which appeared after his death." Leonclavius is author of *Hiſtoriæ Muſlimanicæ Turcarum libri* 18. [The complete title is, *Hiſtoriæ Muſulmanicæ Turcorum de Monumentis ipſorum exſcriptæ libri XVII. Opus, quod Gentis originem, progreſſus, familias, & Principatus diverſos, Res Oſmaneas à Suleimane Schacho ad Suleimanem II. memoriæ noſtræ, cum aliis maximis, raris, & hactenus ignotis continet. Acceſſere Commentarii duo, quibus fides Hiſtoriæ adſtruitur, cum Onomaſtico gemino Vocabulorum Turcicorum, Arabicorum, Perſicorum & aliorum. Francofurti* 1591. *fol.* Addit. by the tranſl.] *Apologetici duo, prior, eſt libitinarius index Oſmanidarum, poſterior continet Epiſtolas de rebus Turcicis. Commonefactio de præſenti rerum Turcicarum ſtatu. Annales Turcici cum ſupplemento, & pandectis Hiſtoriæ Turcicæ* (1). This laſt work is properly but a tranſlation of a book witten by the Turks themſelves; I mean Turkiſh Annals which Jerom Beck of Leopoldſdorff, ambaſſador from Ferdinand, brought from Conſtantinople in 1551. Ferdinand cauſed them to be tranſlated into German by John Spiegel (2); and Leonclavius tranſlated them into Latin. *Annales etiam* Sultanorum Othmanidarum *à Turcis ſua lingua ſcriptos, & ſtudio Hieronymi Beck à Leopoldſdorff Conſtantinopoli advectos, juſſuque Ferdinandi Cæſaris interprete Turcico J. Spiegel Germanice tranſlatos, Leonclavius Latine reddidit illuſtravit, & ad annum* 1588 *uſque auxit* (3). [*Francofurti* 1588 *in 4to, It. Editio altera, Francofurti* 1596 *in folio.* The Turkiſh Annals end at the year 1550, and Leonclavius had annexed to them the hiſtory of 37 years. He likewiſe added an ample commentary, containing ſeveral particulars relating to the ſtate of Turkey, which he had very much ſtudied during his abode in that country, and entitled it, *Pandectæ Hiſtoriæ Turcicæ liber ſingularis ad illuſtrandos annales*; and another work which had been publiſhed before in the collection of Simon Schardius, printed at Baſil in 1574, and entitled, *Hiſtoria Viennæ Auſtricæ a Turcicis obſeſſæ, converſa dudum e lingua Germanica* (*). There is alſo, "*Apomaſaris Apoteleſ- "mata, ſive de ſignificatis & eventis ſomniorum, ex "Indorum, Perſarum, Ægyptiorumque diſciplina, è Græco "Latine, Interprete Joanne Leunclavio. Francof.* 1577, "8*vo.* Leonclavius found that he had miſtook, in "publiſhing this work under the falſe name of *Apo- "maſar.* Rigaltius who publiſhed it ſince, with the "addition of ſome chapters which were wanting in "Leonclavius's edition, has reſtored it to Achmet or "Achamet, the ſon of Seirim, who flouriſhed about "the year 800, and had wrote it in Arabick, whence "it was tranſlated into Greek. The title of Rigal- "tius's edition is as follows: *Artimedori & Achmetis "Oneirocritica, ſeu de Divinatione per ſomnia; Aſ- "trampſychi & Nicephori verſus Oneirocritici; Græce "& Latine ex verſione Jani Cornari & Joannis Leun- "clavii, cum notis, Nic.* Rigaltii. Paris 1603 in 4to." Addition by the tranſlator.]

(1) Thuan. lib. 4. *ſub fin.*

(2) Interpreter of the Turkiſh language to King Ferdinand.

(3) Melch. Adam, *in Vitis Philoſophor.* pag. 380.

(*) Father Niceron, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 297, 298.

(‡) Father Niceron, pag. 294.

[*B*] *He was extremely well qualified to tranſlate the Baſilica.*] I mean the abridgment of the Baſilica. This work is entitled *Verſio & Notæ ad Synopſim LX Librorum Baſilicon, ſeu univerſi Juris Romani, & ad Novellas Imperatorum.* It was printed at Baſil in 1575. Melchior Adam ſpeaks thus of it (4); *Evulgavit cum annotationibus ſexaginta librorum βασιλικῶν, hoc eſt univerſi juris Romani auctoritate principum Romanorum in Græcam linguam traducti, Eclogam ſive ſynopſim ante non viſam: item Novellarum antea non publicatarum librum.* i. e. "He firſt publiſhed, with "notes, an epitome of the ſixty books of the Baſilica, "that is of the univerſal Roman law, tranſlated into "Greek by the authority of the Roman Emperors, "likewiſe a book of Novellæ (ordinances) then firſt "publiſhed." Mr. Teiſſier will permit me to remark, that the manner of his expreſſing the title may miſlead the reader. *He has likewiſe publiſhed,* ſays he (6), *Sexaginta libros βασιλικῶν, Eclogam ſive ſynopſim, & Novellas cum Notis.* This is ſpecifying all the Baſilica, and a ſecond book entiled *Ecloga ſive ſynopſis*, and conſequently it is enlarging and confounding things. [The true title is as follows: *Baſilicon Librorum, id eſt univerſi Juris Romani Principum Romanorum auctoritate Græce traducti Ecloga ſive ſynopſis; nec non Novellarum antehac non evulgatarum liber; Græce & Latine, ex Verſione & cum notis Joannis Leunclavii. Baſileæ* 1575, *folio* (†). Addit. by the tranſl.] Teiſſier, quoting Melchior Adamus affirms, that Scaliger calls *Leunclavius the moſt learned Civilian of his time, and even places him in a higher rank than the great Cujas* (6). Now Melchior Adam ſays nothing like this; and beſides, the things aid in Leunclavius's praiſe in the ſecond *Scaligerana* are vaſtly beneath this Elogium. "Leunclavius is the beſt author who has "wrote concerning the Turks." *Leunclavius fuit Weſtphalus, ſed non Barbarus: bene intellexit Græca Conſtantinopolitana & inferioris ævi; omnia ejus ſcripta ſunt utilia, imo neceſſaria; Græca Juriſconſultorum intellexit, ſed Autorum Veterum non intellexit, ut H. Stephanus, qui paulo ante obitum multa ſcripſit ad me contra Leunclavii editionem Xenophontis. Leunclavius habebat ſcorta ſecum. Cluſius eum novit familiariſſimè* (7). i. e. "Leunclavius was a native of Weſt- "phalia, but not a Barbarian. He was well ſkilled in "the Conſtantinopolitan Greek, and that of the laſt "age of the empire. All his compoſitions are uſeful or "rather neceſſary; he underſtood the Greek of the "Civilians, but not that of the ancient authors, as "Henry Stephens, who, a ſhort time before he died, "wrote to me, a great many things againſt Leun- "clavius's edition of Xenophon. Leunclavius kept "harlots in his houſe. Cluſius was vaſtly intimate "with him." Thus ſpeaks the ſecond *Scaligerana*. Leunclavius's learning is more applauded there than his moral conduct, ſince it is affirmed that he kept proſtitutes in his houſe. I muſt not omit his *Jus Græco-Romanum* (8) in two volumes folio, and his *Notæ ad Paratitla ſeu ad Collectionem Conſtitutionum Eccleſiaſticarum*

(4) Ibid.

(5) Teiſſier, *Addit. aux Eloges*, tom. 2. pag. 187.

(†) Ibid. pag. 299.

(6) Teiſſier, *Addit. aux Eloges*, tom. 2. pag. 186.

(7) Scaligerana, pag. m. 139.

(8) *Græcè & Latinè*, Frankfort 1596.

though the critics pretend to have found many faults in them [C]. The dialogues he publiſhed of Cæſarius greatly exaſperated J. Billius [D]. He died at Vienna in Auſtria in June 1593 (c), being near threeſcore years old (d).

(c) Melchior Adam, *in Vitis Philoſophor.* pag. 379.

(d) Thuan. *Hiſt.* lib. 104, *ſub fin.*

cleſiaſticarum (9) in 8vo. [The complete title of the former is, *Juris Græco-Romani tam Canonici quam Civilis tomi duo ex variis Monumentis Europæ & Aſiæ eruti, Græce & Latine ex Verſione Joan. Leunclavii; edente Marquardo Frehero, cum Auctuario, Chronologia Juris, & Præfatione, Francofurti* 1596. 2 *Vol. fol.* Leonclavius dying before he had an opportunity of publiſhing this work himſelf, Freher undertook to ſupply what was wanting and to publiſh it (*). The full title of the other is *Paratitlorum libri tres antiqui de Græcis Latini facti, & Notatorum libri duo. Francofurti* 1593, in 8vo. Theſe Paratitles, which are of Theodore Balſamon, were reprinted under the title of *Collectio Conſtitutionum Eccleſiaſticarum*, with Leonclavius's verſion corrected, in the ſecond volume of *Bibliotheca Juris Canonici Veteris, Guilielmi Voeilli, & Henrici Juſtelli. Paris*, 1661, *in folio* (†). Note the reader will meet with an ample catalogue of our Leonclavius's works, in father Niceron (‡), there being ſeveral which are but juſt mentioned by Mr. Bayle. Addit. by the tranſlator.]

(9) At Frankfort 1593.

(*) Father Niceron, *ut ſupra*, pag. 299.

(†) Idem, ibid. pag. 300.

(‡) Tom. 26.

[C] *His other verſions were eſteemed. though the Criticks pretend to have found many faults in them.*] "He is one of the moſt celebrated tranſlators that "Germany ever gave birth to. He has given us "a tranſlation of Xenophon reviſed three times; of "Zozimus; of the Annals of Conſtantine Ma-"naſſes; of thoſe of Michael Glycas; of the epi-"tome of the ſixty books of the Baſilica; and of ſe-"veral works of St. Gregory Nazianzen . . . . He "alſo corrected Xylander's tranſlation of Dion, and "that of Chalcondylas by Clauſer (10)." Baillet, whoſe words I have here borrowed, has tranſcribed the elogiums, which are extremely advantageous, that Huetius beſtows on this tranſlator. [Huetius ſays, "no "German has tranſlated with greater ſkill than Leun-"clavius; he has tranſlated, in the moſt perfect man-"ner, the thoughts and expreſſions of his authors, "without any way curtailing them; his Latin often "correſponds word for word with the Greek; he "obſerves the ſame conſtruction and order as are "found in his originals, by which means he tranſ-"fuſes his authors, entire, into another language. "He alſo writes with great politeneſs and clearneſs; "his Latin has that exact purity, that eaſy air, ſo "ſeldom in other verſions (†)." Addition by the tranſlator.] The notes on Zozimus, in the Engliſh edition of 1679, do not give ſo advantageous an idea of our Leonclavius's capacity. Henry Stephens wrote a very ſharp criticiſm on the tranſlation of Xenophon (11), and was expoſed to very ſevere complaints from his adverſary. Baillet mentions this diſpute, and Melchior Adam ſpeaks of it as follows. *Litem tamen ei ſuper iſta interpretatione Xenophontea Criticam & Grammaticam movit Henricus Stephanus, vir & typographus clariſſimus, edita in ejus errores inſignes inquiſitione autoſchediaſtica. Contra & Leunclavius de Stephano conqueritur, quod contra fidem datam, & præter officium viri boni Xenophontis a ſe latine redditi exemplar, ſicut & Zozimi, detinuerit. Et faſſus eſt Stephanus, accepiſſe ſe illam Xenophontis verſionem ab annis circiter octodecim; poſt tredecim aut quatuordecim amplius annis ſibi non viſam, ſed cum è ſua ſupellectile liberaria, militum incuria, belli tempore aliquot libri incendio periiſſent, neſciviſſe, an in illorum numero Xenophon à Leonclavio verſus, fuiſſet. Tandem, interjecto anni amplius ſpacio, librum inventum fuiſſe, ſitu obſitum, & membrana craſſa, qua involutus erat, conſervatum* (12). i. e. "Henry "Stephens, a moſt renowned printer, was engaged in "a critical and grammatical conteſt with him, con-"cerning that tranſlation of Xenophon, and printed "extemporary remarks on his flagrant errors. On "the other ſide Leonclavius exclaims againſt Stephens, "for detaining, contrary to the promiſe he had given, "and the duty of a man of honour, the copy of "his tranſlation of Xenophon and likewiſe that of Zozi-"mus. Stephens confeſſed that he had received that "verſion of Xenophon about eighteen years before; "that for thirteen or fourteen years he had not ſeen it; "but that when ſome books in his library, during "the war, periſhed in the flames through the careleſſ-"neſs of the ſoldiers, he did not know but that Leon-"clavius's verſion of Xenophon might be among "them. That at laſt, in a little more than a year, "the book was found, quite mouldy, and preſerved "by its thick parchment binding."

(10) Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 4. num. 833. pag. 457.

(†) Huet quoted in Father Niceron, *ut ſupra*, pag. 294, 295.

(11) See above citation (7) the paſſage of the *Scaligerana*.

(12) Melchior Adam. *in Vitis Philoſophor.* pag. 380.

[D] *The dialogues he publiſhed of Cæſarius, greatly exaſperated J. Billius.*] Leonclavius publiſhed four dialogues (13) of Cæſarius, brother to St. Gregory Nazianzen, which he had tranſlated into Latin. It is diſputed whether this work ought to be aſcribed to Cæſarius. Father Labbe refers that enquiry to another opportunity. *Plura*, ſays he (14), *adverſus Leunclavium primum eorum* (dialogorum) *editorem declamavit Jacobus Billius Prunæus præfatione in decimam orationem ſancti Nazianzeni, quæ alias expendemus accuratius.* Lambecius (15) warmly defends Leonclavius againſt the invectives of James de Billi.

(13) *De Quæſtionibus & Reſponſis Philoſoph. præcipue vero Theologic.*

(14) *De Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. pag. 217.

(15) Lambecius, *Biblioth. Cæſar.* lib. 4. pag. 31, *& ſeq.*

LEONICENUS (NICHOLAS) born at Vicenza in the year 1428, taught Phyſic in the Univerſity of Ferrara for above threeſcore years (a); he was not only a very able man in his profeſſion, but alſo very well verſed in polite Literature. He was the firſt who tranſlated Galen's works into Latin (b). It is impoſſible to be more diſengaged from all ſenſual pleaſures than he was. He was diſtinguiſhed in the moſt eminent manner by his temperance, chaſtity and extreme averſion for all kind of covetouſneſs [A]; it was to this innocent life he aſcribed that vigorous health [B], which he enjoyed even to a very

(a) Mercklinus, *in Lindenio Renovato*, pag. 837. *See alſo* Konig. *Biblioth.* p. 468.

(b) *Primus Græca Galeni volumina Latine interpretando ſtudioſis perdiſcenda demonſtravit.* Jovius, *Elog.* cap. 70.

[A] *He was diſtinguiſhed in the moſt eminent manner by his temperance, chaſtity, and extreme averſion for all kind of covetouſneſs.*] Had it not been for his chearful temper and pleaſant countenance, men would have took him for a perfect Stoic. He uſed to eat and to ſleep very little, he abſtained from wine and women; he did not much care whether they preſented to him one kind of meat or another, he uſed without any choice the victuals that were offered him, and he cared ſo little for money, that he could not even diſtinguiſh one piece of coin from another. *Cibi & vini maxime abſtinens, ſomnique minimi, præſertim verò Veneris continentiſſimus, uſque adeò mollioris vitæ voluptates abdicavit, ut pecunias, luxuriæ inſtrumenta, nec agnita quidem monetæ nota contemneret; oblatum, & nulla delectum cura cibum caperet; nec unquam de fortuna quereretur . . . Eum hercle perfectum Stoicum putaſſes, niſi honeſto ori liberalis hilaritas affuiſſet* (1).

(1) Jovius, *Elogior.* cap. 70. pag. m. 162.

[B] . . . . . *It was to this innocent life he aſcribed his vigorous health.*] Paulus Jovius aſſerts that he heard him ſay this. *Quum ego aliquando comiter ab eo peterem, ut ingenuè proferret, quonam arcano artis uteretur, ut tanto corporis atque animi vigore vitia ſenectutis eluderet: Vividum, inquit, ingenium perpetua, Jovi, vitæ innocentia, ſalubre verò corpus hilaris frugalitatis præſidio facilè tuemur* (2). i. e. "I deſired him once "civilly, to tell me with ſincerity, what ſecret of "his art he made uſe of, to avoid the infirmities of "old age, and to enjoy ſuch a ſtrength of body and "mind. Jovius, ſaid he to me, we eaſily keep "up a ſprightly genius, by leading conſtantly an in-"nocent life, and preſerve the body in health, by a "chearful frugality." Jovius had obſerved juſt before (3), that Leonicenus at the age of fourſcore and ten, had the perfect uſe of all his ſenſes, and a very ſtrong memory; that he walked without a ſtick, and that he did not ſtoop in the leaſt, though he was very tall. Obſerve however, that an innocent life is not always attended with the happy conſequences which Leonicenus aſcribes to it. There are many perſons,

(2) Ibid. pag. 163.

(3) *Pervenit ad nonageſimum annum, integerrimis ſenſibus, vegetaque memoria, nec incurva quidem cervice, quum eſſet ſtaturæ celſioris, & ſine ſcipione venerabilis.* Idem, ibid.

very great age, for he lived fourſcore and ſixteen years [C]. His merit muſt certainly have been very great, ſince both the Scaligers commend him [D]. I cannot tell whether we ought to believe what one of them obſerves, namely that Leonicenus, being troubled in his youth with an epilepſy, was weary of his life, and almoſt determined to lay violent hands on himſelf [E]. This learned Phyſician compoſed ſeveral conſiderable works [F], and wrote verſes very well [G]. He died in the year 1524. He had ſet up for

perſons, who might have diſputed with him the crown of chaſtity and temperance, and whoſe conſcience was not leſs clear than his, and whoſe *days have* nevertheleſs *been few and evil*; they did not live long, and were often out of order.

Let us quote another witneſs beſides Paulus Jovius. I have read a particular in Melchior Adam, whence it ſeems we may infer, that Leonicenus told his diſciple John Langius, that the chaſtity of his youth was, in his opinion, the cauſe of his long life. *Audivit in Italia* (Joannes Langius) ... *Nicolaum Leonicenum, Dioſcoridis illuſtratorem: qui annum ætatis attigit* nonageſimum ſextum, *cùm ampliùs* ſexaginta *annos* Ferrariæ *docuiſſet. Hic dixit*, ſe viridi vegetâque uti ſenectâ, quia caſtam juventutem virili ætati tradidiſſet, *ediditque opuſculum, in quo* omnibus ægris ſalutem & vitam reſtitui conciliarique poſſe *docuit* (4). i. e. "John Lan- "gius ſtudied in Italy under Nicholas Leonicenus, "who explained Dioſcorides, and lived till he was "fourſcore and ſixteen years old, having been above "threeſcore years Profeſſor at Ferrara. He ſaid that "he enjoyed a briſk and lively old age, becauſe he "came to the age of manhood having been very con- "tinent in his youth. He has publiſhed a work in "which he maintains that it is poſſible to reſtore all "ſick perſons to their health and life." You ſee in this paſſage, that he was the author of a book, made on purpoſe to prove that all ſick perſons may be reſtored to their health. He excepted doubtleſs thoſe, who had no other diſtemper but old age, or at leaſt he confeſſed that that diſtemper is incurable. He found it by his own experience; for here follows what Langius, an eye-witneſs, obſerves of him. *Ferrariam igitur venimus, ubi Leonicenum, elegantioris medicinæ illuſtratorem, edentulum fere, & jam ex ſenii maraſmo tabeſcentem, convenimus: quem, ſenile ætatis ejus decus reveriti, perplexis de erroribus Plinii problematibus obtundere nolebamus* (5). i. e. "We came to Ferrara, where we "waited on Leonicenus, who illuſtrated the moſt po- "lite part of Phyſic; he had loſt almoſt all his teeth, "and was quite ſpent with age. Out of reſpect for "this worthy old man, we forbore to teize him with "perplexing objections concerning Pliny's miſtakes." The letter, where Langius ſpeaks thus, is without any date; we cannot therefore judge from it, whether Paulus Jovius is not miſtaken with regard to that vigour he aſcribes to old Leonicenus.

(4) Melch. Adam, *in Vitis Medicor.* pag. 140, 141.

(5) Joannes Langius, *Epiſt. Medicin. II.* lib. 2. pag. m. 472.

[C] *He lived fourſcore and ſixteen years.*] Naudé is very much miſtaken, who makes him live above a whole century. I ſhall tranſcribe his own words becauſe they contain ſome other particulars, which are very extraordinary. *Hippocrates, Galenus, Avenzoar, Leonicenus, cogitate vos quantum tempore, loco, vivendi ratione inter ſe diſcrepantes, hoc uno vitæ termino plane conveniunt, quem omnes ultra centeſimum annum protraxere* (6). i. e. "Conſider, that Hippocrates, Ga- "len, Avenzoar, Leonicenus, how much ſoever they "differed with regard to time, place, and their man- "ner of living, yet met with the ſame fate in this, "that they all lived above an hundred years."

(6) Naudæus, *in Pentade Quæſt. Iatrophiloſ.* pag. m. 44.

[D] *Both the Scaligers commend him.*] In theſe words (7). *Leonicenus à patre ſemper imprimis commendatus, & Medicorum ſui temporis facile princeps judicatus.* i. e. "My father always very much "commended Leonicenus, whom he judged to be the "firſt Phyſician of his time." So much for the father: as for the ſon, he ſpeaks thus. *De eo viro non niſi honorifice prædicare debemus, vel eo nomine quod primus Philoſophiam & Medicinam ipſam cum humanioribus literis conjunxit. Primus enim ille nos docuit, homines, qui ſine bonis literis Medicinam tractant, eſſe ſimiles iis qui in alieno foro litigant* (8). i. e. "We ought not to "ſpeak of this man but in honourable terms, were "it only for this, that he is the firſt who joined the "ſtudy of polite literature, with Philoſophy and even "with Phyſic. He is the firſt who taught us, that "they who pretend to treat of Phyſic without any ſkill "in the *Belles-Lettres*, are like thoſe, who plead in a "foreign Court."

(7) *Scaligerana Prima*, pag. m. 97.

(8) Joſeph Scaliger, *Epiſt.* 19. pag. 104.

[E] ... *One of them obſerves, that Leonicenus being troubled in his youth with an epilepſy, was weary of his life, and almoſt determined to lay violent hands on himſelf.*] *Mirum præterea*, continues he, *accepi de viro. A pueritia, imo à cunabilis ipſis ad* 30 *annum morbo comitiali adeo tentabatur, ut cum ad ſe redierat, pertæſus vitæ pene ſibi manus afferret. Sed poſt trigeſimum annum plane eo malo defunctus, omnibus membrorum ac ſenſuum officiis integer, nulla morbi ſuſpicione ad* 94 *annum pervenit. Et ſi bene memini, triduo antequam decederet è vita, operam dederat lectioni.* i. e. "What I have "heard of this man is wonderful. From his childhood, "nay even from his cradle, till he came to be thirty, he "was ſo much troubled with the falling-ſickneſs, that "on his recovering from a fit, he was tired with his "life, and ready to kill himſelf. But after the age of "thirty, he was entirely free from that diſtemper, and "had the perfect uſe of all his members and ſenſes; "and thus he lived in very good health, without feel- "ing the leaſt return of his former diſtemper, to the "age of fourſcore and fourteen years. And if my "memory does not fail me, he had been reading but "three days before he died." This was a fate worthy to be envied; not indeed, becauſe Leonicenus lived fourſcore and ſixteen years; this would not be very conſiderable without the reſt, nay, it would be a great evil rather than a happineſs; but becauſe in that very great age he had the uſe of his mind, of his memory, and of his ſenſes, and becauſe his laſt illneſs was very ſhort (9).

(9) I ſpeak thus with regard to the paſſage quoted from Scaliger, and not to that quoted from Langius.

[F] *Leonicenus wrote ſeveral conſiderable works.*] He tranſlated divers treatiſes of Galen into Latin, as alſo Hippocrates's Aphoriſms, and Ariſtotle's firſt book *De Partibus Animalium*. Beſides theſe, he wrote *De Plinii & plurium aliorum Medicorum in Medicina Erroribus.* i. e. "Of Errors committed in Phyſick by Pliny, and many "other Phyſicians." *De tribus Doctrinis ordinatis ſecundum Galeni ſententiam.* i. e. "Of the three "well contrived Syſtems according to Galen's opi- "nion." *De formativa Virtute.* i. e. "Of the "Plaſtick Vertue. *De Dipſade & pluribus aliis Serpentibus.* i. e. Of the Dipſas and ſeveral other Ser- "pents." *Quædam de Herbis & Fructibus, Animalibus, Metallis.* i. e. "Some Obſervations on Herbs, "Fruits, Animals, and Metals." *De Morbo Gallico, ſive Neapolitano.* i. e. "Of the Venereal Diſeaſe." *Contra ſuarum Tranſlationum obtrectatores Apologia.* i. e. A Defenſe of himſelf againſt thoſe who cenſured "his Tranſlations." A book intitled *Antiſophiſta*, on which Paulus Jovius obſerves (10), that *nemo errores Sophiſtarum importuna garrulitate cuncta fœdantium eloquentius atque validius confutavit* (11) quam Leonicenus. i. e. "None ever refuted the errors of the So- "phiſts, who ſpoil every thing by their impertinent "jargon, with more eloquence and ſtrength of argu- "ment than Leonicenus." He tranſlated Dion's Hiſtory, and Lucian's Dialogues into Italian, to gratify Hercules Duke of Ferrara, who did not underſtand Latin (12). I forgot to mention his treatiſe *De Vipera* i. e. "Of the Viper", againſt which a learned man wrote, as Rhodiginus tells us (13). *Nec me fallit ex eruditioribus quendam edito etiam libello Maraſſum à vipera deſparaſſe, quo Nicolai Leoniceni viri undecunque ſcientiſſimi* (14) *placita uberius de hujus animalis natura convellat.* i. e. "I know that one of "the moſt learned men diſtinguiſhed the reptile called "*Maraſſus* from the viper, in order the better to "refute Nicolas Leonicenus's opinion, concerning the "nature of that animal; of Leonicenus I ſay, a moſt "learned man in every reſpect."

(10) Jovius, *in Elogiis*, cap. 70. pag. 162.

(11) He ſays alſo, *Imperitorum latratibus publicatis ſummæ eloquentiæ commentariis occurrerat.* Ibid.

(12) Idem, ibid. pag. 163.

(13) Cælius Rhodigin. *Antiq. Lect.* lib. 6. cap. 16. pag. m. 298.

(14) He calls him *noſtri temporis plane Coryphæus*, lib. 26. cap. 30.

[G] ... *And wrote verſes very well.*] Giraldi aſſerts it. *Erat & Leonicenus merito inter Poetas collocandus, nam cùm ſenex optimos verſus faceret, & interdum è Græco in Latinum transferret, tum in juvenili ſua ætate non modo meditatos argutè & doctè compoſuit,*

for a great cenſurer of Pliny, at which his diſciple Calcagninus was not very well pleaſed. I ſhall tranſcribe his words [*H*] which are very much to Leonicenus's honour.

He did not apply himſelf to the practice of Phyſic; and when he was aſked the reaſon of it, he anſwered that he was more ſerviceable to the publick, by teaching all the Phyſicians, than if he had viſited the ſick. *Idem mihi reſpondit Nicolaus Leonicenus Ferrariæ, demiranti cur artem medicandi, quam profitebatur ipſe non exerceret, plus, inquit, ago docens omnes medicos* (*c*).

(*c*) Eraſm. *Apophtheg.* lib. 3. pag. m. 163.

When I ſaid that he was born at Vicenza I only followed the general opinion of the authors who mentioned him; but I ought to have acquainted the reader with their miſtake. They did not underſtand the meaning of the epithet *Vicentinus*, which he takes; it ſignifies only that he was born in the *Vicentine*. His native place is called *Lonigo* in Italian (*d*), and *Leonicum* in Latin; hence it was that he ſurnamed himſelf *Leonicenus*.

(*d*) Leandro Alberti, *Deſcritt. di tutta Italia*, folio m. 470.

ſed etiam ut ſæpe mihi memorare ſolitus fuit, ex tempore & impræmeditata carmina cecinit (15). i. e. "Leonicenus deſerves to be ranked among the Poets. "For as in his old age he wrote verſes very well, and "ſometimes tranſlated ſome poems out of Greek into "Latin; ſo in his youth he compoſed ſome very wittily "and learnedly, not only when he took time to ſtudy "them, but even as he often told me, he ſung ſome "*extempore* and without any premeditation."

(15) *Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus de Poët. ſuorum tempor.* Dial. 2. pag. m. 564.

[*H*] *He had ſet up for a great cenſurer of Pliny . . . I ſhall tranſcribe Calcagninus's words.*] They are to be met with in a letter which he wrote to Eraſmus July the 6th 1525. *Leonicenus medicus*, ſays he (16), *jam menſes aliquot hunc vitæ mimum abſolvit, vir, ad æternitatem natus, quem ego ultimum heroum & aurei ſeculi reliquias appellabam. Ex illa enim ætate quæ magnum habuit ingeniorum proventum, &* Hermolaos, Politianos, Picos, Merulas, Domitios *nobis tulit, hic ultimus deceſſit jam propè centenarius, integris, quod mirum videri poſſit, adhuc ſenſibus. Multa ſcripſit, multa vertit è* Græcis, *multa in* Sylva *medica jam conclamata nobis reſtituit. Adverſus barbaros medicos perpetuas inimicitias exercuit: quin &* Plinium, *à quo propoſito fruſtra hominem ſæpe deterrui, inclementer nimis ſemper inſectatus eſt. Denique quod paucis contigit, vivens poſteritatem ſuam vidit: ejus obitum acerbè tuli, tum privato nomine, fuerat enim mihi præceptor, tum publico: videbam enim rem* Latinam *ejus morte inſignem plagam acceſſiſſe.* i. e. "Leonicenus the Phyſician died a few "months ago; he was a man born for eternity; and "I uſed to ſtile him the laſt hero, and the remains of "the golden age; for of all the great men, which "this age produced, as an Hermolaus, a Politian, "a Pius of Mirandola, a Merula, a Domitius, he was "the laſt; and he died being almoſt an hundred years "old, and, what is ſurpriſing, having the uſe of all "his ſenſes to the laſt. He wrote a great deal; he "tranſlated many books out of Greek; he has re"formed a great many things in Phyſic, with our ap"plauſe; he oppoſed continually the ignorant Phyſi"cians. Nay he even criticiſed Pliny too ſeverely, "from which I often endeavoured to diſſuade him, but "to no purpoſe. Laſtly, what happens to very few, he "has ſeen his ſect eſtabliſhed in his life-time. His death "has grieved me very much, both on my own pri"vate account, for I ſtudied under him, and on ac"count of the public, being perſuaded that his death "is a great loſs to polite literature."

(16) *Apud* Eraſm. *in Epiſt.* 54. lib. 20. pag. 1019. Pope Blount aſcribes this to Eraſmus.

LEONINUS (ELBERT, or ENGELBERT) in Dutch *de Leew*, born in the Iſle of Bommel in Guelderland, was one of the beſt Civilians in the ſixteenth Century, and very well ſkilled in State-affairs. He ſtudied firſt in his own country, then at Utrecht, afterwards at Emmerick, and laſtly at Louvain. He did not only apply himſelf to the Belles Lettres in that City, under the learned Peter Nannius; he alſo ſtudied the Law, and took his degrees in that Faculty in the year 1547. He went afterwards to Arras to learn the French tongue there, and at a year's end returned to Louvain, where he married the daughter of the firſt Profeſſor of Civil Law [*A*]. A chair of a Profeſſor of Canon Law happening to become vacant the ſecond day of his marriage he was choſen to fill it; he acquitted himſelf very worthily of that employment, and gained a great reputation both by his lectures, and by his anſwers to the law queſtions which were propoſed to him from all parts of Europe. In the year 1560 he ſucceeded Gabriel Mudæus firſt Profeſſor of Law; and from that time his reputation increaſed daily, ſo that the great Lords and Magiſtrates in the Low-Countries conſulted him, having a very great eſteem for him. Even they who were at variance truſted him with their moſt ſecret affairs, and with the ſubjects of their diſputes, and did not even ſcruple to chooſe him for their arbiter; but ſuch was the obſtinacy of their hatred that he could not reconcile them together. He had the honour to be intimately beloved by the Prince of Orange; and this was one of the reaſons which determined him never to go over to the King of Spain's party, after he had once declared for thoſe Lords and for thoſe Provinces, who were reſolved to aſſert their liberty. I ſhall relate below the other reaſons he had for

[*A*] *He married the daughter of the firſt Profeſſor of Civil Law at Louvain.*] Her name was Barba Van Haze (1). If her huſband deſerved to be ſirnamed *Longoleus*, becauſe he was very tall (2), ſhe deſerved alſo a particular ſirname on account of her long life. Valerius Andreas relates that ſhe lived fifty two years with her huſband, and continued thirty ſix years a widow. *Vixit in primo atque unico matrimonio annos quinquaginta duos. Superſtes vidua Bruxellam ad ſuos reverſa annis* xxxvi *marito ſupervixit* (3). i. e. "He "lived fifty two years with his firſt and only wife. "His widow returned to her relations at Bruſſels, and "ſurvived him during thirty ſix years." She muſt have been twelve years old at leaſt when ſhe was married. Add all theſe ſums together, and you will find a whole century; nor will there be an error in this calculation, as there is in Valerius Andreas's account. There was, according to him, a whole year at leaſt, between the time when Leoninus took his degrees, and his nuptials. He took his degrees in the year 1547, whence it follows that he was married in the year 1548: now he died in the year 1598; how can it then be maintained that he lived fifty two years with his wife? I know that this is aſſerted in his epitaph (4); but we muſt infer from thence, that he married Barba van Haze in the year 1546, and that Valerius Andreas was in the wrong, not to obſerve that he was miſtaken in his calculation.

(1) Val. Andreas, *Bibliotb. Belg.* pag. 197.

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) Idem, ibid. pag. 199.

(4) It is inſerted in Swert's *Athenæ Belgicæ*, pag. 225, 226.

for this conduct [B]. He was appointed Chancellor of Guelderland after the Archduke Matthias's departure in the year 1581. He was one of the Embaſſadors whom the States ſent to the French King after the death of the Prince of Orange in the year 1584, and he was their ſpeaker at the audience they had of Henry III (a), and in the Conferences that were held concerning the offer which was made him of the Sovereignty of the Low-Countries. He made a ſpeech at the Hague in the name of the ſame States to the Earl of Leiceſter, whom Queen Elizabeth had appointed their Governor; he inſinuated himſelf into this Earl's familiarity, and into that of the other Engliſh Lords, and adviſed them to uſe their authority with a great deal of moderation; but other advices prevailed. He died at Arnhem December the 4th (b) 1598 at the age of threeſcore and nineteen (c). He never profeſſed the Proteſtant Religion, and even behaved himſelf a little too freely in that reſpect [C].

(a) See the ſubſtance of his *Oration* in Strada, *de Bello Belgic.* Dec. 2. lib. 5. pag m. 333, 334.

(b) It is ſet down the 6th, in his *Epitaph*, tranſcribed by Swert. *Athen. Belgic.* pag. 225.

(c) *Taken from* Valerius Andreas, *Bibliotb. Belgic.* pag. 179, &c.

There

[B] *I ſhall relate below the other reaſons he had for this conduct.*] We find in him an inſtance of a conſtancy which is very uncommon; for being engaged with the States, he continued in that engagement ſtedfaſtly till his death, though it was not a zeal for religion that prompted him to it. It is no extraordinary thing to ſee perſons die in that party, which they declared for at the riſing of a faction, or at the beginning of a revolution. But if ſuch an undertaking was a long time carrying on; if it was attended with various conſequences and events, ſometimes favourable, ſometimes diſadvantageous; you will find, generally ſpeaking, that the ſame perſons forſake and join again with the ſame party three or four times; and if they end as they began, it is ſometimes owing to mere chance: death ſurpriſes them when they are come to their firſt lodgings; a few years more would perhaps again have made them go over to the other ſide. The only means to be proof againſt all variations, is either to engage with the rebellious party, thro' a fervent zeal for religion; or to exaſperate one's Prince to ſuch a degree, that there can be no depending on a pardon, though never ſo ſolemnly promiſed. Leoninus's conſtancy was not owing to any of theſe cauſes; a conſtancy which continued a long while, and was never interrupted. What then could be his motives? They were as follow. The Prince of Orange had an entire confidence in, and an infinite friendſhip for him. This made him obnoxious to the Royaliſts, and to the King himſelf. They imagined that he was concerned in the rebellion, which yet, ſays he (5), was abſolutely falſe; but he did not think it proper to ſerve perſons who ſuſpected him unjuſtly. But further, he was Counſellor of State to the new Commonwealth, he had been truſted with their moſt conſiderable affairs; and he thought it would have been a perfidiouſneſs to diſcover them to their enemies, as he would have been obliged to do, had he gone over to them (6). Beſides all this, he was determined to follow Solon's advice, which is, that in civil wars an honeſt man ought to declare himſelf for the weakeſt and moſt dangerous party. *Sed & Solonis dictum, inquit, & conſilium ob oculos habebam, quod bonus vir in civilibus diſſentionibus partem eligere debeat inferiorem & magis periculoſam* (7). A man muſt be very much a Philoſopher to give ſuch advice, but he muſt be much more a Philoſopher who follows it. But why did not Solon adviſe us to declare for the party which has right on its ſide? I imagine one might anſwer, that the different parties in a Commonwealth do all pretend to act from a public ſpirit for the good of the whole; and they all reſpectively aſſert their cauſe with ſuch a ſhew of arguments, objections and anſwers, that it is a difficult matter for private perſons to ſift out the truth, and to find out who is in the right or in the wrong. And therefore what better courſe can they take but to declare themſelves for the weakeſt party; nor is it ſuch a difficult matter to diſcover which is the weakeſt, as it is to judge which is the moſt reaſonable. The weakeſt ought to be preferred, both becauſe it becomes a generous man to ſupport the weak againſt the powerful, and becauſe one is much more unavoidably engaged to commit unjuſt actions in that faction which has the greateſt ſtrength, than in that which is leſs powerful. It will be objected, that the latter would not be more moderate, if it were as powerful as the former. I am apt to believe it; but yet as long as its weakneſs puts it out of its power to oppreſs, you ought to join with it, that you may not be concerned in the violent meaſures of the other. If it gets the upper hand, forſake it then, leſt it ſhould engage you to act the tyrant in your turn. Let this be obſerved by the way, with regard to Solon's maxim, and with the reſtriction I have added to it, namely, that it be not known which ſide is in the right or in the wrong.

(5) *Veniſſet in ſuſpicionem apud Regios, atque etiam Regem ipſum alicujus molitionis contrariæ, & quod deterius, ſeditioſorum conſiliis conſentire diceretur, quod à ſe ſcribit fuiſſe alieniſſimum.* Valer. Andr. *Bibliotb. Belgicæ*, pag. 198.

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) Idem, ibid.

[C] *He behaved himſelf a little too freely* with regard to religion.] He would have it reduced to a great ſimplicity, and wiſhed that all that is above the reach of human underſtanding were left to the judgment of God and his Angels. We ought rather, ſaid he, to admire and revere the divine nature, than to define it. *Ego ſimplicem religionem amplectendam ſemper prædicavi, & etiam nunc prædico, prorſus divina & humani ingenii captum excedentia, divinitati & ſecreto Dei atque Angelorum judicio relinquens: honorandam potiùs & admirandam divinitatem quàm definiendam judicavi. Enixè laboravi, ut nimiùm ſubtiles diſputationes è Republica ejicerentur, de quo memini in Oratione ad Ordines habita, quæ poſt primam Centuriam Conſiliorum meorum impreſſa eſt* (8). Sainte Aldegonde found nothing in him but what was lovely; except only his too great averſion for matters of Divinity. You keep cloſe to your maxims, (ſaid he, in a letter), to hurt no man, to live honeſtly, &c. But this, in my opinion, is making no account of the labour of the prophets and of the Apoſtles, and reckoning them almoſt uſeleſs. *Elbertus Leoninus, Hagyæus Albada, aliique inter Proceres religioni reformatæ nunquam nomen dederant. Ille Honeſtate civili contentus religionem omnem ſuſque deque habebat: uti eum ipſi graphicè deſcripſit Phil. Marnixus in ſelect. Epiſt. Belgarum centur. 2. epiſt. 44.* "*Nihil enim eſt in te quod non ſit ſuaviſſimum, ſi hoc unum demas, quod nimium es atheologus. Dum enim tuis illis formulis, quid dico formulis? oraculis, Neminem lædere, honeſtè vivere, aliiſque immo tanquam ſtopulis inhæreſcis, videris mihi Apoſtolorum omnium ac Prophetarum laborem omnem prope inanem ducere* (9). i. e. Elbert Leoninus, Haggai Albada and ſome other Lords never declared themſelves Proteſtants: and Leoninus being contented with moral virtue deſpiſed all Religions; as Philip Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde very well deſcribes him to himſelf, in a letter to him, which is the 44th of the 2d Century of the collection of choice letters from the Dutch, in which he ſpeaks thus. *There is nothing in you but what is lovely, except only that you are too averſe to Divinity. For whilſt you adhere too cloſely to your maxims, what do I ſay, maxims? to your Oracles; Hurt no man, live honeſtly, &c. you ſeem to reckon the labours of the Prophets and Apoſtles almoſt uſeleſs.*" The paſſage where Grotius mentions three illuſtrious men, who died in the Low-countries in the year 1598, deſerves to be peruſed, The two firſt (10) began with being ingaged in ſtate affairs, and waxed old in a retirement from buſineſs; but the third, coming from the receſs of his cloſet into publick buſineſs, ſpent the remainder of his days in great employments. He ſpeaks of our Leoninus, and obſerves, that he was a man naturally poſſeſſed of that which the precepts of the Philoſophers propoſe as the end we ought to aim at; I mean, that he had hardly any paſſion; he followed the republican party, not from a principle of ſelf-intereſt, nor out of prepoſſeſſion, but becauſe he happened to be ingaged in it. *Elbertus Leoninus in umbra ſtudiorum quondam educatus, & ante pacem Gandavenſem regiarum partium miniſter, tunc ſummus Geldriæ juridicus conſiliis publicis immoriebatur, homo natura conſecutus, quo veterum magiſtrorum præcepta nituntur, ut affectu pene omni vacaret, adeo quidem, ut partes quoque non ſtudio ullo, ſed quia ſic invenerat, ſequeretur* (11).

(8) Valer. Andr. *Bibliotb. Belgic.* pag. 199.

(9) Voetius, *de Politia Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 2. pag. 458.

(10) Count de Cuylenburg, and Sainte Aldegonde.

(11) Grotius, *Hiſt. de rebus Belgicis*, lib. 7. pag. 506. edit. Amſt. 1658, in 12mo.

There are ſeveral of his works extant [*D*].

[*D*] *There are ſeveral of his works extant.*] Moſt of them have been publiſhed after his death, as will appear from the dates added to the following titles. *Centuria Conſiliorum.* i. e. "An hundred advices;" printed at Antwerp in the year 1584, *in folio.* We find at the end of this work *Oratio habita in Conventu Ordinum Generalium, Antwerpiæ Anno* 1579, *tempore Colloquii Colonienſis, de bello, religione et pace per Belgium.* i. e. "An oration delivered before the States "General aſſembled at Antwerp in the year 1579, "when the congreſs of Cologne was held, concerning "the war, religion, and peace through the Low-coun-"tries." His ſeven books *Emendationum ſive obſervationum*; i. e: "of corrections or obſervations;" were printed at Arnhem in the year 1610. *in 4to. Prælectiones ad tit. Cod. de jure Emphyteutico.* i. e. "Lectures on the law concerning the right of copy-hold-"ers;" at Francfort, 1606, *in 8vo. ad Lib. 9 Cod. in quo Tituli & Leges omnes ad inſtar proceſſus criminalis explicantur*; i. e. "On the ninth book of the Code, "in which all the titles and laws are explained after "the manner of criminal proceſſes;" at Cologne 1604 *in 4to. Commentarius ad tit. D. de uſufructu.* i. e. "A "commentary on the law concerning the uſe and pro-"fits of ſuch things, the property of which ſtill be-"longs to another:" at Lich, 1600, *in 8vo.* His diſſertation *de Trapezitis Belgii, vulgo Lombardis*, was publiſhed by Boxhornius (12). I do not mention ſeveral books, which he deſigned to print (13), and which remained in the cloſet of his grandſon (14) Elbert Zoſius, a lawyer at Utrecht.

(12) *Taken from* Valerius Andreas, *Bibliotb. Belgic.* pag. 199.

(13) Valerius Andreas, *ibid.* gave the titles of them.

(14) *E filia Nepos*, idem, ibid. His grandſon by his daughter.

LEONTIUM, an Athenian Courtezan, made her ſelf famous, firſt by her laſciviouſneſs, and afterwards by her application to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. This laſt profeſſion would have made amends for the diſgrace of the former, had Leontium renounced all love-intrigues as ſoon as ſhe took it into her head to philoſophize; but it is pretended that ſhe did not abate a jot of her former diſſoluteneſs; and that when ſhe ſtudied under Epicurus, ſhe proſtituted herſelf to all this Philoſopher's diſciples. It is even aſſerted, that he himſelf took his ſhare of her favours, and was not aſhamed to own it (*a*). They who pretend that the ſlanders which have been ſpread againſt his character, are only malicious impoſtures of his enemies, will not confeſs that there paſſed any thing diſgraceful between him and Leontium; they cannot however deny but he ſhewed in his letters, that he had a great friendſhip for her (*b*); however, they may grant this, ſince nothing can be inferred from it againſt Epicurus's reputation. Leontium was either the wife or the concubine of Metrodorus, by whom ſhe had a ſon, whom Epicurus recommended to the executors of his laſt will and teſtament; and this affords us an argument againſt that letter, in which ſhe is ſuppoſed to complain of the ſower temper and loathſomneſs of this old lover (*c*). Some imagine ſhe is the ſame Leontium who was the Poet Hermeſianax's miſtreſs [*A*]. It is more certain that ſhe applied her ſelf ſeriouſly to Philoſophy [*B*], and that ſhe even ſet up for an authoreſs [*C*]. Obſerve that Metrodorus was

(*a*) *Taken from* Athenæus, lib. 13. pag. 588. I quote his words in the article EPICURUS, quotation (94).

(*b*) *See* Diogenes Laertius, lib. 10. num. 5.

(*c*) See the article EPICURUS, remark [*I*].

[*A*] *Some imagine ſhe is the ſame Leontium, who was.... Hermeſianax's miſtreſs.*] Athenæus (1) mentions this miſtreſs, and even tranſcribes a pretty large number of verſes, extracted from the third book of the elegies which Hermeſianax wrote in honour of Leontium. Monſieur Menage (2), is fully perſuaded that this woman is the ſame with Epicurus's good friend; whereby he proves Voſſius guilty of a miſtake, for placing (3) Hermeſianax amongſt thoſe poets, whoſe age is unknown. This Poet's verſes, quoted by Athenæus, contain a long liſt of perſons in love, and it is very probable that the whole work was upon that ſubject; for Antonius Liberalis (4) extracted a love-tale from the ſecond book of thoſe elegies. Parthenius tranſcribed from the ſame Poet the fifth and the twenty ſecond of his hiſtories. With regard to the twenty ſecond he quotes Hermeſianax in the general; but with reſpect to the fifth he quotes him thus, Ἑρμησιάναξ Λεόντι. It is plain that we muſt read Λεοντίνῳ, and not Λέοντι (5). Monſieur Menage adds, that Hermeſianax wrote an excellent poem on the city of Colophon his native place, which Poem is mentioned by Pauſanias (6). Monſieur Menage has undoubtedly been miſled by theſe words of Voſſius. *Hermeſianax Colophonius, Poëta Elegiacus de patria Colophone egregium carmen condidit, ut ex Pauſania cognoſcere eſt* (7). Pauſanias does not give us the leaſt reaſon to aſcribe this to him: He only ſays, that he does not believe Hermeſianax was ſtill living, when Lyſimachus deſtroyed the City of Colophon: for, adds he, Hermeſianax would certainly have lamented the ruin of that City. Ὡς φοίνικα ἰάμβων ποιητὴν, Κολοφώνιον, θρηνῆσαι τὴν ἅλωσιν. Ἑρμησιάναξ δὲ ὁ τὰ ἐλεγεῖα γράψας οὐκ ἔτι (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) περιῆν· πάντα γάρ που καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐπὶ ἁλώσει Κολοφῶνι ὠδύρατο. *Phœnix Colophonius iamborum ſcriptor eam exciſionem deploravit; nam Hermeſianactа qui elegos ſcripſit, ad illud uſque tempus ſuperſtitem fuiſſe non crediderim, neque enim is in aliqua carminum ſuorum parte exciſam Colophonem non defleſſet* (8). You ſee that he had juſt mentioned the Poet Phœnix, a writer of Iambicks, born at Colophon, who made his muſe bemoan the ruin of that City. We may infer from this paſſage of Pauſanias, that Hermeſianax was contemporary with Epicurus, and therefore that their loving both the ſame Leontium is not inconſiſtent with chronology. Pauſanias would not have expreſſed himſelf as he has done, had this writer of elegies flouriſhed a great many years before Epicurus. Obſerve that Lyſimachus, who deſtroyed the City of Colophon, was one of thoſe, who ſhared Alexander's conqueſts among themſelves.

(1) Lib. 13. pag. 597.

(2) Menagius, *Hiſtor. Mulierum Philoſoph. ad calcem* Diogenis Laertii, pag. 498. num. 70.

(3) In *Tractat. de Poet. Græcis.*

(4) Metamorph. cap. 39.

(5) *See* Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Græcis*, pag. 374.

(6) *Eſt autem Hermeſianax ille, idem qui de patria Colophone egregium carmen condidit... Pauſaniæ memoratum.* Menagius, *Hiſtor. Mulier. Philoſopharum*, pag. 498.

(7) Voſſius, *de Poetis Græcis*, pag. 90.

(8) Pauſan. lib. 1. pag. 8.

[*B*] *She applied herſelf ſeriouſly to Philoſophy.*] It was for this reaſon that Theodorus the painter drew her in a muſing poſture: *Leontium Epicuri cogitantem* (9).

(9) Plinius, lib. 35. cap. 11. pag. m. 236.

[*C*] *She ſet up for an authoreſs.*] She wrote againſt Theophraſtus, who was the ſtrongeſt aſſertor of the Ariſtoteliean Sect, and the ornament of his age. Cicero tells us that ſhe wrote that work in a very polite ſtyle. *Non modo Epicurus*, ſays he (10), *& Metrodorus, & Hermachus contra Pythagoram, Platonem, Empedoclemque dixerunt, ſed meretricula etiam Leontium contra Theophraſtum ſcribere auſa eſt, ſcito quidem illa ſermone & Attico, ſed tamen tantum Epicuri hortus habuerit licentiæ, & ſoletis queri.* i. e. "Not only Epicu-"rus, Metrodorus and Hermachus wrote againſt Py-"thagoras, Plato, and Empedocles, but even that lit-"tle whore Leontium dared to write againſt Theo-"phraſtus, which ſhe did indeed in a polite and ele-"gant ſtyle: but yet ſuch was the licentiouſneſs that "prevailed in Epicurus's ſchool; and of which you "are uſed to complain." The laſt words of this paſſage have given the criticks a great deal of trouble; they conſtrue them ſeveral ways; but I queſtion whether it be well known how they ought to be conſtrued: we may however know the author's meaning. He deſigned to exaggerate the licentiouſneſs which prevailed in Epicurus's ſchool: and the better to expoſe it, he inſtances in Leontium's boldneſs, who, being a proſtitute, dared to write againſt Theophraſtus. But how great a Rhetorician ſoever Cicero was, he did not ſucceed ſo well as Pliny, in giving us a ſtrong notion of the indignity there was, according to him, in Leontium's attempt. Pliny tells us that this woman's audaciouſneſs gave riſe to a proverb, the ſenſe of which

(10) *De Natura Deorum*, lib. 1. cap. 33.

was one of Epicurus's chief disciples. Leontium had a daughter, who led a very wicked life, and died a violent death, as you will see in the remark below [*D*].

I cannot tell where Ludovicus Vives met with the reason he assigns for her writing a book against Theophrastus. He pretends that she did it, because this Philosopher had published several good observations concerning marriage [*E*].

was, that men had no longer any thing to do, but to go and hang themselves, since the learned were exposed to such indignities. *Ceu vero nesciam adversus Theophrastum, hominem in eloquentia tantum ut nomen divinum inde invenerit, scripsisse etiam feminam, & proverbium inde natum, suspendio arborem eligendi* (11). i. e. "As though I did not know, that even a woman "wrote against Theophrastus, who, for his eloquence, "deserved the surname of divine: her writing against "him gave birth to this proverb, *choose a tree to hang "yourself on.*"

(11) Plinius, *in Præfat.*

[*D*] *She had a daughter .... who died a violent death, as you will see...*] This daughter's name was DANAE. She followed her mother's example with regard to gallantry, but I do not know whether she ever meddled with Philosophy. Athenæus does not say a word of it; and he is the only author who acquaints me with some particulars concerning this woman. He observes (12), that she followed the trade of a Courtezan, and became the Concubine of Sophron governor of Ephesus. She insinuated herself into Laodice's favour so far, that the latter used to ask her advice in every thing, and trusted her with all her secrets. Danae knowing that Laodice designed to put Sophron to death, made him a sign to withdraw himself; he took the hint, and understood the danger he was in; he made believe as though he had forgot something, which he must remember in order to answer upon the subject that was given him to examine. He had time granted him to recollect himself; but he did not appear any more, and made his escape to Corinth in the night time. As soon as Laodice found out that Danae had been the occasion of his escape, she sentenced her to be thrown down a precipice. Danae knowing the danger she was in, was so proud that she would not answer one word to Laodice's questions: but she was not dumb when she was going to the place of execution: so far from it; she made a very outrageous complaint against providence. *It is with a great deal of reason,* said she, *that several persons despise the Gods; for all the reward they grant me for saving my husband's life, is that I shall now be precipitated, whilst Laodice, who killed hers, enjoys the highest dignity.* Ἀπαγομένην δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν κρημνὸν εἶπεν, ὡς δικαίως οἱ πολλοὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θείου, ὅτε ἐγὼ τὸν γενόμενόν μοι ἄνδρα σώσασα, τοιαύτην χάριτα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου λαμβάνω. Λαοδίκη δὲ τὸν ἴδιον ἀποκτείνασα, τηλικαύτης τιμῆς ἀξιοῦται. *Cum ad præcipitium duceretur, dixisse, à multis non injuria Deos contemni. Nam quod, inquit, virum meum servavi, hanc mihi gratiam Dii rependunt: quod autem Laodice maritum suum interfecerit, in maximo honore est* (13).

(12) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 593.

(13) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 593. *ex* Phylarcho.

[*E*] *Vives pretends that she wrote her book against Theophrastus, because this Philosopher had published several good observations concerning marriage.*] It is very probable that a woman who did not marry, and had gallants, could not like such writings; but yet this probability does not excuse Ludovicus Vives, if he gives us for matter of fact, as he does in the following passages, a particular, which he did not read in any credible author: *Novum malis non est, odisse bene monentes: sed in hoc ipso materiæ genere Theophrastus, quum de conjugio gravissime multa scripsisset, meretrices in se concitavit: & prosiliit Leontium, Metrodori concubina, quæ adversus tantum & facundia & sapientia virum, librum sine mente sine fronte evomeret* (14). i. e. "It is no new "thing for the wicked to hate those, who give them "good advice: Thus Theophrastus, having wrote "with great judgment concerning matrimony, raised "the prostitutes against him; and Leontium, Metro"dorus's concubine, rose up; and without sense or "shame put out a volume against this man, who "was so eminent for his eloquence and learning." This is a particular, which neither Cicero nor Pliny took notice of, when they mentioned the book, which Leontium wrote against Theophrastus (15): It should not therefore have been asserted, without a sufficient quotation to support the assertion. This is infinitely less necessary with regard to such particulars, as are to be met with every where. I shall observe by the by, that this passage and several others are omitted in the French translation of this work of Vives, made by Anthony Tiron, at Plantin's command, in the year 1579. I wonder at it; for I am apt to think, that these omissions are owing to Plantin's not making use of the editions, which Vives had revised, and to which he had made additions.

(14) Ludov. Vives, *in Præfat. Tractatus* de Fœmina Christiana, pag. m. 172.

(15) See the remark [*C*].

The End of the SIXTH VOLUME.

ERRATA.

In the Article HICKES (GEORGE) p. 155. in the margin, instead of 29 *Feb.* read 23 *Feb.* Ibid. at the bottom of Dr. Stanley's Letter, for 22 *Feb.* 1693. r. *May* 26, 1715.

Signature 7 C for p. 557, 558, 559, 560, r. 561, 562, 563, 564.. and for *the* r. *I shall* for the catch word in p. 564.